

Chapter Two

Berlin 1921-1936

During the aftermath of the lost First World War with its unrest and run-away inflation, (1) I was born on 13th July 1921 in my parents' apartment on Luther Straße 40, Berlin, and welcomed into the peaceful and loving home of a German-Jewish family as the youngest child of Erich Eyck and his wife Hedwig née Kosterlitz. I was named Ulrich Franz Joseph; Ulrich in case I would grow fat, Franz in case I would be thin, and Joseph after my paternal grandfather.

My father, born in 1878, grew up in Berlin, a city to which he was very much attached. His family, while maintaining a bourgeois living standard, was not particularly well off financially. My father would have preferred to read history as his main subject but the means to follow this career were not at his disposal. In the 19th century university study was still only pursued by a small minority of young people. To try to follow an academic career was even more difficult and this applied to anybody, Jews or Gentiles, but even more so to Jews. It required independent financial resources since the University lecturers [*Privatdozent*] had to work for many years without pay. A university education which led to practical careers was more likely to achieve relatively early financial independence. My father's second choice therefore was the study of law. The obstacles to a Jew in the legal profession were comparatively few. Legal careers had been followed before by other Jews, who could therefore be consulted and might provide employment in their partnerships. There may well be another reason for the attraction the legal profession had for the Jews. They had an advantage having imbibed some training in legal concepts through biblical studies with their emphasis on the Torah (2). After finishing their primary education at a high school that was teaching classical languages, a *humanistisches Gymnasium*, both my father and his older brother Hans were able to study at the *Königliche Friedrich Wilhelm Universität zu Berlin*, which in later years was renamed the *Humboldt Universität*. Erich enjoyed one term away from home at the University of Freiburg, Breisgau. He was able to combine his interest in law with those in history, politics and literature. Following the Left-Liberal leaning of his parents, he became associated with the German Peoples Party, the *Deutsche Volkspartei*, (3) which had its adherents mainly in southern Germany. One of its leaders was Leopold Sonnemann, (4) a publicist, who in 1856 became the founder and owner of the *Frankfurter Zeitung*. There my father made his debut as an author around June 1899 with a pamphlet on unemployment and unemployment insurance published under the auspices of the German Peoples Party (5). It

is thus not surprising that he chose for his doctoral dissertation as a connected topic the origin of the German workers movement: *Vereinstag Deutscher Arbeitervereine 1863-1868*, (6) dealing with the early attempt to form a workers' union. As a result of the industrial revolution in the 19th century a new social class had emerged quite different from the artisans with their century-old guilds. He examined the movement's development to provide an alternative to Ferdinand Lassalle's programme which under August Bebel, (7) a leading Social Democrat, merged into the Social Democratic Workers Party. Sonnemann strongly opposed the class struggle concept of Ferdinand Lassalle (8) on the one hand and of Marx and Engels on the other. He believed that the problem could be solved by co-operation between the bourgeoisie and the workers, and emphasized the importance of self-help and of individual responsibility. Unfortunately, the new movement was short-lived. It was taken over in 1868 by supporters of the class struggle who in due course, proceeded to form the Social Democratic Party, the *Sozialdemokratische Partei* (9). From 1871-76 and 1878-84 Sonnemann was a member of the Imperial Diet, the *Reichstag* representing the German People's Party. Sonnemann, whose attention Erich had already attracted through his treatise on unemployment, (10) became a kind of patron for my father (11). He received Erich when he came to Berlin and later when he visited Britain. From about 1900 on he agreed to publish Erich's reports in the *Frankfurter Zeitung* whenever possible. Erich Eyck defended his doctoral thesis before four distinguished examiners, the philosopher and pedagogue Friedrich Paulson, the economists Gustav Schmoller and Adolf Wagner, and the historian Hans Delbrück. He regarded Delbrück as a model scholar because of the independence and candor he displayed (12). Erich Eyck received his Doctorate in Philosophy '*cum laude*' in 1904 at the University of Berlin.

During some longer visits to Great Britain, my father was deeply impressed by what he saw there of the operation of parliamentary government. He was particularly fortunate on his first journey, when he witnessed the Liberal landslide at the general election of January 1906. (13) It gave him the chance to form some lasting friendships with British Liberals, especially with the journalist Harold Spender (14) and his wife Violet née Schuster, and with the historian G.P.Gooch, who had just gained a seat in the House of Commons. (15) Increasingly, Erich Eyck judged the German political system by the extent to which it fell short of the standard of parliamentary responsibility set in Great Britain.

Thanks to great determination, seemingly boundless energy and generally robust health, at first concentrating on his career in law in order to make it a success, my father was able to combine his legal work, with a host of other activities, mainly to do with writing and

politics. He completed the obligatory period of court service in articles as a *Refrendar* in Luckenwalde, a small town just south of Berlin, which he enjoyed and after which he was promoted to *Assessor*, and thereby entered the legal profession. In 1906 he established himself as a lawyer in Berlin, at first taking a job in a partnership of lawyers who were also Jews. There is a story often told within the family circle: Early in his career when he was asked to attend to an inheritance dispute and found to his dismay vicious infighting between the partners he voiced to his partners: “I don’t understand this infighting, they are after all family!” he was told by an older colleague: Family and neighbours are the natural enemies of men. [But the editor thinks more often they are your friends.] However, in 1910, very soon after his marriage to Hedwig Kosterlitz only celebrated by a civil ceremony on the 12th of May, his colleagues were upset with him, as they had not been invited to the wedding, and terminated his partnership. Consequently he set up in practice of his own. As a lawyer he gained considerable experience in the interpretation of documents and the weighing of evidence, as well as in their acquiring evaluation skills through written briefs, *Schriftsätze*, and court pleadings. He was admitted as a lawyer to the Supreme Court of Prussia, the *Kammergerichtshof*, in Berlin, and also eventually appointed notary public.

In time my father became an accomplished writer and speaker, immersing himself in the contemporary political scene, adhering to a left-liberal stance. *Wilhelmine* Berlin offered wonderful opportunities to a young man eager to find things out for himself. He took advantage of this, and often watched debates in the Imperial Diet, the *Reichstag*, and the Prussian State Diet, the *Preußische Landtag*. It is worth noting that during the German Empire these bodies did not grant a stipend or compensation, *Diäten*, for daily expenses, to its members (16). Thanks to his knowledge of shorthand, *Debattenschrift*, he was able to practice alertness by taking the proceedings down in this special type of shorthand. Of the speakers, he was particularly drawn to Theodor Barth, (17) one of the Left-Liberal leaders, and editor of the weekly journal *Die Nation*, to which his father Joseph Eyck had been a loyal subscriber, and which Erich had begun to read during his schooldays at the Gymnasium. He himself contributed to the journal from 1902 onwards (18). As a university student my father consulted Theodor Barth on an economics paper he was attempting to write. He was impressed by Barth’s friendliness and by the absence of any air of superiority towards a much younger person. My father was privileged to be entertained by Barth in a small circle at his Tiergarten (Animal Park) residence in Berlin. Barth warned against inciting people into extreme nationalism and racial anti-Semitism, and in powerful speeches he pleaded for international understanding. To the end of his life, my father regarded Barth as one of the two

great masters of politics at whose feet he had sat; the other one being Friedrich Naumann (19). He met Barth frequently at various political functions and for many years this parliamentarian with his free trade view, his opposition to all forms of state tyranny, and his support for and openness to the Social Democrats, best represented his own views.

My father fully recognized the outstanding parliamentary expertise and strength of conviction of Eugen Richter, (20) leader of the German Party of Progress, *Deutsche Fortschrittspartei*, and later of its successor the German Liberal Party, the *Deutsche Freisinnige Partei* (21). He was an exceptional Parliamentarian who could cross swords with Bismarck. However, my father disapproved of some rigidity in Richter's ideas and tactics. Above all he was critical of Richter's conduct in 1893, when he insisted on the expulsion from the parliamentary group of those *Reichstag* deputies who had broken ranks by voting in favour of Chancellor Caprivi's army bill. This split the Left-Liberals, because the expelled deputies formed their own party the German Liberal Party, which Barth joined, although he had voted against the bill.

All this was past history when my father began to take an active part in political life at the turn of the century, but undoubtedly it influenced his attitude. He opposed a further splintering of the Liberal forces and attributed the decline of the Left-Liberals mainly to their divisiveness (22). In retrospect, and from a historical perspective, he also questioned the wisdom of the Liberal opposition to the government of Caprivi who had taken over from Bismarck. At any rate, Erich began his political work for the German Liberal Association, of Barth, (23) rather than for the German Liberal Party of Eugen Richter.

It was through Barth that my father got to know his other political teacher, Friedrich Naumann. Erich's attraction to Naumann is not quite obvious at first sight as that to Barth. Indeed, it may appear strange that Erich was influenced by a Protestant pastor, who had collaborated with the anti-Semitic Court Preacher of the Emperor, the *Hofprediger* Adolf Stoecker. Stoecker had become politically involved and, in 1896 had to withdraw from the Conservative Party when it became public knowledge that he had tried to sow discord between Bismarck and the young Wilhelm II (24). But Erich emphasized in an appreciation published in 1924 that at the turn of the century Naumann had traveled quite a distance from the somewhat narrow Christian-Social views of his youth. By way of his intermediate program (25) of reconciling monarchy and social democracy, he was trying to draw attention to the crying needs of the working class, changing in his mature days to embrace Liberal-Democratic ideas. As a young man my father must have been profoundly impressed by Naumann's charisma. He regarded Naumann's death in 1919 just after his election to the

leadership of the German Democratic Party (DDP) as the successor of the Empire's Left-Liberals, to be a grave loss for the new regime. However, he believed that Naumann's ideas had a deep and lasting general effect on both the Left and the Right, and was not in any way confined to those who followed his banner. My mother very much shared this high esteem for Naumann.

My father's introduction to Hedwig came through two of her friends, two sisters, Trude Goldschmidt and Agnes Riegner née Arnheim, both married to lawyers, so the law proved useful in more than one way. As to my mother's side of the family, her father had also moved to Berlin from further east of Prussia, like so many other Jewish families at that time. Adolf Kosterlitz with his wife, Dora, and their four children hailed from Pless in Upper Silesia, part of the Prussian Province of Silesia, which then still belonged to the German Empire. My maternal grandmother Dora was a née Liebes, a member of a remarkable family that had migrated from the Prussian province of Posen to trade with El Salvador and Guatemala through offices in Hamburg. They became quite wealthy and lived in the prestigious Harvestehude district, where I visited them and remember a wonderfully carefree time. The Liebes family helped Adolf Kosterlitz to resettle in Berlin, where he ran a demolition business. He was a kindly man of great warmth, and clearly of considerable merit. He provided financial support to his younger brother Theodor for his studies as an ophthalmologist. Dora, possibly due to an illness in her childhood which had left her handicapped, did not display quite the same ability as her siblings. But there was a lot of talent among the four children she bore. Hedwig born in 1887 hardly had the educational opportunities offered to later generations of women. However, she went to a *Höhere Töchter Schule*, a secondary School for daughters of middle-class families (26) in Hanover (Hannover), where allegedly the best German was spoken. There she received a more limited academic education than contemporary boys did, but she gained practical skills and some economic instruction to prepare for marriage and motherhood. Her father noticed that she had certain business ability and asked her to look after an apartment house he owned so that she could gain personal experience in how real estate property was to be run and above all learn how to achieve a fair price for tenants and owner. She often said that a business agreement is only good if it is good for all parties involved. Even if not realized later on, she frequently voiced the wish that her epitaph should be "I never had an overdraft," a motto which indeed she followed carefully and in difficult circumstances. Her experience is quite exceptional at a time when young women from good families were supposed to be merely 'decorative.' As my grandmother did not always find it easy to supervise the household, my mother assumed

additional responsibility in the family home. She was a great source of strength to her father, who loved to look up to her in the gallery where the women were segregated from the floor of the synagogue reserved for the men.

Erich Eyck, 1910

When my mother married my father in March 1910 at the age of twenty-one, she had already gained a certain experience of life, which stood her good stead later on. In the a plebiscite was held about 1921 small disputed territory of Upper Silesia.⁽²⁷⁾ My mother traveled while six months pregnant to Pleß and voted for the German side, although she believed that quite a few ethnic Germans voted for Poland because they did not think much of the prospect of Germany's prospect after the lost war. As expected, Upper Silesia was conceded to Poland and the small town of Pleß was thereafter renamed Pszczyna.

All my mother's three brothers survived front service in the German army during the First World War. The eldest, Georg (Jörg) Kosterlitz, was severely wounded, and only saved from the amputation of a leg by his younger brother Erich, a medical doctor; however, Georg limped for the rest of his life. After his father's death in 1925 Georg went on running the demolition business, but in the early thirties immigrated to Santiago de Chile where he founded a successful business producing and selling safes. In 1939 he still was able to bring Dora, his mother, to Santiago and looked after her until her passing. On one of his visits to London he gave Hedwig a large Chilean Peso gold coin, which was given to me to be made into our wedding rings when I married Rosemarie Schmidt in 1955. There was enough gold to supply also for the engagement ring. Erich, my mother's, second brother, emigrated during the 1920's to the USA, where he practiced medicine. He was very intelligent but somewhat of an outsider (*ein Sonderling*). When we met well after the Second World War and he was talking about his emigration, he said he had the vague feeling that something did not feel right in Germany. He gradually had lost confidence in the fatherland, a rare attitude among German Jews. In contrast to my father who as an assimilated German Jew identified himself with Germany and culturally felt a deep bond to the country. Her literature, above all Wolfgang von Goethe, played an important role. Martin, the youngest brother of my mother was also a lawyer in Berlin. I remember my mother telling me that all her eight male cousins served in the German army, half of them being killed in that war.

Only my maternal grandfather - unlike the paternal one - was still practicing Judaism. Adolf Kosterlitz was initially not entirely happy with the religious background of his son-in-

law, but time was a great healer and Hedwig's family was won over by the happiness of the young couple. (28) The two families were well integrated into Germany. Altogether their background was a felicitous one with its family members presenting a sound combination of professional, academic and commercial careers. My mother's intelligence, her understanding for others as well as her gentleness and sensitivity responded beautifully to my father's learning; she always considered him her great teacher.

I had an idyllic childhood during the first eleven and a half years of my life. Our loving and stimulating parents, my two older sisters, Irene, born in 1911, Eleanor born in 1913, and I, as the youngest, formed a closely-knit family. Our father had a good legal practice. He had been invalided out of the army in his younger days as a conscript because he had collapsed on parade-ground and was not considered fit enough to serve during the First World War, although there were periodic medical examinations to check up about this. Nevertheless, he went on to develop a great capacity for intellectual work.

In 1915 he had joined the German-Jewish publishing firm Ullstein as law correspondent [*Juristischer Mitarbeiter*] for *Die Vossische Zeitung*. This was the oldest and highly respected Berlin daily newspaper, in outlook close to the German Democratic Party. Erich founded the paper's law section *Recht und Leben*, law and life, but *Recht* meaning law as well as justice. From 1916 on he contributed articles on a whole range of legal, political and historical subjects, paying particular attention to Great Britain, which he continued to look on as a model for parliamentary government. In his writing he emphasized the importance of assuring that everybody, including Jews, was treated fairly by the justice system (29). He played a leading role in the Central Society of German Citizens of Jewish Faith, the CV [*Centralverein deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens*] (30) which saw no insuperable obstacles to combining loyalty to Germany with the Jewish faith. He was a life-long opponent of Zionism. Among other arguments against it, he believed it would undermine the position of Jews in the country in which they lived, to which they belonged and felt loyal to. For several years from 1912 on he had been an executive of the anti-Zionism committee, incidentally together with our family physician *Geheimer Sanitätsrat*, [*confidential member of the board of Health*], Dr. Peltson (31) and Bernard Weiß (32) deputy chief of the Berlin police.

Most of my father's energy was spent on the general defence of the rule of law and of the parliamentary and democratic system, to which he devoted a pamphlet on the crisis of German justice in 1926 (33). When, in December 1932, the National Socialists agreed to have their theory of criminal justice debated they faced Eyck as a speaker defending the rule of law.

The National Socialist lawyer, a member of the *Reichstag*, Dr. Hans Frank (Frank II) (34) was to propound Nazi ideas. The lawyer and writer Ernst Feder noted in his diary on 12th December 1932 that is translated here:

[I went] to the *Oberverwaltungsgericht* [High-Court of Administration] in the evening where the National Socialist theory of criminal law was to be discussed. Frank II [who was to speak from the Nazi point of view] bolted. Fabricius [another Nazi Reichstag member] deputizing for him spoke miserably in the discussion. The speech by Eyck is good. The hall was overcrowded. Many young lawyers [were present]. (35)

From 1915 to 1920 Erich served on the council of the Charlottenburg Municipal Assembly [*Stadtverordnetenversammlung*], before its incorporation into Greater Berlin. A fellow councilor was Oskar Meyer, (36) a prominent member of the German Democratic Party, in the Weimar period. From 1928-1930 Erich served on the Berlin Municipal Assembly at a critical time, earning the friendship of men like Oskar Meyer and Ernst Reuter, (37) the latter to become the first mayor of West-Berlin 1947-1953. My father also helped as secretary and played an important part in the running of the Democratic Club in Berlin (1919-1933) where he himself often gave talks. The club was a social centre for politically interested people. It attracted excellent speaker and animated discussions frequently were carried on late into the night. When my mother thought it was getting rather too late, there was a phone call with an indisputable interpretation; the butler discretely whispered to Dr. Eyck: “*Frau Dr.* is on the phone!” Very soon, with friends living close by, and not missing to tease him, they took the quarter of an hour’s walk to our home in the large apartment of the Magdeburger Straße 5 which also accommodated my father’s office, then in the otherwise dark night surrounding, with curtains drawn back and all front windows well lit up warned him of his wife’s displeasure. (38) This area was part of the ‘old West’ close to the Landwehrkanal, the Ministry of defense [*Reichswehrministerium*], and the Tiergarten. The latter was and is again today a large park with a lake and beautiful old trees on the southerly bank of the Spree River stretching beyond the Sieges Allee and to the Brandenburg Gate, often used for excursions by people from other parts of the city.

Unfortunately, after a good initial showing the German Democratic Party, DDP, saw its parliamentary strength dwindle. In 1930 the party leader, Erich Koch-Weser (39) was Minister of the Interior, and previously had been Minister of Justice, and was held him in high regard both inside and outside of the *Reichstag*. My father knew him well. He agreed with Chancellor Gustav Stresemann in October 1929 to stress the common interest “of all groups opposed to the misdirection of national feelings” (40). Koch-Weser believed that the only way to arrest the decline of his party was to broaden its base. He therefore proposed amalgamation

with the Young German Order, the *Jung Deutsche Orden*, which had moved from a position on the Right to a position of greater acceptance of the democratic republican stance. Many of the older party members, including my father, had grave doubts about the new party, but they accepted the fusion with the Order under the name of the German State Party, *Deutsche Staatspartei*. This desperate step did not bring its reward in the Parliamentary Election of September 1930. The number of seats shrank and the deputies drawn from the Young German Order soon seceded. When I asked my father many years later about the Young German Order he simply replied that they were anti-Semites. Actually I later met a member of the Young German Order, who like myself had been a student of the French Gymnasium, and who told me that he and others of the Order were arrested by the Nazis and treated very harshly. August Weber, (41) a close friend of my father who succeeded Erich Koch-Weser as leader of the State Party was faced with an almost hopeless task. In a parliamentary debate he stated that the National Socialists had traveled the route of political murder. This remark caused such a wild uproar on their part, so that the session had to be adjourned. On request by the *Reichstag's* speaker, Bernhard Weiß had the culprits arrested. As Weiß was a Jew, he soon became the target of 'Nazi justice.' Not discouraged by a street-brawl, Weber gave evidence that among their deputies was a convicted murderer, whereupon the Nazis just walked out (42).

As a committee member of the CV, Society of German Citizens of Jewish Faith, opposed to Zionism, (43) my father met Alfred Wiener (44) who was their secretary and legal representative, *Syndicus*. In order to have a place for documenting the values that keep a pluralistic and democratic society alive, he started an important collection on the Nazi movement, anti-Semitism and Fascism, of about 40,000 volumes. Just before the outbreak of the war he managed to evacuate this library first to Amsterdam and then to London. (45) This library became very useful for my father's later research. In a letter to my father 5th April 1961 Alfred Wiener writes:

In the changing situations of my life I always tried to do my duty; especially after all hell broke loose in Germany. Even though I had the most bitter experience in my family, I myself on the whole remained spared. It was this knowledge which obliged me to fight [in] any way I could against this hell. If the Wiener Library in its modest way was helpful to you, this is as it should be. It was always a joy to talk to or hear from you....

My father's various activities harmonized well with each other and provided him with a wide experience; they were highly stimulating and earned him general respect. He was an avid reader in addition to the law and politics, particularly in the field of history. He loved

sharing what he read and what he experienced with his family. On many walks through the Tiergarten, and on excursions to places outside the city, such as Frederick the Great's Palace of Sans Souci in Potsdam, he told us about historical events and the great figures of German literature. The news of the day always had held an immense fascination for me. I remember when I heard the newspaper being dropped through the letter slit in our front door, I rushed to cycle along our long corridor (so typical for Berlin apartments) to get to the paper before my father could reach it. He was an excellent teacher. I also knew that however busy my father was, he always had time for his wife and his children. He was very close to us and we felt great warmth towards him.

Outside of our home I had joined the youth wing of the CV affiliated to the '*Wandervögel*' [literally: birds of passage, a youth organization engaging in hiking, camping, games, singing folksongs] led by Werner Rosenstock. We went for walks in the countryside and enjoyed boyish games. I attended a camp on the Schocken(46) Estate near Berlin (47). In the Jewish Cultural League, the *Jüdische Kulturbund*, we discussed Gotthold Ephraim Lessing's '*Nathan der Weise*' ('Nathan the Wise') wherein a man with an experience like Job's did not dwell on hate or revenge but overcame these destructive emotions through loving action which lead to his inner peace, reconciliation with God and men and between men. And Nathan's fable of the three rings introduced us to religious tolerance. Lessing lived in the 18th century; he was an enlightened successful writer and thinker who with his sparkling and clear language advanced the German prose style. During the Nazi regime performance of this play was prohibited.

In my youth, members of the bourgeoisie, who like us were not particularly wealthy, had resident domestic staff as a matter of course. This allowed my mother to keep abreast of what was happening in my father's law office, which was in our apartment, to share in his wide activities and interests, and to provide an open table for the many visitors of all ages that came to our home. My mother had plenty of time for me particularly as my sisters began to be more independent. Together my parents developed a circle of intimate friends from various walks of life, in which lawyers predominated and in which my sisters and I always had a chance to share. It was a great privilege for me to grow up in this circle of acquaintances and friends whose humane and cultural qualities surrounded me, an experience I rarely met with later on.

As my father practiced at the Supreme Court of Prussia, some of the lawyers there and their wives, as well as some lawyers accredited to other courts, became close friends. Among those who were Jewish was Heinrich Riegner, who in addition to being a lawyer was also an

expert in art history; through his wife Agnes and her sister my parents had met. The Riegner's son, Gerhard, was, incidentally, a rare example of a Zionist in our circle. During the Second World War he worked at the listening post in Geneva at The World Jewish Congress and played an important part in trying to save Jewish lives. Until his death in 1998 he was General Secretary of the World Jewish Congress (48). The friends among my father's lawyer-colleagues included Richard Calé, whose brother Walter made a mark as a brilliant poet, but sadly died early. Richard Calé and his wife Alice were gifted musicians. Heinrich Veit-Simon, (49) an exquisitely refined person in the best sense of the word, was a member of a leading Jewish family in Berlin, and a practicing Jew. His wife Irma, raised as a Christian, adopted her husband's faith. Rudolf Isay, a patent attorney, with a Jewish background, had converted to Protestantism as an adult (50) and later married Isabella ('Bella') Trimborn, a member of a leading Catholic family in the Rhineland. (51) Those who retained the religious affiliation of their families did not necessarily observe Jewish practices. My father had received his Bar Mitzvah, but was not a regular participant at the synagogue; the various dietary, hygienic and Sabbath restrictions were not observed in our home, in fact he objected to them. Some friends kept the high festivals. Looking back at our friendship circle after all these years, even those who were practicing Jews respected conversion to Christianity or 'intermarriage' (52). Although I could not have worked this out for myself as a boy, I would now say that by the 1920's, at any rate, highly educated German Jews were generally beginning to show greater tolerance for these decisions. For them, the bond with Judaism was not necessarily broken by conversion to Christianity or intermarriage. The strong ties created by the shared Jewish descent and the centuries of persecution remained. This mutual acceptance had not always prevailed. My mother told me how shocked she was when one of her uncles severed all contact with a son who had married a Christian woman. A section of anti-Jewish or anti-Christian opinion during the Wilhelmine era "who looked to integration to remove friction between Gentiles and Jews" was often impatient with what it regarded as the "snail's pace of integration" (53). Was the latter judgment a correct assessment, and if so, was it applicable to the two generations of the Eyck family? So far as the well-educated Jews were concerned, and when documents are available to prove it, the very opposite was usually true. In our families the speed of assimilation was often increased by the move westwards from eastern territories of smaller towns of the Prussian monarchy. Here I make an attempt to record aspects of the life of a group of well-educated Jews, who achieved high ethical and intellectual standards, marked by true tolerance attained without compromising their moral values (54). They had adopted the general ideal of the well-educated bourgeoisie, the *Bildungsbürgertum*.

Sometimes, the Jewish friendships dated back to our grandparents' generation, on my father's side of the family, to the days of residence in the area close to the synagogue in the Oranienburger Straße in the northeastern part of Berlin. But my parents also had intimate Christian friends. To the Friedrich Naumann circle my father owed one of his close and enduring friendships, that with Theodor Heuss, (55) later to be the first President of the German Federal Republic, and his wife Elly, (56) the daughter of the economist Georg Knapp at the University of Strasbourg. In 1903 Naumann, originally leader of the German Democratic Party and many of his followers joined the German Liberal Association, the *Freisinnige Vereinigung*, under Theodor Barth. In order to bring the two groups together, a fortnightly gathering was arranged in an inn. Theodor Heuss was a close collaborator of Friedrich Naumann and later his biographer (57). He became his aide on the journal *The Help (Die Hilfe)*, to which my father contributed from 1906 onwards. As Heuss described in a volume of his memoirs, "[Erich] Eyck turned up as a follower of Barth, a soft, not yet firmly drawn personality" (58). Elly Heuss was incidentally very active in women's causes. She became a mother not long before Hedwig and taught her how to swaddle a baby. My parents were particularly impressed by the way Elly came to the rescue when the Nazis deprived Theodor Heuss of their livelihood. She pioneered and developed an advertising business, writing appealing verses or lines that were imaginatively broadcast and became very popular. I still remember Elly Heuss demonstrating the techniques of her advertising works, which provided for them and helped them to survive. Through his political work my father also met and got to know the Secretary of State [*Staatsekretär*] Fritz Kempner of the Weimar period, and a Left-Liberal, a high official called Vossberg, who died early. Kempner was also a friend of the Vossbergs and was involved in the 20th of the July 1944 plot against Hitler. Hidden in a briefcase Oberst Claus Schenk von Stauffenberg had managed to plant a time fuse bomb close to Hitler during a strategic conference [*Lagebesprechung*] at the Head Quarters in Rastenburg, East Prussia. Somebody inadvertently pushed the bag under the thick oak table, so that the ensuing explosion was muffled and the assault missed its target (59). The Nazis staged a merciless persecution of all the people and their families involved in the plot.

Vossberg's widow, Editha, later married a senior civil servant, *Ministerialrat* Rau. Editha Rau, (60) a Prussian officer's daughter from a Protestant background, was a person of rare distinction, wonderfully literate even in her speech; she was an author, and her letters are still a pleasure to read. She and her husband detested the Nazis. With Frau Rau, as with Theodor and Elly Heuss, my parents shared a close relationship of great mutual warmth.

For our holidays we often travelled as a family, frequently abroad, to the Netherlands or Switzerland. Occasionally, separate holidays were arranged for me. My parents thought it would be helpful for me to be together with children of my age. They sent me to a children's holiday home, a *Kinderheim*, in Kipsdorf not far from Dresden, run by *Diakonissen*, a Protestant women's order. I was not happy there and my father's unexpected visit on my birthday, apparently my fourth, was a welcome relief. When in 1928 my parents joined a tour of German lawyers to the United States and I was 'parked' in Frankfurt am Main with close friends of theirs, the lawyer Max Maier, (61) and his wife Mathilde, 'Titti', (62) an expert gardener with a doctorate in botany. She is the author of *All the Gardens of my Life*. The Maiers had a beautiful home whose atmosphere reflected their inner harmony. Max Maier had fought at the front in the First World War and, on being demobilized, at once resumed his legal practice. In his book *Memories of Germany* (63) he distinguished between the often, in his opinion, emotionally overvalued concept of citizenship, and the belonging to a community of cultural values. He was one of the most irenic [peace loving] persons I have ever met.

Through friends in Berlin we heard about a farm in Pomerania that took in paying guests for vacationing. This was *Emilienhof* in eastern Pomerania not far from the Polish border. It belonged to Heinrich Kaphan, a Jewish farmer who had fought in the First World War. Jewish farmers were a comparative rarity, because for centuries Jews had not been allowed to own land. His wife Käte belonged to the Manasse family, some members of which had acquired academic renown; Käte's brother, Ernst Moritz, followed in these footsteps and became a philosopher (64). From about the age of eight on, I spent many holidays at *Emilienhof* with numerous other children who were also guests and mixed with the Kaphan children, who were slightly younger than I. Growing up in a big city, life on a farm and seeing the work of an experienced farmer like Heinrich Kaphan, whom I much admired, provided an excellent balance. I befriended many of the horses and did some riding, mainly on ponies, as well as a lot of cycling around the countryside and swimming in nearby lakes. In the evenings Käte Kaphan, who combined all the skills of a farmer's wife with an excellent education and great sensitivity, introduced and read German literature to us children. I still remember the vivid manner in which she recited an account of the actions of Napoleon's Marshal Grouchy in the campaign, which culminated in the battle of Waterloo, from Stefan Zweig's *Sternstunden der Menschheit* (65).

I think it was at *Emilienhof* that I began to be acquainted with the kind of serious problems facing many Germans, though these did not appear to me at the time as a threat to German Jews in general. The Kaphans, like other farmers, were hard hit by the world

economic crisis, which had begun in 1929. The German government was trying to help the farmers, but their programme, called *Osthilfe* (66) which was meant to assist smaller landowners in the eastern parts of the country, got bogged down by the opposition of major agrarian interests. In any case, I still remember a conversation with Käte Kaphan when she told me that they might lose the farm. Fortunately they received some help and were able to keep their farm. Both my sisters and our parents were also frequent visitors to *Emilienhof*. The work for the *Osthilfe* was carried out under the chancellorship of Heinrich Brüning, by the then Agricultural Minister Hans Schlange-Schöningh, who was himself a large estate owner but supported, as leader of the People's Party [*Volkspartei*], the smaller estates. In 1932 he developed a plan for German settlers in the tropical forest of Parâna, Brazil. There it was possible to buy land through the British Parâna Railway Company, who bought their heavy machinery in Germany. By investing in the German equipment companies and thereby using the German currency one could thus make full use of one's capital and also avoid the Flight of Country Tax. This so called *Reichsfluchtsteuer* had been introduced by Chancellor Brüning in 1931 to avoid tax evasion by rich people who took their money out of Germany in order to put it into tax-free havens, as there was then no tax due in Germany.

The exemption from the *Reichsfluchtsteuer* meant that full use could be made of one's assets. In this way the British Land Development Company under the directorship of Mr. Thomas was able to finance and develop a railway system to open up the wilderness of Parana. After 1933 the Kaphans and many of our friends, both Jews and Christians, took this chance to leave Hitler's Germany. At the end of 1935 my sister Eleanor [Lore] sailed with them in order to teach their children and stayed with them for a year. After several weeks of traveling by ship and trains the families arrived in Rolândia (67), named so by Erich Koch-Weser who emigrated soon after 1933. He had been a long time resident and Lord Major of city of Bremen, Germany, and this was his way to remember the Knight Roland, a hero of the epic cycle about Charlemagne. Rolândia eventually grew into a lively city but was then a hamlet consisting of small huts with streets of red soil that were either dusty or muddy. The Kaphans lived in a house the Isays had just left to move onto their own land. The house was a square box with walls dividing it into four rooms and a kitchen. Windows had only shutters and no glass. Besides beds, large boxes served as furniture. There was a bathhouse and toilets in a little hut a few meters away, but neither running water nor electricity. Eleanor wrote to our parents: "I was perfectly happy with our new life, but probably no one else in our family would feel that way" (68). There was a lively exchange of experience as well as of farm products and visiting among the people who had previously arrived. Erich Koch Weser and

his family had immigrated in 1933, and had already a productive fazenda, the Portuguese word for plantation. Directly or indirectly many of the newcomers knew each other. The only mode of transportation was the horse, rarely a horse drawn carriage. Meanwhile, about eight miles into the jungle from Rolândia, Heinrich Kaphan had chosen the land, besides always helping and advising other settlers. In dividing up the land the Company had taken care to do it in a way that every parcel had its own water source. After three months of extremely hard work and risks for everybody cutting trees and burning brush, Henry had opened up part of his virgin forest, assisted by a hired local family with two sons and two daughters, the latter to help in the house. Gradually their land was turned into a successful *fazenda*. The Kaphans and Maiers had moved into their new farmhouses, growing first rice, coffee, cotton, corn and wheat, and now mainly orange trees. At times they engaged in mixed farming with fowls and cows. The Jaù, a creek passing quietly through their land, could soon generate electricity and run a mill. To clean the coffee beans from the dusty iron rich soil, Rudolf Isay invented a machine making use of magnets which saved a lot of manual sifting. Lore, as a teacher and general helper, took part in this early development and gave a colourful description of the life on the developing fazendas. In spite of very basic living conditions or perhaps because of constant improvising and careful planning, there was an optimistic atmosphere among those mostly young people of similar background. There were about eighty families of refugees settling in this area. They were all starting a new life in a new country, carried by an abundance of hope, exchange of practical knowledge and *joie de vivre*.

Many years later following a surprise-visit of Käte's son Klaus, now Claudio Kaphan, and his wife Ruth on the way to their helicopter-holiday in the mountains of Alberta, Canada, we visited Käte and Titti in the spring of 1990. To our regret their husbands had already passed away. On the day we arrived, Brazil suffered one of her many currency reforms. Our traveler's checks could only be exchanged after a few weeks. So we stayed on the beautiful fazenda Jaú with their many luxuriant flowering trees and shrubs. During the first years the settlers had left some of their virgin forest untouched, but when taxes were levied on all their land, any reminder of the jungle disappeared. Ruth, who owns one acre, now tries to let plants grow wild to see whether some original vegetation will come back. The Jaù is now without its own electric installations as all the fazendas are connected onto the general electric grid. The drive to their bungalow farmhouses led under eucalyptus trees, large hedges of poinsettias, trumpet vine, philodendron and bougainvillea, just to mention some of those plants. Among others there grew an enormous avocado and star fruit tree in Käte's garden surrounded by fertile fields. We got close to the three generations of the Kaphan family and their friends, and

celebrated Käte's 80th birthday. She still had her old guest book, from the time at *Emilienhof* and showed me my farewell entry of 19th Oct 1935, it reads (translated):

I was here often, and often did I experience lovely holidays at Emilienhof. Now, when I have to think that this should be the last time, that in future someone else should own Emilienhof, a stranger, that Uncle Heinrich and Aunt Käte will be separated from us by a journey of several weeks, I pause in awe of the terrible fate that by capricious decree [*willkürlicher Vorschrift*] life has thus been transformed. I wish Uncle Heinrich and Aunt Käte that they establish a new home in Brazil, that within the family circle they will lead a joyful - if difficult - life, the way they had done here during the first eleven years of their marriage.

At the time of our visit to Brazil all emigrants were well settled and we received generous hospitality from the Kaphans, their friends in town and their neighbours. We visited nearby fazendas just to mention some, they were all different from each other. There were the fazendas of Kurt and Magdy Ullstein, Hans and Hildegard Kirchheim on fazenda Bimini. Their drive was unlike others, as it led between the austere beauty of jucca trees to a spacious house surrounded by a park-like garden. By 1936 Hans Kircheim had to sell his father's prosperous textile factory for which he had been a widely traveled salesman. Hildegard had been a medical doctor. We met among others Joachim Schlange-Schöning. The son of Hans; Inge Rosenberg, (69) whose husband had taught in the Jewish Groß Breesen agricultural teaching farm in Silesia near Breslau and the von Treuenfels family who run a plantation for Boehringer, the German pharmaceutical firm. The conversations were always intensive covering past and present. But by now the railway tracks were overgrown and abandoned. Rolândia had developed into a town, and was no longer reached on horseback or by train, but on well-paved roads by a car running on corn-alcohol. Ruth had long organized and run a school for workers' wives where they could learn to read and write, sew and knit, and bring their children and babies along. She also gave imaginative English lessons to a group of housewives using everyday activities or cooking special dishes followed by a feast to enjoy those just-produced meals. With her we visited the spectacular Iguazù falls. Claudio administered his mother's and Titti's farm as well as his own. After he managed to exchange our traveller's cheques we visited Bel Horizonte of the state Minas Gervaise, the jewel and once gold capital of Brazil. This journey was one of our most memorable holidays. But we found the obvious class distinction troublesome, even if maid service - in the for us unaccustomed heat - was indeed welcome. In the correspondence that ensued Käte wrote about the sorry plight of the Brazilian economy, inflation and corruption, but also joyfully about her large family of four generations. However, old scars break open when somebody sends her books on the Jewish situation during 1933-1945. (70) In translation her letter reads:

The photos, I cannot bear to look at. Surely I cannot thank the person, who sent them to me. Why does anybody send me those books? I am not able to read the text.

In her last letter 10th January 1993 she ponders the strikingly strange fate which gave her husband Henry the opportunity to display his abilities, which he could not have developed in Germany, but for which the New World gave him the chance:

Do you remember Emilienhof? To think that we could have concluded our life on Emilienhof - or --- but to flee from the terrifying Jewish fate to a far away foreign world and build a new life and develop Henry's gifts, which otherwise would have remained unknown. Very incomprehensible these simultaneous occurrences. To think about it makes one doubting and despairing (71).

Now turning back to my childhood, as good democrats my parents sent me to a state run elementary school, the local *Volksschule*, whereas many of their friends put their children into private elementary schools, which saved one of the four years normally required. I seemed to have been quite bored in my Elementary School situated close to our home. My father, who was forty-two years old when I was born, feared that he would not live long enough to see me 'get somewhere.' Thus during the third year in the Elementary School I had to undergo an examination to see whether I was up to omitting the fourth year, which I promptly failed. But my father never gave up. So I went on to the fourth year of the Elementary School, now with the idea of skipping the first year of the French Highschool, the *Französische Gymnasium or Collège Français*. This was all the more difficult, because the school selected for me required some knowledge of French, which I did not have. The school's history goes back to 1685 when the king of France, Louis XIV, revoked the Edict of Nantes, the concessions his predecessors had granted their Protestant citizens, the Huguenots. Many of them fled to other countries. In the autumn of the same year Friedrich Wilhelm, the Great Elector of Brandenburg, granted many refugees asylum and protection in his own domain and, for children of the refugees in Berlin, he founded the French School in 1689. To facilitate the integration of the refugees into their new country was a highly successful social-political move that benefited the Mark Brandenburg and later on the Kingdom of Prussia. As the refugees brought their traditional skills with them, which were new to the country in which they had now settled, they helped to develop quite a number of novel industries. Following the French Revolution of 1789, Prussia, and with it the school, had again welcomed a new generation of refugees, this time mainly Roman Catholics, to continue in sharing in the French culture and language carefully maintained at the school which was wholeheartedly supported

by the Hohenzollern rulers. (72) French was then after all still the language for diplomacy and the ruling aristocracy.

As for me, during the last year of the Elementary School I had to take regular lessons in French in another part of Berlin from a Huguenot descendent, a Mademoiselle Tournier. These private lessons had to be kept secret, as somehow the whole ‘*manoeuvre*’ of doing without the first year of the high school was not being handled quite according to the rules. For a time we also had a ‘Mademoiselle’ staying with us in our home. With her, my sisters and I had to converse in French, which to our shame, we did not always do so willingly. Soon, in the spring of 1931, it took me about 15 minutes to walk along the Tiergarten, and under the chestnut trees of the *Reichstags Ufer*, an arm of the Spree River, past the then still intact Parliament Building - peaceful - quite different when two years later armed guards sat on the roof tops of adjacent buildings to reach the classical school building. I entered the *Quinta* of the French High School. Under the North American system this equals the sixth year of school, but for me was the fifth. Some teaching already took place in French in that grade, with more subjects gradually being added. Eventually Latin and Greek, for example, had to be translated into French; history and geography were also taught in that language. Religion was another obligatory subject taught according to the student’s denomination, separate but at the same class time. My father had me exempt from much of the religious teaching, so to my regret I did not learn Hebrew. A later attempt to do so did not succeed. However, I was fortunate with my new school, in which I had excellent teachers and intelligent, friendly schoolmates.

A happy, sheltered childhood ended abruptly on the 30th of January 1933 with Adolf Hitler’s and his Nazis’ advent to power. With one third of the popular vote in favour of them they had become the largest party in the *Reichstag*. I remember the day well. Nobody remained unaffected by it. Many years later, I was sometimes asked to summarize my impressions of this period. I responded that I knew that all conversations on political topics had to be conducted with great prudence, and that from this day onwards, I felt that my parents could no longer protect me. The carefree atmosphere of childhood had gone. Nothing could be taken for granted. So far as I can reconstruct events more than two-thirds of a century ago, this is how I felt at the time. There was a sudden negative change on that particular day. In a relatively short time things got even worse than the pessimists in our circle of friends imagined. So far as my family was concerned, the new situation affected my parents, my sisters and me in different ways, in my case particularly in relation to my position at school.

My father had been a respected member of Berlin society. I still remember the celebrations on his 50th birthday in December 1928 in our apartment. I was eager to help with serving the food and remember climbing under all sorts of tables to do so. The Calé family, who were very musical, gave a performance of Bertold Brecht's Three Penny Opera, *Dreigroschenoper*, based on the Beggars Opera, with adaptations of the libretto to the history of our family. The press publicized the event. Good wishes were received from many personalities prominent in the various fields with which my father was connected, for example from representatives of various branches of the law, such as lawyers, judges and public prosecutors, from ministers and officials, as well as newspaper publishers and journalists (73). Now, in a process beginning only four years later, my father as a Jew, a 'non-Aryan,' was shunned by people he had known well. He witnessed the gradual destruction of his professional position and of his earning capacity. As a result of the systematic exclusion of Jews from public life, he lost his position as a notary public [*Notar*]; this was an official one representing the state, which Jews were no longer allowed to hold. He retained his position as lawyer but in common with his Jewish colleagues, had to put up with great deal of chicanery interfering with his practice. Thus the journal of the lawyers' association no longer published the names of Jewish lawyers. My father wanted to fight some of these measures, but was fortunately dissuaded by a colleague who recognized the hopelessness of the situation. The number of clients diminished rapidly, eventually to vanishing point, since being represented by a Jewish lawyer was not considered to be particularly helpful. A boycott of Jewish businesses by order of the authorities began on 1st April 1933, on which day my father was physically prevented by SA troopers [Storm-Troopers the 'brown-shirts'] from entering the building of his court, the *Kammergericht*, to which he was accredited. We spend the day in fear. One of our friends, an official of the Prussian Ministry of the Interior, who attended his office as usual that same day, was arrested and sent to a concentration camp apparently on Göring's, the Minister of the Interior's orders, never again to be the same after his release. We spent that 1st April in fear. In the end the boycott was called off after a day. The only ray of sunshine in a desperate situation was the visit of my parents' first maid. In the earlier days before WWI my mother had noticed that the young woman was frequently sick in the morning. Not knowing what to make of this my mother had taken her to see our family Doctor who suggested the girl might be pregnant where upon my mother in disbelief stated it could not be and she said that she would put her hand in the fire for her. But with a smile Dr.Pelteson said: "Mrs. Eyck, don't do that!" Soon his suspicion was proved to be correct, and the young woman was helped by my parents to smooth things over. Now married for a long

time and with a family of her own, she came to our home on 31st March, the birthday of Irene my elder sister, when the boycott had already been announced. The visit was a simple gesture of solidarity and humanity we never forgot (74). My father had a frightening experience in his legal practice during this period. One day, when he was acting for the defense, his client though acquitted, was nevertheless arrested outside the court-chamber by the Secret Police, the *Gestapo*, immediately after the verdict. As a Jew my father also had lost his position as law editor of the *Vossische Zeitung*. The paper soon afterwards, being a liberal and Jewish-owned newspaper, was ordered to cease publication (75).

In the night of 17th February 1933, the *Reichstag* was set on fire allegedly by the deranged and rather psychopathic Dutchman Marianus van der Lubbe (76) though a member of the Communist Party. When Göring, Minister of the Interior, learned about this, he gave orders to delay the activity of the fire brigade. And very quickly the Communists were blamed for the destruction, which they - rightfully - vigorously denied. The Nazis used this 'welcome' opportunity to act against all their adversaries on their well-prepared list, just waiting to be implemented at a given opportunity. The very next day an emergency decree was proclaimed that annulled every important fundamental right of the German citizens, initiating the infamous Law of Empowerment, the *Ermächtigungsgesetz*, over-ruling any opposition, they legalized indiscriminate imprisonment (77). The *Enabling Law* was soon to follow. Within two months the SA killed between 500 and 600 people and, 100,000 Communists, Social Democrats, Jews, civil servants and other 'undesirables' from the Nazi point of view, were arrested by the police. In the same night Ernst Reuter and a friend, his co-worker, Otto Lehmann-Russbüldt, were for a time imprisoned in the notorious *Alexander Platz* Prison of Berlin and in Spandau. Lehmann-Russbüldt was a freelance writer, a sage of the German Peace Movement; through the Union New Fatherland, established in 1914, he was an ardent supporter for the idea of the United States of Europe, and founded the League of Human Rights. He did not belong to any particular party or religious persuasion. But he could gather and had been supported by people of all shades of German society, including diplomats, statesmen, soldiers, scientists, authors and journalists, such as diametrically opposed personalities as Karl Liebknecht, Hans Delbrück, Fürst Lichnowsky, and Albert Einstein. With a cane for support, feigning to be severely physically and mentally deranged and in the company of Catholic clergymen Lehmann-Russbüldt managed to flee to Holland and from there to England. He published and informed the British Government about the development in Germany, the Nazi atrocities and rearmament that would lead to war. After the war he

returned to Germany. For his intense work for peace he was awarded the First Class Order of the German Federal Republic in 1953 (78).

All Jewish as well as quite a few Christian editors like Theodor Heuss in *Die Hilfe* and Gustav Stolper, (79) both Democratic Member of the *Reichstag* lost their jobs. The latter was the editor of the *Deutsche Volkswirt* 1926-1933. Gustav and Tony Stolper enjoyed an intimate friendship with Theodor and Elly Heuss. Close acquaintances of my parents were interrogated by the *Gestapo*. Georg Bernhard, (80) the colourful Vice President of the *Vossische Zeitung*, a member of the Economic Council of the State, the *Reichswirtschaftsrat*, and a democratic Member of Parliament, who worked in the German Foreign Office, had to flee via Copenhagen to Paris where he established the *Pariser Tageblatt*. Julius Elbau, (81) Deputy Editor of the *Vossische Zeitung* became editor in the New Yorker *Staatszeitung*. Bernhard Weiß, (82) Vice Chief of the Berlin police, had to hide under the coals in his cellar while his house was searched by the *Gestapo*. He did manage to flee via Prague to Great Britain. Carl Eduard Misch assistant editor of the *Vossische Zeitung* was taken into protective custody, 'Schutzhaft.' After release he immigrated to Paris and worked with his old boss Georg Bernhard for the *Pariser Tageblatt*, the successor of *the Pariser Zeitung*. G. Bernhard, after being interned by German troops 1940 in Marseille, was able to immigrate to the United States and became Professor at an American university. He died in 1944. Carl Misch returned to Germany after the war and worked from October 1945 on for the cultural-political monthly paper *Der Aufbau*, (the [Re-]structure). (83) Ernst Reuter (84) was twice arrested because of communist affiliation and spent some years in the Lichtenberg concentration camp. He immigrated to Turkey where he was appointed traffic minister and Professor in the Academy for Management and Administration. After the war he returned to Germany and was twice elected mayor of West Berlin, 1947-1953. The Democratic Club, which had provided so much intellectual stimulation for my father, was closed. I remember going there with him when the books of the library were sold off. For balance and comfort my mother sometimes attended the services at the *Kaiser Wilhelm Gedächtnis Kirche* to listen to Pastor Jakobi, a member of the Confessing Church, opposed to the Nazi regime. The large neo-Romanesque Church at the junction of the Kurfürstendamm and the Tauentzien Straße was built in 1891-1895 by the Emperor's leading Architect [*Königliche Baurat*], von Schwechten. It had a rich interior of mosaics, statues and coloured windows, and a seating capacity for a thousand five hundred people. It was always over full when Pastor Gerhard Jakobi, DD [Doctor of Divinity] held the service.

My father went through a severe health crisis which affected his eyesight, and for some time had to have books and articles read to him. But fortunately he rallied and began to embark on an important further career. Devoted to modern history, he started work by dealing with the history of England. The country, with its effective parliamentary democracy buttressed by the rule of law, was to him a political model that he would have liked Germany to have followed. He wrote a biography of Gladstone, whom he admired as a liberal parliamentarian inspired by a profound sense of justice. With a dwindling and gradually disappearing income and having to begin drawing on their savings, my parents moved to a smaller apartment of the Dörnberger Straße in the same area of Berlin in which they had been living, and my mother rented out rooms.

From 1933/34 on, our harmonious family was scattered. My two sisters, to whom I had been very close, emigrated. Irene, the elder one had qualified, as a librarian while Lore had to terminate the medical studies on which she had embarked. Initially they were in France, but after a time they went on to England. They often had to content themselves with *au pair* positions providing domestic service, as work permits were practically impossible to obtain. At great risk, Lore, the younger of my two sisters came home to read aloud to my father when he had trouble with his eyesight. On at least one occasion, the authorities, probably the Gestapo telephoned our home to inquire whether my sister was still there; she had just left. We were not sure whether our telephone was bugged. Telephones could only be rented from the Telephone Company, and, unknown to the user, could have had listening devices installed. It became quite customary also for our Christian friends to plug the telephone into another outlet, as by law it had to stay connected, this put this device well away from the living room to allow a free conversation behind closed doors. Joseph Goebbels, the Minister of Culture and Propaganda held tight control over the press and radio. Hitler (85) had stated in *Mein Kampf* that:

With skill and continuous application of propaganda it is possible to make the people consider even heaven as hell and also make them consider the heavenly - [to be]the most miserable existence.

German-language newspapers like the *Basler or Zürcher Nachrichten* could still be obtained. But that avenue to independent news was also soon closed off. It could be dangerous to listen to the British Broadcasting Corporation, and after the beginning of the war, when it became a criminal offence, it was punishable by death (86). In 1940 alone nine hundred and ninety six people were arrested and some of them executed for this ‘crime.’

Lastly, there was my position at school. Certainly the Nazi regime wrought considerable changes there. As schools were part of the state system, its teachers were civil servants. Some teachers and students appeared in Nazi uniform. For a short while the gifted language teacher Kurt Levinstein, a Jew, (87) could still stay on at the school. Studying Friedrich Schiller's *Wilhelm Tell*, he made the boys argue a case for and against tyrannicide. He and his Aryan wife survived the Third Reich in North Berlin. Dr. Ansorge,(88) the son of a famous concert pianist and very cosmopolitan in outlook, was delegated to teach racial theory, *Rassenkunde*. In his subtle ironic way, he would take pleasure to demonstrate a typical Nordic skull by measuring the head of our fellow schoolmate Hans Hollander, tall, blond and blue-eyed, who was the only really orthodox Jew in our class. The teacher by far the most responsible for the liberal atmosphere at the school was Ernst Lindenborn (89). The experience of his military service in the First World War had turned him into a pacifist. He had studied theology and philosophy. At the school he was one of the language teachers, i.e. German, French, Latin and Greek. After the dismissal of the rabbi in 1935, he supervised the Hebrew lessons for the Jewish and any other interested students in the students' homes; previously through Headmaster Roethig's effort the Hebrew lessons could be taught at the school covered up as evangelical theological studies, which was a language requirement. Because of Lindenborn's perfect French he also taught history, biology and geography. He was not a dried up scholar, humour was a special feature in his teaching. Very deliberately he provoked his students to laughter and reflection. He was kind, charitable and wise. He did not leave much doubt about his attitude towards the Nazis and their racial theories; under the guise of the foreign language he called it the *maladie contagieuse* [infectious disease]. For the 250th anniversary of the Postdam Edict he wrote the Huguenot play "Faithfulness" (*Glaubenstreue*) that was performed by the students at the school and in the French Cathedral (*Französische Dom*). His historical novel "*Coligny, Der Schwerträger Gottes*" (God's Carrier of the Sword) dealt with the persecution of the Huguenots.

In true Huguenot tradition he became a Calvinist pastor to serve his spread out congregation in the French Cathedral. Eventually he was denounced by a 'nice colleague,' and several times interrogated by the Gestapo, and for a while he was not allowed to teach. Among the teachers Kurt Levinstein was respected, but Lindenborn gained the love of his students. In 1933 Headmaster Dr. Gerstenberg, (90) a scion of a baptized Jewish family, was demoted from his position as a 'non-Aryan' and became a teacher at another school; he eventually immigrated to England to teach at a Public School there. His successor was Max Roethig, a former teacher at the school who had fought in the First World War. As a

Government employee he was forced to join some Nazi association and chose the NSKK, *the National Sozialistische Kraftfahrer Korps*, which had the appearance of a motorbike sport's club, but was eventual *gleichgeschaltet* (forced to merge) into the NSDAP; some people might have joined both. The *Nationalsozialistische Arbeiter Partei* was the only party anybody could, and most often had to join. Roethig became controversial, particularly during the war, when he seemed to have definitely turned militaristic if not excessively nationalistic (91). My own memories of Roethig are far more positive. He took a great interest in me and entrusted me with our class when he was detained by administrative business. The school had a considerable proportion of Jewish students and those of partly Jewish descent, they all, including the Aryan students accepted my delegated authority without any problems. I never had any trouble with my school mates. When I had not done my homework, which was not a rare occurrence, the highly intelligent students, mainly from a professional- and business-class back ground conscientiously had done so and I could rely on this, so I carried on with the syllabus without getting me into difficulties. The standard of the school was high because of the quality of both teachers and students. From Monday to Saturday school-hours ran from 8am to 1 or 2pm except one afternoon when we went rowing. There was homework, but the free afternoon and evening gave us ample time for activities of our choice. Often we students visited to each other in our homes.

The teachers allowed us plenty of scope to develop our talents. Thus some of us were asked to give lecturettes, in my case the subject was Alsace-Lorraine, the long and bitterly disputed provinces between Germany and France. I proved to my own satisfaction that these border territories had always been German; and thus satisfied I reached this conclusion without difficulties, because I simply equated the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation with the modern German Empire. I have learned better since, as some of my books show (92). Somehow the performance was remembered later. Lindenborn referred to it in a letter to me after the war and our family doctor, who had fled to the Netherlands and survived underground, recalled that my talk was greeted with applause (93). It is interesting that, when I gave this talk perhaps in 1934, or perhaps 1935, I still looked at German history from the German point of view, in spite of the policy of the new regime that a Jew or Jewish descendent could no longer be a German. I do not think that I had to come down so firmly on the German side; probably a mixed verdict would not have gotten me into trouble. I believe that I said what I thought at the time, not what I was expected to say.

Two of my schoolmates left Germany already in 1934 for racial reasons. Charles Cahn (94) and his parents went to Oxford where his continued schooling. During the British

indiscriminate internment period he was transported to Canada, in spite of this hardship a country he learned to love. After the war he studied medicine in Oxford and eventually became, as Psychiatrist, director of the Douglas Hospital part of McGill University, Montreal. To honour his many achievements the library carries his name. Klaus Adam and his family also left early; through the boycott they had lost their very elegant sports and fashion house in the Centre of Berlin and settled in London, where their mother ran a guesthouse in Greencroft Gardens Hampstead, London. Klaus (95) became a Production Designer whose films *Dr. Strangelove*, *The Madness of King George*, *Around the World in Eighty Days* and *Barry Lyndon*, among many others brought him two Oscars and as Sir Ken Adam a knighthood.

By 1935/36 there were 17 boys and one girl left in my class. A girl could be admitted to the school if she was a foreign national or could prove Huguenot descent but very few could and did do so. To follow the official racial division, our class had nine Aryan boys, one Aryan girl, one of the boys was a Dutch citizen and seven were Jews or of Jewish descent. That is nearly half the class was Jewish. By the time of the final examination in the spring of 1938 the class had fourteen students and all passed the final examination, the *Abitur* (96). Four were Jewish, Gerd Freuthal, Hans Hollander, Alexander Ringer and Rolf Sabersky (97).

1938 was generally the last year Jewish students and those of Jewish descent were admitted to the final examination, after that year even attending a high school was prohibited to them. Those, who had already progressed to the higher forms, were expelled. There were, however, a few schools in Berlin who did not follow this rule, and even newly admitted half-Jewish students. Not long after the *Abitur* at the French High school the four Jewish students left the country. Following the November pogroms in 1938, the Night of Broken Glass, (*the Kristallnacht*) Alexander Ringer (98) and his family escaped to the Netherlands. When war broke out they went into hiding, until they were found out and deported to Bergen Belsen concentration camp where he taught music to his fellow prisoners. Miraculously, the whole family survived, and Alexander was able to start his musical career that eventually brought him to USA and international renown in musicology and musical education. He taught at many USA and German Universities as well as at the University of Jerusalem. As a devout Jew he served as a Cantor. He is buried in Jerusalem. Gerd Freuthal (99) and his mother managed to leave Germany in 1939, he changed his name to Gerry Field and settled in Birmingham where he became a professor in Physics, in 1969 he went further to take a chair in McMaster University, Canada. Rolf Sabersky (100) built a successful career in the USA. He studied at the California Institute of Technology where he acquired a Bachelor of Science and Master's degree; he worked for Aero Jet, was awarded a Ph.D. at Caltech and joined their

faculty as Professor of Mechanical Engineering. He did important research in heat-transfer, while remaining a consultant at Aerojet. Hans Hollander went to Israel and was killed as a colonel in the war of 1967.

The remaining eight 'Aryan' young men served half a year in the *Reichsarbeitsdienst*, the compulsory labour-service, to be followed by a two-year service in the various branches of the German Military of their choice. This was an inescapable prerequisite in order to get permission for entry into university studies. They had already served one year, when World War II broke out. Udo Derbolowsky, Günther Kahlmann, Heinz Schiel, and Wolfgang Schmidt survived the war; Frank Otto Alexander Budy, Hans Werner Canon (who was always called by his last name) and Ernst Günther Brosius did not. Willi Bekker, a Dutch citizen, returned to his country and died early, but not before he witnessed the overrunning of Holland by German troops and their ensuing cruelty (101). Of the schoolmates who remained in Germany, Udo Derbolowsky (102)¹ became a Neurologist and Psychiatrist combining western and eastern medicine. He got involved in the resistance and helped Jewish fellow citizens to hide. For his far-reaching scientific, humanitarian work and the help he gave to his fellow Jewish citizens as well as the educational work for underprivileged and disabled youths, the German President honoured him in 1984 with the first class Order of Merit of the Federal Republic (*das Große Bundesverdienstkreuz*). As Doctor of Engineering Günther Kahlmann held a leading and decisive position in the *Heidelberger Printing Machines* and stayed in close contact with the firm after retirement. Günther and Udo both died in 2005. Anne-Het Bouché married Hans Jürgen Deckart, who had a controlling position in the *Reichsbahn*, the German railway. (103) She was as a loving and wise woman the center of a large family, and died in 2004. Among my schoolmates, close friendships endured outside Germany with Charles Cahn, Gerry Field (formerly Gerhard Freuthal. Rolf Sabersky, and in Germany with my later brother-in-law Wolfgang Schmidt, a Chartered Accountant in Cologne.

In 1933 Wolfgang had gone to Berlin a term ahead of his family and stayed with the Schlochows, who were old friends of the Schmidts. The Schlochows lived in the same apartment house on the Luther Straße as our friends the Calés, and we met there even before the beginning of the school year after Easter. When in the autumn of the year Dr. Erhard Schmidt was transferred to the head-office of the Deutsche Bank, he and the rest of the family, moved to Berlin, and we frequently visited each other's apartments. Wolfgang introduced me to his family, as his new friend with three mothers, obviously impressed by a

demonstration of the maternal instinct of my two sisters. Our parents (104) soon shared in this friendship. This happened in spite of the political situation and division of the German People into Aryan and Non-Aryan. A new friendship under these conditions was quite rare if not to say singular. Wolfgang was confirmed by Pastor Martin Niemöller(105) in the spring of 1935 in the Jesus Christus Kirche in Berlin-Dahlem. Niemöller had been a U-boat officer and after World War I became a Protestant pastor. I attended the ceremony and took part in the festivities at their home in Berlin-Grunewald, Hubertusbader Straße 16 where I also got to know the wider family including both grandfathers. On Wolfgang's table of gifts I remember seeing Niemöller's book "From U-boat to pulpit." The family Schmidt belonged to the Dahlemer Congregation of the Confessing Church and enjoyed friendly relations with Martin Niemöller, who is often quoted, having stated:

First they came for the Communists, and I did not speak up because I was not a Communist. Then they came for the Socialists and the Trade Unions, and I did not speak up because I was not a Trade Unionist. Then they came for the Jews, and I did not speak up because I wasn't a Jew. They came for the Catholics, and I didn't speak up because I was a Protestant. And when they came for me, there was no one left to speak up for me (106).

Niemöller soon came in conflict with the Nazis and in 1937 was taken prisoner. 1938 in legal proceedings he was declared innocent by the court, and set free, but straight away detained by the Gestapo and taken to the concentration camp Sachsenhausen near Berlin. From 1941 on he became the personal prisoner of Hitler and was transferred to the Dachau Concentration camp near Munich (107).

To prepare for confirmation, a course of weekly lessons over two years, Wolfgang's sister Rosemarie was first instructed by the erudite assistant to Niemöller, Pastor Franz Hildebrandt, (108) a close friend of Dietrich Bonhöffer. She remembers that Hildebrandt had previously given interpretations of Biblical texts to a group of 12-year old girls. Sitting on the sunny lawn outside the Dahlem parish hall, and on their request to study a particularly difficult text Hildebrandt had chosen the prologue of the gospel of St. John, chapter 1, verses 1-5. "In the Beginning was the Word..." Even as the human word is difficult to handle and can have far-reaching consequences, God's Word, the Logos, the mystical creative Word of the Eternal God, the source of all things, is all powerful, manifesting himself in his own time. Starting the *Konfirmation* lessons Hildebrandt gave an introduction to the books of the Old and New Testament, and told them to read one chapter of the Bible a day. But he was taken prisoner in the summer of 1937, and after release, being racially Jewish he fled to England with the help of the Bonhöffer family and received much help from Bishop Bell of Chichester.

Among Rosemarie's other teachers was Otto Dibelius (109) timely move to England where again in St. Paul's I was privileged to attend a first class school." Roethig was not only helpful to me. Through my advisory work for the school's history I learned that Roethig had obtained a scholarship for Hans Schwab-Felisch who had been *Superintendent* of the German Protestant Church, the highest administrative position before Ludwig Müller was appointed *Reichsbischof*. At that time Dibelius had been banned from public speaking, i.e. *Redeverbot*, which meant he could not conduct any church service or lead a congregation. He started classes with a joyful hymn playing the piano with great élan. Among the students he was referred to as Otto the Great (110). His instruction of how to handle pride still comes to mind. After the Second World War he became Bishop of Berlin-Brandenburg and president of the World Council of Churches. Rosemarie was confirmed in 1939 by Pastor Helmut Gollwitzer,(111) a gifted theological teacher, later Professor for Theology in the department of Philosophy of the Free University in West- Berlin. But at that time he deputized for Martin Niemöller.

At my school, the French Gymnasium, there reigned a degree of academic freedom rare in Nazi Germany. But there was also definitely a limit to what the school could do to curb the Nazi influence. Teachers were, after all, civil servants. Sometimes, the school simply had to fall in with directives; such as when it was decreed that Jewish boys were no longer allowed to take part in rowing exercises, or to participate in the several day long excursions on the scenic Havel River flowing through the many vast lakes West of Berlin. All that Headmaster Roethig could achieve here was to gain exemption from this prohibition to those whose fathers had been in active service during the First World War, for which I did not qualify. This was a hard blow to me. I had always particularly enjoyed the rowing tours and the contact it gave me with fellow students and teachers. The tours had their moments, because the waters around Berlin could be quite turbulent. Thanks to good direction and teamwork we managed to keep afloat. The physical exercise and the outdoor activity, which I now had to miss, had previously provided a fine balance to the academic pursuits.

The anti-Jewish measures affecting my life at school strengthened my willingness to emigrate. With great kindness and insight Headmaster Roethig counseled my parents about my future. At first he advocated keeping me at the school, but at some stage during 1935, probably when the Nuremberg laws were proclaimed, (112) he advised my parents to send me to a school abroad as soon as possible. These 'Laws' deprived Jewish people of their citizenship which meant that Jews had no longer the right to vote or hold a public office. They were not allowed to employ German nationals. Intermarriage was prohibited, in order to

“preserve the purity of the German blood.” Many years later when I worked with Headmaster Christian Velder (1975-1979) for his book *300 Years Französisches Gymnasium Berlin* as a historical adviser, I wrote: “I owe among others to Roethig’s care my timely move to England where again in St. Paul’s I was privileged to attend a first class school” (113). Roethig was not only helpful to me. Through my advisory work for the school’s history I learned that Roethig had obtained a scholarship for Hans Schwab-Felisch, (114) a student two classes higher than I, to enable him to finish the High-school with the *Abitur* while his father Alexander Schwab, a Jewish medical doctor, had been arrested. Dr. Schwab died 1943 in prison (*Zuchthaus*). After the war in which Hans had served, he became a leading figure in the German publishing world.

I stayed in contact with happenings at the school through the *Collegianer Verein* (Alumni Association). When I found out that Mr. and Mrs. Roethig had planned a visit to England, my wife and I invited Dr. and Mrs. Roethig to stay with us in Exeter, where we had moved to in 1959. Unfortunately Max Roethig died before a visit was possible. I called on Mrs. Roethig in the 1970s in Kiel, when I was on business in Hamburg, and befriended her. To close this controversy about Roethig I would like to say that although he belonged through the NSKK to the NSDAP, the school was a far reaching isle of asylum in those terrible times. To achieve some limited liberty his membership of the Party did help perhaps for a while. Harmut von Hentig (115) speaks of the large number of Jewish schoolfellows who up to 1938 “through the Director’s internationalism and morality found protection under the cover of his party-badge.” Our physical education teacher Rudolf Hartmann was not a great light, and stood well below the educational level of most of the other teachers. He was an ardent Nationalsozialist, and anti-Christian. Remarks he made during class invited two parental complaints. Headmaster Roethig succeeded in settling the matter internally among the teachers with Hartmann consenting that he would desist from remarks of that kind in future.(116).

I left the school at 15 years of age after passing the middle school examination, the *Einjährige*. For general interest and my previous class mates here are though the *Abitur* essay themes for the German language class given to think and write about during a three hour class:

A human fate that particularly affected me.

Thoughts about travelling---- travelling thoughts.

For a tree to grow strong, it must develop strong roots around hard rocks. (Nietzsche).

My attitude to nature, a contribution to the development of my mind.

While misfortune follows crime, yet more frequently crime follows misfortune; (Grillparzer).

He who plays with life will not succeed; who does not harness himself will stay downtrodden. (Fontane)(117).

During part of the summer of 1935 I attended a term at the English preparatory school, in Beaumont House at Heronsgate, Rickmansworth Herfordshire, near London, making use of the German school holidays. There I began to learn to speak English, which had not been taught at the French High School. I still remember not knowing how to spell 'yes' (which I rendered with a "j") when filling in the immigration form on my first journey to England. But during a very happy time at Beaumont House, which in J.H.Keating (118) had an excellent headmaster who took a great interest in me, my English improved and I took an examination at the end of the term. If my memory is correct I passed the examination, which was a prerequisite to entering into an English public school. On coming home for the rest of the summer people remarked that I spoke French with an English accent.

It was fortunate that my sisters were still in London during 1935. I frequently travelled to London to see them and sometimes I stayed with one of them at the home of their friends. They introduced me to their circle, which gave me a network of support when I started regular schooling in London just after Easter 1936. My elder sister, Irene, had a friend, a young biochemist, Fritz Reuter (Reu), also a refugee. When I returned home, my mother asked me whether there was anything 'serious' between the two of them. At age 14, I did not spot anything. In fact some months later, Irene and Fritz got engaged. I made up my mind I was not going to get caught out again.

When Reu was awarded a Carnegie scholarship at Sydney, Australia, they got married in February 1936 at the Barnet Registry in London with Erich Eyck and Henry an uncle of Reu's, as witnesses. After a drawn out farewell in London and Paris and Berlin where they met family and friends, they sailed and arrived on a fine May morning in Sydney. Reu worked at the University there and during the war started to build a successful food technology department. He and Irene had two children Dorothy and Peter. Irene gave much support to the University socially and financially through organizing an annual book sale. Reu died in 2001 and Irene in 2004, both well over 90 years old.

When my younger sister, Lore, received a letter from a friend, the Byzantinist, Paul Alexander, in the United States, I at once asked her whether she was going to marry him. She did so in due course, but via a good year in Brazil, when she helped the Kaphans to establish their new plantation. Paul and Lore lived in Ann Arbor, where he became Professor of History

at the University of Michigan. Before that he taught at Hobart College, NY, and Brandeis University in Waltham, Massachusetts. His final call was for a Professorship for Byzantine history at Berkeley California, until he died rather early in 1977. They had three children Ann, a musical festival organizer, Larry, a lawyer married to Kay, a photographer, and Michael, a Professor in Classics in Chicago, married to Jean, a librarian. Our family was dispersed over vast distances, but we stayed in contact through letters and in person on sabbaticals and professional travels whenever possible.

The rest of the summer 1935 and the summer of 1936 I was still able to spend at home in Berlin, often visiting the Schmidts. Rosemarie told me that I looked smart in my long black trousers and a white shirt that was part of my school uniform. To wear uniforms was not a custom in Berlin schools, where the boys wore knickerbockers, suits or usefully patterned shirts with pullovers or jackets of their mothers' choice. She was surprised, but did not say so at the time, that I wore my pocket watch on a First World War iron chain. It had war-dated links 1914, 1915, 1916, 1917, and was a substitute for a gold chain which had been officially collected from the German citizens, in an effort to support the war, that was called "*Gold gab ich für Eisen*" that translates into: "I gave gold for iron." - Looking back I have to wonder: what was I thinking? - Had not my German citizenship been taken away from me? - Or was I honouring my uncles who had taken part in that war? - Anyhow with Wolfgang and Rosemarie, the three of us often bicycled through the Grunewald, a forest not far from the Schmidts home, around Lake Grunewald or going further under the Avus, the famous car-race track, up and down steep little 'hills' to the Havel River. On one occasion when Rosemarie was out of breath, she remembers with fondness that on her pleading I pushed her bike up the little hill, while her brother voiced she was just showing off.

The autumn of 1936 brought me back to England. With the help and advice of G.P. Gooch, my father's friend whom Fritz and Irene had consulted, they recommended to my parents, that I should attend St. Paul's School in London, Hammersmith. I also received an invitation to tea from Gooch (119) that year and I remember I was ushered in to be with Gooch in his large library in his Kensington House. He wept in response to his questions when I told him about things in Nazi Germany. Later on I would meet him regularly either in London or at Upway Corner in the country where he was more relaxed. During the early years he always paid my fare when I came out to Chalfont St. Peter. He was deeply interested in everything I did and helped me with testimonials and references at various stages of my career.

Chapter Two

Endnotes

- 1) Erich Eyck, *History of the Weimar Republic*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press Vol. I, 1962 and Vol. II, 1963), pp, 962.
- 2) Faulhaber, Kardinal Michael von, *Judentum, Christentum, Germanentum, Adventspredigten*, (München: A.Huber, 1933), pp 1-76.
- 3) This party was quite distinct from that founded by Stresemann at the end of 1918.
- 4) Klaus Gerteis, *Sonnemann, Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des demokratischen Nationalstaatsgedanken in Deutschland*, Vol. I (Frankfurt/Main: Waldemar Krämer, 1969). *Handbuch der Deutschen Geschichte*, 1960, Vol. III. p. 177.
- 5) Erich Eyck, *Die Arbeitslosigkeit und die Grundfragen der Arbeitslosen-Versicherung*, (Frankfurt/Main: Sauerländer, 1899).
- 6) Erich Eyck, Inaugural Dissertation, *Der Vereinstag Deutscher Arbeitervereine 1863-1868*, Georg Reimer, Berlin 1904.
- 7) August Bebel (1840-1913), Leading Socialdemocrat in the 1870's his party gained 12 seats in the Reichstag, *Handbuch der Deutschen Geschichte*, 1960, Vol. III. p. 219f.
- 8) *Handbuch der Deutschen Geschichte*, Vol. II. pp. 347ff. Kleine Brockhaus Vol. II. p. 11.
- 9) While recognizing many of the merits of the Social Democrats during the Empire, Erich Eyck criticized their dogmatic bias and class isolation. See E. Eyck, *Die Sozialdemokratie*, Berlin, 1912, which came out under the imprint of the book-publishing firm of the journal *Die Hilfe*.
- 10) See Erich Eyck's letter to Carlheinz Gräter of 6th January 1962 (Erich Eyck papers). Eyck received a personal copy of Heinrich Simon, *Leopold Sonnemann, Seine Jugendgeschichte bis zur Entstehung der Frankfurter Zeitung,, zum 29th October 1931*, privately printed at the Frankfurter Societät-Druckerei.
- 11) Letter from the Frankfurter Societäts-Druckerei to Erich Eyck of 7th October 1898.
- 12) Erich Eyck to the Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy, Freie Unversität of Berlin, 3rd April 1964.
- 13) Erich Eyck had the honour of an invitation to the National Liberal Club in February 1906 where he met the new Prime Minister, Sir Henry Campell-Bannerman, delivering the address, Erich Eyck papers.
- 14) Frank Eyck, *G.P. Gooch, A Study in History and Politics*, (London: Macmillan, 1982), pp. 261-262, 295-296.
- 15) Frank Eyck, *G.P.Gooch*. chap. 7 and passim.
- 16) Erich Eyck, *Auf Deutschlands Politischem Forum, Meine politischen Lehrmeister*, p.47, *Deutsche Parlamentarier und Studien zur neuesten Deutschen Geschichte*, (Erlenbach-Zürich: Eugen Rentsch, 1963), which came out thanks to the initiative of his publisher Dr. Eugen Rentsch and appeared the year before Erich Eyck's death in 1964.
- 17) *Ibid*, p. 65ff.
- 18) I am greatly indebted to Dr. Helmut Goetz for the bibliography of Erich Eyck's works compiled by him; the list totals 280 items.
- 19) Erich Eyck, *Auf Deutschlands Politischem Forum*, pp. 69-72.
- 20) *Ibid*, p. 47ff.
- 21) *Freisinnige* literally translated, it means free-thinkers.
- 22) Erich Eyck, *Das Persönliche Regiment Wihelm II. Politische Geschichte des deutschen Kaiserreiches von 1880 bis 1914*, (Erlenbach-Zürich: Eugen Rentsch, 1948), p. 71, Erich Eyck called the Left-Liberals' division of 1893 a suicide.

- 23) Erich Eyck .6th January 1962 to Karlheniz Gräter, who was then working on a dissertation about Theodor Barth, Erich Eyck papers. Carlheniz Gräter, *Theodor Barth's politische Gedankenwelt: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des entschiedenen Liberalismus*, PhD.diss. Würzburg 1963.
- 24) Erich Eyck, *Bismarck*, Vol. III. p, 550, and *Wilhem II*, p. 156.
- 25) Erich Eyck, *Auf Deutschlands politischem Forum*, op. cit, pp.69-72.
- 26) Irene Reuter née Eyck, *Memories of a Childhood and Youth 1911-1933*, Frank Eyck papers.
- 27) Bruno Gebhart. *Handbuch der Deutschen Geschichte*, (Stuttgart: Kletter & Cotta, XXIV Vols. ongoing to 2007), Bd. IV, pp. 121.
- 28) I owe this information to the late Erika Suchan, a close friend of the family, who was told by Hedwig that at the bridegroom's wish, there was only a ceremony at the registry office.
- 29) Erich Eyck, *Die Krise der Deutschen Rechtspflege*, (Berlin: Verlag für Kulturpolitik, 1926).
- 30) Arnold Paucker, *Der Jüdische Abwehrkampf gegen Antisemitismus und Nationalsozialismus in den letzten Jahren der Weimarer Republik*, (Hamburg: Leibnitz Verlag, 1969). Arnold Pauker, Barbara Suchy, ed., *Deutsche Juden im Kampf um Recht und Freiheit: Studien zu Abwehr, Selbstbehauptung und Widerstand der deutschen Juden seit Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts*, introduction by Reinhard Rürup, (Berlin: Heinrich & Heinrich, Publication of the Leo Baeck Institut, 2001).
- 31) Many titles of honour were conferred to people during the German Empire 1871-1918. Medical practitioners and members of the board of health were called Sanitätsrat and Geheimer Sanitätsrat; outstanding teachers were Professors, like Prof. Levinstein etc.
- 32) Erich Eyck, *Geschichte der Weimar Republik*, (Eugen Retsch Verlag, Erlenbach-Zürich und Stuttgart, 1956), Vol. II. p. 358-359, 414. Translated by Harlan P. Hanson and Robert G. L. W t, *History of the Weimar Republic*, Harvard University Press Cambridge Massachusetts, 1963.
- 33) Erich Eyck, *Die Krisis der deutschen Rechtspflege*.
- 34) Frank II (family name) was Governor-General of Poland during the war and was executed as a war criminal in 1946.
- 35) Arnold Paucker, *Searchlight on the Decline of the Weimar Republic. The Diaries of Ernst Feder*, (Leo Baeck Institute, Leo Baeck Year Book XIII 1968), p. 233.
- 36) Oskar Meyer was advisor to the Berlin Chamber of Commerce, Prussian state secretary and Reichstag representative. *Biographisches Handbuch der deutschen Emigranten nach 1933, International Biographical Dictionary of Central European Emigrés 1933-1945*. (Röder and Strauss eds.) 3 Vols. München: Saur, Vol. I. op. cit. Vol. I. p. 498; Schwarz op. cit. p, 714.
- 37) When Ernst Reuter, by then Mayor of West Berlin, came to London not long before his death in 1953, he invited Erich Eyck to dinner, to which the present author accompanied his father as the only other guest.
- 38) This story was often told in the family circle, that his friends were gently teasing him on their way home when passing the dark houses of the neighbourhood the well-lit windows of the Eyck residence stood out ominously, Frank Eyck 23rd August 2000 to Johannes Mikuteit.
- 39) Erich Koch-Weser served as a Reichsminister in the Weimar Republik. Himself a Protestant, he came under the Nazi's racial laws because of Jewish descent on his mother's side. He immigrated to Brazil and helped to develop the plantation settlements near Rolândia, where he was joined by Rudolf Isay, Max Maier and

- Heinrich Kaphan among many others. For Koch-Weser see Röder and Strauss (eds.), op. cit. Vol. I. p. 378.
- 40) Erich Eyck, *Weimar Republic*, Vol. II. p. 212.
 - 41) August Weber, a brave opponent of the Nazis, after several Gestapo interrogations he immigrated to Britain in 1939 and settled in London. Earlier on he had incidentally been on the board of the Hansabund, Roeder and Strauss (eds.) op .cit. Vol. I. p. 798.
 - 42) Erich Eyck, *Weimar Republic*, Vol. II. p. 358-359.
 - 43) *Juden in Berlin 1671-1945 Ein Lesebuch* mit Beiträgen von Annegret Ehrmann, Rachel Livné-Freudenthal, Monika Richartz, Julius H. Schoeps, Raymand Wolff, pp. 144-146.
 - 44) Manfred Durzak, *Die Deutsche Exilliteratu 1933-1945*, (Stuttgart: Philip Reclam jun. 1973), p. 138.
 - 45) Ben Barkow, *Alfred Wiener and the Making of the Holocaust Library*, (London: Portland Oregon: Vallentine Mitchell, 1997).
 - 46) Anthony David, *The Patron, a life of Salmon Schocken, a complex institution builder, 1877-1959*, (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2003). Obituary, TLS, 27th February 2004.
 - 47) Werner Rosenstock secretary der Jüdischen Jugendorganisation, (Jewish youth organisation) a branch of the CV, immigrated to Britain: *The Refugees, some Facts and Britain's New Citizens*, in Durzak, *Die Deutsche Exilliteratur* 1973, pp. 135 and 143. In 1941 as secretary he published the small AJR letter, Association of Jewish Refugees circular to keep the immigrants in England informed generally and also about each other, after 1946 it became the AJR Journal.
 - 48) Gerhart Riegner, *Ne jamais désespérer, soixante années au service du peuple juif et des droits de l'homme*, (Paris: Cerf, l'histoire à juif, 1998). The World Jewish Congress (WJC), is a voluntary organization that was established 1930, it alerted the world to the dangers of Nazi Anti-Semitism. Its first president was Edgar Bronfman and Gerhart Riegner became Secrétaire Général in Geneva until his death in 2001, see Geneva Briefing Book on WJC. When working in Geneva for my Gooch research in 1979 I visited with Gerhart. He told me that in 1942 when he first received the news about 'the final solution' for the Jews how difficult it was for him to believe it. On informing the Vatican, the British Foreign office and other Jewish and Christian organisations, he encountered the same reaction. Because of its enormity it took time for this information to be verified and accepted. Frank Eyck to Gerhart Riegner 31st July 1979, 5th April, 31st May 2000. Gerhart Riegner to Frank (Ullo) Eyck, 14th April 2000.
 - 49) Ernst G. Löwenthal, for H.Veit-Simon, *Juden in Preussen*, Biographisches Verzeichnis., ein repräsentanter Querschnitt, (Berlin: D. Reimer, herausgegeben vom Bildarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, 1981), p. 232. See also *Herrmann Veit-Simon. Zum Gedächtnis, 8th May 1856 to 16th July 1941*, privately printed, Berlin, 1945.
 - 50) Rusolf Isay, *Aus meinem Leben*, (Weinheim/Bergstr.: Verlag Chemie, 1960).
 - 51) As a boy I was familiar with what I describe in this paragraph with the possible exception of Rudolf Isay's conversion to Protestantism.
 - 52) Arthur Koestler, *The 13th Tribe, Race and Myth*, Random House, 1976, chap. VIII, p 181,
- Brian Mark Rigg, *Hitler's Jewish Soldiers*, (Kansas City: University Press of Kansas, 2002), pp. 107-108, 156, 299-301.
- 53) Donald L. Niewyk, *Solving the "Jewish Problem" - Continuity and Change in German Antisemitism 1871-1945*, (London: Secker & Warburg, 1990), in the Leo Baeck Institut, Year book XXXV 1990 p. 335 ff.

- 54) I want to thank here especially my wife Rosemarie, who - coming from a different background - has, through her sympathy and understanding, been able to enter into my family's German-Jewish heritage. - Much of the preservation of my father's books and papers, as well as making archival material available to others, has been due to her unstinting efforts.
- 55) Theodor Heuss correspondence with Erich Eyck papers.
- 56) Elly Heuss, *Ausblick vom Münsterturm*, (Stuttgart/Tübingen: Rainer Wunderlich Verlag, 1934). *Bürger zweier Welten* (Stuttgart: Rainer Wunderlich, 1961).
- 57) Theodor Heuss, *Der Man, das Werk, die Zeit*, (Stuttgart & Tübingen: Rainer Wunderlich Verlag, 1934 and 1947).
- 58) Theodor Heuss, *Vorspiele des Lebens, Jugenderinnerungen*, (Tübingen: Rainer Wunderlich Verlag, 1955), pp. 281-282.
- 59) Freiherr Fabian von Schlabrendorff, *Offiziere gegen Hitler*, (Zürich: Europa Verlag, 1946).
- 60) Editha Vossberg-Rau, *Namenlose* (Nameless) Roman, (Stuttgart Engelhorn 1926; Engelhorn Romanbibliothek 997/998). See also pp. 244-45.
- 61) Max Hermann Maier, *Ein Frankfurter Rechtsanwalt wird Kaffeepflanzer im Urwald Brasiliens, 1938-1975*, (Frankfurt/Main: Josef Knecht Verlag, 1975).
- 62) Mathilde Maier, *All the Gardens of my Life*, (New York: Vantage Press, Washington, Atlanta, Chicago.1983). It has also a German (Frankfurt/Main: Verlag Joseph Knecht, 1978) and a Portuguese edition.
- 63) Max Hermann Maier, *In uns verwoben tief und wunderbar, Erinnerungen an Deutschland*, (Frankfurt/Main: Joseph Knecht, Carlus Druckerei, 1972), p. 171.
- 64) Ernst Moritz Manasse emigrated and became professor of philosophy in USA, *Historical Miniatures*. Viking Press 1940, Vol. VIII p. 245.
- 65) The title translates literally: 'Zenith of Mankind', meaning turning points in history. In the English translation the title is given as: *The Tide of Fortune, twelve historical miniatures*, (New York: Viking Press 1940), Vol. VIII. p. 245.
- 66) Erich Eyck, *Weimar Republik*, Vol. II. p. 342. Also on Hans Schlange-Schöningen, Max Schwarz, Verlag für Literatur und Zeitgeschichte GmbH, 1965, *Biographisches Staatshandbuch* Vol. II. p.1975. Er war ein entschiedener Gegner des Nationalsozialismus (a resolute opponent to nationalsocialism) 1945 in leitender Stellung in Agrarwirtschaft, 1951 Deutscher Botschafter in London, England.
- 67) Erich Koch-Weser, explains the name Rolândia: 'Roland der Riese am Rathaus zu Bremen', in memory Roland the Giant from the epic circle of Charlemagne his statue stands in effigy in front of the city hall of Bremen. Also see *Biographisches Staatshandbuch* Vol. II. p. 697.
- 68) Eleanor (Lore) Alexander neé Eyck, *Stories of my life*, private publication 1989, p. 46, Frank Eyck papers.
- 69) Inge Rosenberg and her husband Hans were among those who emigrated to Parâna, and developed a successful fazenda. - With the Kaphans' they tried to build a small agricultural school for Jewish refugees similar to the Lehrgut Groß Breesen in Silesia, due to the outbreak of war it never materialized. - We stayed in the student residence during our visit.
- 70) Ingeborg Hecht, *Als unsichtbare Mauern wuchsen. Eine deutsche Familie unter den Nürnberger Rassegesetzen*, (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1984). Gerhard Schönberner, *Der Gelbe Stern, Die Judenverfolgung in Europa 1933bis 1945*, mit 202 Bilddokumenten, (Hamburg: Rütten & Leaning Verlag, 1960).
- 71) Käte Kaphan to Frank (Ullo) Eyck, 10th January 1993.

- 72) Christian Velder, *300 Jahre Französisches Gymnasium Berlin*, (Berlin: Nikolaische Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1989).
- 73) Erich Eyck papers on 50th birthday celebration; see also The History Place, Holocaust Timetable 1933, 1938-1945. In October 1933 Jews were prohibited from being newspaper editors.
- 74) From October 1933 onwards Jewish and ‘undesirable’ German writers - from the Nazi point of view - , were prohibited from being newspaper editors or contributors
- 75) Irene Reuter née Eyck, *Memoirs of a Childhood and Youth 1911-1933*, privately written 1996, Frank Eyck papers. Monika Richarz, *Jüdisches Leben in Deutschland 1918-1945*, (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, Veröffentlichung des Leo Baeck Instituts, 1982), p. 112, 119, on Boykott Tag 1st April 1933, Kurt Sabatzky, p. 293-298.
- 76) Joachim C. Fest, *Hitler*, (New York: Vintage Book, Random House, 1975), pp. 395.
- 77) Ibid, pp. 396-401.
- 78) I owe this information kindly granted to me by his daughter Yvonne Wells neé Russbüldt. N.A. Furness, Otto Lehmann-Russbüldt (1873-1964), Forgotten Prophet of a Federal Europe, in: *England? Aber wo liegt es? Deutsche und Oesterreichische Emigranten in Grossbritannien 1933-1945*, by Charmian Brinson, Richard Dove, Marian Malet and Jenifer Taylor, (München: Iudicium Verlag, 1995), pp. 59-75; also articles, *The House at 3 Regent Square*; by N. A. Furness, *Otto Lehman Russbüldt: Forgotten Prophet of a Federal Europe*, Frank Eyck papers. Manfred Durzak, *Die Deutsche Exilliteratur*, p. 555. Charmian Brinson, *Im politischen Niemansland der Heimatlosen, Staatenlosen, Konfessionslosen, Portemonnaieelosen, Otto Lehmann Russbüldt, In British Exile, German-speaking Exiles in Great Britain*, (München: The Yearbook of the Research Centre for German and Austrian Exile Studies), Vol.1, 1999, pp. 117-144.
- 79) Toni Stolper, *Ein Leben im Brennpunkt unserer Zeit*, (Stuttgart: Rainer Wunderlich, 1970).
- 80) Exil-Literatur 1933-1945, Ausstellung der Deutschen Bibliotheken, Frankfurt/Main 1965 Monika Richarz, on Georg Bernhard, pp. 112-118, note 6. Modris Ekstein, *The Limits of Reason, the German Democracy and the Collapse of the Weimar Democracy*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1975), pp. 117-122, 290.
- 81) Monika Richarz, *ibid.* on Julius Elbau, p. 116-119, and Modris Ekstein, note 70.
- 82) Werner Röder and Herbert Strauss eds., *Biographisches Handbuch der Deutschen Emigration nach 1933 Internationale Dictionary of Central European Emigrés 1933-1945*, Institut für Zeitgeschichte, III Vols. (München, Saur, 1980-1983), Vol. I. p. 809; *Bernhard Weiß remembered. A Courageous Prussian Jew*, in AJR Information, November 1981. Dietz Bering, *Isidor - Geschichte einer Heztjagd. Bernhard Weiß, einem deutschen Juden zum Gedächtnis*, (in Die Zeit 14th August 1991). Dietz Bering, *Der Name als Stigma. Antisemitismus im deutschen Alltag 1812-1933*, (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta 1988) passim.
- 83) Handbuch: *Deutsche Presse*, (Bielefeld: Deutscher Zeitungsverlag GMBH, 1951), p. 134. Johannes Mikuteit, *Der steile Aufstieg führte in die Villen im Westen*, zur Gedenktafel für Georg Bernhard am DGB-Hochhaus (Deutscher Gewerkschafts Bund), 24th October FAZ (Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung) 2000, Berliner Seiten. Also Adriano Cocozza, *Georg Bernhard “volkstümlicher” Handelsteil prägt die Morgenpost*, 20th Oktober 2000, Berliner Morgenpost.
- 84) Biographisches Staatshandbuch: on Ernst Reuter, p. 1928.
- 85) Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, US edition 1976, p. 32.
- 86) Joseph Müller and Ulrich Chaussy, *The White Rose: the resistance by students against Hitler, München 1842/43*, (München: White Rose Foundation, 1991). Helgo

- Ollmann, *Die Rundfunk Situation in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland Vergangenheit, Gegenwart und Zukunft*, Kap.1+3 *Rundfunk im 3. Reich*. (online publication: Zu Helgo Ollmann, Listening to the BBC under Nazi dictatorship, <http://helgo-ollmann.de/> (1997). In 1942 alone 985 people were condemned to death under this 'Law.'
- 87) Kurt Levinstein, Festschrift, *Zur Feier des 260th Jährigen Bestehens des Französischen Gymnasiums. Fondé 1689*, Berlin: herausgegeben vom Leiter und Kollegium der Schule, Graphischer Betrieb W. Büxenstein GmbH, 1949).
 - 88) Gerry Field to Rosemarie, 10th Aug. 2005 about Dr. Ansorge, Frank Eyck papers.
 - 89) See Christian Velder, on Ernst Lindenborn, pp.448-456 and 530. *Coligny*, written between 1938 and 1945 was at first as private publication, in 1985 published by Quadriga Verlag J. Severin. It was a 'Schlüsselroman', i.e. a novel where people and a past situation stand for the present difficulties. This was quite a common literary device at the time for those who knew and wanted to know what was happening in Germany. See also his *Résisté*. Both novels deal with protest against excessive state power, about resistance to it, persecution of people of different faiths, and physical elimination; but also with the conquest of hate, survival, the victory of tolerance, and the triumph of love (agape). *Collection of Sermons*, among others for the 256th Anniversary of the Edict of Potsdam. See also Nachruf von Jürgen Reiss, Vorsitzender des Collegianervereins, Collegianerverein und FG-Nachrichten Berlin 1964.
 - 90) For Teachers and Student of the French Gymnasium see Christian Velder.
 - 91) Wolfgang Schmidt, my brother-in-law was very upset about the tendencies in the pamphlets Headmaster Roethig sent to his former students serving at the front.
 - 92) Frank Eyck, *Religion and Politics in German History*, (London/ New York: Macmillan and St. Martin's Press 1998).
 - 93) Lindenborn, 13th January 1964, and Dr. Gottschalk, 10th February 1969 to Frank Eyck.
 - 94) Charles Cahn in conversations with Rosemarie Eyck 2005/6.
 - 95) Klaus Adam, Sir Ken to Rosemarie, 17th January 2006. Christopher Frayling, *Ken Adam the Art and Production Designer*, Faber & Faber. Rolf Sabersky to Rosemarie, 10th September 2005.
 - 96) The Abitur lasted about 3 months: A homepaper in January, to be followed by 6 hourly papers in class, German, French, Latin, Greek, Mathematics and Biology, followed at the beginning of March by oral examination for each subject lasting half to 1 hour per student and subject. A detailed report was kept at the school. Wolfgang Schmidt, 8th August 2005 to Rosemarie Eyck, Frank Eyck papers.1
 - 97) Rolf Sabersky to Rosemarie Eyck 28th November 2007, Frank Eyck papers, "Yes, of course, I feel honoured to give permission to use the photograph of our class in 1935."
 - 98) Alexander Ringer musicologist 1921-2002.
 - 99) Gerry Field 1920-2012,. The editor owes him much thanks for his enduring friendship advice an help though various stages of 05/09/2013 her endeavour to finish her husband's, Frank Eyck's autobiography.
 - 100) Rolf Sabersky to Rosemarie, 10th September 2005.
 - 101) I owe this information about Willi Bekker to his mother, who on her visit to the Schmidt family in the winter of 1942 told Rosemarie about Willi's distress when civilians who had fled to the fields were shot by low flying German fighter planes. He seemed to have died suddenly of a brain aneurism.
 - 102) Udo Derbolowsky, see *300 Jahre Französisches Gymnasium*, p. 553-560. He served in the German Air Force, was ordered to study medicine, and as medical Doctor combined the disciplines of neurology and psychiatry adding chirotherapy,

psychoanalysis, therapy of breathing techniques and acupuncture. His well over 100 medical documents and books are to be found in the Lindenborn-Memorial Library of the French Gymnasium. The German President honoured him in 1984 with the Großen Bundesverdienstkreuz.

- 103) The information on Kahlman and Bouché was kindly given to me by Wolfgang Schmidt, see Frank Eyck papers.
- 104) Dr.rer.pol, Erhard Schmidt, banker, director in the Zentrale der Deutsche Bank in der Mauer Straße, Berlin, specialized in bad debts, 1932 giving a talk in the Deutschen Demokratischen Klub in Köln/Rhein dealing with war-reparations, had called the Nazis ‘a bunch of criminals’.
- 105) Martin Niemöller, *Vom U-Boot zur Kanzel*. Autobiography, (Berlin: M. Warneck, 1934).
- 106) There exist various versions of this quote; the one used here is the one that appears on the stone tablet of the Holocaust Memorial in Boston. Niemöller’s remark stems from his response to a question in a discussion after his address 1933, wherein he mentioned the political relevance by the opposition forces i.e. the Communists, Trade Unions and Social Democrats. About the later addition referring to the Jews, Niemöller would have certainly have had no principal objection. Klaus Gottsteins letter to Rosemarie, 27th March 2006. Dr. Hermann Niemöller kindly gave Rosemarie the original version in his letter of 10th April 2006.
- 107) The Christian churches in Germany are the Roman Catholic Church and three Evangelical Denominations i.e. Lutheran, Reformed (or Calvinist) and the United Churches which combine elements of the other two confessions. The connection between Church and State was administratively very close. Hitler tried to gain control of the Evangelical Churches and to use them as an instrument of Nazi propaganda and politics. The state appointed *Reichsbischof* was Ludwig Müller. His *Deutsche Christen* denied the authoritative position of the Scriptures, confessional writings of the Reformation, eliminated all Jewish themes, and replaced Christian and Jewish ideas with racial theories. In 1933 Karl Barth, Professor of Theology in Göttingen, Hanns Lilje, Martin Niemöller, and many others resisted these teachings as un-Christian. They drew pastors and congregations from the various Protestant Denominations together, and formed the independent Confessing Church (*Bekennende Kirche, BK*) that was not recognized by the state. The Synod of Barmen in May 1934 and, at the end of the year of Dahlem gave a clear declaration of the Faith, based on Holy Scripture. Members of BK actively opposed euthanasia and the persecution of the Jews. There were numerous arrests, and by 1937 many members were forced to go underground. In the Wednesday prayer services in Dahlem Rosemarie remembers the mentioning of well over 50 pastors’ names. See John Leith, *Creeds of the Church*, third edition Atlanta, John Knox, 1983. In 1948 the BK ceased to exist when the territorial Evangelical Churches were reorganized. Niemöller became bishop of Hessen, and Lilje of Hanover (Encyclopaedia Britannica on-line pp.1-2), .Karl Barth, known for his distinction between ‘Thron und Altar’, had been dismissed from his teaching post in Göttingen by the Nazis, thereafter he taught and lived in Basel, Switzerland.
- 106) There exist various versions for this quote, the one used here is the one that appears on the stone tablet of the Holocaust-Memorial in Boston Mass. Niemöller’s remark stems from his response to a question in a discussion after his address 1933, wherein he mentioned the political relevance expressed by the opposing forces i.e. the Communists, Trade Unionists and Social Democrats. About the later addition referring to the Jews, Niemöller would certainly have had no principal objection.

- Klaus Gottstein letter to Rosemarie, 27th March 2006. Dr Heinz Hermann Niemöller kindly gave Rosemarie the original version in his letter of 10th April 2006: Als die Nazis die Kommunisten holten, habe ich geschwiegen, ich war ja kein Kommunist. Als sie die Sozialdemokraten einsperrten, habe ich geschwiegen, ich war ja kein Sozialdemokrat. Als sie die Gewerkschafter holten, habe ich geschwiegen, ich war ja kein Gewerkschafter. Als sie mich holten, gab es keinen mehr, der protestieren konnte. The letter also stated that any assertion that early on Niemöller had given antisemitic sermons is “absolutely wrong. All the sermons that have survived do not support the slightest evidence of this.”
- 108) Franz Hildebrandt who after 1937 became the Methodist Minister in Cambridge, where he closely cooperated with Bishop Bell, England, to minister to Protestant refugees. Later he went to Drew University, USA, as professor of theology, specializing in studies of Luther and Wesley. Amos Cresswell and Maxwell Tow, *Dr. Franz Hildebrandt. Mr Valiant-for-Truth*, Smyth & Helwys publishing, Georgia.
- 109) Otto Dibelius, (1881-1967), Autobiography, *Ein Christ ist immer im Dienst*. (Stuttgart: Kreuz Verlag, 1961), As Superintendent of the United Church of Prussia, which was created by Friedrich Wilhelm III decree of 1817 to unite Lutherans and Calvinists, gave in 1933 a speech in the Reichstag, though a proud German, he cautiously stated that dictatorship is not according to the will of God. He played a leading role in the Confessing Church, concentrating on the struggle for freedom of religious expression.
- 110) Otto I, the Great of the Saxon Dynasty 936-973, Frank Eyck, *Religion and Politics*, p72-82.
- 111) Helmut Gollwitzer, *...und führen wohin du nicht willst*, (München: Beck, 1952, Güterasloher Verlag 1994), after his release from a Russian prisoner of war camp, discussed Marxist-Leninist communism. In his book *Krummes Holz Aufrechter Gang*, München: Beck, 1970). He held an ambiguous position towards communism and is critical of inhuman capitalism. See Christa Halm, *Essay on Helmut Gollwitzer. Professor für Systematische Theologie*, Universität Bonn and Freie Universität West-Berlin. *Ausgewählte Werke*, ed. bei Friedrich Wilhelm Marquart, *Weg und Werk*, 1988, w.u.Bd. 10, pp. 49-179.
- 112) Nürnberg Laws, September 15th, 1935.
- 113) Frank Eyck in Christian Velder, *300 Jahre Französisches Gymnasium Berlin.*, p. 565.
- 114) Velder, pp. 554 ff.
- 115) Hartmut von Hentig, Velder, p. 582-586.
- 116) These essay topics translated into maintext are given here in German: pp 565, the essay topics translated in the main text are given here in German: Ein Menschenschicksal, das mich besonders ergriffen hat; Reised Gedanken - Gedankenreise. Das ein Baum groß werde, dazu will er um harte Felsen harte Wurzeln schlagen; Mein Verhältnis zur Natur, ein Beitrag zu meiner Seelenentwicklung; Denn wenn das Unglück dem Verbrechen folgt, folgt öfter noch dem Unglück das Erbrechen; Wer mit dem Leben spielt, kommt nie zurecht, wer sich nicht selbst befiehlt, bleibt immer Knecht.
- 117) Frank Eyck papers, letter from J. F. Keating 21st April 1940, 10th February. 1940.
- 118) Frank Eyck to Charmian Brinson, 26th January 1997.