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SCIENTISTS' GIVE AND TAKE

What They Brought, What They Found

Some of the great names of the German refugee scientists are well known, some less so, but how the British scientific environment affected them, and how they affected it, remains to be told properly. It is a still unwritten chapter of a remarkable achievement that adorns the last half-century.

We can get an idea of how interesting and important this story is from a long essay published recently by Gustav V. R. Born, F.R.S., Professor of Pharmacology at the University of London. The essay appeared in a hard-to-come-by specialist journal dealing with the history of science, 'Bericht zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte' and was originally given as a public lecture at Wolfenbüttel. It is a story our readers should share.

It may come as a surprise to learn how early the story starts. Within a few weeks of the Nazis' accession to power, in May 1933, a group of well-known British academics set up a voluntary organisation called the Academic Assistance Council for reception and looking after scholars who had to leave Germany. Prof. Born points out that this was in the finest tradition of British voluntary work, and quotes his mother Hedi's admirable and admiring description of this phenomenon in 'Der Luxus des Gewissens', (1969), which explained it to a German audience.

This spontaneous gesture by British scientists and scholars was made to help their displaced German colleagues, without thought of the benefits that might accrue to Britain. That benefit, however, is well documented by what followed. About 500 German refugee scientists and scholars settled in Britain. By 1977, 53 of them had been elected Fellows of the Royal Society (including six of the second generation); six were Foreign Members; and 28 were Fellows of the British Academy (plus 20 Corresponding Fellows). One, Sir Karl Popper, has the rare distinc-

tion of being a Fellow both of the Royal Society and the British Academy.

To grasp the meaning of these figures it should be borne in mind that until recently only 25 Fellows were elected to the Royal Society and 12 to the British Academy each year from the entire Commonwealth. Eleven of these scientists were knighted, 17 are CBEs, 5 are OBEs and 15 have won the Nobel Prize since arriving as refugees.

In 1937 the Academic Assistance Council changed its name to the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning (SPSL). After the war the Society continued to assist threatened academics.

Red cells

Prof. Born told an amusing story of his friend the distinguished pharmacologist Prof. Walter Wilbrandt of Bern, a non-Jewish voluntary refugee from the Nazis with a Jewish wife, who was the discoverer of the counter-transport of glucose in the red cells of the blood. Wilbrandt was invited to lecture in America on the discovery in the early fifties, and was held up by the immigration authorities, to his complete mystification, until they started to interrogate him about the subject of his lecture, which he had called 'The Entry of Free Radicals (radicals!) into Red Cells.'

The refugees were fortunate to be received into a very lively and flourishing scientific environment in Britain, and these favourable circumstances had much to do with their ability to continue their previous work. Both Oxford and Cambridge excelled in the biological sciences, although at the turn of the century Germany had been leading with men like Albert Neisser and Paul Ehrlich. In Oxford Sir Charles Sherrington had created the best School of Physiology in the

world, and Howard Florey was soon to do the same for Experimental Pathology, and J.H. Burn for Pharmacology. In Cambridge the situation was also brilliant, with Sir Frederick Gowland Hopkins in Biochemistry, E.D. Adrian and Sir Joseph Barcroft in Physiology, and the Cavendish Laboratory under Lord Rutherford.

The independence of British universities was a great advantage for the refugees, since posts could be filled, or even created, especially in the case of Oxford and Cambridge with their considerable wealth, to fit the talents of individual refugee scientists. For example, Sir Frederick Gowland Hopkins indicated his intention to shelter Hans Krebs, if finance could be arranged, as early as April 1933, before Krebs lost his position in Freiburg. On 19 June Krebs travelled to England with 16 wooden boxes and several suitcases containing apparatus, including two Warburg baths and 24 manometers. In early July, only about a fortnight after leaving Germany, the apparatus was installed in the Biochemistry Department in Cambridge and experiments continued on the characterisation of D-amino acid oxidase and the synthesis of glutamine from ammonia and glutamate in mammalian tissues.

It was Krebs's first major discovery, the ornithine cycle (explaining the synthesis of urea in the liver), in Germany, that had aroused Sir Frederick's admiration. His second major discovery showed that his originality and productive-

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SCIENTISTS' GIVE AND TAKE

ness continued and were encouraged in his new British surroundings. This second discovery was the tricarboxylic acid cycle, which explains the step-wise release of energy associated with the complete oxidation of almost all foods in air-dependent organisms, and also provides the carbon skeleton of many cell constituents. Krebs himself described very well his immediate sense of feeling at home intellectually and emotionally in his Hopkins Memorial Lecture:

"...the warmth which greeted me in Cambridge from the minute of my arrival was indeed touching and heartening. [...] It was in Hopkins's laboratory where I saw for the first time at close quarters some of the characteristics referred to as 'the British way of life'. The Cambridge laboratory included people of many different dispositions, convictions and abilities. I saw them argue without quarrelling, quarrel without suspecting, suspect without abusing, criticize without vilifying or ridiculing, and praise without flattering. Hopkins was the central figure, beloved and respected as a natural leader, exercising leadership from within and not from above, utterly humble and modest. [...] What struck me, in particular contrast with the German scene, was the strong 'social conscience' of Hopkins and his school, their deep concern for affairs of the world at large. One of its many manifestations was the practical help given, with substantial personal sacrifices, to refugees."

Chain and Florey

While Krebs had continued with his earlier line of research, in other cases the refugee scientist switched to interests occupying their new host. Such was the case with Ernst Chain. After leaving Berlin on Hitler's accession, he worked briefly at University College, London, and then also with Hopkins in Cambridge, where, studying the working of certain snake venoms, he was able to explain, for the first time, in biochemical terms, the action of a natural toxin of protein: it was an enzyme acting on a vital component in the respiratory chain.

On Hopkins's suggestion, Howard Florey, Professor of Pathology in Oxford, took Chain on as a biochemical co-worker. As Florey's biographer put it: "In their work together their gifts for research were largely complementary. Chain's intuitive brilliance and originality balanced Florey's equally intuitive sense of direction and his genius for picking his way by simple, methodical experiments through a maze of attractive side-issues... Their combined energy, directed to a common goal, could and did achieve wonders."

Florey was interested in antibiosis, and suggested that they work on penicillin, the name given 20 years earlier by Alexander Fleming to an assumed mould product which could inhibit the growth of certain bacteria. Thus began their brilliant collaboration which turned penicillin from a curiosity into the most important clinical drug of all time. The Nobel Prize for the discov-

ery of penicillin was awarded jointly to Chain, Fleming and Florey. Prof. Born tells of how Florey (Born's own chief at Oxford), after receiving his Nobel Prize, was invited to give the prestigious Robert Boyle Lecture, named after the seventeenth-century scientist (Boyle's Law). Florey's subject was 'Antibiotics', and he lay awake the night before the lecture, trying to think of a connection with Boyle, as was customary. At dawn the solution came to him, and he started the lecture by remarking that in Robert Boyle's time antibiotics were completely unknown!

The pharmacologist Wilhelm Feldberg has always stimulated his co-workers and disciples. In early days, when he was working with Sir Henry Dale in his laboratory on acetylcholine transmission, it was Feldberg who always seemed to hold the key: Sir Henry Dale and Sir Jack Gaddum seemed to know what lay behind the doors, but Feldberg had the key, so he was asked to open first one and then another. The key was his method of detecting acetylcholine released during nerve stimulation, which became a routine test for assaying minute amounts of it.

Krebs, Kornberg, Perutz

In the case of Sir Hans Krebs, his influence on British biochemistry continues not only through his own discoveries, but through the School he built up, so that his pupils and younger co-workers now fill professorships throughout the United Kingdom, and among the most distinguished of them is Sir Hans Kornberg, who is Master of Christ's College, Cambridge.

As for Max Perutz, in a sense he—and Max Delbrück—created Molecular Biology, both coming from Physics. Perutz's cousin, the refugee protein chemist Haurowitz, showed him a crystalline protein and said: 'That is what you ought to be studying.' That was how Perutz came to haemoglobin. Perutz became head of the most distinguished and successful group of molecular biologists in the world—The M.R.C. Laboratory for Molecular Biology in Cambridge. That laboratory has produced a remarkable number of Nobel Laureates: Fred Sanger—two Nobel Prizes!, Francis Crick, Jim Watson, Caesar Milstein.

A noteworthy result of the refugee influx was the establishment in Britain of entirely new subjects, some of the most important being essentially technical. Germany had long been better, and still is, in almost all technical applications of science.

Professor Born tells us how it was his father, the Nobel Laureate physicist Max, who initiated the British manufacture of some essential biomedical glassware, i.e. haemocytometer chambers. These had all been imported from Czechoslovakia before the War. This source dried up when the Germans occupied Czechoslovakia. Haemocytometers suddenly became very precious, and breaking one was a major crime, as Gustav Born remembers from his days as a medical student in Edinburgh. His father Max knew of a refugee glassblower from the Erzgebirge and induced the British government to set

him up in business on Tyneside, and the crisis was over.

In his autobiography, Max Born gives an interesting account of the problems raised by the differences between the German and British university examination systems. The former were chiefly oral, the latter consisted of written set problems. When Max Born was teaching at Edinburgh, he tried to institute the German system, but he could never get a student to come forward and explain or discuss a problem, though the students were not the least bit shy when performing in their theatricals.

In the end he did become 'convinced that the British way of written examinations and marking gives reliable results. Compared with the methods of oral examinations as practised in Germany, it has the advantage that it is free from personal prejudice and the temper of the examiner, particularly if there is an external examiner who does not know the candidates.'

As for other scientific fields, in medicine Sir Ludwig Guttmann, who established the hospital for paralyses at Stoke Mandeville, devised entirely new methods, mental as well as physical, for rehabilitation of paraplegics, and these methods have been taken up worldwide.

In psychiatric medicine, the beginnings of psychoanalysis with Ernest Jones and a few others expanded enormously with the arrival of Anna Freud, Professor Mayer-Gross and Dr. E. Guttmann from Breslau.

New methods

In physics two great Schools were created which were almost new to Britain: those of Franz (Sir Francis) Simon in Oxford on low-temperature research at the Clarendon with K. Mendelssohn, N. Kurti and H. London, all from Breslau and now Fellows of the Royal Society, and of Max Born in Edinburgh on certain aspects of theoretical physics. Simon's influence was notable, both on atomic energy through his work on diffusion separation of isotopes, and on industrial and public affairs.

Max Born had created a unique School in Göttingen, and in Edinburgh this continued. In the Royal Society biographical memoir of Born, Professor R. H. Fürth of the former German University of Prague describes Born's methods with his research workers:

'The theoretical research was carried out in one large room in the basement of the physics building, with Born's desk and a number of long tables at which about half-a-dozen research workers sat. When Born arrived in the morning he first used to make the rounds of his research students, asking them whether they had progress to report and giving them advice, sometimes presenting them with sheets of elaborate calculations concerning their problems which he had himself done the day before. The apparent ease with which he could switch from one subject to another during this inspection tour was truly amazing. Being such an incredibly fast worker he could on occasion become quite impatient when he found that a student had not managed to complete the calculations which had been suggested to him only the day before. The rest of the morning was spent delivering his lectures to

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undergraduates, attending to departmental business and doing research work of his own.'

Professor Gustav Born concludes that while the benefits to the refugees were mostly obvious, the least obvious was probably the most important: the extraordinary stimulus to the mind of being forced to adapt to new conditions! Enforced migration is the most potent antidote to laziness and complacency. They had to change their professional approaches only in the sense of adapting to new conditions in which money and space were limited. He thinks there really is a Scientific Creativity Law which states that creativity is inversely proportional to the material means available. People with too much stuff have too little thinking time.

The benefit to the recipient nation was enormous, partly through the efforts and achievements of individuals, but more through the transfer of the originators of scientific genealogies, that is, exceptional teachers.

This was brought out by Sir Hans Krebs, who quoted his own outstanding teacher, Otto Warburg: 'the most important event in the career of a young scientist is the personal contact with the great scientists of his time...'

Sir Hans goes on to say: 'If I try to summarise what I learned in particular from Warburg I would say he was to me an example of asking the right kind of question, of forging new tools for tackling the chosen problems, of being ruthless in self-criticism and of taking pains in verifying facts, of expressing results and ideas clearly and concisely and of altogether focusing his life on true values.'

Professor Born ends with a quotation from Sir Hans Krebs's 1965 speech when he handed over to the President of the British Academy the Thank You Britain Fund cheque:

'We all went through the experience that home is not always where one was born and brought up. Home is where one strikes roots, where one has the opportunity of doing the things which, by virtue of inclination or conscience or some other forces deep down in one's soul, one feels one ought to do in order to fulfil one's life and thereby gain true happiness. The social climate and the social soil of this country, thanks to the spirit of generosity and tolerance that pervades it, made it easy for us to strike roots and become firmly settled.'

THANKSGIVING IN ST. JOHN'S WOOD

St. John's Wood synagogue in Grove End Road recently held a thanksgiving service for the 21st anniversary of its move there. Founded in 1876, the synagogue was formerly in Abbey Road, in what is now the New London Synagogue. The Chief Rabbi and the Israeli Ambassador were present, together with Gerald Kaufmann MP and the Lord Mayor of Westminster.

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Prof. Wilhelm Feldberg, F.R.S., C.B.E., whose work is also discussed on page 2, middle column.

On 19th November 1985 Prof. Dr. Feldberg will celebrate his 85th birthday. He is one of the band of scientists who, having fled to this country from Nazi persecution, have amply discharged their debt of gratitude to their adopted country by making a distinguished contribution towards British science and research.

In 1949 he gave up his position as Reader in Physiology at Cambridge University to become Head of Physiological Pharmacological Division of the National Institute of Medical Research which position he filled until 1966, when he became Head of the Laboratory of Neuropharmacology. On reaching normal retiring age in 1974, in recognition of his great abilities in the advancement of research, he was asked to continue and still continues his work of research as a personal grant holder of the National Institute of Medical Research. Throughout his life he has presented the result of his researches in a stream of lectures, papers, books and other publications. British and foreign universities have vied with each other to honour Prof. Feldberg; most recently, in the current year 1985, the universities of Würzburg and Heidelberg conferred honorary doctorates upon him. But the honour which he particularly appreciated, was the conferment on him in 1983 of the Gold Medal of the Royal Society.

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In August of this year he led a delegation of English physiologists to Budapest and conveyed the congratulations of the British Physiological Society to the Hungarian counterpart on the occasion of that Society's 50th anniversary.

The final sentence of the series of lectures under the title of "Sherrington Lectures" which Prof. Feldberg was chosen to deliver in 1982, reflects his own attitude towards his life as a scientist: "How fortunate are those who can do research during their whole life. For however long they live,—they die young!"

O. E. F.

POLES AND JEWS IN OXFORD

An important new institute has been set up in Oxford financed by foundations in New York and London. This is the Institute for Polish-Jewish Studies, president Dr Antony Polonski of L.S.E., vice-presidents Dr. David Patterson and Dr. Zbigniew Pelczynski. The executive director is Maciej Jachimczyk, a young Polish Catholic who was studying comparative religion in Poland before obtaining political asylum in this country.

The Institute, occupying the same building as the Oxford Centre for Post-Graduate Hebrew Studies, arose out of the large conference on Polish-Jewish relations held in Oxford last year. Its aim is to promote research and international cooperation in this field and it has already been visited by students of the Jagellonian University in Cracow: together with scholars from America, Israel and Britain, they attended a symposium on the ten-hour film "Shoah". This was directed by Claude Lanzmann and is a powerful presentation of the Holocaust.

VICTIMS REMEMBERED

The Jewish sculptress Naomi Blake recently saw her work "Sanctuary" unveiled at St. Botolph's Church, Aldgate. Dedicated to all victims of persecution, the sculpture represents a life-size seated figure under a curving canopy.

TOUR OF JEWISH LONDON

A conference of the Council of Christians and Jews was pleasantly interrupted by a tour of Jewish London, from Hampstead Synagogue to a last salt beef sandwich at Bloom's in Golders Green. Similar tours are often arranged for school or college groups by the Board of Deputies, usually beginning with an illustrated lecture and providing a few examples of the living Jewish community within the metropolis. On this occasion, the CCJ delegates were most of all impressed by the Bevis Marks Synagogue in Aldgate.

LEEDS SYNAGOGUE DEMOLISHED

The Great Synagogue of Leeds, the oldest in the city, has been demolished. Dating from 1877, the Belgrave Street building was removed to make way for offices.

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H. W. Freyhan

THE FLAWED MAESTRO

Until the beginning of this century, musicians' posthumous reputations based on experience were limited to composers, but more or less excluded performers. Modern technology has here brought a fundamental change. Recordings and tapes have preserved the achievements of performers for the judgment of posterity.

Thus, it has been possible for the great conductors of the recent past to continue to make their impact on a generation that has not personally heard their actual performances. And the controversies which accompanied their activities continue, as they do with two of the towering figures of the first half of our century, Toscanini and Furtwängler. Both have their adherents and disciples even today, and not a few of today's leading musicians swear by Furtwängler.

The centenary of his birth falls on 25 January 1986, and to meet the occasion, Berndt W. Wessling has produced a new, large-scale biography (*Furtwängler. Eine kritische Biographie*. Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, Stuttgart, 1985. DM 48).

For many, Furtwängler was the leading interpreter of Beethoven. But it was just this Beethoven interpretation which lay at the heart of the controversy that arose from his decision to stay in Germany under the Nazi regime. Numerous other famous musicians, who had been much more involved than he, being party members etc, have eventually been allowed to pursue their international careers. Yet from Furtwängler more was expected, and this explains the particular bitterness of his opponents. The controversy flared up afresh after 1945 when Furtwängler, although officially denazified, was linked with the so-called "inner emigration", whose representatives, mainly men of literature, sought to claim him and support him against the continuing bitter condemnation of such uncompromising emigrants as Thomas Mann and his family.

Balanced view

Berndt Wessling reveals himself as a committed enthusiast for Furtwängler the conductor ("der einzigartige Welterfolg und der geradezu gigantische Nachruhm"), and he also presents a fairly balanced, though not uncritical, view of Furtwängler's compositions.

His biographical narrative is well researched, with sources thoroughly listed. It is generally skilfully presented, never tedious, but it tends towards a condescending tone at times, e.g. referring to the conductor as "Doktor Wilhelm", and it becomes positively offensive and even obnoxious in dealing with the Jewish Berta Geissmar, for many years Furtwängler's able secretary, who later worked for Sir Thomas Beecham in the same capacity. The author's aversion leads to occasional lapses in taste, e.g. in probably invented comments by Geissmar's mother after Furtwängler's first marriage. Such lapses are not rare, e.g. a reference to Toscanini as "der milanesische Präzisionsakrobat" etc. is rather apt to mar a book of this kind.

The biographer makes it his business to probe into the "motivation" of the conductor's attitude

after 1933, and seeks the blame, partly in a somewhat debatable manner, in the parental background; the father, a renowned archaeologist, was conservative and patriotic, and so were the tutors, including the famous scholar Ludwig Curtius.

Furtwängler's attitude after 1933 is thus summed up: "Vor dem Pakt mit dem Teufel, sprich: Adolf Hitler, schreckte der Goethe-Mensch zurück, aber er wollte im Dunstkreis dieses Widersachers aller im Abendland für den Menschen errungenen Freiheiten leben und wirken, den Fuss auf der Schwelle lassen," to prevent the door to his idealistic dream world from being irrevocably shut. This seems a reasonable assessment, yet is it a valid defence versus Auschwitz?



Wilhelm Furtwängler

Furtwängler's initial acts of resistance (his articles in the "Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung" against the expulsion of Jewish artists and, later, on behalf of Hindemith) are well-known events but his subsequent submission to the regime weighed all the more against him. He could evidently see no opportunity for continuing his career as an emigrant, and his jealousy of some colleagues culminated in what the author calls the "Karajan Syndrome". The Nazis used this rivalry to keep Furtwängler under pressure. Furtwängler's hostility to Karajan remained a permanent trend, comparable to his dislike of Toscanini's interpretations of German music.

In the final months of the war, when all concerts had ceased, he seems to have fallen foul of the Gestapo, and we learn that a woman doctor,

whose patients included Himmler's legal wife (he also had a mistress) warned him that he was in danger, especially after the 1944 attempt on Hitler's life. So he used a trip to Switzerland, which had been authorised, to ask for asylum and settled at Clarens, on Lake Geneva.

It was now too late, and it did not save him from the ban on his professional activity by the Allies. He had to wait for his denazification and he spent the time composing. At the Berlin tribunal, Furtwängler actually said: "Meinte Thomas Mann wirklich, dass man im Deutschland Himmlers nicht Beethoven musizieren durfte? Konnte er sich nicht denken, dass niemals Menschen es nötiger hatten, es inniger und schmerzlicher ersehnten? Ich konnte Deutschland in seiner tiefsten Not nicht verlassen". As Menuhin rightly remarks "Furtwängler's mistake (and mine, too,) was to overrate the power of music".

In December 1946 Furtwängler was acquitted. He then began to embark on a hectic phase of conducting in many countries, including Britain. But his attempts to accept invitations to the USA remained frustrated by violent opposition, in spite of the friendly attitude of men like Bruno Walter and Menuhin.

Furtwängler used whatever spare time he had to complete some of his own works and to promote their success by conducting them.

His strenuous way of life undermined his health. The end came in November 1954. Supported by his second wife (a daughter of Katharina von Oheimb) he faced the end with serenity. "Und ihre Werke folgen ihnen nach", as it says in Brahms's Requiem, of which I heard an unforgettable performance under Wilhelm Furtwängler in the Berlin Philharmonie before 1933.

THE LANDMANS

In 1977 Martha Landman produced *The Chronicle of the Wertheimer Family* (Washington 1977) and now, in her nineties and with the assistance of her son Otto E. Landman, she has produced a companion volume *The Landmans* (Washington 1984, privately printed), being the record of the other half of the family.

The Landman ancestor was Isaac Raphael, born in Fussgoenheim in 1790, who took the name "Landmann" in 1808 as a result of the Napoleonic decree of that year. His grandson, Abraham, born 1848, who married Jeannette Richeimer, a beautiful girl from Gemmingen, Baden, settled in Schiftenstadt. Their son Isidor (who changed his name to Paul) was born in 1881 and apprenticed at the age of 15 to Gebrueder Traub in Mannheim who were engaged in the printing of cigar-box labels. This was the origin of the well-known firm, Paul I. Landman, lithographic printers specializing in the printing of labels, which flourished in Mannheim, where the family settled, until the Nazi period.

All this and very much more is recounted in Martha Landman's latest book. It is very well produced with many genealogical tables, photographs and documentary material. It gives a full account of the family with all its ramifications, most of whom are now settled in the United States. Together with its companion volume, it provides a fascinating picture of South German Jewish life in the 19th and 20th centuries.

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A VERY STRANGE PREMIERE

What I shall tell seems like a fantasy. But it is a true story of 16th November 1938, a sequel to the night of pogrom. At that time I was assistant director in a unique theatre—a Jewish theatre in Nazi Berlin, giving a European repertory in an anti-European setting, where Jews might act only for Jews, tightly controlled by censorship and closed to the German public. A cultural "cordon sanitaire" barred the theatre from the outside world.

It was late autumn in Berlin. Rehearsals were taking place in the theatre of the Jüdischer Kulturbund (the Jewish Cultural Union) in the Kommandantenstrasse. The play for the coming month of December had to be prepared: a work on Scottish students, "Rain and Wind" by Merton Hodge. As I came on stage that 9th November 1938, actors, electricians and stage-hands stood in a single group. They were not arguing, not laughing, not scolding—they kept together and whispered.

The director clapped his hands. "Now, ladies and gentlemen, rehearsal! Stage manager, give the signal!". His bustling raised no echo. The others still stood close together. It was the stage manager who voiced their question: "Are we having a rehearsal today?" "Why isn't the prompter ready?" replied the director. "Curtain, we'll rehearse with the curtain today". He ran down the steps from the stage into the auditorium and sat down in the front stalls. The curtain was brought down. As it fell, he spoke out loud again: "Do you imagine that because a boy in Paris has let his temper get the better of him, we should stop our work?"

The gong sounded. The curtain rose. The director checked the set once again by repeating the stage direction: "The lounge of a lodging house in a small university town in Scotland. It is evening. A fire burns in the grate, its light falling on the door. The landlady enters. Beginners please!"

Breathless

But instead of the actors, a breathless stage manager appeared on stage. "Herr Oberspielleiter, please go at once to the office—the manager—very urgent". "Tell him I'm in rehearsal, I must ask not be disturbed at rehearsal". Then he thought of the headlines in the morning papers, Herschel Grünspar's attack on Legation Councillor vom Rath, and he stood up. "With all this administrative work, we'll never get to the play," he muttered as he left.

The stage was still in semi-darkness for the opening scene. The director soon came back and said in a toneless voice, "Finish. The Ministry has just closed the theatre. Everyone go home". No one answered, no one moved. Only the fire cast shadows on the wall.

Hitler had sent two of his personal physicians to Paris; it was not known whether vom Rath's life could yet be saved. However, the fact that he died on 9th November, exactly the traditional date of the great SA parade, was seen as mere coincidence. The long-sought pretext for the projected "Major Action" had arrived.

In the night of 9th/10th November, 280 synagogues were destroyed by fire and a further 76 torn

down by other means, being situated in closely built-up areas. Doctors' surgical instruments were broken, in lawyers' offices deeds were torn and trampled, in Jewish houses furniture was smashed, tapestries wrenched from walls, pictures hacked to pieces. The streets were covered with glittering glass heaps from the shattered windows of Jewish businesses. 30,000 male Jews were flung into concentration camps. As darkness set in the following afternoon, unbridled looting began among the ruined shops. If the looters chanced on a Jewish owner, they smashed him up too.

On Sunday, 13th November, a messenger came to me from the theatre. So far as he could make contact, the manager was asking all his colleagues to meet at 10 o'clock on Monday morning at the theatre. I received a kind of "protective letter" containing the words: "Your presence is required and officially desired".

It was a clear, limpid morning. Kommandantenstrasse rang with the sound of buses and trams. The Jewish shops were boarded up. The stage-door was closed and only one narrow entrance was open, leading from the yard up a spiral staircase. Amid the orgy of destruction, the Jewish theatre had remained untouched. In the manager's office were actors and administrative staff, together with stage hands' and orchestra's representatives. The clock struck ten and all at once we fell silent. With dreadful clearness, we became conscious of those who were absent. Concentration camps?

Orders from above

The manager nodded. "Ladies and gentlemen," he began, "the day before yesterday I was called on the highest orders to the Ministry of Propaganda. The minister wishes our theatre to recommence performances—right away".

The smoke still rose from the synagogues, the glass splinters lay in the streets, 30,000 men had been dragged to the camps—curtain up, the Jews are to perform! A wave of revolt ran through our little gathering.

Then the manager reported what had been told him in the Ministry. In reply to the bald command to recommence acting, he had pointed out that German Jews had other worries than going to the theatre, tens of thousands were stuck in concentration camps, among them our director. "Do you think," he had asked, "that Jews will go to the theatre where they run the risk of being seized in a raid?" Hans Hinkel, Goebbels' man in charge of Reich Culture, conferred with his staff of assistants. Then came his answer. "I will give immediate instructions to enable you to begin promptly. You have to perform. Prepare a list of everyone you need who is under arrest and I will see that they are released in good time".

At first we were dumb with amazement. Then there was a heated argument. Should we turn ourselves into odd-job-men for the Gestapo, stooges for the pogromists? On the other hand, ought we to miss this chance? No farce would be too grotesque if it could purchase the freedom of just one man.

At last the head of drama, a Berliner old in the theatre, gave his verdict. "Do you really think that this show of so-called tolerance in granting the

Jews their own theatre will be visible through the smoke of arson, or make people forget the stench of corpses vented from the concentration camps? In Roman circuses the gladiators fought for their lives. In our circus we fight for the lives of our colleagues. That's the point of all circuses; setting people at liberty".

So the decision was taken. As it turned out, releases were effected so rapidly that many actors were awakened at 3 a.m. in the camp barracks and sent straight home. Of course we wondered about the Nazi motives in allowing one, and only one, Jewish body—the theatre—to operate once again: what was more, even forcing its continuing activity.

Did they want to show foreigners that "things were not all that bad"? Perhaps there were no political grounds at all: perhaps it was just because a department existed in the Ministry, almost entirely occupied with Jewish theatrical affairs, a puffed-up bureaucratic entity, which had become an end in itself and had no wish to see the justification for its existence disappear.

Choice of play

All that was left for us was the choice of play. Someone suggested "Charley's Aunt"—maybe that would throw our state of paradox into relief. Someone else thought that the piece chosen should reflect the gravity of the situation. But no drama could fit the tragi-comedy which we were forced to act out. Finally we agreed to carry on the rehearsals so abruptly broken off, and go ahead with the Scottish student play "Rain and Wind".

Rain and Wind. In all the diverse annals of theatre, that premiere has no equal. The great semicircle of stalls and dress circle shone with their old brilliance. The chandeliers were lit and the neatly-uniformed usherettes stood about the foyer and on the red carpets leading to the boxes.

At home, women were waiting for news of their husbands and sons torn from them: at home, men were stranded on the ruins of their life's work—and here in the Jewish Theatre the lights were switched on. The performance became a performance under duress.

And yet professional routine meant that there was scarcely a trace of difference between this and any "normal evening". Wardrobe staff ran busily about, actors made up before the mirrors. Only one circumstance betrayed the eerie tension—the stillness in the dressing-rooms replacing the usual noise. No one spoke unless they had to, and then only in a whisper.

Three men

The audience was tiny, mostly women and old people—and of course three men, briefcases under their arms, the Gestapo delegation. At last the curtain went up and in the footlights we saw the lounge of a Scottish student lodging with a fireplace in which a fire flickered cosily. At the beginning, the actors' voices were a little tremulous as the spotlight focussed on their faces, but little by little the magic of the stage gripped them and they acted—they acted out a scene of champagne tipsiness after a ball night, the gramophone ground out a rumba, they laughed and danced—before an almost empty house under the eyes of the Gestapo: one week after the pogrom.

HERBERT FREEDEN

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Edgar Speyer

Sir,—I think Mr Ronald Stent's rather invidious remarks on Edgar Speyer call for some comment. Like many other German-born Jews in England during the First World War, Speyer suffered what E. F. Benson, the social historian, has described as "intolerable persecution" and "monstrous hostility". So far from having provided "substance", for "mistrust", Speyer was vindicated by Prime Minister Asquith who (in Parliament) branded the "baseless and malignant imputations" upon the man's loyalty. According to the Dictionary of National Biography now, "it may well be that he was guilty of no more than minor technical offences against the laws of his adopted country". Benson is more generous: "Until he and his family were practically forced to leave the country...there was no more ground for any suspicions against his correct behaviour than against the most loyal of the King's subjects". I have told the story in some detail in *Jewish Social Studies*, October 1956, and more recently, in *History Today*, August 1985.

19 Thurlby Close,
Kenton Road,
Harrow, Mddx.

Bernfes Collection

Sir,—I have just read in AJR about the death of Alexander Bernfes and that Messrs. Scharf and Helfgott are looking after his collection.

The documents and photos found are probably duplicates of the original Bernfes collection which was sent to Yad Vashem in the sixties. I

would suggest that the material found now should go there as well.

I was responsible for the relevant negotiations with Yad Vashem and Bernfes at the time in my capacity as Managing Director of the London office of the Axel Springer Publishing Group. My late and much lamented chief Axel Springer paid all the costs of that operation and a compensation sum to Bernfes to ensure that he would let that valuable material go to Jerusalem.

Perhaps this information is of some use.
6-8 The Street,
Dalham,
Suffolk CB8 8TF.

GEORGE CLARE

Lost and Found

Sir,—Sad as I was to learn of the death of T. R. Fyvel, I was delighted to read the article on the Soldatensender by Egon Larsen. Both these writers were good friends of my husband Szymon Wolf, also a journalist, and it is a comfort to know that, though they are rapidly thinning out, a few of this rare and unrepeatable "vintage" are still with us.

I am sure you will be pleased to know that, thanks to the advertisement in your columns, we have found out the whereabouts of both Max and Robert Wolf, to the delight of all.

Thank you again for your help.
62 Finchley Court,
Ballards Lane,
London N3 1NH

RAY WOLF

HELP WANTED IN SURVIVOR SEARCH

An impassioned plea has come from David Landau. The Director of the Holocaust Educational Center (POB 6605, Jerusalem 91066). A comprehensive computerised directory of all known Holocaust survivors is at present being prepared in the hope that families can even now be reunited or at least that people may learn with certainty whether their relatives did survive. Rabbis, community and lay leaders, organisations and individuals, survivors themselves or their friends are asked to contact the Center in order to receive a questionnaire. Dr. Landau pleads for this to be done quickly: "We no longer have the luxury of time and patience," he says, "as the day is soon approaching when the generation of survivors will have passed on entirely".

ACTIVE CENTRE OF CO-OPERATION

Martin Buber House in Heppenheim is now in full swing as a centre for Christian-Jewish co-operation. The General Secretary of the International Council of Christians and Jews has already been established there for some time and the Evangelical Working Group "Church and Israel", formerly in Frankfurt, has now taken up residence following a simple opening ceremony.

Correction

There was an ambiguity in the original copy of the quotation from Hans Kühner in Mr. H. G. Alexander's letter in the October issue about Pope Clement VI. The end of his last sentence should have read: Clement's 'Bulls protecting the Jews were for the most part ineffective outside his own territories.'



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A Life in the Day of the AJR Luncheon Club

Every Tuesday begins with a cordon bleu cookery lesson and is followed by German Conversation Practice in the idiom of Doebelin's 'Berlin Alexanderplatz'.

Ruth Renfield is the chief cook and with her colleague Helen she prepares great cauldrons of goodies on Mondays for the Meals on Wheels, Eleanor Rathbone House and for the Luncheon Club. I am the bottle washer and I collect Ruth at 8.30.

Our first stop is a kindly greengrocer who sells us *metzies* for which we have to haggle. Ruth is good at this but he calls me Madam because I keep my mouth shut and just carry the stuff into the car.

Once in NW3 we treble park outside Hannah Karminski House and unload our wares. Unseen spies seem to lurk in dark doorways in Adamson Road. If they see us carrying primo cabbage and strawberries the news spreads like wildfire round Swiss Cottage and we can expect a good turn-out for lunch. Courgettes, lettuce and tomatoes are not so popular and a whisper of "Wiedermal Kaninchenfutter" hisses like an echo up the Finchley Road. We might as well not bother, except for our ten or eleven faithfuls who will arrive come what may.

Once in the kitchen we meet up with our boss Ruth Anderman, who is already on her fifth cigarette, having dealt with umpteen phone calls

from Meals on Wheels clients who have ordered their Leibgericht.

My first job is arranging the table flowers which magically appear each week from a secret source. Neighbouring gardens? The Holiday Inn? I take great care with the five little vases. Would our customers notice if there were no floral decorations one week?

Then I write out the menu. This is a typical example:

Lunch £1-25. Extra Large Portion £1-50.

* * * * *
Saltbeef with Horseradish Sauce
Fresh Beans
Mashed Potatoes

* * * * *
Sweet 25p

* * * * *
Redcurrants with Parev Cream.

While we prepare the vegetables, cut up the fruit, some of it for deep freezing for the winter, we exchange cookery recipes. There then follows a session of tasting the lunch, last minute additions of herbs and spices and sometimes even wine.

As we sit down to a cup of coffee our first waitress, Miss Posner, appears, always at two minutes to eleven with jeckischer Pünktlichkeit. The others follow in their own good time and the German Lesson begins. Mrs. Kristeller regales us with "Puppchen du bist mein Augensterne" or the "Krumme Lanke" and Judy instructs me that the menu should read "Ribiseln mit koscherem Schlagobers".

The first customers, three gentlemen called "Der Stammtisch", arrive at 11.55 looking ravenous and we start dishing out. During the first fifteen minutes we try to gauge the trend and wonder if we have cooked enough. On busy days we hardly stop, rushing back and forth from cooker to serving hatch with one large Klops or two normal Goulashes, but when business is bad we get so bored that we have to take to the bottle to keep up our morale. Mrs. Kaufmann, our chief cashier, gets particularly upset if the takings are low.

The Lunch Club is subsidised by the AJR Charitable Trust and £1-50 is good value for an excellent meal. Sometimes a kind soul makes a donation of a pound or two which is greatly appreciated. While dishing out the potatoes with an icecream scoop I look through the hatch and assess our guests' contentment by the decibels in the dining room. We are delighted if satisfied patrons put their heads into the kitchen on their way out to say "goodbye and thank you" or "Das Schnitzel war wie zu Hause", or even ask for a recipe.

When the last customer has been served at 1.30 the staff, all volunteers, sit down to eat and do the post mortem. Where were the two ladies in hats? Is Mr. Pimkus on a Saga holiday in India? Has the Levi Kranzchen gone to Golders Hill Park for a picnic?

The left-overs are packed for meals on wheels, the dishes are stacked in the dishwasher and the kitchen is left tidy for the Wednesday packing session. Adamson Road is quiet, even the dark doorways seem deserted. Have the spies gone home for a siesta?

MARIANNE



Composition with Two Fruits by Fernand Leger at the Annelly Juda. See p. 8.

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GALLERY ROUNDOABOUT

Annelly Juda Gallery is continuing its important series of exhibitions of *Masterpieces of the Avantgarde* which will finally come to an end on 20 December 1985. In November they will be showing the *Seventies*, and the *Eighties* from 26 November onwards. To mark these exhibitions, a superb catalogue has been produced (£17.00 soft cover; £25 hard cover; postage £1.70 (UK)). It contains a vast amount of information about the pictures displayed and on the artists and is well illustrated. There are also a number of important essays about the Avantgarde movement, as well as much biographical material about Annelly Juda herself.

Another catalogue, that of the Gwen John exhibition at the Barbican Centre (until 3 November), deserves very special mention. Gwen John was a superb painter and the catalogue (published by the Barbican Centre & Phaidon Press, price £9.95) does ample justice to her work, containing many illustrations in colour and black and white.

The *German Art in the Twentieth Century* exhibition at the Royal Academy is a major event in the series of outstanding exhibitions organised by the Academy. Over 300 paintings and sculptures are being shown, including works by artists of *Die Brücke*, *Der Blaue Reiter* and *Neue Sachlichkeit*, and of very many others who do not fit into a very defined group. All the great names in modern German art are present—Kirchner, Corinth, Beckmann, Max Ernst, Feininger and Klee. The post-war world is also well represented by such artists as Baumeister, Nay and the *Zero* group (Heinz Mack, Guenther Uecker and Otto Piene). The modern generation of German artists, Baselitz (with his upside down images), Penck (with his archaic calligraphy), Kiefer (with his sombre interpretations of Germany's past) and many others are also shown. The focal point of the exhibition is an enormous bronze by Joseph Beuys, being a cast of a section of the *Hirschdenkmal* from the *Zeitgeist* exhibition in Berlin. A 500 page catalogue, illustrating every exhibit (price £14.90) is available at the exhibition.

Kenwood watercolours

Leinster Fine Art has moved to new premises at 3 Clifford Street, London W1. The opening exhibition (until 16 November) is of recent works by Leo Zogmayer entitled *Birth and Copulation and Death*. Zogmayer was born in Krems, Austria in 1949 and studied in Austria. He has had many one-man shows in Austria, Switzerland, Germany and France, but this is his first British showing.

The Iveagh Bequest, Kenwood, has been showing an interesting exhibition of watercolours *Images of the Grand Tour* (until 31 October) by a Swiss painter, Louis Ducros (1748–1810). Although England is thought of as the home of water-colour, it is evident that Ducros with his innovative techniques did a great deal to develop this particular art form. The exhibition can be seen in Manchester at the Whitworth Art Gallery (10 January–22 February 1986). More German art was also on view (until 26 October) at the Goethe Institut, *German Drawings of the 18th Century from the collection of the Berlin Kupferstichkabinett*. Of great historical interest



Portrait by Christian Schad at the Royal Academy German Art exhibition.

this exhibition provided a comprehensive survey of the main styles and tendencies in 18th century drawing.

To mark the Royal Academy exhibition, an illustrated lecture *Art in the Third Reich* is being given by Monica Bohm-Duchen at the Ben Uri Art Society (21 Dean Street, W1) on 5 December at 8.00 pm. (Admission £1.50 non-members, £1.00 members).

Finally, a word about the Burlington House Fair held in September. What a wealth of delightful objects! Particularly interesting was an oil painting by Isaac Israel (1865–1934), son of the great Josef. He died tragically as a result of a car accident. ALICE SCHWAB

IMPORTANT ARDON EXHIBITION

For the first time in nearly twenty years, a major exhibition of Mordechai Ardon's paintings has been held in Israel. The Tel Aviv Museum has mounted a retrospective of work by the world-renowned octogenarian.

Born in Poland, Mordechai Ardon moved to Germany and worked with the Bauhaus School. He worked closely with Klee and Kandinsky, and joined Johannes Itten in founding an art school. Emigrating to Palestine in 1936, he became head of the Bezalel School of Art and in 1963 received the Israel Prize for Art. Since his retirement, he has lived in Paris, though a frequent visitor to Israel.

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OBITUARIES

LIESL DUNSTON

With the untimely death of Liesl Dunston on the 30th August 1985, shortly before her 65th birthday, many of us have lost a true friend.

Liesl Dunston née Rubner was born in Vienna on the 16th September 1920. She had a very happy childhood and was a pupil at the Real Gymnasium in the Albertgasse. She came to England in 1938, together with her twin sister, Gretl; luckily her parents were also able to escape from the Nazis and came to England in 1939.

Liesl soon acquired great skills as a book-keeper and secretary and as the years went by she became a competent accountant without ever undergoing formal training. She was held in high esteem by her bosses and colleagues alike.

She met her future husband, Fred, in the "Hyphen" Club and they were married in 1951. Her eldest son, John, was born in 1952 followed by Colin in 1957. Although she continued to work as a part-time accountant during most of her married life, her first priority now was her "three men". She was blessed with a very happy marriage and she was a wonderful home maker; she excelled at cooking and her home-made Viennese pastries were second to none; she was an expert needlewoman and a keen photographer; this latter hobby she shared with her husband. Nothing gave her more pleasure than to show her many beautifully kept albums of all family and many topical events to her friends—shots of her son John singing in the Bach Choir at Prince Charles's wedding photographed directly from the television screen or the Pope visiting England were all carefully recorded. She always took a keen interest in all her family's and friends' activities.

In 1983 she retired from formal employment but, typically, she decided at once to devote at least 2 days a week to voluntary service. She became a regular voluntary visitor to Otto Schiff and to Osmond House.

At Otto Schiff House she became an escort to the residents on their weekly outings in the ambulance and on several occasions she invited the whole party to her house for a delicious tea with her home-made cakes.

At Osmond House she helped to organise the monthly birthday parties and visited certain residents regularly every Tuesday; her visits were always eagerly awaited by her friends at Osmond House.

She was soon invited to join the House Committee and proved both an energetic worker as well as a compassionate friend. Nothing was ever too much trouble for her if she could help someone in need. She was much loved by residents, Staff and fellow Committee Members. May her memory inspire us all to render service. L.St.

AXEL SPRINGER

The newspaper magnate Axel Springer died in Berlin a short time ago at the age of 73. Born in Altona, the son of a printer and publisher of a local newspaper, he worked in his father's print shop before becoming a reporter. Unable to serve in the German armed forces for health reasons, he returned to Hamburg and his father's firm during the Second World War.

In 1945, Springer set up his own publishing business and began by issuing a radio guide "Hör Zu", followed by the "Hamburger Abendblatt". "Hör Zu" flourished and he went on to introduce tabloid newspapers to Germany with "Bild". On the more serious side, he acquired "Die Welt" and his other publications included many magazines and local papers.

Axel Springer held strong views, even though he insisted that he played no direct role in editorial policies of his papers. On the whole, his was a conservative stance hostile to Communism and in favour of Germany's reunification. In reply to the fears expressed about his influence, Springer's reply was that he had created his empire by publishing what people wanted to read.

On one point, the newspaper giant never wavered: on the necessity for good German-Israeli relations. Throughout his career he backed Israel and received many honours from that State's institutions. On hearing of his death, Mayor Teddy Kollek, a particular friend, said: "We have lost a good friend who really cared for Israel: he regarded Jerusalem as his second home".

EMMY KLEINEBERGER-NOBEL

Dr. Emmy Klieneberger-Nobel died recently, aged 93. She was a pioneer of research into mycoplasmas—micro-organisms causing some diseases in man, animals and plants. Born in Frankfurt a.M. and educated at the Universities of Göttingen and Frankfurt, she was working as a bacteriologist under Professor Max Neisser in 1933. After dismissal because of her Jewish origins, she came to London and worked at the Lister Institute until 1962. There she studied micro-organisms in connection with diseases in

cattle, sheep and goats, going on to work on others affecting rodents and humans. In the 1960s, her pioneering ideas were vindicated by the discovery that mycoplasmas cause a type of pneumonia in man. In 1980, Dr. Klieneberger-Nobel received the prestigious Robert Koch Medal.

HANS SCHMOLLER

The noted typographer Hans Schmoller has died in London at the age of 69. Berlin-educated, he was apprenticed to a compositor until 1937, when he emigrated to Africa. In 1946, Hans Schmoller came to Britain and a few years later joined Penguin Books as head of book design. In 1960 he became a director of the publishing firm. His design talent was recognised in 1976 when he was appointed Royal Designer for Industry.

ELIEZER SHINNAR

A diplomat who did much to forge relations between Israel and Germany, Dr. Eliezer (F. E.) Shinnar has died in Israel aged 76. Dr. Shinnar, born in Germany, studied law and economics at Frankfurt and Heidelberg; he worked as an economist in Berlin before emigrating to Palestine in 1934. From 1949 he spent three years in London as Economic Counsellor to the Israeli Legation, and was later appointed head of the Israel Mission in Cologne, where he remained for 14 years. During this period, Eliezer Shinnar played a most important role in securing West German restitution for the victims of Nazism and he also worked hard to promote cultural and trade links between the two countries.

OTTO SECKER

A Viennese chemist who rebuilt a business life in England, Otto Secker died a few weeks ago aged 80. Mr. Secker was active in the Zionist movement before coming to England in 1939. He moved with the firm Marchon Products to Whitehaven in Cumberland and eventually became its chairman and managing director.

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FAMILY EVENTS

Entries in this column are free of charge, but voluntary donations would be appreciated. Texts should reach us by the 10th of the preceding month.

Birthday

Cohn:—Happy 85th Birthday to Stephanie H. Cohn, of 100 Ashford Court, NW2 6BS, on 6 November. "Hoch soll sie leben!"

Deaths

Kronheimer:—Else F. Kronheimer (née Mezger), of 26 St Margaret's Road, Oxford, died peacefully after a very long illness on 3 September 1985 at the age of 87.

Michaelis:—Marie Elisabeth Michaelis died 30 August after an illness courageously borne. She will be deeply mourned and much missed by all of us and by a large number of friends. Rudy and Joan Michaels of Sacramento, Cal., Ernst and Joan Michaelis, Hedda Michaelis, Ille and Walter Ludlow and their families.

Newman:—Eric Erwin Newman, born in Vienna, died suddenly on 13 September, aged 78. He will be greatly missed by his wife Lotte, daughter Frances, relatives and all who knew him. 1A, Sewell Avenue, Wokingham, Berks.

Vollmer:—Our beloved mother Daniela Vollmer passed away on 7 October, aged 94. Her memory lives on in her children Gerda Schwartz and Margot Stern, her grandchildren and her great-grandchildren and her many friends.

The AJR Club mourns the death of two loyal members, Miss Anni Mauthner and Mrs Elsie Sohn. Mrs Sohn was a devoted voluntary helper of the club for many years.

CLASSIFIED

The charge in these columns is 50p for five words plus £1.00 for advertisements under a Box No. To save administrative costs, please enclose payment with the text of your advertisement.

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Information Required

MULLER. Peter Muller, son of Advocate Dr. Rudolf Muller, born approx. 1931, who originally lived in Gatterbruggasse 1190 Vienna and came to England in 1938 with a Jewish Youth Group. Would he or anyone knowing his whereabouts please contact the British Red Cross Society, 9 Grosvenor Crescent, London SW1X 7EJ, under Ref 3717/ES/DM/2.

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A. EISENBERG

Ich bin ein junger Historiker, 29 Jahre alt, der seine Doktorarbeit über das Schicksal der Juden im nördlichen Regierungsbezirk Minden während der Nazi-Zeit schreibt. Um das Thema wirklich angemessen bearbeiten zu können, möchte ich mit allen jüdischen Menschen sprechen, die jene Zeit in den Kreisen Wiedenbrück, Halle, Bielefeld, Herford, Minden und Lübbecke gelebt haben. Die Gespräche sind für mich sehr wichtig. Ich bitte Sie herzlich, mir zu schreiben.

**Joachim Meynert,
Raiffeisenstrasse 2,
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West Germany.**

WIENER LIBRARY IN BONN

An exhibition of documents and other material from the archives of London's Wiener Library will be seen in the library of Bonn University until the end of November. As well as German publications, Nazi and anti-Nazi, documents on British, Dutch and American Fascism are included: the names of Oswald Mosley, Holland's Anton Mussert and Fritz Kuhn (head of the "Amerika-Deutsch Volksbund") are virtually unknown to present-day Germans; young people are astounded to discover the world-wide impact of interwar Fascism. German history has been present, too, with illegal anti-Nazi pamphlets bearing cover titles like "Neues S.A. Liederbuch" or "Schillers Balladen" rubbing shoulders with the antisemitic children's book "Der Giftpilz".

THÄLMANN CHARGE

Former SS-man Wolfgang Otto is to face a Hamburg court in November, charged with complicity in the murder of Ernst Thälmann in August 1944. Thälmann, Communist Party leader and Reichstag deputy in Weimar Germany, met his death in Buchenwald.

FLEETING VISIT FROM DENMARK

Rabbi Bent Melchior, Chief Rabbi of Denmark, in the course of a flying visit to London addressed members of the New North London Synagogue in Finchley, who include his son John. In a wide-ranging informal talk, Rabbi Melchior touched on the rescue of Danish Jewry during the Second World War, the problems of modern Israel, Soviet Jewry and other topics.

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"THANK-YOU BRITAIN" FUND LECTURES November 12-14

As already announced last month, the series of lectures by Professor Joseph Sandler on "Between Two Worlds: the Psychoanalytic Psychology of Adaptation" will be held on November 12, 13 and 14 at 5 p.m. at the British Academy, 20-21 Cornwall Terrace (entrance Allsop Place), N.W.1., near Baker Street Station. Professor Sandler, formerly of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, is the first holder of a Chair of Psychoanalysis in this country.

HERBERT BAUM RESISTANCE GROUP

Contrary to a general assumption, it is not true that Jews in Germany were always passive victims of Nazi persecution. One of the examples of active Jewish resistance is the Herbert Baum Group in Berlin. After a partly successful attempt to set the anti-Russian Lustgarten Exhibition "Soviet Paradies" (1942) on fire, most members of the group were caught and executed. For some time thorough scholarly research on the background, work and destiny of the group members has been carried out by an American Jewish historian of German-Russian descent, Eric Brothers. Mr. Brothers is looking for any kind of information pertinent to the subject, especially documents, unpublished letters, photographs and diaries of group members. Information from former members of the "Deutsch-Juedische-Jugend-Gemeinschaft", who were not associated with the group but who knew Herbert Baum and/or followers of his from their work in the Jewish youth movement, would also be welcomed. Mr. Brothers is particularly anxious to get in touch with Beate Cohn, the

sister of Marianne Cohn-Baum, and Susan Birnbaum, the sister of group member Heinz Birnbaum, both of whom emigrated to England before the war. The importance of the work is recognised by the Director of the London Leo Baeck Institute, Dr. Arnold Paucker, and any information should be sent to him to be forwarded to Mr. Brothers. The address is: Dr. A. Paucker, Leo Baeck Institute, 4 Devonshire Street, London W1N 2BH.

SPECIAL NEW YEAR

Six people representing four generations—between 103 and 3 years old—gathered in Mrs. Margaret Jacoby's room in the Walm Lane Nursing Home on the afternoon of Rosh Hashana. Robin Williams, who also blows the shofar in a service of the West London Synagogue, had the idea three years ago, and has considered it ever since to be an honour to blow it on these occasions. The long Tekia Gedola was especially appreciated, and the delighted expression of the 'young in heart' Mrs. Jacoby made it a memorable experience. M.W.

A VIENNESE PHILANTHROPIST

Eugenie Schwarzwald, born to the Nussbaum family in Czernowitz, came to Vienna while still a schoolgirl just a century ago. In 1901, she and her husband bought a derelict school on the Franziskanerplatz, to become the "Mädchen-Lyzeum PhDr Eugenie Schwarzwald". This was a very progressive act, since girls at that time were by no means educated as a matter of course. By 1907, the school had 500 pupils. Going ever further and in the face of violent opposition, "Genia" Schwarzwald opened a "Co-Educational Primary

School for Boys and Girls", which was followed by a kindergarten. An even grander scheme was the Semmering School, a proposed open air boarding school for 200 pupils, whose opening was, however, delayed by the outbreak of the First World War.

One of the teachers employed in these schools was the painter Oskar Kokoschka, whom Genia had discovered penniless in Berlin in 1911. Recognising his phenomenal talent, she engaged him to teach drawing; but his career in education collapsed when a schools inspector complained that the artist had no settled course of instruction and was letting the girls draw "over-modernly".

Eugenie Schwarzwald's patronage also extended to atonal music and Alban Berg. Arnold Schoenberg and Anton Webern were among those whose careers she furthered.

As well as her schools, Genia opened communal restaurants, ran an "Eat more fruit" campaign and provided free training for girls wanting to go into domestic service. Literally dozens of institutions and charitable organisations (with an emphasis on helping women and girls) were under her wing in 1938—all of them to be dissolved by the Nazis or absorbed into the "Deutsche Mädchenmittelschule".

Eugenia Schwarzwald took refuge in Switzerland and died in 1940 at nearly 70. Her last words were "How is it that ten thousand Viennese whose children I rescued should shout 'Heil Hitler'?"

S.B. is on holiday. His column will be back next month.

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