

*REICHSVERTRETUNG DER JUDEN IN DEUTSCHLAND
Berlin- Charlottenburg 2/Kantstrasse 158/Sammelnummer 91 91 41*

*Bitte bei der Antwort angeben
Unser Zeichen:Abt.Dr.H/Hi*

Den 16.Mai 1938

*Frau Dr.Leonore Goldschmidt
Berlin-Wilmersdorf, Hohenzollerndamm 110*

*Sehr geehrte gnädige Frau,
im Anschluss an unsere persönliche Unterredung be-
stätigen wir Ihnen gern, dass die von Ihnen in Berlin ins
Leben gerufene höhere jüdische Schule allein schon durch ihre
grosse Schülerzahl, die nun 600 überschritten hat, innerhalb
des jüdischen Schulwesens Berlin von erheblicher Bedeutung ist.
Mit Rücksicht auf die Geldsammlung, die das American Joint
Distribution Committee in den Vereinigten Staaten für das
gesamte soziale Hilfswerk der Juden in Deutschland ständig
durchführt, müssen wir Sie aber, wie ich schon mündlich
getan habe, bitten, von einer Sondersammlung irgendwelcher Art
in den Vereinigten Staaten Abstand nehmen zu wollen.
Indem ich Ihnen gute Reise und glückliche Rückkehr
wünsche, bleibe ich*

*mit dem Ausdruck der vorzüglichsten
Hochachtung
Ihr sehr ergebener*

(Dr. Otto Hirsch)

Translation of the above letter by the author:-

Dear Madam,
In connection with our private discussion, we will gladly acknowledge that the Jewish High School that you have created in Berlin, alone in consideration of the large number of students, more than 600, is of considerable importance. With regard to the funds that the American Joint Distribution Committee in the United States regularly collects to assist with all the social work needed by Jews in Germany, we must ask you, as we have done during the discussion, to desist from any special fund raising in the United States.

Wishing you a good journey and happy return, I remain

With expression of highest esteem
Faithfully yours
Signed (Hirsch)

Lore, concerned that nothing had been achieved during their meeting to resolve the stand-off between her and Otto Hirsch, addressed a six page letter to the *Reichsminister* ¹²⁵ which explained in detail the requirements expected by Cambridge University from examination centres both in England and overseas. She reminded the Minister that it had taken much work and expense, including journeys to England, for her school to gain recognition by Cambridge University. Other institutions had done none of this work, had none of the resource material nor the required staff of English teachers. She went on to suggest that other schools should adopt a positive attitude by preparing students differently, namely, by teaching Romance languages or by taking up the offer, which she had recently received from Otto May of the *Gesellschaft der Freunde der Hebräischen Universität, Jerusalem* (Society of friends of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem), informing her that the British Mandate Government had relaxed some immigration restrictions and would admit all students who had obtained the Abitur to study in Jerusalem ¹²⁶. The offer was open until the 30th of September 1938. She was particularly annoyed by the interference of the *Reichsvertretung der Juden in Deutschland* (National Deputy of Jews in Germany) which had offered no leadership. She ended her letter stating that she had been making great efforts to place her students into further education in England and was extending these efforts to the USA.

In the first week of May, 1938, an application for permission to travel to the USA was submitted to *Oberschulrat* Dr. Hübner in the *Stadtpräsident's* office. It was forwarded up by Gräfer, raising no objections, ¹²⁷ to the *Reichsminister's* office. On the 13th of May, Gräfer wrote a second handwritten private letter to Freysoldt in the *Reichsminister's* office to help speed up permission. He, in turn, forwarded it to Dr.Klamroth with added comment, that he knew that Dr.Goldschmidt was in touch with the Protestant Committee for German Refugees in New York. ¹²⁸ On the 4th of June, Dr.Klamroth, Freysoldt and Gräfer requested that the Minister agree to a journey, lasting 4 weeks, unless there existed political or other reasons against granting permission.¹²⁹

1938 visit to the USA

On the 7th of June, Ernst and Leonore left Berlin for the USA with the good wishes from all members of the Goldschmidt Schule. The ultimate aim was to find a way to move the school to the USA, a difficult task because severe immigration restrictions had to be overcome and, of course, lack of money. It was a long journey. The boat train, Berlin/Bremerhafen took about 7hrs. The "*Dampfschiff Bremen*" left

¹²⁵ Copy of letter, 19/4/1938, Bundesarchiv, Potsdam

¹²⁶ Copy of original letter from Jerusalem to LG, 7/4/38 Bundesarchiv, Potsdam

¹²⁷ Letter in May, 1938, Gräfer to the *Reichsminister*, Bundesarchiv, Potsdam

¹²⁸ Letter from Gräfer, 13/5/38, Bundesarchiv, Potsdam

¹²⁹ Letter from Freysoldt to Minister, 4/6/38, Bundesarchiv, Potsdam

Bremerhafen on the 8th of June and arrived in New York on the 14th of June.¹³⁰ Only very rarely did a private individual undertake a return journey to the USA. The cost was considerable. Theodore Huebener welcomed them to New York. In a very interesting letter ¹³¹ to the Commissioner of Customs, Washington DC, he introduced Lore as the head of the largest private Jewish school in Berlin, asking him to be of maximum assistance. He suggested that she may wish to bring as many as 300 people to the USA and, citing President Roosevelt's recent statements, asked the department: "to take a sympathetic attitude toward the situation". He signed this letter with "Member, American Committee for German Christian Refugees". She, subsequently, visited Miss Esgate in the Office of the Commissioner of Customs, New York ¹³² to discuss detailed regulations should a move of the school eventuate. On the 20th of June, Theodore Huebener received a very interesting reply from the New York State Education Department in which G.M Wiley ¹³³ stated: "that a license is not required in this State in order to conduct a private school. It should be noted, however, that any private school which enrolls children of the compulsory school age must offer educational facilities reasonably equivalent to those available in the public schools. The instruction in such a school must be in English from English texts, and must meet the statutory requirements relative to such an instructional program." This encouraging letter plus all the information from the Customs Department eased some physical problems associated with moving the school to the USA. Raising financial support was the next task. Lore and Ernst visited Albert Einstein on Long Island. He gave her a letter ¹³⁴ of recommendation to La Guardia, the Mayor of New York. They made contact with Mrs Elsa Brandstroem-Ulich ¹³⁵, who had made it her priority to help immigrant teachers find positions in the USA school system and in due course, even hoped to raise enough money to issue affidavits to teachers wanting to emigrate to the USA. The Joint Distribution Committee of all Jewish Funds was approached but, only after pressure from Dr.Huebener, agreed to meet them. The meeting was amicable and the Joint Distribution Committee agreed to help with \$10,000 yearly, provided no objection would be raised by the *Reichsvertretung* with whom they had some prior agreement. Ernst and Lore enjoyed meeting cousins Raymond and Lucien Goldschmidt in New York, but because Raymond Goldschmidt had brought his parents to the USA and had other family financial commitments, he could not provide the necessary Affidavit for Ernst and family. It was Theodore Huebener who guaranteed the support for the Affidavit, truly a most generous gesture. He also introduced them to Alvin Johnson, the founder of the New School for Social Research in New York.¹³⁶ In his autobiography, Johnson recalled that after founding the New School for Social Research, he managed to bring a few, well known, Jewish scholars, working in the field of the Social Sciences, to the U.S.A. by offering them positions in his school and thus circumvented the required Affidavits with their associated waiting

¹³⁰ Norddeutscher Lloyd, Time Table of 1938, in possession of the author

¹³¹ Theodore Huebener letter to Commissioner of Customs, June 23 1938, in possession of the author

¹³² Note attached to Huebener letter with comments by Ernst G, in possession of the author

¹³³ Letter, Whiley to Huebener, 23/6/38, in possession of the author

¹³⁴ Einstein letter in possession of the author

¹³⁵ Letter to *Reichsminister* 9/11/38

¹³⁶ Alvin Johnson, autobiography, the Pioneers Progress, published by Viking Press

times. He informed Lore and Ernst that, although now an academic, he was concerned with the drift of farmers to towns and that he was endeavouring to revert this trend. As he was the son of emigrant settlers in Nebraska, he understood the problems of small scale farming. By settling Jewish refugees from Germany on the land he hoped to break the cycle of Jews settling in New York. Further farm emigrants would be able to circumvent the Affidavit restrictions. Johnson mentioned Maryland as a possible place of settlement. Remembering her own very happy youth on her father's farms in Zimmersdorf and Pforten, Lore offered her help with this venture. She hoped to be able to use the farm as a basis for a school, the idea of a "farm school" fired her imagination. She felt that a possible solution had been achieved. She would look for suitable settlers in Germany and engage Herr Moch, an experienced educator in farming, to train Jewish students for three months before departure to the USA. Lore and Ernst left New York on the 3rd of July.

While both were away questions about Frau Goldschmidt's journey to the USA were raised internally in the Nazi's administrative hierarchy. A note from the Foreign Office, signed by Gopffel ¹³⁷, requested that Freysoldt should seek the opinion of the *Geheime Staatspolizei*, *GESTAPO*, (the secret state police) in Berlin. As a result, Freysoldt forwarded all relevant documents to the secret police on the 25th of June ¹³⁸. On the 23rd of July an answer from the *GESTAPO*, signed by Freytag ¹³⁹, was sent to the *Reichsminister's* department which stated clearly that the emigration of German Jews was being undertaken by other Jewish organizations and that Dr. Leonore Goldschmidt's participation was not wanted. It added that the emigration of intellectual Jews was a liability as they frequently turned the propaganda against the Third Reich. It was better to train young people as tradesmen. This message was passed on to Klamroth and Freysoldt in the *Reichsminister's* department, who, on the 3rd of August ¹⁴⁰, forwarded a request to the *Stadtpräsident* and the *Auswärtige Amt* (Foreign Office) that application made by Dr. Goldschmidt of the 7th of May 1938 should be denied. Note that by then, Lore and Ernst Goldschmidt had been to the United States and had come back!

They returned to Bremer *Hafen* on the 9th of July, 1938. Travelling on the famous steamer Bremen, they had the dubious distinction of sharing the ship and boat train with the boxer Max Schmeling, the great Aryan idol. He had travelled to the USA to defend his World Boxing title against the Negro, Joe Louis. Because of the time difference between the USA and Germany, the broadcast of the fight was well after midnight. By the time the author got to the radio set, it all was over. Schmeling had been knocked out in 2 minutes and 4 seconds. The associated Aryan dream had received a severe jolt. Nevertheless, top Nazis brass were at the *Zoologischer Garten* (Zoo Station) to greet Schmeling. The small Jewish party, consisting of Herr Bandmann, some students and the author, who had come to welcome Lore and Ernst

¹³⁷ Letter Gopffel to Freysoldt, 20/6/38 Bundesarchiv, Potsdam

¹³⁸ Front Page, 25/6/38, Freysoldt to *Geheime Staatspolizei*, Bundesarchiv, Potsdam

¹³⁹ Note from *Staatspolizei*, 23/7/1938, Bundesarchiv, Potsdam

¹⁴⁰ Note to *Stadtpräsident* from Freysoldt, 3/8/1938, Bundesarchiv, Potsdam

Goldschmidt ¹⁴¹, found themselves surrounded by these brown shirts. It was a frightening experience. Lore and Ernst, however, were prepared. They knew that Schmeling was on the ship and all left the platform very quickly. Once safely home, Lore told us that their two weeks in New York had passed too quickly but she hoped that the school would move to the USA.

She found her school in good shape as, in her absence, the loyal Dr.Kurt Lewent had looked after everything. The preparations for the Cambridge University O-level examination were on track. 14 pupils had been registered for the examination, 10 pupils from the Goldschmidt Schule and 4 pupils from the Kaliski Schule Shortly thereafter, Lotte Kaliski and her partner, Heinrich Selver, emigrated to the USA leaving the Kaliski Schule in the able hands of Dr.Paul Jacob, *Studienrat*, an old friend and colleague of Lore Goldschmidt.

The farm venture in North Carolina

Just before the end of term, a letter from Alvin Johnson ¹⁴² arrived. It was dated the 11th of July and arrived on the 21st of July. He was sorry not to have had another talk with her before her departure. He had wanted to change his previous suggestion of acquiring land in Maryland and suggested that a settlement near the city of Wilmington, North Carolina, would be preferable, as other settlements in the area, made by his friend Hugh MacRae, had been successful. He suggested setting up a corporation with authorized capital of \$150,000. Each farmer would be given title to his place subject to a long term, low interest mortgage. He continued further details in a 6 page letter. A copy, together with a German translation, was forwarded by Lore to the German educational authorities. ¹⁴³ A document: "A Project for a Refugee Farm Community in North Carolina" ¹⁴⁴ was found among Lore Goldschmidt's archives. A handwritten note at the top of the first page, *Originalmemorandum von Herrn Direktor Johnson* (original memorandum by Director Johnson) was added by Lore. In it, Johnson set out different obligations. The Farm would support 15 young men and 15 young women together with 4 or 5 mature couples. The land would be divided into 10 acre lots as small holdings. Housing would be provided and he estimated the total cost of the project at at \$250000. He went on to suggest that an alternative plan affecting the proportions of improved land has been suggested by Mr.Hugh MacRae, namely the acquisition of the Van Eeden tract of 500 acres of improved land for \$50000 and adjoining unimproved land up to 600 acres. If this plan were to be adopted, no material change would appear in the ultimate capital requirement, since the Van Eeden tract, which is good land, although requiring the expenditure of \$1000 for a deep main draining ditch, costs no more, acre for acre than rough land with charges for clearing and ditching. He concluded with a discussion of educational

¹⁴¹ Photograph, page 131 Passages from Berlin, private publication

¹⁴² Letter from Alvin Johnson to LG, 11/7/1938, in possession of the author

¹⁴³ Johnson's letter of 11/7/1938 plus German translation, Bundesarchiv, Potsdam

¹⁴⁴ 8 Pages, Carbon Copy of typewritten document, in possession of the author, no date.

facilities in that part of North Carolina and the health problems, mainly malaria, hookworm and typhoid. Lore and Ernst contacted Herr Moch, as discussed with Prof. Johnson, to find suitable candidates for settlement in North Carolina and to start their training. She replied to Johnson's letter on the 5th of August, suggesting that she and Moch would need to pay another visit to inspect the land in North Carolina, USA.

The summer holidays of 1938 were spent in Berlin. No summer camp had been arranged. It was a good holiday as the river Havel with its pleasant woodlands could be reached by bicycle. Groups of students spent many pleasant hours there.¹⁴⁵ Towards the end of August, the school received the Cambridge School Certificate results, altogether 13 students were awarded the School Certificate.¹⁴⁶ The names of the 9 pupils belonging to the Goldschmidt Schule were: R.C. Braun, W. Eisner, G. Freuthal, W. Wassermann, M. Lewy-Lingen, E. Matzdorf, E. Mendelsohn, M. Meyer, I. Samuel. 14 students passed in English and English Literature, 14 in German, 13 in French, 5 in Latin, 1 in Greek, 14 in Mathematics, 3 in Additional Mathematics, 1 in Physics, 2 in Chemistry, 2 in Physics-with- Chemistry, 7 in English History, 9 in Geography, 1 in Life of Christ/Acts, 1 in Painting, 1 in Life Study, 1 in History of Painting and 1 in Illustration, altogether a remarkable achievement for both teachers and students. The results also proved that co-operation between schools was possible as 4 students from the Kaliski Schule passed their School Certificate as well. Lore, who knew all her senior students well, was very proud. To complete her happiness, she received notification from the *Stadtpräsident, Abteilung für höheres Schulwesen* (Mayor of Berlin, section High Schools) that the *Reifeprüfung* (the Abitur or final examination) could take place at her school and that the Certificate could be issued in the name of the Jüdische Privatschule Dr. Leonore Goldschmidt. It was signed by *Oberschulrat* Dr. Hübner.¹⁴⁷ Several students sat the *Abitur* at the school. Her morale was very high.

On the 24th of August¹⁴⁸, she received a favourable reply from Johnson. He was pleased with her suggestions and with her idea of another visit to the USA which would include North Carolina. He enclosed the railroad timetable from New York to Wilmington. The only inconvenient time for her visit would be the last week in September, when he had commitments at Yale University, but assured her that his friends would meet them in Wilmington at any time. Her proposal to start the venture on the 1st of January was most acceptable as quote: "It allows a few weeks for settling before the first work of tillage must begin."¹⁴⁹ On the 31st of August¹⁵⁰ the Department of Education, State of New York, requested that she submit an evaluation of her teaching credentials together with Form 'F' and translated copies of

¹⁴⁵ Photographs in possession of the author

¹⁴⁶ Records in Cambridge University, Rare Books Room, Cam C 11 51 1, 1937-1939

¹⁴⁷ Letter 24/8/38, from *Stadtpräsident* to LG

¹⁴⁸ Letter from A Johnson to LG, 16/8/38 in possession of the author

¹⁴⁹ German translation of above and copy of original, Bundesarchiv, Potsdam

¹⁵⁰ Letter signed Grace Thompson, sent 31/8/38 answered 13/9/38, in possession of the author

her qualifications. Encouraged by the good news, she hoped that her American venture would be successful.

But on the 31st of August ¹⁵¹, she received a letter from the *Stadtpräsident* of Berlin informing her that her application of the 5th of May requesting a travel permit to visit the USA had been denied. The denial was absurd as she had been there and returned, but it augured badly for the further visit planned with Moch. To add to the confusion, she received another document three weeks later, a *Bescheinigung* ¹⁵² (Certificate) from the Department of Emigration stating that Dr. Leonore Goldschmidt was engaged in helping her pupils emigrate, especially to the USA, and it requested German passport authorities and border police to facilitate her journeys in and out of Germany during the coming year. This situation was disconcerting and led Lore Goldschmidt to investigate its cause.

Further, the Affidavit for the Goldschmidt family, which Dr. Theodore Huebener had kindly offered during the New York visit, did not arrive at the US Consulate in Berlin. Lore was very concerned and informed him accordingly. He replied on the 21st of September ¹⁵³: "I was distressed to read that the Consulate in Berlin had not received it. Will you kindly ask them to make another search and endeavour to locate it? I am writing this, since I do not want you to feel that I do not live up to my promises. If the document cannot be located and you need another, please let me know."

Again, the first event of the autumn semester of 1938 was the Sports festival of Jewish schools on the 12th of September. But the atmosphere had changed. Inge Fehr wrote: ¹⁵⁴ "The Goldschmidt Schule came second, beaten only by the Lessler Schule. A song specially written for this event began with: "*Jüdische Jugend sei stark und fest!* (Jewish youth be strong and determined)". Wolfgang Edelstein reported that they were singing Zionist songs like: "*Jüdische Jugend halt fest deine Reih'n, Die ganze Jugend muss es sein* (Jewish youth, hold fast in your ranks, it has to be the entire youth)". Horst Frank observed: "that before the end of the Sports festival, German Army Units had set up anti- aircraft guns outside the grounds and were practising when we left." ¹⁵⁵

With the political situation rapidly deteriorating, people started to emigrate in larger numbers. Dr. Philip Cahn, the school doctor, had obtained a visa to the USA and Dr. Robert Goldschmidt, another second cousin of Ernst, agreed to act as school physician. Philip Cahn's aunt, Helene Schwabacher, who had supervised the "gourmet" kitchen in the boarding school, went to join her brother in England. Younger teachers left whenever an opportunity arose. By the second half of September 1938, the political situation had become dangerous. Ever since the

¹⁵¹ Letter from *Stadtpräsident* to LG, signed Becker, 24/8/38

¹⁵² *Bescheinigung*, 23/9/38, Copy in possession of the author

¹⁵³ Letter from Huebener to LG written 13/9/38 received 21/9/38, in possession of the author

¹⁵⁴ Passages from Berlin, Private publication

¹⁵⁵ Passages from Berlin, Private publication

annexation of Austria, Hitler's greed was aimed at incorporating the Sudetenlands of Czechoslovakia. His constant propaganda had reached the point of no return. With Allied forces in a weak position, representatives of the British and French governments agreed to meet him. During the 2nd meeting in Munich on the 29th of September, Chamberlain, waving his infamous piece of paper and shouting "Peace in our Time" had handed the Sudetenlands to Germany without a fight and with total disregard to the people of Czechoslovakia. For the Jewish people in Germany, it meant a reprieve, gaining time to escape the murderous clutches of the German Reich. These soon became evident. Hitler, finding himself in a powerful position, ordered the removal of all Jewish citizens, who had moved to Germany from Poland since the War. He labelled them "Polish Jews". They were rounded up on the 27th and 28th of October and without any belongings transported to the Polish border and dumped inside Poland. This had its repercussion in the Leonore Goldschmidt Schule. Wolfgang Edelstein's comment was that: "One day, in early November, there were empty seats in my Goldschmidt Schule classroom."¹⁵⁶ Fortunately it did not affect the staff of the school but it had an impact on morale.

The only cheerful news was a letter of thanks from Helene Reschovsky to Lore, dated the 20th of October, for recommending her to the Committee of Friends of Refugee Teachers with subsequent employment in the Baldwin School, Bryn Mawr, Penn. It was the first positive outcome of her visit to the USA. It made Lore so happy that she took this letter with her other papers when she left Germany.¹⁵⁷

The problem with her travel permit caused her great anxiety. She did not want to admit this to Alvin Johnson and the correspondence with him was left unattended. He wrote a letter on the 24th of October¹⁵⁸ and followed it with a telegram on the 26th of October¹⁵⁹: "Please write, can do nothing without full information on settlers". In an encouraging letter, he wrote that he had raised \$46000 so far and would be able to find another \$20000 in this first year investment. He continued that you were to come over in September. I have not heard a word from you directly. His letter was translated and sent to the Authorities.¹⁶⁰ She replied to the telegram on the 29th of October finally admitting her difficulties with the travel permit. Johnson replied on the 8th of November¹⁶¹ hoping to keep much closer in touch. By then, Lore Goldschmidt had received another refusal from the *Stadtpräsident* to grant a travel permit for a visit abroad, citing that other designated Jewish organizations were dealing adequately with the matter of emigration. This letter, dated the 2nd of November¹⁶² and signed by Dr. Gräfer followed an internal correspondence between the *Stadtpräsident*¹⁶³ and

¹⁵⁶ Passages from Berlin, Private publication

¹⁵⁷ Handwritten letter, Helene Reschovsky to LG, in possession of the author

¹⁵⁸ Letter 24/10/38 Alvin Johnson to LG in possession of the author

¹⁵⁹ Telegram 27/10/38 from Johnson, in possession of author

¹⁶⁰ Copy and translation of letter 24/10/38, Bundesarchiv, Potsdam

¹⁶¹ Letter 8/11/38 Johnson to LG in possession of the author

¹⁶² Letter from Gräfer to LG 2/11/38 in possession of Bundesarchiv, Potsdam

¹⁶³ *Stadtpräsident* to Klamroth, 25/10/38 in possession of Bundesarchiv, Potsdam

Dr.Klamroth ¹⁶⁴ about which Lore Goldschmidt knew nothing. Klamroth, in an internal memo, cited that Dr.Müller, ministerial advisor of the Ministry of the Interior, was in fact in favour of Lore Goldschmidt dealing with emigration and thus improving on the work of the *Reichsvertretung der Juden in Deutschland* (Representative Organisation of Jews in Germany) but included in his note that he had informed Dr.Müller about Lore Goldschmidt's connections to certain Christian welfare organizations that the Foreign Office disliked.

Once Lore had proof that Dr.Otto Hirsch was behind the refusal to grant her a travel permit, she sent an 8 page letter, carefully crafted by Ernst, to the *Reichsstelle für das Auswanderungswesen* (Department of Emigration). This very important letter not only gave much detailed information about her recent visit to the U.S.A. and her interaction with the Jewish authorities there but also outlined her ideas about her future intentions. It was written on the 9th of November, 1938. ¹⁶⁵

Complete reproduction of this letter, because of its implications:-

Betrifft: Farmprojekt North Carolina

In der Anlage gestatte ich mir, eine Abschrift des Schreibens des Herrn Stadtpräsidenten der Reichshauptstadt Berlin (Abteilung für höheres Schulwesen) vom 2.November 1938 zu überreichen, aus dem es sich ergibt, dass der Herr Reichsminister für Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung meinen Antrag auf Genehmigung einer Reise ins Ausland ablehnt, mit der Begründung, dass die Auswanderung der reichsdeutschen Juden bereits von hierzu bestimmten jüdischen Organisationen in ausreichendem Masse gefördert wird.

Es hätte mir fern gelegen, eine Kritik an der Tätigkeit der jüdischen Organisationen, insbesondere der Reichsvertretung der Juden in Deutschland in Bezug auf das Auswanderungswesen zu üben, wenn nicht die Begründung der Ablehnung meines Antrags mich hierzu nötigen würde. Ohne die Leistungen dieser Organisationen zu verkleinern, darf ich behaupten, dass bei den Bestrebungen der Reichsregierung, den Prozess der sozialen Ausgliederung der Juden und deren Auswanderung zu beschleunigen, neben der Tätigkeit der Organisationen eine weitgehende Privatinitiative notwendig ist, wenn sich die Auswanderung in geregelter Form abwickeln soll. Tatsache ist jedenfalls, dass die Reichsvertretung der Juden in Deutschland jeder eigenen Tätigkeit in den Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika entsagt hat und zwar auf Grund eines mit dem Joint Distribution Committee in New York geschlossenen Vertrages, in dem dieses Komitee der Reichsvertretung für Deutschland Geldmittel zur Verfügung stellt. Diese Selbstbeschränkung der Reichsvertretung hat leider eine ungünstige Wirkung für die Einwanderung nach U.S.A., insofern durch die dortigen Komitees nicht alle Möglichkeiten der sozialen Eingliederung der Einwanderer in den Vereinigten Staaten wahrgenommen werden.

Die soziale Notwendigkeit, mich mit den Fragen der Auswanderung jüdischer Jugendlicher zu beschäftigen, ergab sich aus meiner Tätigkeit als Leiterin der grössten jüdischen höheren Schule Berlins. Wenn es schon unter normalen Verhältnissen zu den Aufgaben eines Schulleiters gehört, sich um die berufliche Eingliederung seiner ausgehenden Schüler zu kümmern, so vergrösserte sich diese Verpflichtung in dem Augenblicke, als es notwendig wurde, diese berufliche Eingliederung im Auslande zu bewirken. Ich wünsche hierbei, im engsten Einvernehmen mit den jüdischen Organisationen zu arbeiten, und wandte mich deshalb vor meiner Reise nach der U.S.A. im Juni dieses Jahres an den geschäftsführenden Vorsitzenden der Reichsvertretung der Juden in Deutschland, Herrn Dr.Hirsch, mit der Bitte um eine Empfehlung an die jüdischen Organisationen New Yorks. Auf Grund meiner Rücksprache mit Herrn Dr.Hirsch erhielt ich das in der Anlage beigefügte Schreiben, aus dem

¹⁶⁴ Klamroth to Stadtpräsident 1/11/38 in possession of Bundesarchiv, Potsdam

¹⁶⁵ Letter from LG to Reichsstelle für Auswanderungswesen see footnote 135

Inhalt hervorgeht, dass man sich in der Reichsvertretung zwar scheute, eine offene Ablehnung meiner Bitte auszusprechen, dass man aber von vornherein nicht gewillt war, mich zu unterstützen. Dieser Eindruck verstärkte sich bei den Verhandlungen mit den jüdischen Komitees in New York, bei denen die Reichsvertretung einen ständigen Delegierten für die Wahrnehmung ihrer Interessen bestellt hat. Es gelang mir erst durch das entschiedene Eingreifen des Herrn Dr. Theodore Huebener, Acting Director des Board of Education, New York, der im Sommer 1937, nach Rücksprache im Reichsministerium für Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung meine Schule besichtigt hatte, überhaupt empfangen zu werden. Die von vornherein in den Verhandlungen erkennbare ablehnende Einstellung des Joint Distribution Committee in New York zeigte unzweideutig, dass dasselbe bereits vorher gegen mich beeinflusst war. Dennoch gelang es mir, das Komitee von der dringenden Notwendigkeit meiner Pläne zu überzeugen und eine prinzipielle Zusage auf Bereitstellung von 10 000 Dollar jährlich zu erreichen. Ich wurde allerdings darauf hingewiesen, dass die Reichsvertretung der Juden in Deutschland auf Grund der zwischen dem amerikanischen Komitee und der Reichsvertretung geschlossenen Abkommens ihre Zustimmung hierzu geben müsse. Ich habe dann entgegen der ausdrücklichen Verabredung von New York direkt nichts mehr hierüber gehört, sondern erhielt lediglich von Herrn Leschnitzer, dem Schuldezernenten der Reichsvertretung, die mündliche Mitteilung, dass das amerikanische Komitee die Bewilligung der 10 000 Dollar telegrafisch zurückgezogen hätte. Das Telegramm selbst ist mir nicht gezeigt worden.

Dennoch ist mein nur 18tägiger Aufenthalt in U.S.A. nicht ohne Erfolg geblieben. Es gelang mir, eine Verbindung zu Frau Elsa Brandstroem-Ulich herzustellen, die es sich zur Aufgabe gemacht hat, eingewanderten Lehrern zu helfen. Nur nach langen Kämpfen mit der Reichsvertretung und erst auf Eingreifen der Reichsstelle für das Auswanderungswesen, erreichte ich, dass eine Notiz über die Lehrerhilfe in der jüdischen Presse erscheinen konnte. Die Papiere von fast 40 Lehrern und Lehrerinnen sind durch mich dem Komitee "Friends of Refugee Teachers", Cambridge (Mass.) zugeleitet worden. Von einer der ersten nach dieser Aktion in U.S.A. eigewanderten Lehrerinnen erhielt ich einen Brief, dessen Fotokopie ich mir anliegend zu überreichen erlaube und auf dessen Inhalt ich Bezug nehme. Selbstverständlich habe ich meine Tätigkeit in dieser Sache, die eine umfangreiche Korrespondenz mit mehr als 200 Lehrern und nicht unerhebliche Auslagen zur Folge hatte, ohne jegliche Vergütung geleistet.

Bisher konnte ich nur solchen Lehrern helfen, die selbst in der Lage waren, sich das erforderliche Affidavit zu beschaffen. Ich habe aber auf Grund inzwischen geführter Korrespondenz die begründete Hoffnung, dass ich es bei einem nochmaligen Besuch in U.S.A. und einer Rücksprache mit Frau Elsa Brandstroem-Ulich erreichen werde, dass das Komitee auch eine grössere Anzahl von Affidavits für Lehrer zur Verfügung stellen wird, nachdem die ersteingewanderten Lehrer untergebracht sind.

Das wesentliche Ergebnis meiner Reise ist aber die durch Herrn Dr. Theodore Huebener vermittelte Verbindung zu Herrn Dr. Alvin Johnson, Professor der Yale University und Direktor der New School for Social Research, New York, der einer der führenden Männer im Siedlungswesen Amerikas ist. In einer Unterredung machte ich ihm den Vorschlag, junge jüdische Einwanderer, die sich hierfür eignen, auf einer Gemeinschaftsfarm zwecks späterer Einzelsiedlung auszubilden. Er begrüßte diesen Plan und bemerkte hierbei, dass seine fachliche Beratung leider bisher von den jüdischen Organisationen niemals gesucht worden sei, dass aber durch die Unterlassung der Ansiedlung die einwandernden Massen sich in den Städten zusammenballten, und dass infolgedessen die Aufnahmefähigkeit und -willigkeit der Vereinigten Staaten beeinträchtigt würden.

Da ich meinen Aufenthalt in U.S.A. nur so lange ausdehnen konnte, wie es die in Deutschland eingezahlten Beträge gestatteten, konnte ich die Ausarbeitung der Pläne in New York nicht abwarten, sondern erhielt von Direktor Dr. Johnson die in Fotokopie und Übersetzung anliegenden Briefe vom 11. Juli und 16. August 1938, aus denen sich sein Plan ergibt.

Bereits im September dieses Jahres erwartete mich Direktor Dr. Johnson in U.S.A. um mit mir alle notwendigen Vorbereitungen und Vereinbarungen für den Beginn der Siedlung zu treffen. Umso härter traf mich das Verbot der Ausreise, von dem ich zunächst, um das Siedlungsprojekt nicht zu gefährden, keine Mitteilung nach Amerika sandte. Daraufhin erhielt ich von Herrn Direktor Dr. Johnson am 28. Oktober ein Telegramm und am 5. November den in Fotokopie und Übersetzung beigefügten Brief vom 24. Oktober. Aus diesem Brief ergibt sich, dass Direktor Dr. Johnson bereits 46 500 Dollar bereit gestellt hat und weitere 20 bis 25 000 Dollar zur Verfügung stellen will. Meine Absicht war, mit einem landwirtschaftlichen Sachverständigen zusammen nach U.S.A. zu fahren, um an Ort und Stelle mich zu vergewissern, dass ich die Verantwortung für die in North Carolina beabsichtigte Ansiedlung

übernehmen kann und um alles zu besprechen, was zur Vorbereitung der Einwanderung und Ansiedlung notwendig ist. Der Plan geht dahin, dass die ersten 30 jungen Leute im Januar 1939 von hier abreisen sollten.

Nach Rücksprache mit dem amerikanischen Generalkonsulat kann ich mit dessen wärmster Unterstützung in der Durchführung dieses Planes rechnen, da das hohe Ansehen des Herrn Direktor Alvin Johnson in Amerika dem Konsulat die erforderliche Gewähr für die Sicherheit des Unternehmens bietet. Das von Herrn Direktor Alvin Johnson zur Verfügung gestellte Kapital stammt nicht von jüdischen Komitees, stellt also eine zusätzliche Geldhilfe Amerikas für die Auswanderung dar. Ich sehe davon ab, von dem ideellen Wert, den die Durchführung des Projektes haben wird, und von der grossen Ausdehnungsmöglichkeit desselben zu sprechen, obwohl ich aus Schriften von Dr. Alvin Johnson beweisen kann, dass mein Projekt nur das erste Glied der systematischen Ansiedlung jüdischer Einwanderer ist, die er in Amerika erstrebt und mit der ihm zur Verfügung stehenden Hilfe des amerikanischen Staates durchzuführen gedenkt. Bei aller Bescheidenheit darf ich aussprechen, dass ein starker persönlicher Konnex zwischen den amerikanischen Leitern der Aktion und mir vorliegt, sodass es leider nicht möglich ist, dass ich mich in der zunächst zu leistenden Arbeit vertreten lasse.

Bei der Auswahl der Siedler wollte ich mit dem Hilfsverein der Juden in Deutschland zusammenarbeiten, der zunächst hierzu gern bereit war, dann aber auf Grund eines Einspruches des Herrn Dr. Eppstein vor der Reichsvertretung verlangte, dass ich diesem zunächst das Projekt unterbreiten müsse. Die ablehnende Haltung des Herrn Dr. Eppstein wurde erst durch ein Eingreifen der Reichsstelle für das Auswanderungswesen überwunden. Nunmehr wurde in einer gemeinsamen Besprechung mit Herrn Dr. Eppstein und dem Vorstand des Hilfsverein festgestellt, dass mein Projekt zu fördern sei und eine Zusammenarbeit mit dem Hilfsverein anempfohlen.

Umso mehr muss die Begründung der Ablehnung meiner Auslandsreise überraschen, da ich wohl annehmen darf, dass derselben Vorstellungen von Mitgliedern der Reichsvertretung zugrunde liegen.

Nachdem ich gestern Gelegenheit hatte, Herrn Regierungsrat Dr. Klamroth vom Reichsministerium für Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung von der finanziellen Sicherung des Projektes durch Herrn Direktor Alvin Johnson zu berichten, stellte mir Herr Regierungsrat Dr. Klamroth anheim, in einer Eingabe, die ich über die Reichsstelle für das Auswanderungswesen leiten sollte, unter Klarlegung der gesamten Vorgänge eine Überprüfung der Entscheidung über meine Reise zu beantragen.

Ich erlaube mir deshalb, die gehorsamste Bitte auszusprechen, diese Eingabe mit einer befürwortenden Stellungnahme an den Herrn Reichsminister für Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung weiterreichen zu wollen.

(Signed: Dr. Leonore Goldschmidt)

Translation by the author:-

Concerning: The Farm Project North Carolina

As an enclosure, I am respectfully submitting a copy of the letter from the Town President of the Capital, Berlin (Division of High School Education) dated 2. November 1938, which implies that the Minister for Science, Education and Culture rejects my application for permission to journey abroad, stating as the reason that the emigration of German Jews, already sufficiently covered by designated Jewish organisations, is proceeding adequately.

It would not have been usual for me to criticise the work of Jewish organizations, especially the *Reichsvertretung der Juden in Deutschland* (Representative Organisation of Jews in Germany) with regard to their emigration work, were it not cited as the reason for rejecting my application to travel abroad. Without belittling the

work of these organisations, I may state that, considering the effort of the government to increase the social separation of Jews and subsequent emigration, it is in the interest of the government to increase the number of emigrants and that in addition to the work of these organizations, a large private initiative is required if emigration is to proceed in a regulated way. It is a fact that the *Reichsvertretung* has renounced all activity in the USA because of an agreement with the Joint Distribution Committee in New York, as this Committee gives money to the *Reichsvertretung*. This voluntary reduction has regretfully unfavourable consequences for the immigration into the USA, especially as the USA Committees have not endeavoured to explore all the various possibilities for social integration of immigrants.

The social necessity to occupy myself with the question of emigration of Jewish youth arose from my position as headmistress of the largest Jewish High School in Berlin. If under normal circumstances it is a duty for the headmaster to engage in promoting the professional opportunities for leaving pupils, it becomes even more important and necessary when these professional opportunities have to be arranged in foreign countries. Because I wish to work closely with all Jewish organisations, I, prior to my journey to the USA in June of this year, contacted the acting chairman of the *Reichsvertretung*, Dr.Hirsch, with the request to introduce me to the Jewish organisations in New York. As a result of further consultation I received the enclosed letter, which indicates that the *Reichsvertretung* was not prepared to refuse my request directly but, from the beginning, was not prepared to support me. This impression was increased during my negotiations with the Jewish Committees in New York, where the *Reichsvertretung* employs a delegate to safeguard its interests. Only following the decisive intervention by Theodore Huebener, Acting Director of Education in New York, who had visited my school in the summer of 1937 after receiving permission from the Minister of Science, Education and Culture, did I obtain an interview. From the beginning, the negative attitude displayed by the Joint Distribution Committee of New York showed without doubt that it had been influenced against me. In spite of that, I managed to convince the Committee of the urgent necessity of my plans and achieved a promise of \$10 000 yearly. It was, however, pointed out to me that, because of the existing agreement between the American Committee and the *Reichsvertretung*, the latter also had to consent. In spite of the definite agreement in New York, I heard no more but received a verbal communication from Mr.Leschnitzer, the school designate of the *Reichsvertretung*, that the American Committee had withdrawn its offer of \$10 000 via telegram. The telegram itself was not shown to me.

Nevertheless, my 18 day stay in the USA was not without success. I was able to make contact with Mrs.Elsa Brandstroem-Ulich who has set herself the task to help immigrant teachers. Only after a long argument with the *Reichsvertretung* and only after help from the *Reichsstelle für das Auswanderungswesen* (Government Department for Emigration) was it possible for me to place an announcement in the teachers' help column of the Jewish Newspaper. The details of nearly 40 teachers, male and female, were then sent by me to the Committee of Friends of Refugee teachers, Cambridge Mass. Following this correspondence, I received a letter from one of the teachers who was able to emigrate to the USA, a copy of which I permit

myself to submit and to which I wish to draw attention. Of course, my work which has involved considerable correspondence with more than 200 teachers and the corresponding substantial costs has been carried out without remuneration.

Up to now I have only been able to help those teachers who were able to obtain an affordable affidavit on their own. But I am hoping, based on further correspondence, that, following another visit to the USA and a further interview with Mrs. Elsa Brandtstroem-Ulich, the Committee will offer a greater number of affidavits to teachers, once the first immigrants have been placed in teaching positions.

The most important achievement of my journey was the introduction by Theodore Huebener to Dr. Alvin Johnson, Professor at Yale University and the Director of the New School for Social Research, New York, who is one of the leaders in working with settlements in America. In a discussion with him, I suggested that young Jewish immigrants suitable for community farming could be trained here for later immigration. He liked the plan but said that up to now Jewish organisations had not shown an interest in his specialist knowledge and that the settlement of considerable numbers of refugees in towns limited the number of possible immigrants and influenced the willingness of receiving immigrants into the USA.

As I could only stay in the USA for the length of time allowed by the amount of money paid into the foreign currency account in Germany, it proved impossible to wait for detailed results of my plans in New York, but I received detailed plans from Director Johnson by mail, dated 11 of July and 16th of August. Copies with translations are enclosed.

Dr. Johnson had been expecting me in September in order to undertake all necessary work and agreements concerning the settlement. Therefore, the refusal to travel abroad hit very hard and in order not to undermine the future of the settlement, I did not inform Dr. Johnson of this decision. I received a telegram from Dr. Johnson on the 28th of October and on the 5th of November the letter; a copy and translation are enclosed. In the letter Dr. Johnson stated that he has secured \$46500 and would raise another \$20-25000. My original intention had been to visit the USA accompanied by an expert in farming, visit the area and inspect the proposed land to make sure that I can undertake the responsibility for the intended settlement in North Carolina and to discuss all the necessary preparation for immigration and integration. The plan included the possible date of January 1939, when the first 30 young people would leave here.

Following consultation with the American General Consul, I know that I can count on his full support in the execution of this plan, as the great reputation enjoyed by Director Alvin Johnson in the USA, reassured the Consul of the security of the project. The Capital raised by Alvin Johnson does not come from Jewish committees, therefore, represents additional capital for immigration purposes. I do not intend to discuss the ideal position which the execution of this project would achieve nor the extensions that will be possible, although I can prove from correspondence with Dr. Alvin Johnson that my project would be the first step in the systematic integration

of Jewish immigrants, which he desires for America and which he will achieve with the help given to him by the US government. In all modesty, may I add that a strong personal connection has been formed with the leaders of the project in the US and that it would not be beneficial to have the work deputised at present.

I wanted to work together with the *Hilfsverein der Juden in Deutschland* (Auxiliary Association of Jews in Germany) in the selection of emigrants. They were at first pleased to do that, but, after interference from Dr.Eppstein of the *Reichsvertretung*, demanded that I would have to submit the project to him in the first place. This negative attitude of Dr.Eppstein was overcome by instructions from the *Reichsstelle für das Auswanderungswesen* (The Government office for Emigration) who insisted that my project was to be encouraged and suggested a joint undertaking.

The refusal of my travelling abroad is, therefore, most surprising, as I have to assume that protests from members of the *Reichsvertretung* are the underlying reason.

Yesterday, after I had the opportunity to report to *Regierungsrat* (Government advisor) Dr.Klamroth in the Ministry of Science, Education and Culture on the financial security of the project as given by Dr.Alvin Johnson, Dr.Klamroth suggested that I make an application via the *Reichsstelle für das Auswanderungswesen* (Office for Emigration) and ask for complete clarification of the circumstances and a review about the decision with regard to my overseas travel.

I, therefore, request, respectfully, to ask for this application to be forwarded to the *Reichsminister für Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volkskultur* (Minister for Science, Education and Culture) with a positive recommendation.

Signed: Dr.Leonore Goldschmidt

The beginning of the end

That same night, the night from the 9th to the 10th of November, became known as "Kristallnacht". During the following day, the 10th of November, the Jewish people of Germany witnessed the most sustained and determined persecution so far. It changed life in Germany for all of them for ever. Ernst and Leonore Goldschmidt escaped narrowly as related here:-

On the 10th of November 1938, the author ¹⁶⁶ was 14 years and 9 months old. As usual, we, my brother, my cousin and myself sat off to walk to school, but were met by anxious taxi drivers, whose taxi-stand was at the next street corner. They told us that the synagogue had been set on fire and warned us to hurry to school. As we could see smoke rising from the direction of the local orthodox synagogue, we ran to school. There we found both pupils and teachers very agitated as many had seen other synagogues burning on their way to school. We tried to settle down, but, just

¹⁶⁶ Story written by the author for her family in 2001

after my class started, my mother, as headmistress of the school, came to our classroom to inform teacher and students that it had been decided that a large gathering of Jewish children presented a danger. We should, therefore, leave in small numbers via the back gate. The non-Jewish custodian, Herr Voss, would supervise our departure and make sure that all dispersed quickly. Then we were to rush home. We three went back to our apartment. Not long thereafter, my parents came to the apartment with the terrible news that the Nazis were arresting all grown up men. My mother had received a warning telephone call from the wife of the French teacher, Dr. Julian Hirsch, after he had been arrested. Quickly, a small bag was packed for my father. Because I was sure that my father would forget his toothbrush, I put mine into the bag as well. Then both my parents left speedily via the kitchen door and ran down the back stairs to the inner court yard. From there, a passage led into the street where the taxi rank stood. The taxi drivers were loyal. Some drove Jewish clients all day around the town to stop them from being arrested. One of them took my parents to the British Consulate because my father needed a visa to enter Great Britain. He had a valid passport, because he had visited the USA that summer. My parents had hardly disappeared when the front door bell rang. Our maid, Helene, opened the door to two big men both wearing Nazi badges. "We want to speak to Herr Goldschmidt!", they demanded. This came as quite a shock to me, as I was standing right beside Helene, but I quickly answered by saying that my parents were at the school. Then they wanted to know how to find the school and I gave them directions. Helene just kept saying: "ja, ja" and they left. What a relief for the moment! But we knew that they would be back. Helene agreed that we must make sure that my brother and cousin, both 13 years old, would stay out of sight in their bedroom. We gave them strict instructions which fortunately both duly obeyed. Almost an hour later the Nazis returned. They were very angry with me and shouted that I had lied to them, saying: "Your parents are not at the school". I kept my cool, denied that I had lied to them and replied: "Does your daughter know where you are?" They looked embarrassed, they had no answer to my clever question. Rather than leave the flat, they decided to stay until my father's return. Helene was at her best. She showed them around the flat, politely asked them to sit down in the dining room and served coffee. But they remained suspicious, because the moment the telephone rang they demanded to take the call. This meant that one of them had to get up from the comfortable chair in the dining room and walk to the telephone in the corridor. Numerous telephone calls followed, all coming from parents, who having phoned the school, which did not answer, rang us to find out what was happening. As the Nazis could never answer their questions, they would hand the phone back to Helene who always replied that she did not know anything and she did not know where Dr. Goldschmidt was. After some hours Helene served lunch! The two Nazis started to relax and did not bother to answer the phone any more. This turned out to be a great blessing. Because some time later my mother rang to ask what was happening. Helene stood her ground and coolly replied that she did not know where Dr. Goldschmidt was. My mother, still slow to catch on, kept on saying: "I am Dr. Goldschmidt". Helene finally replied: "I do not know where Dr. Goldschmidt is and we have visitors waiting for her here". Then my mother realised our situation and hung up. The Nazis never knew what had been said. It was late in the afternoon when my mother phoned to say that she was coming back. We had given my father 8 hours to escape. Nevertheless, I was anxious about

her return. Standing at my bedroom window, I waved my arms when she appeared in the street, hoping to stop her from coming up. But she had laid her plan and there was no stopping her. She made one of her truly theatrical entrances, the grand dame had arrived! "She had just returned from the British Consul, because she and the school represented Cambridge University in Berlin. The school was now flying a British flag and they, the two Nazis, could of course arrest her if they thought it wise." She also told them that, with permission from the British Consul, my father was on business in England and would not return. It was a tremendous show. The two Nazis were totally taken aback, said that they had no warrant to arrest her and left.

Then my mother told me that the British Consul had kindly issued a visa for my father. The taxi had taken them to the train station where my father had caught the ferry train to Denmark, an escape route that he had been working out for some time. On the station she had given him her beautiful engagement ring, with a ruby and diamonds, to sell if he needed money. A day later, he phoned from London with a thank-you for the extra toothbrush. That was certainly a wonderful moment, for he was safe for now.

A few days later, the school reopened. Mrs. Julian Hirsch's timely warning had given many teachers time to hide. The usually 'so very correct' Dr. Lewent ¹⁶⁷ eventually emerged from the girls boarding house, where he had taken refuge. But some male staff members were missing. Some pupils were without their fathers and in need of emotional support. The staff rose magnificently to the task while Lore's first aim was to preserve some kind of normality.

With Ernst in London, she, more than ever, had to continue her fight for her travel permit. The *Reichsstelle für Auswanderung* (Emigration Department) had added a highly supportive note to her long letter of the 9th of November and forwarded it to the *Reichsminister für Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung*. But the Minister was not impressed and, on the 25th of November, sent a further internal memo to the *Geheime Staatspolizei* again objecting to her travel permit adding an attached handwritten note referring to his earlier negative replies. ¹⁶⁸ Lore unaware of the involvement of the *Geheime Staatspolizei*, hoped to enlist support from the *Hilfsverein der Juden in Deutschland* (Self help organisation of Jews in Germany). They replied with a polite letter but offered no help whatsoever. ¹⁶⁹ Determined, Lore continued her fight, this time via *Oberschulrat* Dr. Hübner to the *Reichsminister*. On the 28th of November, she addressed a further letter to the *Reichsminister* enclosing a very important note from Mr. Roach of Cambridge University which stated that he had informed Lord Samuel and the Home Office of the relationship with certain schools in Germany which were registered as examination centres. Finally, on the 6th of December ¹⁷⁰, Dr. Klamroth sent a memo to *Oberregierungsrat* (Senior

¹⁶⁷ Passages from Berlin, Private publication

¹⁶⁸ Memo from the *Verwaltungssekretär* to the *Geheime Staatspolizei*, 25/11/1938, Bundesarchiv, Potsdam

¹⁶⁹ Letter from Hilfsverein to LG, 25/11/38, Bundesarchiv, Potsdam,

¹⁷⁰ Klamroth to *Oberregierungsrat* Freysoldt, 6/12/1938 Bundesarchiv Potsdam

Government Advisor) Freysoldt stating that the *Geheime Staatspolizei* had in fact withdrawn its objections and, if he considered it necessary, a written confirmation should be sent to confirm the verbal approval to travel given by *Oberschulrat* Hübner. He added, the whole matter should then be confined to the archives. Klamroth had finally got the measure of Lore Goldschmidt. Lore did not wait for the final outcome and, on the 26th of November, having gained the verbal approval via the *Reichsstelle für Auswanderung* (Emigration Department) obtained a new passport without travel restrictions plus a multi-entry visa to the UK. She left Germany on the 1st of December ¹⁷¹. The stamp at Croydon Airport gave her the right to stay for one month in the U.K.

England

She found Ernst in relatively good shape. He was staying at the Royal Hotel, Russell Square ¹⁷² because sometime earlier, he had discovered the possibility of smuggling small amounts of money out of Germany. While travelling on the Berlin-Copenhagen ferry-train, he had found a key in the cupboard door of the toilet. The key opened all cupboard doors. He took it with him. This enabled him to hide cash and jewellery while still in Germany and recover it in Copenhagen. Lore was not aware of his exploits at the time. ¹⁷³ His relations in London, cousin Ernst Schwabacher and second cousins, Joseph Bender, married to Elsie, the daughter of the Bishop of Ely. and Carl Goldschmidt had left Germany before the World War, had become British citizens and were well established. Ernst Schwabacher was a stockbroker who lived in Rickmansworth, Joseph Bender lived in Great Portland Street and Carl Goldschmidt lived in Beechwood Avenue, Finchley. They rallied and that support gave him courage. In spite of his limited knowledge of English, he was able to make contact with various organisations. He had contacted the Harris family at St Christopher School with the request that they take his two children and cousin William into their school as, after the November persecutions, the British Government had relaxed immigration restrictions for children under 16 years of age. Provided a sponsor was found, an immigration visa to the UK would be issued at once. Mr. and Mrs. Harris most generously undertook that responsibility. Dudley Cheke was in London at the time. Together, they started to look for alternative ways to move Lore's school from Berlin to England. Ernst also contacted Dr. Theodore Huebener in New York impressing on him the urgency of the situation and the need to send another copy of the Affidavit as the original seemed to have been lost. This finally arrived in England on the 21st of December, altogether a most generous gesture by Dr. Huebener as he, a family man with four young children, only had an income of US\$7000, no real estate possessions and \$2000 in savings! ¹⁷⁴

¹⁷¹ German Passport, No II/5229/38 copy in possession of the author

¹⁷² Addressed envelope in possession of the author

¹⁷³ Confession to the author after WWII

¹⁷⁴ Affidavit and accompanying letter in possession of the author

While Lore was away in England, she phoned home every night, sometimes quite late. To be close to the telephone, I slept in my parents' bed. One night when shots were fired in the inner court yard of the apartment block, I got an enormous fright and felt sick the following morning. Gertrud Noël, who loyally came every day, phoned Dr. Robert Goldschmidt. He came to see me, always so reassuring, and ordered several days complete rest. Lore Goldschmidt decided to come home.

She returned on the 14th of December, 1938.¹⁷⁵ The school had returned to a normal timetable as all teachers were back. Some were severely traumatised by the treatment that they had received in the concentration camps and by the threat that they had to emigrate or be reimprisoned.

In spite of all these uncertainties, the December Examinations of the University of Cambridge took place. The results were a miracle and reflected the devotion of the English staff. 69 students passed the Proficiency in English Examination. 27 entered the School Certificate, O-level, Examination and 17 passed. They were:- H.P. Galliner, G. Korn, P. Lewinsohn, F. Mandelbaum, A. Messing, M. Rosenberg, G. Sigler, E. Simion, W. Winterfeld, G. Stein, R. Friedmann, M. Hoff, M. Levy, M. Meissinger, M. Riegner, I. Schlesinger and H. Wasser. 27 passed English Composition, 14 *Midsummer Night's Dream*, 19 Authors, 13 General English Literature, 9 Joshua and Judges, 9 Old Testament 16 British and European History, 10 Geography, 12 Latin, 1 Greek, 23 French, 27 German, 27 Maths, 5 Additional Maths, 2 Chemistry, 1 Physics, 9 Physics-with-Chemistry, 2 Drawing, 3 Painting, 1 Memory Drawing, 2 Life Study, 4 Illustration and 1 Music.

Another great joy for Lore was a visit by Mr. Moch with several young people, trained as farmers and ready to emigrate to the USA. One of them was Leonard Heimann, brother of Dr. Heimann, an acquaintance of Alvin Johnson.¹⁷⁶ Johnson must also have been pleased with this news, as he had sent a desperate telegram asking for biographies of settlers¹⁷⁷ one month earlier, on the 16th of November, totally unable to understand the difficulties that Lore Goldschmidt and the Jewish community were facing.

But the situation had changed as all, staff and students, were preoccupied with their emigration prospects. One of Lore's priorities was the rescue of her own children. She lodged applications for their passports. She forwarded the new copy of the Affidavit to the US Consul in Berlin with a request that the registration numbers for the four members of her family should be as of July 1938.¹⁷⁸ This was of great importance as the US immigration quota was full and waiting time for receiving visas was by now years rather than months. Alvin Johnson tried to get a visa directly from the State Department but failed.¹⁷⁹ Another friend, Kurt Bloch wrote¹⁸⁰ that he had

¹⁷⁵ Passport entry in LG's passport, see footnote 176

¹⁷⁶ Passport entry in LG *Deutsche Reich Reisepass*, 26/11/1938

¹⁷⁷ Telegram Johnson to LG, 16/11/1938, in possession of the author

¹⁷⁸ Lore's request to US Consul,

¹⁷⁹ 2 Telegrams from Johnson, 29/11 and 15/12 possession of the author

met Dr. Johnson in Washington and that Johnson was trying to straighten out diplomatic difficulties with high officials, as immigration to the US had become more difficult due to the ever increasing number of applicants. On the other hand, Kristallnacht and subsequent arrests in November had changed the attitude of British Authorities for the better. They were actively offering help. His Majesty's Secretary of State for Home Affairs spoke sympathetically about a suggestion made to him by Lord Samuel to transfer pupils of Jewish schools to England. ¹⁸¹ Therefore, Lore's focus had to change. She would in all likelihood have to accept the offer of Mr. and Mrs. Harris to take her children into St Christopher School and she applied to move some furniture to England in their name. In a 4 page letter written on the 30th of December, 1938, to Raymond Goldschmidt in Washington, she described the new situation and asked for his support. The University of Oxford had offered an old country house, Tythrop-House, Kingsley, Oxfordshire with 380 acres of farmland. ¹⁸² Another farm in Ringelstone, Kent was a possibility. She expressed high hopes for the Tythrop House venture. Some money had been raised for it by her: £2400 from Woburn House, German Jewish Aid Committee, £5000 from the Co-operative Society, £1000 from Oxford University and £6000 from guaranties by parents. Some teachers would transfer from Berlin. She went on to ask Raymond's advice about raising money for the project in the USA. She also asked for his help in providing a support Affidavit for her US visa application as the consul in Berlin had asked for evidence of family support. She included hopeful comments on Johnson's project saying that it may be possible for herself, Ernst and Moch to visit the project. She said that Ernst hoped that they would be able to move by the end of March.

The following day, the 31st of December, she left for the UK ¹⁸³ to further the immigration prospects of the school and to help some individual teachers who, on release from concentration camp, were told to leave Germany by the 1st of April 1939. ¹⁸⁴ Through the Chief Education Officer of the County Council of London, Miss Nussey, Ernst and Lore were introduced to her brother, Canon Hyla Holden, a Canon in the Archdiocese of Canterbury, living in Folkestone, Kent. He was familiar with most schools in the area and he offered his help which, in the end, turned out to be the one project that worked.

¹⁸⁰ Kurt Bloch private letter to friend, 27/1/1939, copy in possession of the author

¹⁸¹ Copy of note by J.O.Roach, Cambridge Uni, Bundesarchiv, Potsdam

¹⁸² Letter from LG to Raymond Goldschmidt, Washington, 30/12/38/ copy in possession of the author

¹⁸³ Passport entry, *Flughafen Tempelhof*, 31/12/1938

¹⁸⁴ Letter to Huebener 13/2/1939