

Dr. Leonore Goldschmidt Schule (1935-1941)

BY GERTRUD THOMPSON

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Introduction

In 1934, while on a visit to a small town in southern Germany, Leonore and Ernst Goldschmidt became aware of the suffering endured by local Jewish school children, who were at the mercy of a few outspoken Nazis. This was especially hurtful, when those families had known each other for some years and had been living as neighbours. The Nazi hate propaganda included baptised children of Jewish parents. By contrast, in Berlin, where Leonore and Ernst resided, the situation was better as a certain amount of anonymity was possible. This awareness led Leonore Goldschmidt to contemplate opening a boarding school which would offer a good education in peaceful surroundings. As she was a teacher with a doctorate in history, Leonore Goldschmidt had the necessary qualifications to undertake such a project. But equally important was her strong and determined personality displayed since her youth.

Before the First World War

The young Leonore, 1897-1914

Leonore or Lore, as she was called, was born on the 16th of November 1897 in Gosda by Klinge². (Photo 1). Her sister, Martha, was 13 years her senior. Her mother, Jenny Zweig neé Marcuse came from well established families in Schwerin and Crossen. Shortly before her death in March 1934, Jenny wrote a letter to her niece, Lotte Just, containing much information about her ancestors³ including the fact that her paternal grandfather had been the Mohel in Schwerin and considered a learned man. Lore's father, Wilhelm Zweig, was born in Lublinitz then part of Germany, now Lubliniec, Silesia, Poland. He had two older brothers Karl and Joseph. Joseph and Wilhelm left Lublinitz to settle in Forst/Lausitz. When their father, Lore's grandfather, Adolf Zweig, died in 1893, Joseph signed his death certificate. It stated that Adolf had been married to Lorel Richter, that, at the time of his death, he was a house owner in

¹ Gertrud Thompson is the daughter of Leonore and Ernst Goldschmidt, birth certificate

² Birth certificate No 27, Klinge, 23/11/1897

³ This letter survived the emigration but was lost and only photocopies exist

Lublinitz⁴ but had come from a farm in Molna, located a few kilometres outside Lublinitz. Molna is of interest as the family of Arnold Zweig, the writer, also farmed there⁵ but, due to the immense destruction of records by the German Army in 1939, the exact relationship between the two Zweig families could so far not be established.

After Wilhelm Zweig's arrival in the Lausitz, he discovered a clay pit near Gosda by Klinge and started to make bricks. A financial partner in the undertaking, Wilhelm Just, introduced him to his sister-in-law, Jenny Marcuse whom Wilhelm Zweig promptly married.⁶ By the time Lore was born, her father had a well established business, called a *Dampfziegelei*, (Steam driven brick works) in Gosda by Klinge. Today it has disappeared, a huge lignite coal hole is all that remains. But the original little railway station at Klinge still exists. When the Gosda clay deposit became exhausted, Wilhelm Zweig opened a new brick factory at Lieberose and, remembering his childhood in Molna, bought one farm in Zimmersdorf and one in Pförten.

Lore had an idyllic childhood. She loved living in the country. She often talked to her children about the pony trap, which took her to school. In June 1908, when Lore was eleven years old, she wrote a letter to her mother, who was taking a cure in Wiesbaden⁷. It showed that Lore's handwriting was outstanding. To enable her to continue her education and attend a secondary school, the family moved to Forst where she joined the *Luise Schule*. There she learnt English, French, History, Mathematics and Science. She learnt Jewish History and Religion from Herr Pulverman, the Cantor, who looked after the small Forst congregation. Wilhelm Zweig contributed to his upkeep although the Zweig family was an emancipated family.

Lore's adult education, 1914-1923

In 1914, the year war broke out, Lore was 17 years old. She wanted to continue her education but, as only the boys' section of the *Luise Schule* continued to the *Abitur* (Final High school leaving examination), she decided to attend the private school of Dr. Krause in Halle for a further two years. A war time card from her father, to Halle has survived.⁸ It was written from Forst as he was, fortunately, too old to serve in the army. Because Dr. Krause's school had no facilities to actually take the *Abitur*, Lore had to go to the Grunewald Gymnasium for Boys in Berlin to sit the examination.⁹ Her *Zeugnis der Reife*, (Certificate of maturity) showed that she passed her favourite subject, History, with a very good mark, Latin, French and Geography with a good pass, English, German, Mathematics and Chemistry with a pass but failed Physics. It

⁴ Death Certificate, No 54, issued in Lublinitz of 23/4/1893.

⁵ Marriage Certificate, No 110, of Carl Zweig to Regina Abraham, 6/9/1886

⁶ Zweig Family Tree, constructed by the author

⁷ Lore's letter to Jenny Zweig at Hotel Englischer Hof, Wiesbaden, with envelop and photo

⁸ Card in possession of the author

⁹ *Zeugnis der Reife*, *Real Gymnasium*, Berlin Grunewald, 31/3/1916

was issued on her father's birthday. Her parents were immensely proud of her as it was a great achievement for a girl from a small town to obtain the *Abitur* especially under the depressing circumstances of the war.

Lore was determined to continue her education and obtain a doctorate in History, a further six year undertaking. Fortunately, her father, a wealthy man, was able to fund the educational demands of his beloved daughter. She decided to start her academic life in Jena, the romantic town where the great German poet and playwright, Friedrich Schiller, had taught in the previous century. She selected European History, German Language with Literature, and English. She attended an introduction to Philosophy and learnt some Greek. As was customary at the time, she changed after two semesters to another university. Heidelberg was her choice, where many famous professors were lecturing. She was able to attend lectures by Hermann Oncken, Heinrich Hampe, Friedrich Gundolf and the doyen of Heidelberg, Johannes Hoops. Joseph Goebbels was a contemporary student. She started work on her thesis: "*Das Argument deutscher Orientpolitik in der deutschen öffentlichen Meinung*" (The discussion of German Orient Policies within the framework of German public opinion). After three semesters in Heidelberg, she moved to Berlin for six semesters. The lectures that she attended were listed in her Final Certificate¹⁰. Most noticeable was her interest in English Literature, taught by Prof. Walter Hübner, who would later play a most important and controversial part in her life. She returned to Heidelberg to finish her thesis and was awarded her doctorate, magna cum laude, in July 1921.¹¹

All these academic successes were remarkable especially taking the political and destructive social situation into account. During the last two years of the war, two cousins on her mothers side had been killed in action. Her brother-in-law had to join the army causing great anxiety to her sister. Thankfully he survived. With the destruction of the Turkish empire, her father had lost his investments in the Orient Express Railway. Further financial losses followed due to the inflation. Nevertheless Lore remained determined to finish her education and become a qualified teacher.

By 1921 costs had increased enormously. Finding a place to live in Berlin had become difficult. Luckily, a fellow student and friend suggested that her godparents, an elderly couple, wanted to rent some rooms as they had lost their adopted nephew in the war and were very lonely. It proved to be a home from home. Despite coming from a different background, Prof. Franz Noël, who came from a Protestant Huguenot family, and his wife, Gertrud, a teacher (Photo 4), accepted Lore as a daughter. They had many interests in common as Prof. Noël was Professor of Theology and History. Having found this wonderful place to live, Lore was able to register for the final examination. She had to submit another thesis: "*Die Politischen Ideen in Goethes Faust*" (Political ideas in Goethe's Faust). The oral examinations were held on the 6th and 7th of March, 1922. The certificate stated that she had passed History with a satisfactory pass, German with a good pass and English subsidiary with a pass. It

¹⁰ *Abgangszeugnis, Friedrich-Wilhelm Universität, Berlin, 1921*

¹¹ *Doctoris Philosophiae, Universitate Ruperto-Carola, 20/9/1921*

was issued on the 9th of May and signed by Prof. Walter Hübner.¹² She had completed her academic qualifications as a teacher in the German High School system and was sent for practical training to the Cecilien Schule in Wilmersdorf. Two months later, on the 7th of July, her father, aware of his beloved daughter's success, died of cancer.

Meeting Ernst Goldschmidt 1922

In August of that year, another Gertrud, Gertrud Arnheim, celebrated her seventeenth birthday in Berlin. Her aunt, her father's sister, threw a birthday party and invited Lore Zweig because Lore had been Gertrud's babysitter in Forst, where both families, the Arnheims and the Zweigs, had lived in different apartments in the same block. Another considerably older person, a lawyer, who had returned to Berlin after four years of war service, was also invited. He was a cousin of Gertrud's mother, Adele Arnheim, néé Levinger. Gertrud decided that the two "older" persons should sit together. This fateful decision brought Ernst Goldschmidt into Lore's life. Within months they were engaged and they married the following May, in 1923.¹³ With the inflation raging and accommodation still very difficult to find, Ernst moved in with Lore and the ever-supportive Noëls. Thus the Noëls became friends for life with Lore and Ernst.

Ernst Goldschmidt 1885-1914

Ernst Goldschmidt was born on the 20th of January, 1885 in Coblenz.¹⁴ His childhood was sadly marred by the death of his father, Ruben Goldschmidt, which occurred 6 days after his second birthday, leaving his mother, Helene Goldschmidt néé Englaender, a professional pianist, to raise him. They were not alone as Helene's mother and sister lived in Mainz, then a three hour journey from Coblenz. The sister had six children, 2 boys and 4 very beautiful girls who were slightly older than Ernst.¹⁵ He loved them and they remained his friends throughout his life. One of these "girls" was Adele Levinger, later Arnheim, whose daughter, Gertrud, would introduce him to Lore Zweig. Many other cousins lived in Coblenz, because his father, Ruben, had been the oldest of 5 children. Second cousins lived in Ehrenbreistein on the east bank of the Rhine, the Prussian side¹⁶, which was not as accommodating to Jewish people as the west side, the French side. It was one of the reasons why Ruben's father, Elias Goldschmidt, a jeweller, had left Ehrenbreitstein in 1850 and moved to Coblenz where he opened a business at Rheinstraße 34, a four story

¹² *Prüfungs Zeugnis, Wissenschaftliches Prüfungsamt, Nr 356, Berlin Lichterfelde, 9/5/1922*

¹³ Marriage Certificate, Charlottenburg, 17/5/1923

¹⁴ Announcement in Coblenzer Zeitung, 21/1/1885

¹⁵ Englaender Family Tree

¹⁶ Archives, Ehrenbreitstein reports on page 312

building.¹⁷ On the ground floor was the store which sold silver and porcelain tableware, on the first floor was the jewellery department with the family occupying the upper floors.

Some time later, Elias' nephew, Wilhelm Goldschmidt, a banker, followed him across the Rhine and opened a bank on the opposite side of the rose garden which faced Rheinstraße 34. One of his children and therefore Ernst's second cousin, Robert Goldschmidt, became Ernst's closest friend. In fact, throughout Ernst Goldschmidt's life, all these family friendships were of paramount importance.

Elias' business was most successful and he was appointed Crown Jeweller: "*Elias Goldschmidt, Hof-Juwelier Sr. Kaiserlichen und Königlichen Hoheit des Kronprinzen des Deutschen Reiches und von Preussen*" (Elias Goldschmidt, Crown Jeweller to the Imperial and Royal Highness, the Crown Prince of Germany and Prussia).¹⁸ This was a tremendous honour. He opened two other branches, one in Bad Elms and one in Cologne. When Elias died in 1864, his widow, Amalie Goldschmidt, neé Leroy, was left to run the business and bring up Ruben, aged 15 and the four younger children. Fortunately she was another very able and very beautiful person.¹⁹ A small booklet, in which she recorded, in her very fine handwriting²⁰, all family member's birthdays, weddings and other dates has survived. By 1879, Ruben and his brother Joseph were listed as partners in the business "Elias Goldschmidt und Söhne".²¹ That same year Ruben, who had been the honorary choir master of the Coblenz Synagogue, was made an "Ehrenmitglied" (Honorary Member) of the congregation²². In 1884, Amalie died. Three years later Ruben died.

His younger brothers, Joseph and Bernhard, decided to put their major effort into the Cologne branch of *Elias Goldschmidt und Söhne*, leaving Helene Goldschmidt to look after the business in Coblenz. In 1900, Helene Goldschmidt sold her interest in the business and bought a large modern apartment outside the old city boundary. Ernst, now 15 years old, attended the Gymnasium where he learnt Latin and classical Greek, but his joy was playing the piano. He had inherited much talent from both his parents. With High School completed, he decided to study Law. His first University was Munich. From a surviving "*Concert und Theater Merkbüchlein*" (Concert and Theatre Diary) with starting date, the 5th of November 1903,²³ it appeared that much of his spare time was spent at the opera, concerts and theatre. His other hobby was walking in the Alps. On the 5th of August he climbed Mont Blanc.²⁴ In October 1904 he changed his university studies to Berlin. In 1905, entries in the *Theater Merkbüchlein* suddenly ceased indicating that he must have started his compulsory

¹⁷ Notes made by author from Coblenz Town Records

¹⁸ Photocopy of Announcement in Coblenzer Zeitung

¹⁹ Paintings of Elias and Amalie Goldschmidt in possession of the author

²⁰ Handwritten Booklet, which survived both wars and emigration, in possession of the author

²¹ Coblenz Archives

²² Documents in possession of the author, Coblenz Synagogue 1879

²³ Booklet in possession of the author

²⁴ Certificat d'Ascension au Mont-Blanc, Chamonix, in possession of the author

German Army training service. Eventually in May 1911 he finished his studies and passed the "*Staatsprüfung zum Gerichtsassessor*" (State Examination for Assistant Judge) ²⁵. A second document in 1912 referred him to the "*Oberlandesgerichtspräsident*" (President of the Supreme Court) in Cologne, instructing him to work as a *Referendar* (Junior Barrister) in the Cologne district. Together with his cousin, Ernst Mayer he joined the Coblenz riding club. ²⁶ But he did not enjoy life in a provincial town and after finishing his training decided to return to Berlin where he opened a practice as "*Rechtsanwalt und Notar*" (Solicitor, Barrister and Notary).

1914-1918 World War 1 and after

The political situation was becoming ominous and early in 1914, his mother decided to sell her apartment, store the furniture and move to Berlin. In July 1914 she went to the "*Kurhaus und Grand Hotel des Bains*" (Spa and Hotel) in St.Moritz-Bad, Switzerland. She hoped that her son would follow her. The first of 81 letters to Ernst, ²⁷ written from the 27th of July 1914 onwards, expressed that hope. But by Saturday, the 1st of August 1914, war had become inevitable ²⁸ and Ernst, the loyal German, joined his regiment, the *Thorner Feldartillerie Regiment No.81*. (Field Artillery Regiment) ²⁹ His sad mother returned to Berlin and took up residence in the Hotel-Pension van Heuckelum for the duration of the war. Worse, on the 10th of October, she received a telegram informing her that the furniture storage in Coblenz had gone up in flames and all her furniture had been burnt. ³⁰ Her Bechstein grand piano, which she had left with a friend, was all that survived.

Ernst Goldschmidt served as *Wizewachtmeister* (Vize Sergeant-Major of the Cavalry) on both the eastern and western fronts ³¹. He was awarded the Iron Cross, second class, in 1916. ³² After demobilisation, despite being distressed from the dreadful experiences of the war, he remained determined to succeed with the practice as *Rechtsanwalt und Notar* (Solicitor, Barrister and Notary) in Berlin. His mother was overjoyed that he had survived.

²⁵ *Anlage Patent, Justizminister, Berlin, 2 documents 9/5/1912*

²⁶ *Mitglieder-Verzeichnis, Coblenzer Reitclub, 1912*

²⁷ These letters end on 27/10/1914, in possession of the author

²⁸ *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, special edition*

²⁹ *Bestallung als Vice Wachtmeister, Thorn, 24/12/1914*

³⁰ Telegram no:177, 10/10/1914

³¹ *Das Thorner Feldartillerie Regiment, book by Albert Benary, published 1938, Verlag Graefe.*

³² *Besitzzeugnis 11/10/1916*

1922 Ernst and Lore Goldschmidt, a team

(photo 2 and 3)

Four years later, he met Lore Zweig. By sharing Prof. Franz and Mrs Gertrud Noël's apartment both families were able to survive the German post war inflation and maintain an atmosphere of great love and affection. The resultant exuberance of joy produced a daughter on the 16th of February 1924. At that time, Lore was in her second year of teacher's training, teaching at the *Augusteschule* (Auguste school) in Berlin where a sympathetic Headmaster granted her leave of absence for the birth of the baby. 4 months later, she passed the final teaching qualification with a good pass.³³ When she found herself expecting a second child the following year, even she decided to take some temporary leave of absence. Their son, Rudolf, was born on March 7, 1925. With the inflation halted, they were able to afford and acquire an apartment in Berlin-Grunewald, *Egerstraße* 12. Grandmother, Helene Goldschmidt, joined them to help look after the children. The Noëls also moved. They took a smaller apartment in Wilmersdorf to stay closer to their adopted family. With loyal domestic help available, Lore was able to return to teaching on 1/10/1925.³⁴ For four years she taught at the *Bismarck Lyceum* (Bismarck High School for Girls) in Grunewald. She expected to receive her permanency there but the appointment was terminated in 1929, maybe for antisemitic reasons.³⁵ Hildegard Wegscheider, a senior school inspector and friend of Lore Goldschmidt, had her transferred to a more senior position in the *Sophie Charlotten Schule* in Charlottenburg. She was happy there as the Head, Dr. M. Rosenow, and a colleague, Dr.Christmann, proved to be supportive, both holding strong democratic views.

1931, the first contact with England

In 1931, the very ambitious Lore Goldschmidt was bothered by the fact that 7 years earlier, in her final examination of 1924, she had achieved only an ordinary pass in English. She decided that the English section of the examination had to be repeated. This led to one of the most important decisions in her life. In order to become more fluent in the language she decided to go to an English private school, St.Christopher School, located in the Garden City of Letchworth, Herts. The Headmaster, Mr Lyn Harris, and his wife, Eleanor Harris were both Quakers who held fervent views about education. The school was completely co-educational. Lore greatly admired Harris' attitude towards his pupils, as his aim was to create independent adults by including senior pupils in the decision making process and give great freedom to all.³⁶ They became good friends, which would later stand her in such good stead. Lore also made friends with Mr. Ernest and Mrs. Gertrude Fernyhough, the deputy Headmaster, and Dudley Cheke, a past senior pupil, whom she invited to Berlin. He later proved a very loyal friend.

³³ Certificate, *Staatliches Pädagogisches Prüfungsamt*, Berlin, 23/6/1924

³⁴ Letter, 29/11/1924, granting leave of absence until 1/10/1925

³⁵ Dismissal Notice, 27/3/1929, Provincial Schulkollegium, Berlin, gez. Reinhard

³⁶ St Christopher School 1915-1975 by Reginald Snell and photo

Family commitments obliged her to leave earlier than she had expected. Lore returned to Berlin, much refreshed and with an improved understanding of English (also bringing her memorable discoveries, packets of Corn Flakes and Quaker Oats plus a book of Illustrated English Nursery Rhymes). She passed her additional English examination with a good pass.³⁷ One of the examiners and signatory of this "Zeugnis" (Certificate) was Dr. Lewent, later himself a teacher at the Dr. Leonore Goldschmidt Schule.

Seven months later, on the 26 of January 1932, Helene Goldschmidt, who had been ailing for a considerable period of time, died.³⁸ Ernst, Lore, the children and servants moved to a larger apartment *Auguste Viktoria Straße 62*, (Auguste Viktoria street 62), Schmargendorf. Gertrud Noël, by now herself a widow, visited every day to supervise the homework of the children.

Warning signs about the impending political situation began to gather:- A Jewish friend, who had been born in Poland, decided to emigrate together with his family to the Argentine. When he told Ernst Goldschmidt that a possible ascent of the Nazis looked ominous Ernst replied: " Don't be silly, this is Germany not Poland".³⁹ But the friend from Poland was right. Within a few months Hitler achieved the unthinkable.

1933 Hitler gains power

In January 1933, Adolf Hitler gained power. Nobody was prepared for the brutal lawless behaviour which immediately followed. Franz Hermann, Ernst's best friend, who enjoyed a ministerial appointment, was taken to a concentration camp and so severely beaten that he never recovered. Signs went up in Berlin to boycott Jewish shops. Ernst Goldschmidt was so enraged that he tore them down. He was arrested and taken to the *Alexander Platz* (Alexander Place) Police Station. Being a man of courage, who had been awarded the Iron Cross during the war, he told these young Nazi policemen that while he was fighting for them in the trenches, they were lying in their cradles in nappies. It worked and they let him go.⁴⁰

On the 8th of August 1933, Lore Goldschmidt received her first dismissal notice asking her to reply within three days to confirm that she was a non-Aryan person.⁴¹ The notice stated that "all relevant laws" had been passed on the 7th of April. On the 29th of August came the dismissal notice ⁴² followed by a final notice on the 26th of September ⁴³. It was signed by the Prussian Minister for Science, the Arts and

³⁷ *Zeugnis über eine Erweiterungsprüfung für das Lehramt*, 23/6/1931, signed by Lewent

³⁸ Gravestone, Liberal Jewish Cemetery, Willesden, London

³⁹ Conversation remembered by author

⁴⁰ Father's return clearly remembered by author

⁴¹ 10/8/1933, from the *Oberpräsident der Provinz Brandenburg und Berlin, Schulabteilung*

⁴² 29/8/1933 dismissal notice, *Preußische Minister für Wissenschaft etc, Signed in Vertretung, Dr. Stuckart*

⁴³ 26/9/1933 financial settlement to 30/11/1933, *Oberpräsident Provinz Brandenburg und Berlin*

Education. It stated that her employment would be terminated on the 30th of November and that she would be on leave until then. She would not be entitled to any pension. The only reason cited for her dismissal was her *nichtarische Abstammung* (non-Aryan descent). Although aware that this would happen, the dismissal came as a dreadful shock. Not only had she worked very hard to obtain the maximum qualifications for teaching in the public service, she had enjoyed being part of that service. She had spent many hours of her own time producing plays and *Singspiele* (musicals) to instill a love of learning in her pupils. Only her Headmistress, M. Rosenov, had the courage to send her a card with thanks for all her endeavours⁴⁴. Lore and Ernst discussed emigration but the fact that Ernst was forty eight years old, spoke no English and had a profession that could not be practised in any English speaking country made them reluctant to take that path. Ernst also hoped that the German people would come to their senses.

On the 10th of October 1933⁴⁵, Lore Goldschmidt received permission to teach individual groups of maximum 5 persons provided that they were also of *nichtarischer Abstammung* (non-aryan descent). Leonore Goldschmidt had to pay 3 Marks for this permission and this permission had to be renewed yearly! It enabled her to offer her services to Frau Tony Lessler, who had been running a small private school at 18 Kronbergerstrasse, Berlin- Grunewald, for some years. Originally, the school was a *Waldschule* (woodland school) designed for children whose health was not strong enough to attend the public school system. The Montessori program, which the author attended from 1930 to 1932, was used in the lower school. But when Nazi regulations demanded that all Aryan children and teachers leave the school, because Tony Lessler, the headmistress, was Jewish, it became a private Jewish school.⁴⁶ Lore taught at this school from October 1933 until the 1st of January 1935.⁴⁷

1934 The murder of Alexander Zweig, Lore's cousin

On the 7th of March 1934, Lore's mother, Jenny Zweig, died from a stroke.⁴⁸ Lore inherited one half of Roßstrasse 18, a house in Forst/ Lausitz, which had been in the family since 1913.⁴⁹ The other half went to her older sister, Martha.⁵⁰ Her mother's natural death was followed by a most dreadful murder. During the night between the 30th of June and the 1st of July 1934, the "Night of the Long Knives" Lore's cousin, Dr.med.Alexander Zweig and his wife were arrested and subsequently murdered. Alexander was the son of Karl Zweig. At the time of the murder, he had been a practising physician who owned a sanatorium in *Hirschberg, Riesengebirge* now

⁴⁴ 9/11/1933, a card from M.Rosenov

⁴⁵ *Unterrichtserlaubnisschein*, signed *Schulrat, Dr Spanier*, Berlin Wilmersdorf

⁴⁶ Wilmersdorf Museum, 1992, *Hier ist kein Bleiben länger*.

⁴⁷ To whom it may concern, 10/11/1949 by Tony Lessler, in possession of the author

⁴⁸ Death Certificate, Nr.22, Berlin-Nikolassee, 8/3/1934

⁴⁹ *Grundbuch*, Forst Lausitz, 1913, page 77

⁵⁰ Will of Jenny Zweig, *Amtsgericht Forst*, 27/6/1935

Jelenia Gora, (Poland), Sudeten Mountains. In Schlesien alone, over 80 people were murdered on that night. Nazi ring leader, Udo von Woysch, the SS *Gruppenführer* ⁵¹, gave the orders. In 1956, he was sentenced to 10 years in jail but served only 2 years.⁵² The actual murderers were the *Obertruppfürer* Erich Böttger and SS *Unterscharführer* Otto Gasse who received 8 and 4 year sentences, respectively in 1951.⁵³ The reason for these murders was not given in the court procedures.

Because the Zweigs had no children, Lore, Alexander's favourite cousin, inherited a considerable sum of money and a Cremona violin. It seemed appropriate to devote the money to the opening of the Jewish boarding school, which had been in her thoughts since her dismissal from the public service and her subsequent visit to the small town in southern Germany. She began serious planning while still teaching at the Lessler Schule.

1935 Opening of the first LGS

Throughout these trying times, with their depressing circumstances, Lore always considered it of great importance to preserve an atmosphere of normality. She decided to give a large dinner party on the 20th of January 1935 for Ernst's 50th birthday. It proved to be the last time that the "Goldschmidt" cousins and second cousins living in Berlin came together, in fact, that such a gathering was possible for within months, Hitler made one of his most aggressive anti-Jewish speeches in Nürnberg imposing many restrictions on Jewish people. These rules became known as the Nürnberg laws ⁵⁴. One restriction demanded that all German female servants below 45 years of age were to be dismissed and only older women were to be employed in Jewish households, a racial slur. It meant that the cook "Annie" and the housemaid "Lischen", who had been with the family for 10 years and were much loved and trusted, would have to leave. But Lore was able to circumvent their dismissal by employing both Annie and Lischen in the new boarding school which had opened a few months earlier on the 1st of May 1935.

The opening of the school occurred in spite of receiving a letter from the *Staatskommissar der Hauptstadt*, (Prussian Commissioner of the Capital) Berlin, signed: *Im Auftrage* (as instructed) *Hassenstein*, dated the 8th of April 1935, stating clearly a) that her application to open a Jewish boarding school could not be granted and b) that she had permission to teach groups of 5 non-aryan children only, as had been stated in Dr.Spanier's *Unterrichtserlaubnisschein* of October 1933 ⁵⁵. But Lore, cleverly, circumvented these teaching restrictions. By forming a group with other teachers, quite a daring undertaking, she increased the total number of students to be admitted to the boarding school, the *Dr.Leonore Goldschmidt Schülerheim*, (Home for

⁵¹ Letter to author 10/3/1997 from the *Staatsanwaltschaft*, Osnabrück

⁵² Leo Beck Yearbook, 1970, page 151, Resistance of German Jews

⁵³ Report, B Kehne, *Staatsarchiv-os*. Niedersachsen

⁵⁴ 15/9/1935, Nürnberg anti Jewish legislation

⁵⁵ Letter dated 8/4/1935 signed *Im Auftrag* (on instruction) Hassenstein, copy with author

Students). It was housed at Kronberger Straße 24, Berlin-Dahlem,⁵⁶ close to the Grunewald. Kronberger Straße 24 was a four story house, with basement and a garden of 1650sqm. Surrounded by similar houses, the large gardens created a park-like atmosphere. As the prospectus showed, much thought was given to the physical and mental wellbeing of the boarders. They had five meals a day:- breakfast with 2 rolls, butter and marmalade, 2nd breakfast with sandwich and fresh fruit, lunch with soup followed by meat with vegetables or salad, and desert. In the afternoon, there was coffee with rolls or cake. Supper consisted of a warm meal, sandwiches and fruit. Ernst Goldschmidt, a gourmet who liked to eat at Kempinski's, made sure that all the food was of excellent quality. His cousin,⁵⁷ Helene Schwabacher, supervised the cooking. The food was not kosher but vegetarian meals were available on request. Non-boarders, from the inner city of Berlin, could also attend the school as it was easy to reach, 6 tram lines and two bus lines passed within walking distance. The age of pupils ranged from 6 to 18 years.

Heinz Happ joined the boarding school when it opened. He recorded his experiences in German in a collection of Goldschmidt Schule Memoranda published as "Passages from Berlin" in 1985. "He had come from Bad Freienwalde where he had experienced unbearable discrimination. As there were only very few boarders when he arrived at the *Schülerheim*, the atmosphere was that of a large family. But the school began to grow rapidly and some of the intimacy vanished". Werner Baum wrote that, when his father moved him to the Jewish Boarding School, Dr. Leonore Goldschmidt, there were altogether between 20 and 25 children, with 7 children in his class. They sat with their teacher at a round table. There was no blackboard. They did not have to raise their arm to speak. It was a very friendly atmosphere and teachers stayed even during intermission. Sonia Schweid, who joined in October 1935, wrote: "The greatest joy were those classes which were held out of doors under trees on pleasant days. It must have been during that period that we had botany and were encouraged to go out and gather, identify, and mount all kinds of plant material. I'm still reaping the benefits of that activity."⁵⁸

The complete architectural drawings of Kronberger Strasse 24 have survived.⁵⁹ On the top floor were dormitories where 2 or 3 children had to share a room. These were equipped with cupboards and washbasins. On the second floor slept the two boarding school supervisors and when necessary a nurse. Medical support came from Dr. Philip Cahn, a paediatrician and one of Ernst's cousins by marriage.⁶⁰ This was vital as more and more public medical help was denied to Jewish people. On the ground floor were most of the classrooms, the basement contained the kitchen and other support facilities. The house had one outside terrace and several balconies which were used for teaching or recreation when the weather was suitable. The syllabus had to be based on that of the German elementary school with additional

⁵⁶ Prospectus for boarding school, Kronberger Straße, illustrated with 8 photographs.

⁵⁷ Goldschmidt Family Tree

⁵⁸ Passages from Berlin, Private publication

⁵⁹ Architectural drawings, Kronbergerstraße, in possession of the author

⁶⁰ Goldschmidt Family Tree

courses on request. In the upper classes mathematics was augmented with accounting practice. Religious education played a large part with Hebrew lessons twice weekly. Close by lay several local synagogues, where pupils could attend services on Sabbath and Jewish Holidays. Music was taught in every class and instrumental music lessons were available. Domestic science, handicraft and horticulture were also included in the syllabus. In summer, games and athletics took place in the grounds of the Jewish Community located in the Grunewald and in winter, exercises were conducted in the gym of the Bar-Kochba Association in Halensee.

1936 Opening of the second LGS

It took until the 9th of January 1936, 8 months after the school had opened, for the *Erlaubnisurkunde*, (document granting permission to open a school) to arrive!⁶¹ The 4 page document stated that the teaching of foreign languages other than Hebrew was forbidden, that only girls were permitted in the upper school and that girls and boys had to be taught separately in the lower school. The total number of children per classroom was entered on the plan, bringing the total number of pupils allowed in the school to 173. Dr. Goldschmidt was required to submit lists of pupils to the local mayor of Schmargendorf, and submit the school timetable to the *Schulrat* (Inspector of schools) on every 1st of May. On no account should the school give the impression that it was a government school. The document was signed for the *Staatskommissar der Hauptstadt* (Prussian Commissioner of the Capital) on instruction by Dr.Klinger, school division, Berlin. By the time this document arrived, a new application was about to be lodged because more space was urgently required. The reputation of the school had spread so rapidly that more and more children had joined both as boarders and as day students causing crowded conditions.

In the meantime, on the 22nd of October 1935, Lore's sister, Martha, had died after a long illness.⁶² Bertha Mine and Wilhelm, her children, aged 12 and 10 years old, came to Berlin to join the Goldschmidt family. Mine, sometime later, preferred to live in the boarding section of the school. Although both children were now co-owners ⁶³ of the property, Roßstrasse 18, Lore was able to use it as collateral. She entered a lien ⁶⁴ in favour of brothers Jacob and Dr. Fritz Grötzinger, Jewish bankers, who owned a most magnificent building at Hohenzollerndamm 105/110, corner of Hundekehlstraße 23/26 and corner of Marienbadstraße ⁶⁵. They wished to leave Germany and the lean was used as a lease for this property, which occupied a whole city block.

In order to use it as a school some minor alterations had to be undertaken. While the building was being decorated, a visitor from Scotland, Margaret Cook, who was

⁶¹ *Erlaubnisurkunde* for Dr.L.Goldschmidt Schule, 9/1/1936, in possession of the author

⁶² Death Certificate in the archives of Amtsgericht, Cottbus

⁶³ *Gemeinschaftlicher Erbschein* 3. VI 144.35 in the archives of Amtsgericht, Cottbus

⁶⁴ *Grundbuch Forst Stadtbezirk*, Band 19, No 532

⁶⁵ Prospectus issued September 1937, in possession of the author

studying German at Edinburgh University, lived temporarily in one of the attic rooms on the third floor. She had come to improve her German and help with the Goldschmidt children. She was the second visitor from England. Dudley Cheke, whom Leonore Goldschmidt had met at St Christopher School, visited while studying oriental languages in Cambridge. These two admirable people formed our "introduction" to England. Both became important friends and later rendered much needed assistance to the Goldschmidt family.

By Easter 1936, Hohenzollerndamm 110 was ready and the senior school numbering 219 pupils moved into that magnificent building! (Photo 5). Part of the huge garden, 10000sqm, became the playing fields for outdoor sports and athletics. One part of the basement, which was covered with a parquet floor, became the gym. Also located in the basement were a large music room together with a grand piano, a workshop for wood and metal work, a laboratory for scientific experiments and washrooms with lockers. Another section of the basement became the living quarters of the caretaker, Herr Voss. On the first floor was a huge entrance hall, surrounded by 9 large classrooms plus a room for the art class. On the next floor was the office, the staff room and various other rooms that could be used for teaching of smaller specialist classes. Washing facilities were also available on that floor.⁶⁶ Gertrud Arnheim, the matchmaking cousin, became the school secretary. By employing close relatives, family friends and other trusted persons, the danger of incriminating information reaching Nazi ears would hopefully be avoided.

Official permission to operate the school at Hohenzollerndamm 110 arrived on 20th of May 1936. It was signed for the *Staatskommissar der Hauptstadt* (Prussian Commissioner of the Capital) by Hassenstein.⁶⁷ It consisted of a one page document cancelling all the dreadful restrictions of the previous *Erlaubnißurkunde* of the 9th of January. The school was to be called "*Jüdische Privatschule Dr. Leonore Goldschmidt. Volksschule und weiterführende Lehranstalt für Knaben und Mädchen*" (Jewish Private School, Dr. Leonore Goldschmidt, elementary school with further education for boys and girls). What had changed the *Staatskommissar's* attitude? Was his sudden conversion, part of Nazi strategy to impress foreign visitors for the 1936 Olympic Games in Berlin? Certainly a concerted effort was being made by the Nazi propaganda machine to remove anti-Jewish hate publications from the streets of Berlin during that period.

With previous restrictions removed, the school could operate as a senior school teaching foreign languages, which were French, English and Latin with Hebrew part of the religious instruction. Physics, Chemistry and Biology were taught alternately, so were History and Geography. Music Appreciation and Drawing were included in the morning syllabus. Girls and boys were taught in the same class. Peter Prager sent an enjoyable story: "Thus my days started at the *Jüdische Privatschule Dr. Leonore Goldschmidt*. My first day at school was a bit overwhelming. Every child feels diffident on his first day in a new school. But I had never been in a mixed school before, and

⁶⁶ Floor plan of Hohenzollerndamm 110, in possession of the author

⁶⁷ *Nachtrag*, 20/5/1936, in possession of the author

20 girls were staring at me as I was standing next to the desk of the teacher who took my particulars. However, I saw that all the boys were seated on the left and the girls on the right, so I would be sitting among the boys. This reassured me. The pupils were sitting at double desks and, as Herr Meissinger was surveying the scene, he could not find an unoccupied boy's desk. He said, 'Prager, you will have to sit next to Inge Jäger'. The seat next to her was the only empty one in the whole class. I was horrified, but what could I do? I walked in a daze towards Inge and sat down. She must have noticed my discomfort. She smiled at me and pushed a piece of paper towards me, inviting me to play noughts and crosses. I hesitated to join in, because I was a rather obedient pupil who never did what the teacher might object to. But Inge did try to be nice to me, and so I joined in the game." ⁶⁸

As was customary in Germany, school started at 8.15 am and continued to 9.50. After a second breakfast, classes started again at 10.15. They continued until about 2pm when most children went home. Pupils who wanted to stay for lunch could eat in Kronbergerstraße. In the afternoon, some returned for sports. Danish long ball, a cross between rounders and baseball without fielder, was a popular game, others played handball or football. Other afternoon activities were metal work and choir practise.

Moving the senior school to Hohenzollerndamm 110 ended the overcrowded conditions in Kronbergerstraße, which had arisen from the unexpected increase in the number of students that were joining the school. It gave both boarders and the junior school, then numbering 72 pupils, adequate space in Kronbergerstraße, which also remained the official address of the school.

Application for the Reifeprüfung or Abitur

On the 26th of May an application asking for permission to prepare for and hold the *Reifeprüfung or Abitur*, (final Examination) at the school was tendered to the *Staatskommissar* via the *Schulrat* (School inspector) named Pott.⁶⁹ Carefully drafted by Ernst Goldschmidt, the application had many attachments, including a list of over 400 library books and teaching materials for scientific or artistic subjects, plus a list of gym equipment. The details of 18 teachers were also enclosed.

The most senior teacher was Professor Dr. Kurt Levinstein, *Oberstudienrat* (Department Head), abruptly retired by the Nazis. He started his teaching career in 1903 as a master in the prodigious *Französische Gymnasium* (French High School for boys), one of the oldest schools in Germany founded by Huguenot immigrants. After a brilliant career in the teaching profession, he became a member of the examination centre for teachers. His examination subjects were German, modern languages and education.

⁶⁸ Passages from Berlin, Private publication, 1987

⁶⁹ Application 26/5/1936 for the Abitur, Bundesarchiv, Potsdam

Dr.Kurt Lewent, *Studienrat* (Senior Master), began his teaching career in 1906 at the Werner Siemens Oberrealschule. He was retired by the Nazis in 1935, while being responsible for the examination in old French and old Provencal in the University of Berlin. He had been an exchange teacher in 1906/07 at the Lycée in Reims. In 1931, he had also examined Leonore Goldschmidt as reported earlier.

Erich Bandman, *Studienrat*, was a mathematics and music teacher in the public school system from 1915 until March 1933 when dismissed by the Nazis. He continued teaching these subjects at the Leonore Goldschmidt Schule and taught religion as well.

Dr.Julian Hirsch, *Studienrat*, started his career in 1909 and was retired in October 1935 from the Mozart *Oberlyceum* by the Nazis. He had been an exchange teacher at the Lycée Carnot and had accompanied Mme.M Chenenthivet, the national inspector of primary schools, throughout France.

Dr.Irma Wertheimer, *Studienrätin*, (Senior Mistress) started teaching in 1911. Her final position as science teacher in the public service was at the *Lyzeum* of Guben. She was dismissed by the Nazis.

Georg Ledermann, *Studienrat*, had started teaching in 1920 and had just been dismissed by the Nazis on the 1st of January 1936.

Dr.Margot Melchior, *Studienassessorin*, had been teaching since January 1916 in various girl schools in Berlin and was dismissed by the Nazis in April 1933.

Erich Rubensohn, *Studienassessor*, (Master) who had lost one leg in the World War, started teaching in 1926 and was dismissed by the Nazis in September 1935. He had worked as exchange teacher in the Lycée Henri Wallon in Valenciennes during 1931/32.

Erich Loewenthal, *Studienassessor*, started teaching in 1927 and was dismissed in the fall of 1935. He had been an exchange teacher at a Lycée in Douai during 1931/32.

Walter Bernstein, *Studienassessor*, had been teaching since 1929 and was dismissed in 1933 by the Nazis. He had held administrative positions and at Dr.Leonore Goldschmidt Schule was in charge of the boarding section.

Four other teachers, who were teaching in the junior school, were also listed.

Lore was able to assemble this powerful and experienced staff not only because they had been dismissed by the Nazis but, although younger and less qualified, she had won their respect by her determination and courage.

In addition, this application for the *Reifeprüfung* contained the following financial information:

- a) that the Jewish Community Organisation had advanced RM 8000 using the house in Forst again as collateral,
- b) that the monthly income of the Dr. Leonore Goldschmidt Schule stood at RM 10500 from school fees.
- c) that 17 pupils were working towards that final examination. Lore Goldschmidt argued that it was vital for them to complete their education in order to proceed to higher education in Germany or abroad. The argument that it was a matter of pride that her Jewish school should have the same status as a State High School was not presented!

The harassment of Jewish students in the public school system continued. In different schools this took on different forms depending on the headmaster or teachers. As a result, many Jewish students left the public school system and joined a Jewish school. When the author was being excluded from school excursions and not allowed to take part in the Olympic Games festivities, she left the Goethe *Oberlyzeum* (High School for Girls) in Schmargendorf and joined her mother's school, where the beautiful building and the surroundings of Hohenzollerndamm 110 were a great improvement on the the old Victorian building of the local lyceum. While it had been hard to leave good school friends behind, it had become inevitable, as Arian parents were told not to allow their children to associate with their Jewish friends. Henry Eisner wrote: ⁷⁰ "In late 1936, I started an experience which, at least in retrospect, was fulfilling, exciting, enriching. Fulfilled because I could at last resume what should never have stopped. Exciting, because I was put together with a group of bright, challenging, stimulating people unlike any I had met in my home town's Realgymnasium, enriching because I was blessed with a faculty while demanding was understanding and compassionate". Eva Posen wrote: "There are not many things in my life that I remember so well as the feeling that I had, and still have, about the Goldschmidt Schule. It was our place of refuge, our own place where we could forget the rest of the world, and I look upon it as my very own 'Garden of the Finzi Continis'. The friendships formed during that particular period were strong and lasting to this very day, 45 years later, forged during a time of turmoil, danger, hastened awareness, and even terror. The school seemed precious and more real than anything outside. I loved it dearly and shall ever remember it as having contributed a special cared for feeling at a time of great vulnerability."

The importance of English qualifications

Lore had become aware that in some international schools, pupils were being prepared for different leaving examinations simultaneously. Realizing that the future of most of her pupils lay in emigration, she decided that besides the Abitur a leaving certificate from an English University would be of great value. She approached

⁷⁰ Passages from Berlin, Private publication, 1987

Cambridge University, which in turn notified the *Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst, Deutsche Pädagogische Auslandsstelle* (Academic Exchange Program, German Pedagogic Foreign Service Registry) of these negotiations.⁷¹ This authority, in turn, sent a sympathetic memorandum about the issue of Cambridge University examinations in Germany to the *Reichsminister für Wissenschaft* (German Minister for Science) in Berlin which suggested two possible public schools for the English examinations, the Dorotheen State Realgymnasium and the Pädagogium in Marburg and two Jewish schools, the Philantropin in Frankfurt-am-Main and the Dr.Leonore Goldschmidt Schule, because she had lodged the original application and pointed out that Jewish students would be able to emigrate more quickly. The document suggested that negotiations should be concluded in the autumn and requested the Minister to take the necessary steps.

Summer holidays and visit to England

The summer holidays of 1936 were approaching. The Nazis had forced hotel owners of Germany not to offer Jewish people any hospitality. This made it very hard for Jewish families to travel. But Lore discovered a loophole. It was possible to travel to a small sea side resort located on the border of East Prussia and Lithuania which was part of and administered by Lithuania. No passport or visa was required to go there. The place was called Schwarzort and lay close to Memel. As a result, a number of school children including her own together with two teachers, Alfons Kohn and Gerda Levin, spent a most enjoyable holiday by the Baltic Sea. Mornings were spent on the beach, while during most afternoons orienteering games were played in the woods inland. As these woods were covered with ripe blueberries, most participants emerged with blue mouths and blue tongues when the games were finished! Mine Presch wrote about this holiday:⁷² "By 1936, I was no longer allowed to attend the open air pool (in Forst), and the summer alone, while my father attended to our textile plant under great pressure, was very lonely. When my aunt (Dr.L.Goldschmidt) suggested to my father that my brother and I share in a trip to Lithuania together with my cousins, Rudi and Tutta, and about 20 other children from the then newly formed Goldschmidt Schule, I really looked forward to the trip. The leaders were two young teachers, Ali Kohn, a medical student and a young woman, whose name I cannot recall. I still have all kinds of photos of that trip and would love to hear from anyone else who went with us at that time. We stayed at a beach resort. I loved the Baltic Sea, collecting amber along the shoreline in the morning, the food, the little stores along the harbour, and the friendly people. Best of all being with so many other children, all of whom were just the same as me."

Knowing that her children were in good hands, Lore went to Cambridge to seek support for her application to become an Examination Centre. Lyn Harris, the Headmaster of St Christopher School, referred her to Mr.Richardson at the Board of

⁷¹ *Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst to Reichsminister, 21/8/1936, Bundesarchiv, Potsdam*

⁷² *Passages from Berlin, Private publication, 1987*

Education who in turn referred her to Mr.Shurrock, Secretary to the Matriculation Board and Examination Council, University of London. Mr.Shurrock declared that he would be prepared to accept an application provided it was lodged via the German Authorities.

Walter Hübner

On return to Germany, she decided to visit the *Oberschulrat*⁷³ (Chief Inspector of Schools) Walter Hübner (Photo 6). She had first met him in the winter semester of 1919/1920 at the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität in Berlin when she had attended his lecture course on The History of Literature in the 14th and 15th century. In 1922, she met him again as Walter Hübner had been one of the examiners on the examination board that had admitted her to a teaching position in the secondary school system. Further, because Hübner was both interested and involved in teaching methods of English in German schools⁷⁴, he was a good person to contact. He suggested to her that she must lodge a formal application with the *Reichsminister für Wissenschaft* (Minister for Science). He also suggested that she should contact Dr.J.Müller, the Director of a private college in Marburg-an-der-Lahn, as Müller had succeeded in getting permission for English Examinations to be held at his school.

On the 19th of August 1936, the application to hold examinations for Cambridge University at the Dr Leonore Goldschmidt Schule was lodged with the *Reichsminister für Wissenschaft*. The information given was similar to that given in the application for the *Abitur* but added that a teaching library of over 2000 books had been acquired.

The new school year 1936/1937, opened with the Sports Festival of Jewish Schools (Photos 7, 8 and 9). It was a great occasion for all Jewish children in Berlin as they had been excluded from taking part in the Olympic Games. The Dr.Leonore Goldschmidt Schule, being a new school, sent a dozen active participants,⁷⁵ a relatively small number but, when they entered the playing field wearing their green shorts with a green LGS badge on their white shirt, Lore Goldschmidt was very proud. The author won the event of throwing the ball with the upper arm.⁷⁶ The festival concluded with the singing of the Hatikva.

⁷³ Application to the Reichsminister for English examinations, *Bundesarchiv*, Potsdam 19/8/1936

⁷⁴ *Festschrift* for Hübner's 80th birthday, published Erich Schmidt Verlag, Berlin 1964

⁷⁵ Photograph published in "*Hier ist kein Bleiben länger*", Berlin Wilmersdorf, 1992

⁷⁶ Photograph in possession of the author

A further school expansion

Because the number of boarders had constantly increased, another house had to be rented. It enabled the girls to have their own home. It was located at Berkaer Straße 31, a few minutes walk from the other two buildings.

On the 15th and 16th of October 1936, the *Schulrat*, (Inspector of Schools) Herr Pott, came to visit the school and on the 21st of October, he sent his report to the *Staatskommissar* (State Commissioner of Prussia) of Berlin.⁷⁷ He described the school as a High School located in two rented properties at Kronbergerstraße 24 and Hohenzollerndam 110 and stated that alterations to the original buildings had been done in accordance with the plans as ordered by the *Staatskommissar* (State Commissioner of Prussia). He described the teaching materials as adequate and the gym and playing fields of the school as exceptional. He was impressed by the highly qualified staff who, because of the rapid expansion of the school, were coping with great difficulties. Completing the syllabus presented problems as students with very different backgrounds - some had learnt Latin and Greek first, some had started with English rather than French - had joined the school. To overcome these, 5 teachers were employed by the Dr. Leonore Goldschmidt Schule to give the required bridging courses. Attached to the report were two lists registering the number of students that were in every class on the 26th of May 1936 and on the 15th of October 1936. They showed that the junior school had 78 pupils in October up by 6 pupils from May and the senior school had 249 pupils up by 33 pupils. Schulrat Pott's report was favourable and must have helped Lore's applications for the Abitur and the English Examination Centre.

But on the 10th of November 1936,⁷⁸ Hassenstein on behalf of the *Staatskommissar* (State Commissioner of Prussia) of Berlin wrote an internal memo to the *Reichsminister für Wissenschaft* (German State Minister for Science) which contained a most disturbing sentence, quote: "So far nothing untoward about the political attitude of the teaching staff has become known to me". Further he stated that after a conversation with *Regierungs und Schulrat* (Counsellor to the Government and Inspector of Schools) Fielitz and with *Regierungsrat* (Counsellor to the Minister) Dr. Klamroth, he would not forward the application for the Abitur from the 26th of May 1936. On the same day, however, in a second internal memo to the *Reichsminister* (German Government Minister), he forwarded Dr. Leonore Goldschmidt's application to have her school included in the list of schools which could be used as an English Examination Centre. He added that he had earlier asked the *Deutsche Pädagogische Auslandsstelle* (German Education Foreign Service Registry) for their opinion and had received a favourable reply from them. He assured the *Reichsminister* that the Dr. Leonore Goldschmidt school had adequate facilities to prepare students for the English examinations but then questioned, whether in fact a Jewish school should be considered at all. On the other hand, if permission were granted, Jews might leave Germany more quickly. Leonore Goldschmidt, who was not aware of these internal

⁷⁷ Submission by Inspector Pott to the *Staatskommissar*, Berlin, 21/10/1936, Bundesarchiv, Potsdam

⁷⁸ Memo from Hassenstein to *Reichsminister*, 22/10/1936, Bundesarchiv, Potsdam

memos and the delays caused by Hassenstein, received a letter from him stating that, as he had not received any directive from the *Minister für Wissenschaft* (Minister for Science) about an English Examination Centre at her school, he could not give permission to employ Mr. Woolley, the English teacher as requested by her on the 10th of November 1936.⁷⁹ On the 4th of December, Ernst Goldschmidt⁸⁰ acting as *Rechtsanwalt* (legal advisor) to the school, submitted a second set of applications directly to the *Reichsminister für Wissenschaft* (State Minister of Science).

Second visit to England

Because the German authorities were moving so slowly, Lore again went to England to gain support. The assistant secretary of the University of Cambridge, J.O. Roach, M.A.⁸¹ confirmed their conversation of the previous day in a letter dated the 16th of December, 1936. Cambridge University would be willing to make arrangements to enter pupils from her school for the examination, provided it met with the approval of the German Ministry of Education. They would be willing to take advice from the Ministry of Education or the University of Berlin regarding the safe keeping of the examination papers and the supervision during the tests. Once German recognition had been received, the University of Cambridge would recognize her school as an approved school. A copy of this letter was sent to Dr. G. Wilmsen of the Anglo-German Academic Bureau at 45 Russel Square, London. Further, Leonore Goldschmidt forwarded this correspondence to the *Reichsminister für Wissenschaft* (State Minister for Science) on the 29th of December 1936⁸² with a request that the matter receive urgent attention. Further she pointed out that, as it would take one year to prepare students for the examination on the 6th of December 1937, permission to employ three English teachers was urgently required especially as a separate submission for the teacher, Mr. Philip Woolley, had been lodged earlier but had not been granted.

In spite of these official delays, Philip Woolley arrived!⁸³ Having completed his undergraduate education in classics at Oxford University, he decided on adventure before settling down as a classics master at an English Public School. He made several inquiries abroad. As a result, the British Consul in Berlin informed him of a possible position at the Jewish school of Dr. Leonore Goldschmidt. He decided to explore this. With only a few words of German, he caught the boat train from Victoria Station in late November 1936. But on arrival in Ostend, he accidentally got on the wrong train to Munich. He sent a telegram to Leonore Goldschmidt saying that he would be arriving later than expected at the *Anhalter Straße Bahnhof* (Station) and not the *Zoologischer Garten Station* as arranged. On arrival, he found Leonore and Ernst Goldschmidt eagerly awaiting him. With Ernst's classic sense of humour, he

⁷⁹ Letter from Hassenstein to Leonore Goldschmidt, 3/12/1936

⁸⁰ Letter by Ernst Goldschmidt to the *Reichsminister*, 4/12/1936, Bundesarchiv, Potsdam

⁸¹ Letter from J.O. Roach to Leonore Goldschmidt, 16/12/1936, Bundesarchiv, Potsdam

⁸² Letters from LG to the *Reichsminister*, in possession of the author, 29/12/1936

⁸³ Biographical sketch by Philip Woolley, Passages from Berlin, private publication, 1987

informed Woolley, that this was the very first time that someone coming from England had arrived at the *Anhalter Bahnhof*! The joy of Philip Woolley's arrival was enormous. Looking like the quintessential English gentleman, with tweed jacket and grey slacks, he charmed all members of the staff and students of the Goldschmidt Schule. He had a beautiful Oxford accent. He became very popular in spite of his lack of German. In fact, it may have been an asset, as it forced students to speak English. The fact that a non-Jewish person had come to join the school gave hope and encouragement to all. The author helped to look after him, took him to the Christmas market and other entertainments in Berlin which, as a Jewish person, she might not have dared alone. He earned a nickname "Mister", a sign of affection. He started work immediately, selecting the first set of students to take the "Proficiency in English" examination of Cambridge University, which would take place the following July.

1937

But on the 15th of January 1937, *Regierungsrat* (Counsellor to the Government) Klamroth nearly managed to derail the whole process. In a very nasty internal memo, he asked the fundamental question whether a Jewish school should be given the privileges of becoming an English Examination Centre. He suggested that the German High school, the Dorotheen State Gymnasium, should be nominated as the centre and that pupils prepared by the Goldschmidt Schule could sit the examination there. In this way, problems with the British government could be avoided. He also pointed out that if this Jewish private school were granted permission to hold the Cambridge examinations, it would automatically be moved from the Department of Junior and Middle schools to the Department of High Schools.⁸⁴

Dr. Leonore Goldschmidt Schule, a Cambridge University Examination Centre

Then, on the 12th of February 1937, came a breakthrough.⁸⁵ In an internal memo, the *Reichsminister für Wissenschaft* (Minister of Science) writing to the *Oberpräsident* (The Prussian Lord Lieutenant) for High Schools in Berlin ordered that, following a request by the English University of Cambridge, the Dorotheen Realgymnasium and the Dr. Leonore Goldschmidt Schule would both become examination centres for the University of Cambridge in Berlin, and outside Berlin, both Dr. I. Müller's private school in Marburg-an-der-Lahn and the Jewish Philantropin in Frankfurt-am-Main would become examination centres. This permission could be revoked at any time and was granted until the 31st of March, 1938. ⁸⁶ On the 19th of February, 1937 *Oberschulrat* (Chief Inspector of Schools) Hübner ⁸⁷ replied to the *Stadtpräsident* (President of

⁸⁴ Klamroth memo, 15/1/1937, Bundesarchiv, Potsdam

⁸⁵ *Reichsminister höheres Schulwesen*, 12/2/1937, Copy in possession of the author

⁸⁶ Copy, Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst, Copy in possession of the author

⁸⁷ Hübner reply to the *Reichsminister* 19/2/1937, Bundesarchiv, Potsdam

Berlin) that while he was firmly convinced that the Dr. Leonore Goldschmidt Schule would be able to meet the standards required by the University of Cambridge, he doubted that the Director of the Dorotheen Realgymnasium would welcome the arrangement, as that school had many other commitments, namely an exchange service with the USA plus many foreign visitors giving interesting lectures. Should the *Stadtpräsident* (President of Berlin) feel it necessary to have a second high school as an examination centrum, he would like to be informed of his reasoning. On the 3rd of March, *Oberschulrat* (Chief Inspector of schools) Hübner⁸⁸ informed Dr. Leonore Goldschmidt that her school had been recognized as the Examination Centre for the University of Cambridge. This permission was granted until the 31st of March 1938 and applied to non-Aryan pupils only.

Nevertheless, a handwritten internal memo, probably from the *Reichsminister für Wissenschaft* (Minister for Science) himself⁸⁹ circulated on the 25th of March⁹⁰ 1937, stated that the right to hold final examinations should not be granted to the Jewish school of Dr. Leonore Goldschmidt. A reply on 2nd of May from the *Stadtpräsident* of Berlin⁹¹, as authorized by *Oberschulrat* Hübner, informed the *Reichsminister für Wissenschaft* (Minister for Science) that the Goldschmidt school had been nominated as an English Examination Centre and asked for the matter to be left there!

Promptly, two further English teachers arrived; Miss Ella Glover to prepare students in Mathematics, a compulsory subject of the Cambridge School Certificate or "O" level examination and Miss Marjorie van Hollick to give instructions in Geography. Ella Glover was a very elegant aloof person. Miss van Hollick, who was older, was a very firm person and steadfastly refused to speak a word of German, forcing students and staff to speak English with her. Lyn Harris,⁹² the Headmaster of St. Christopher School, paid a visit to help with the details of the syllabus. He was of great assistance as he was a very experienced headmaster whose school had been taking the Cambridge University examinations for some years. Another teacher, Elliot Pinhey, arrived in June 1937 to teach science in English. He was also a keen entomologist. Philip Wooley, besides taking School Certificate classes, embarked on teaching English history throughout the senior school. Using the text book "Our Island Story" he taught it so effectively that no pupil would ever forget the history of the Saxon kings, Ethelred the Unready, King Alfred burning the pancakes and the burial of some of them in Winchester. Later, when requested, he taught some New Testament courses for the "O" level examination as well. While the first students for Proficiency in English examination hoped to be ready by the summer of 1937, the students for the "O"-level examination would enter it in December 1937.

⁸⁸ Hübner to Leonore Goldschmidt, 3/3/1937, Copy in possession of the author

⁸⁹ The *Reichsminister* was Bernhard Rust, who entered the Nazi Party in 1922

⁹⁰ Handwritten memo to the *Staatspräsident*, Berlin, 25/3/1937, Bundesarchiv, Potsdam

⁹¹ Reply By Schulrat Prof. Dr. Hübner to the *Reichsminister*, 2/5/1937, Bundesarchiv. Potsdam

⁹² Passages from Berlin, Private publication 1987, report by Philip Wolley

The fourth building

In the meantime, the total number of boarders had risen to 42 children. Another house had to be rented for the older boys. It was Hohenzollendamm 102⁹³. Horst Frank⁹⁴ wrote that he found a round-letter "*An die Eltern*" (to all parents), dated March 15th 1937, among his father's papers. In it, Lore Goldschmidt explained that due to the increased costs, a one-time contribution of RM50 for each child was needed, a sum to be returned when the child left the school. To guide the implementation of this revolving fund an advisory committee of three parents was elected.

Dr. Walter Bernstein and his wife Eva, who were the original house parents in Kronbergerstrasse 24, moved to Hohenzollerndamm 102; Mrs. Marie Dörnberger, another of Ernst Goldschmidt's cousins, together with Dr. Gertrud Schlesinger, a mathematics teacher, looked after the girls in Berkaer Straße, and Dr. Eduard Meissinger and Miss Gerda Levin stayed with the junior boarders in the Kronberger Straße. The fees for boarding were RM150 per month per child.

The questionnaire 1937

At the end of May 1937, the *Fragebogen für höhere Schulen*⁹⁵ (questionnaire of school statistics for high schools) was submitted, reference date the 25th of May 1937. This document comprised 4 pages. The Jüdische Privatschule Dr. Leonore Goldschmidt was listed as a Reformrealgymnasium with six grades plus a Primary School. 76 pupils, about 50% of them boys, were enrolled in the Primary School. 423 pupils were enrolled in the upper school which made a total of 499 pupils. Considering that the school was only two years old, this number of pupils represented an amazing achievement. As the questionnaire had a distinct racial bias, it demanded both details about religion and race. 11 pupils were listed as Protestant, 1 pupil was Catholic and 7 pupils had no religious affiliation. 440 students were listed as Jewish. 56 pupils were listed as stateless and 3 were listed as part Jewish! Basic fees ranged from RM360 per year increasing to RM420 in the year OIII, RM480 in the class OIIb, RM660 in the class OIIa and RM770 in Class I. An interesting comment about these fees came from Peter Prager, who wrote⁹⁶: "that his father contacted the Goldschmidt Schule after his mother had refused to send him back to the Grunewald Gymnasium and told Dr. Goldschmidt that he could not afford the extra fees, to which

⁹³ Prospectus of Goldschmidt Schule issued 9/37, in possession of the author

⁹⁴ Passages from Berlin, Private publication 1987

⁹⁵ Fragebogen issued by Nazi government for details schools, 25/5/1937, Bundesarchiv, Potsdam

⁹⁶ Passages from Berlin, Private publication, 1987

Dr.Goldschmidt replied just pay whatever you can". The number of teachers had risen to 31, and they are listed in alphabetical order:

- 1) Fritz Amtmann, born on the 11th of July 1909, had just qualified as a sports teacher in Stuttgart and was teaching Gymnastics and Sport to the boys, religion Jewish.
- 2) Isidor Aschheim, born on the 14th of October 1891, taught Fine Arts, religion Jewish.
- 3) Erich Bandmann, *Studienrat*, born on the 9th of August 1894, had obtained his teaching qualifications in 1921 and 1923 in Berlin. He had taught in the public system since 1927 and was teaching Mathematics, Music, Physics and Religion, religion Jewish.
- 4) Walter Bernstein, *Studienassessor*, born on the 30th of January 1905, completed his teaching qualifications in 1932 in Breslau, looked after the boy's boarding house and taught Mathematics, Physics and Gym, religion Jewish.
- 5) Ernst Cohn, Middle School Teacher, born 17th of May 1893, completed his qualifications in 1936 in Berlin, taught German, French, Latin and Religion, religion Jewish.
- 6) Ella P. Glover, born on the 18th of November 1912, prepared students for the Cambridge University examination in Mathematics, religion Anglican.
- 7) Julius Goldstein, born on the 22nd of February 1901, Musician, taught Music, religion Jewish.
- 8) Eva Graetz, born on the 2nd of June 1916, qualified in March 1936 in Berlin, taught Crafts, religion Jewish.
- 9) Dr.Margot Gutmann, *Studienrat*, born on the 19th of December 1903, qualified in 1928 in Munich, taught Greek, Latin, German and History, religion Jewish
- 10) Marie Haendler, born on the 1st of August 1902, qualified in Breslau and taught in the primary school, religion Jewish.
- 11) Arthur Heckscher, *Studienrat*, born on the 27th of April 1885, qualified in 1909 in Berlin, employed in the public service since 1911, taught Mathematics, Physics and Chemistry, religion Jewish.
- 12) Hildegard Heilbronn, born on the 4th of April 1909, qualified in 1934 in Berlin, taught French, English and Spanish in the middle school, religion Jewish.
- 13) Dr.Julian Hirsch, *Studienrat*, born on the 19th of March 1883, qualified in March 1906, he worked in the public service since 1910, taught English, French and German, religion Jewish.
- 14) Marjorie van Hollick, born on the 30th of June 1881, taught Geography and other subjects for the Cambridge University Examination, religion Anglican.
- 15) Alice Kirchner, born on the 9th of February 1896, qualified as elementary school teacher in 1917 in Saarbrücken and worked in the public service from 1924, taught in the elementary school, no religion.
- 16) Dr.Gertrud Klausner, *Studienrat*, born on the 13th of May 1877, qualified in November 1908 in Berlin and in the public service since 1917, taught German, French and English, religion Jewish.
- 17) Ruth Kristella, born on the 15th of October 1910, qualified in February 1931 in Potsdam, taught needlework and domestic science, religion Protestant,
- 18) Erna Kuhn, born on the 29th of September 1897, qualified in 1920 in Spandau, taught Gymnastics and Sport to the girls, religion Jewish

- 19) Hildegard Kuttner, born on the 31st of May 1901, qualified in 1932 in Berlin, taught in the elementary school and worked with problem children, religion Protestant.
- 20) Wolfgang Lennert, born on the 8th of December 1907, qualified in 1935 in Berlin, taught English, Economy and Geography, religion Protestant.
- 21) Dr.Kurt Levinstein, *Oberstudienrat*, born on the 10th of March 1877, qualified in 1900 in Berlin and had been in the public service since 1903, taught German, French and English, religion Jewish.
- 22) Dr.Kurt Lewent, *Studienrat*, born on the 13th of March 1880, qualified in 1906 in Berlin and in the public service since 1908, taught French, English, German and Geography, religion Jewish.
- 23) Dr.Kurt Lewin, *Studienrat*, born on the 5th of August 1892, qualified in 1916 in Berlin and in the public service since 1921, taught Biology, Zoology, Mathematics, Chemistry, religion Jewish.
- 24) Erich Loewenthal, *Studienassessor*, born on the 11th of May 1893, qualified in 1925, taught French, English and Hebrew, religion Jewish
- 25) Dr.Ernst Meissinger, *Studienassessor*, born on the 5th of March 1910, qualified in 1934 in Frankfurt a.M., in charge of junior boarders, taught Geography, Economy and Sport, no religion.
- 26) Dr.Margot Melchior, *Studienassessor*, born on the 29th of April 1891, qualified in 1920 in Berlin, taught French, English and German, religion Jewish.
- 27) Agnes Riegner, born on the 26th of February 1883, qualified in 1901, taught in the elementary school, religion Jewish.
- 28) Erich Rubensohn, *Studienassessor*, born on the 9th of March 1896, qualified in 1920 in Berlin, taught German, French and Spanish, religion Jewish.
- 29) Lilly Silbermann, born on the 3rd of August 1900, qualified in 1921, in the public service since 1927, taught sport, gymnastics, rowing, and taught in the elementary school, religion Protestant.
- 30) Dr.Irma Wertheimer, *Studienrätin*, born on the 26th of May 1887, qualified in 1911 in Straßburg, in the public service since 1916, taught Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Botany, French and Metalwork, religion Jewish.
- 31) Philip Woolley, born on the 6th of March 1912, qualified in Oxford, taught English, History and Christian religion for the Cambridge University Examination, religion Anglican.

Not included in this list was Rabbi Dr.Hamburger who gave instructions in the upper school, teaching Jewish History and Religion and Hebrew for one term⁹⁷. This teaching assignment was later taken over by Rabbi Van der Zyl.

The fact that 9 teachers with different religious beliefs were working in the school was in marked contrast to the religious intolerance of the Nazi State. It was Lore Goldschmidt's aim to provide tolerant and loving surroundings for her students, only in this way could they grow into mentally healthy adults. Ursula Auermann wrote: ⁹⁸ "My parents then found this beautiful school, the Goldschmidt Schule, surrounded by

⁹⁷ Correspondence between LG and Rabbi Hamburger

⁹⁸ Passages from Berlin, Private publication, 1987

a large garden with fruit trees, to the delight of the students when the trees bore apples and pears. As I think back I can recall a few teachers with fond memories. However, the only one I can recall by name is Dr. Lewent, a strict disciplinarian. At first the kids did not like him well, but he was a fair teacher and they got used to him." Eva Graetz, a junior teacher, wrote: ⁹⁹ "I also vividly remember one teachers' meeting re: *Zensurenkonferenz* (conference for school reports). We spent at least one hour over one boy who, in all fairness, had not reached the requirements to advance into the next grade. His family was on the verge of leaving the country. That alone could have been the reason for his poor marks. If advanced he would at least have reached the minimum of *abgeschlossene Schulbildung* (Completed Education): *Obersecunda Reife* (O-levels). Without that, he would be the equivalent to a dropout when starting a new life! So why not just pass him? His school years were over, anyway. But if he passed, three others were also eligible, who were better off repeating. So, every teacher who had him split rated, i.e. written work, oral work, total marks, was asked to sum it up in his favour. Dr. Lewent, the much feared Lewent, phoned home and asked his son to bring the whole pile of *Hefte* (exercise books) of that class. He sat in the corner for half an hour, comparing that boys grading, gradually squeezing his grade into a pass without being unfair to his classmates. Dr. Lewent was very strict and very fair. And between us we sent the young man into the unknown with the first degree step of a completed education." Lewent, who had lost a finger and limped from war injuries, often seemed in pain. Eva Isaac-Krieger recalled:¹⁰⁰ "When I was riding in the New York subway on my way to Hunter College several years later, I offered my seat to a gentleman with a cane. As I got up and he prepared to sit down, he glanced gratefully at me and all of a sudden I said: Dr. Lewent? and he replied: Eva Isaac- Krieger? It was a reunion which only lasted two subway stops but which completely changed my memory of a disciplinarian to one of a gentle, caring individual whose English pronunciation was so foreign that I could not believe that he had been my English teacher correcting my diction only a few years earlier." Herr Bandmann, who among other subjects taught music, had many fans. Marion Sauerbrunn wrote: ¹⁰¹ "If I have to name one outstanding gift that the school had given me, it was Herr Bandmann's ability to instil in us a love for music, which has been a source of great joy throughout my entire life." During the first two years of the school, Herr Bandmann was the choirmaster and he introduced members of the school choir to wonderful works. Beethoven's "*Die Himmel rühmen des Ewigen Ehre*", sung in unison, echoing through the school basement, was an event never to be forgotten. Another milestone was the great chorus from Haendel's Judas Maccabeus. Later, Julius Goldstein, a professional musician, took over most of the music teaching. Helga Bujaskowski wrote: ¹⁰² "Bushy haired and enthusiastic, Mr. Julius Goldstein was the sight singing and music dictation teacher. Not sanctioned by him, but certainly influenced by his wonderful musicianship, we formed little singing groups and irreverently used Hebrew class time for skipping through the woods, singing canons and assorted folk songs". Among the many canons that he

⁹⁹ Passages from Berlin, Private publication, 1987

¹⁰⁰ Passages from Berlin, Private publication, 1987

¹⁰¹ Passages from Berlin, Private publication, 1987

¹⁰² Passages from Berlin, Private publication, 1987

taught was an edited version of Mozart's '*Bona Nox, bist a rechta Ox*' and '*Donna Nobis Pacem*'. When the English Examination Centre took on such significance, he introduced the early English canon 'Sumer is icumin in' and songs from Shakespeare's plays 'Oh mistress mine, where are you roaming?' and 'What is love?, tis not hereafter'. In class, he analysed the structure of the symphony with illustrations from Beethoven's first two symphonies, teaching that would never be forgotten. Arthur Heckscher became the senior mathematics teacher. Hannelore Israelzick wrote in *Passages from Berlin*: "My form master was Dr.Heckscher, a man of whom I have very fond memories. Ernst Braude was one of my fellow students and during math test we followed the old age practice of copying from the best pupil in the class, who was Ernst Braude. A few days later Dr.Heckscher returned the test to us informing us with a completely dead-pan face that it was most unfortunate, but the whole class had failed the test. Seeing our unbelieving faces, he quietly continued "The reason for the failure of the whole class is due to the fact that Braude made one mistake" Dr.Heckscher also taught physics and chemistry with the same whimsical smile. The author admired his teaching methods and was very fond of him. The other science teacher was Dr.Irma Wertheimer. Hilda Anker wrote ¹⁰³: "A teacher I remember fondly is *Fraülein* Wertheimer. She taught me a love of nature. Her subjects were Biology and Botany. I still remember the long *Ausflüge* (excursions) where we studied trees and flowers first hand. Botany was also a love of my father. We did many of my assignments together. He bought me tulips to show me the structure of flowers. Much of what I treasure now was built on the foundation given me at the Goldschmidt Schule." In the afternoon, Dr.Wertheimer taught metal workshop. Fritz Salinger, then 15 years old, designed and made an outstanding modern brass Chanukah Menora which she photographed (Photo 10), and for her botany class she produced beautiful pictures of flowers.¹⁰⁴

Because the Grunewald lay so close it was possible to go for school outings. Dr.Hirsch (Photo 11) took the author's class there and Ruth Kristella with Eva Graetz took the class for a boat ride on the Havel.¹⁰⁵ Dr.Meissinger, who looked after some boarders and taught Geography, was a most popular teacher. Brigitte Frankfurter ¹⁰⁶ reported that, first thing in the morning before breakfast and lessons, he took boarders for a cycle ride and swim in the Grunewaldsee as the use of public pools was forbidden to Jewish children. Gerd Ehrlich wrote: ¹⁰⁷ "Ernst Meissinger became a role model for me and I hold him largely responsible for my choosing a teaching career." Among the language teachers Erich Rubinsohn, who had lost his leg in the World War, retained an acid sense of humour and often spoke in the Berlin dialect. He wrote the most memorable of all the many school poems in dialect:

¹⁰³ *Passages from Berlin*, Private publication

¹⁰⁴ Photographs in possession of the author

¹⁰⁵ Photographs in possession of the author

¹⁰⁶ *Passages from Berlin*, Private publication

¹⁰⁷ *Passages from Berlin*, Private publication

Loblied auf die Doktorn ¹⁰⁸

Gewidmet von
Erich Rubensohn.

Melodie: Vater, Mutter, Schwester, Brüder

Unsere Doktorn, die is richtig, immerzu treppauf, treppab,
Wie zwee Männer is se tichtig, ihre Jangart is der Trap.
Ueberall is se beschlagen, allen hat se wat ze sagen.
Doch se bleibt trotz alledem in der Tonart anjenehm.

Ja, det will schon was bedeiten, sone Schule uffzebaun!
Un der Aerjer mit den Leuten, manchmal is't um mangzehaun.
Lieschen, Lottchen, Ursel, Gretchen, Rudi, Tutta, Minchen, Kätchen,
Wo jehts in de Pause hin? Imma bei Frau Doktern rin.

Dabei hat det arme Wesen wahrlich doch genug zu tun:
Korrejiern, arbeiten, lesen, so jehts ohne Rast un Ruhn,
Konferenzen un Debatten, diese niemals ohne'n Jatten!
Ja, se is, ick muss jestehn, schon ein richtig Phänomen.

Aba manchmal wird se hitzig, un det is ooch ze vastehn,
Meistens heiter, oftmal witzig, morgens so von 8 bis 10;
Aba jeht die Uhr uff zwelfen, dann kann ihr keen Jott mehr helfen,
Auf dem Vorflur sammeln sich Mütter, Mütter schauerlich.

Alle ham se wat ze klagen, alle ham se wat ze schrein:
Lea hat'n schwachen Magen: Mein Manfred ist kein Schwein!
Meine Jüngste ist asthmatisch! Hans Georg ist mathematisch!
Wird er? kann er? soll er? Wie? Matric or proficiency?!

Halten Sie mein Kind für arisch? Na, ich seh doch fast so aus!
Zwar der Vater ist bulgarisch, und, wie ich, aus gutem Haus.
Ich bin selbst aus Venezuela, darum heiss ich Manuela,
Gott, wie ist das Kind begabt! Masern hat er schon gehabt.

So jehts zwee jeschlagne Stunden, zwischendurch schrillts Telefon:
Habn Sie IIschens Heft gefunden? Sie verlор es bei Herrn Cohn.
Günter ist noch nicht zu Hause! Wann ist morgen grosse Pause?
Schulgeld woll'n Se och von mir? Frau, Sie sind wohl nich von hier.

Doch trots aller Mühn und Sorgen, die der Tag ihr reichlich bringt,
Immer hofft sie auf ein Morgen, dem die Zukunft heiter winkt.
Und das Leben steht ihr offen, darim lasst uns mit ihr hoffen,
Mit ihr Wirken noch und noch!
L e o n o r e dreimal hoch, hoch, hoch!!!

(Sorry, translation impossible!)

¹⁰⁸ Original in possession of the author, also other poems etc.

In July 1937, just after the end of term, 8 students sat the "Proficiency in English" examination of Cambridge University for the first time; 7 students passed, 5 with a mark of good and 2 with credit.¹⁰⁹ This true success story ended the school's summer term on a very high note.

The 1937 summer holiday school 'camp'¹¹⁰ had again been cunningly arranged by Lore Goldschmidt. It was supervised by Dr.Meissinger together with Ruth Kristella and Eva Graetz. The school managed to rent a big house in Oberstdorf, the last village in a valley of the Vorarlberg. Oberstdorf belonged to Austria but could be reached from Lake Constance in Germany without a passport making it possible for Jewish children to enjoy a peaceful holiday. It was a magnificent place with beautiful mountains. We went for many walks. One unforgettable moment occurred when a huge thunder storm with much lightening caught us, hikers, high on an alm. The only safe thing to do was to lie quickly on the ground, which for some turned out to be a "cow pat"!

The first big event of the new term, in September 1937, was again the Jewish Sports Carnival which again took place in the Jewish sports grounds in the Grunewald. Some 35 pupils, the top athletes of the Goldschmidt Schule, took part and many prizes were won (Photos 7, 8 and 9). Lore Goldschmidt was of course delighted as school spectators shouted their slogan "Ha, Ho, He, SLG". The importance of the yearly Jewish Sports festival cannot be overestimated, as it established great pride in the athletic ability of Jewish children and acted as counterpropaganda to constant Nazi vilification. Great praise was given to the Sports teachers, Fritz Altmann and Lilly Silbermann who had spent many extra hours preparing students for the event. After the school had joined the Jewish Helvetica Rowing Club, they taught rowing as well. Nothing ever seemed too much for these two teachers and they were much loved.

First sign of jealousy

Once the Dr.Leonore Goldschmidt Schule had become the official examination centre for the University of Cambridge, other Jewish schools demanded similar privileges. ¹¹¹ In April 1937, the Lessler Schule applied to Oxford University who sent her a positive reply which she ¹¹² forwarded to the *Stadtpräsident* of Berlin. On instruction, Gräfe forwarded the Oxford reply internally to the *Reichsminister*.¹¹³ On the 8th of September, two months after the first Proficiency in English examination at the Goldschmidt Schule, Prof. D. Hübner, ¹¹⁴ in a letter to the *Reichs-und Preussischen Minister für Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung* (State Minister

¹⁰⁹ Report on 15/12/1937 from Hübner to *Reichsminister* stating these numbers.

¹¹⁰ Photographs of camp and sports festival in possession of the author

¹¹¹ Letter from Jawne College, via *Oberschulrat Langenhorst*, Cologne to Minister, 15/4/1937

¹¹² Oxford Local Examination Board to Toni Lessler, 16/4/1937, Bundesarchiv, Potsdam

¹¹³ 20/5/1937 letter to Minister 30/4/1937, Bundesarchiv Potsdam

¹¹⁴ Letter from Hübner, 8/9/1937 to the *Reichsminister*, Bundesarchiv, Potsdam

of Education) stated that he had received applications from other Jewish schools, the Lessler Schule and the Kaliski Schule who wished to be considered an Oxford or Cambridge Examination Centre. He commented unfavourably on the rivalry. He turned both requests down with the statement that the Goldschmidt Schule had been granted permission to sit these examinations until Easter 1938, when the matter could be reviewed. In the letter of the 15th of December, see footnote 109) Hübner reported to the *Reichsminister* that no students had reported to the Dorotheen State School and, as he had expressed previously, no examination will ever take place there. In contrast, he cited the 7 students who had passed the Proficiency in English examination in June at the Dr.Leonore Goldschmidt Schule. He mentioned that all were Jews and continued to give some detail about their activities since then. He emphasised that they were all taking further education to facilitate their emigration. He added that 5 students were ready to sit the Cambridge University O-level examination, or school certificate, and a further 7 students would sit the Proficiency in English in December. The results would not be available until January or February 1938. As a result of Hübner's decision, Lore Goldschmidt received direct requests to let students from other schools enter the examination in her school. In a reply ¹¹⁵ written on the 22nd of January of 1938, to Dr.Heinrich Selver of the Kaliski Schule, Leonore Goldschmidt explained the conditions under which the Examination Centre operated, namely that examination papers were issued by Cambridge University to a specific school for a specific student. Relevant information about this student had to be submitted some time earlier. She would be happy to admit pupils from his school provided they were properly prepared. She added: "At the last examination *Oberschulrat* Prof.Dr.Hübner was the presiding examiner and took the oral examination." This remark must refer to the Cambridge University Examination of December 1937, ¹¹⁶ when three boys, K.Herzberg, H.Jaffe and C.M.Nomis and two girls, L.Bock and H. Schwab, ¹¹⁷ passed the O level examination; all passed English Composition, General English Literature, European History, French and German. 2 pupils passed Geography, 3 pupils passed Mathematics and 4 passed Additional Mathematics. 2 passed Chemistry, 1 passed Physics and 1 passed Physics with Chemistry, altogether a truly remarkable achievement. To Lore, this success justified the immense amount of work that she had undertaken for her school to become the Cambridge University Examination Centre. The Kaliski Schule accepted the invitation and began preparing some of their students.

1938

Oberschulrat Dr.Hübner paid a memorable visit, as inspector of High Schools, to the Dr.Leonore Goldschmidt school .¹¹⁸ He visited the author's class room accompanied

¹¹⁵ Letter from L.G. to Dr Heinrich Selver 22/1/1938, Bundesarchiv, Potsdam

¹¹⁶ Archives of Cambridge University, consulted by the author, see footnote 214

¹¹⁷ Letter from Cambridge Uni to S.J.Heims, 2/10/1979, in possession of the author

¹¹⁸ Memory of the author

by Dr. Leonore Goldschmidt, as headmistress. To test the grammatical knowledge of the class, he asked them to parse the following sentence for its 'subject': "*Freude dieser Stadt bedeute, Friede sei ihr erst Geläute.*" (Joy to this Town means, Peace be its first Peal.) These are the last lines in Schiller's poem "*Die Glocke*" (The bell). It was not easy and the class became very confused, someone said *Freude*, a very shy and quiet boy at the back said *Friede*, but neither the inspector nor Lore Goldschmidt heard him, and in the ensuing chaos someone said *Geläute*. Lore looked horrified, thinking the inspector will never grant the *Abitur* to her school, but he just smiled and explained that it was *Friede* (peace). Was it a prophetic choice? Shortly thereafter, on the 4th of February 1938, The *Stadtspräsident* of the Capital, Berlin, Department of Higher Education, wrote,¹¹⁹ quote in translation: "In reply to your application of 18th August 1937, I certify that, in the meaning of article 147, para.1 of the Reich-Constitution, your Private School has been recognised as a substitute for a public school and in this respect has been granted authorisation by the State. As directed, signed by Dr. Büren." The school could begin to prepare students for the *Abitur*.

The invasion of Austria

On the 16th of February 1938, I was 14 years old. I got permission to hold a fancy dress party in the school. The whole basement was turned into a "Ghost Train", the rider, sitting in a wicker basket chair on wheels, was pushed at maximum speed through various routes with spooks popping out from all sides. It was a great party and just like the 50th birthday party for my father, it turned out to be the last happy celebration in Germany. For 3 weeks later, Germany invaded Austria. The brutality that the Jews of Vienna had to endure left a deep, incomprehensible mark of horror and foreboding on all Jewish people, especially in Germany.

As a result, even Ernst Goldschmidt realised that emigration was the only option. Like many Rhineland Jews, whose ancestors had arrived in the Rhineland with the Romans, several hundred years before any of the present "Germanic" tribes had settled there, he considered himself a German and had a deep affection for his country. His father had fought in the Franco-Prussian War and he had fought for Germany in the World War. He loved German music and many other German cultural activities. But he, like many others, came to the conclusion that he did not want to be associated with a nation that was displaying such bestiality.

Lore, very aware of the many emotional problems associated with emigration, had a vision. Perhaps, moving the Dr. Leonore Goldschmidt Schule as an entity to another country would be less traumatic. England was the obvious choice as she had made so many successful contacts but visa restrictions were severe. The USA was a possibility because several months earlier she had met Dr. Theodore Huebener, Assistant Director of Foreign Languages for the Board of Education of the City of New York. While visiting a number of State High Schools in Berlin, including the

¹¹⁹ Short Letter, 4/2/1938, in possession of the author

Französische Gymnasium, Huebener learnt that his old acquaintance, Dr.Kurt Levinstein, was no longer teaching there. He traced him to the Goldschmidt Schule ¹²⁰ and met Lore Goldschmidt. An immediate friendship was formed. Her other contact in the USA was Dr.Raymond Goldschmidt. ¹²¹ Though young, he was an internationally renowned economist working for the US Government in Washington and a very influential person. She decided to further investigate the idea of moving to the USA.

On the 30th of March, 1938, Lore received a letter from Prof.Dr. Hübner stating that the Minister had granted an extension for the Cambridge University Examination Centre to be located at her school until the 31st of March 1939, but added that, during the year, new regulations would be introduced. ¹²² Lore, aware that this sentence might imply that jealousy from other Jewish schools had not diminished, made further inquiries. She learnt that some Jewish schools were demanding the establishment of a neutral examination centre. She was especially upset to learn that the *Reichsvertretung der Juden in Deutschland* (the representative body of Jews in Germany) was implicated. Die *Reichsvertretung* had been founded in September 1933 ¹²³ to be the representative body of the Jewish population of Germany. Leo Baeck was its spiritual leader and Dr.Otto Hirsch, a lawyer from Württemberg, was entrusted with its executive direction. Although he had no teaching qualifications, one of his aims had been the establishment of a Jewish school system, which in fact, had not eventuated.

Lore contacted Dr.Otto Hirsch and arranged a meeting, date unknown. Subsequently she received the following letter, published in full as the wording reveals much antagonism : ¹²⁴

¹²⁰ Passages from Berlin, page 96, Private Publication

¹²¹ Goldschmidt Family Tree, page 3

¹²² Hübner to LG, short letter, 30/3/1938, in possession of the author

¹²³ Paul Sauer: Otto Hirsch, Leo Baeck Year Book, 1987, page 354-358

¹²⁴ Copy of original letter, Otto Hirsch to LG, 16/5/1938, Bundesarchiv, Potsdam

*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

1941

In January 1941, the American Consul General sent a form letter to Ernst which stated, in unfriendly terms, that due to the shortage of transport to the USA, it was incumbent on the visa applicant to obtain steamship tickets before visas would be issued as visas were valid for a period of four months only. This was followed by the statement: 'you are urgently requested not to address further communications to this office.'²⁵⁶

Alvin Johnson replied on the 7th of February to Lore's letter of the 26th of January.²⁵⁷ He wrote: "It fills me with admiration for the way in which you and your children bear up under the difficult circumstances of the time. My settlement in North Carolina has gone through its first critical year, and at the time they are busily planting spring crops. We hope to add seven more families in the near future etc. You and your husband are educators-great educators. There ought to be a place for you in America. My settlement is not the place, because you are not farmers, and there is no other function in the community by which you could make a living." That letter clearly indicated the end of Lore's association with Alvin Johnson.²⁵⁸

During the winter of 1940/41, the British Air Force defeated the German *Luftwaffe*. The bombing of Newport ceased and Nant Coch School returned home the following March, 1941. Gladys Stefyn, wrote: "This is to testify that Dr.L Goldschmidt has been a resident at Cleddon Hall, branch of Drayton High School, Newport, Mon. since it opened in September 1940. During this time the school has received several children from Dr.Goldschmidt's former school at Folkestone, when they were turned out of their billets in Caerwent and these have settled down happily amongst our own pupils. Her devotion to the children in her charge is worthy of the highest of praise. During the six months she has been here Dr.Goldschmidt has also acted as Matron and supervised the housekeeping to my entire satisfaction."²⁵⁹ She added a second testimony praising Dr.Leonore Goldschmidt's work and personality.²⁶⁰ Otto Fendrich wrote: "I cannot remember why we left Cleddon Hall. A few of us went to Lydney where again I was billeted with Joseph Keiler. I have lost touch even with him- the

²⁵⁶ Letters from US Consulate in London to Ernst, 1940-1941, in possession of the author

²⁵⁷ Letter from Johnson to LG, 7/2/1941, in possession of the author

²⁵⁸ The author paid a visit to the Titles Office in Burgaw, County Town of the County of Pender, North Carolina, in the fall of 1990. She found several documents relating to Van Eeden Farm lands:- 1) The purchase of the land on the 9th of September 1939 from Hugh Macrae and Co. by the Alvin Corporation for the peppercorn price of \$10 2) Contracts with refugee farmers Lewin, Willman and Wolf. 3) Mortgage release documents for these settlers, as none were able to meet their mortgage obligations. Wolf was the last to leave on the 15th of December 1949. The author met the present owner, war veteran John Wilkins, who bought all the land and improvements from the Alvin Corporation in 1949 for \$11000 with his GI grant. Wilkins, who had turned the whole acreage into a dairy farm with 75 Holstein Fresian cows, told the author that Johnson's scheme was totally unsuitable for the Van Eeden tract as, due to very poor drainage, vegetable farming could never be economical. It was a sad story but Lore's efforts had saved the lives of these Jewish farmers.

²⁵⁹ Testimony by Gladys Stefyn, Headmistress, 14/12/1940, in possession of the author

²⁶⁰ To Whom It May Concern, 9/3/1941 in possession of the author

last thing I heard about him was that he went to Bristol University to study Electrical Engineering." ²⁶¹

Lore could not follow to Newport, as it was still a protected area ²⁶², and found herself without any teaching position or place to live. Temporarily, she joined Pastor Smith who had been moved to Maryland near Trelleck. At that same time, Ernst was released from the Internment Camp. Devastated by his internment, without a home of his own, with his family dispersed, found the support and friendship of his family members and friends in London invaluable. He found refuge with his second cousin Robert and Margot Goldschmidt at 32 Beechwood Avenue, Finchley. Usually overcrowded, 32 was a home from home for all family and friends during WWII. ²⁶³ Joe Bender took him to lunch in an Italian Restaurant. He visited Alfons Cohn, where he met Lore's niece, Mine, about to marry Dick Kean, a law student. He visited Hans Baum, son of a Coblenz cousin, who was busy making plastic buttons for the British Army. Then he offered his services to the International Labour Branch in London. ²⁶⁴ Slowly he began to find his feet.

By the end of April, Lore had found a temporary position with an evacuated school, St Helens Girls' School, Tregoyd, Three Cocks. Brecon. It was a live-in position where Ernst could not join her. This made him very unhappy. Nevertheless, he started to work on outstanding items. He sought and got permission to visit Folkestone. The houses had not been bombed and the garden was as beautiful as ever. He wondered why the school had left? He started to negotiate further furniture sales with Catesby's.²⁶⁵ He worked hard to regulate the position of all evacuated pupils. On May 1st, he visited B'nai Brith. Mrs Epstein, who was angry with Lore for reporting her and the B'nai Brith to the Movement for the Care of Children, kept him waiting for an hour and called Mrs. Heinemann for assistance but after giving both the latest information on all the children sponsored by them, he finally succeeded in obtaining the outstanding money for items such as spectacles, shoes, and other minor items. He reported to Lore that he thought that "they were broke". He went to see the "Movement for the Care of Children", the organization that had brought the children to England and who were ultimately responsible for them. They admitted their difficulties and asked him to consider opening a new hostel. He sent all this information to Lore plus copies of the Times Educational Supplement. He informed her that, as of the 28th of February, the possibility of employment for Aliens by State Institutions had been granted. It was, therefore, of great importance that she found a good job, especially as he wanted so urgently to join her.

In the meantime, more problems with billeting pupils arose. Two boys, Pless and Gold, needed new billets. Lore wanted them to go to Lydney Grammar School. She asked Jimmy Waite, the new friend from Tintern to make inquiries. The answer was very negative because the matter had been referred to the Clerk to the Lydney Rural

²⁶¹ End of letter from Fendrich to the author, 29/1.1986

²⁶² Letter from Chief Constable of Newport to LG, 1/5/1941, in possession of the author

²⁶³ Correspondence between Ernst and Lore ending 15/5/1941 in possession of the author

²⁶⁴ Ministry of Labour and National Service to EG, letter in possession of the author

²⁶⁵ Letter Catesbys to EG, in possession of the author

District Council in Chepstow who said that the other three boys should not have been billeted there either. Jimmy advised not to proceed as they could risk losing the other billets. He offered to try to find other billets for the boys and give them lessons if required. He was a true friend! ²⁶⁶

By June, Lore had rented a cottage and Ernst joined her, the worst was over! They were able to spend their summer holidays in another Welsh beauty spot, Three Cocks, Brecon. I joined them and studied Latin with my mother for an extra O-level examination next December. The parents discussed their future. With all the rejections and all the other problems that they had encountered while looking after the children in England, both decided that they did not want to open another hostel but wanted to move on with their lives. With employment restrictions lifted, Ernst wanted to obtain a position as a wages accountant. Lore decided to return to teaching in government schools, her original choice.

Once this decision was made, the Dr.Leonore Goldschmidt Schule or Athelstan School ceased to exist.

Postscript

In September 1941, Lore accepted a position in Kidderminster, teaching at Clacton County High School which had been evacuated from Essex. Ernst obtained a position as accountant and wages clerk in a small manufacturing business. They rented a semi-detached house which was partially furnished. In 1942, just as the new school year started, Lore became very ill with pneumonia and nearly died. To the chagrin of the local doctors, Dr.Robert Goldschmidt appeared and saved the day. In January 1943, she obtained her first proper teaching position at Tunstall High School, Stoke on Trent. They rented an apartment, 27 Marsh Avenue, Wolstanton, Stoke on Trent and brought some of the furniture out of storage. They finally had a home again.

1942

To become a fully qualified teacher in the UK system, Lore had to take a UK University degree. She registered, as a part time student, with Prof.Dr.C.W.Valentine, Birmingham University, for an M.A.Degree in Education and worked on her thesis:"The Educational Work done by the Wedgewood Family in Stoke on Trent". Ernst found another position as accountant and wages clerk. Slowly, they were able to recover from their financial difficulties which had been made worse as the town of Folkestone, declared bankrupt, asked for payments from each inhabitant to avoid individual bankruptcy.

²⁶⁶ Letter from J Waite to LG, in possession of the author

1943-1945

During their time in Stoke on Trent, the Panzer Division of the German army surrendered at Stalingrad. For the next two years the Russian advance became legendary. But with it emerged the knowledge of the terrible concentration camps and while the end of the war in Europe was a great relief, it brought immense sadness as the following teachers had not survived:

Erich Bandmann,
Arthur and Mrs. Heckscher,
Erich Loewenthal,
Irma Wertheimer,
all murdered in concentration camps

Erich Rubensohn, committed suicide

Ernst Meissinger,
Fritz Altmann, partly Aryan were forced to join the German army and killed.
Ella Goemann/Glover was never found.

The following of Ernst's relations were murdered in concentration camps:

Aunt: Caroline Goldschmidt

Cousins: Anna Amalie Goldschmidt, Hans Goldschmidt, Elsie Goldschmidt, Richard Goldschmidt, Alice Seligstein, Karl and Sisie Levinger.

Maria Dörnberger, who had looked after the girl's boarding section

Children of cousins: Hans Jeremias, Hella Schönbrunn.

Second cousins: Ernestine Götz.

Second cousin: Hans Goldschmidt drowned on the Andorra Star

The following of Lore's relations were murdered in concentration camps:

Cousins: Martin and Charlotte Just, Bruno Lesser

Second cousin: Herbert Loewy

Many pupils died in concentration camps or were shot while fleeing.

Miriam Meyer, a wonderful violinist, survived but never found mental stability again.
Ursula Balemones, a most artistic girl, never recovered her mental stability and committed suicide.

Gertrud Noël died in an accident

This article is dedicated to their memory.

1946-1948

Once the war was over the British government announced that: "In appreciation of the refugees' support toward the British war effort, the government grants them permanent residence and offers them British nationality." On the 18th of May, 1947, Ernst wrote to Pastor Smith (Photo 15): ²⁶⁷ " Dear Mr.Smith, I can give you the good news that we are British since Friday. That is most important to us and I hope that it will help both in our career. Let me thank you again for your help by signing my application. I shall remain your debtor for all what you have done for us." Ernst then decided to branch out on his own. A member of the Englaender family by marriage, a Mr.Göritz, had opened a ladies fashion factory in London and Ernst became their agent. He loved being independent, he enjoyed the travel and the customers. ²⁶⁸ With his newly-found-wealth, he decided to invite his family, all 5 of us, for a holiday in Llandudno, North Wales, to celebrate his 25th wedding anniversary on the 17th of May 1948. It happened to coincide with the declaration of Independence of the State of Israel and was a truly memorable event. Sadly it proved to be the last time that we were together as the author left for Canada in July 1948.

1949

In April 1949, Lore obtained a new position with the South West Essex Technical College and Technical High School, London. ²⁶⁹ They moved to a large apartment at 79 Aberdare Gardens, London N.W.6. Ernst supervised the move, unpacked all the furniture including the grand piano, something he very much enjoyed. On the 2nd of July, Lore obtained her Master of Arts degree from Birmingham University (Photo 16). ²⁷⁰ On the 15th of August, she qualified for a Bachelor of Arts degree, Second Class Honours in German, from London University. She had taken the course as an External Student. ²⁷¹ A photograph with her sitting and Ernst standing behind her was taken at the graduation ceremony. It was to be his last photograph. In September 1949, *Oberschulrat* Hübner, reemerged as Professor in the *Freie Universität* of Berlin and wrote a most interesting testimonial for her. ²⁷² But her happiness was short lived because on the 21st of December 1949, one month before his 65th birthday, Ernst died. With Dr.Robert Goldschmidt looking after him, he had died quickly of an inoperable cancer. ²⁷³

²⁶⁷ Letter and Certificate of Naturalization in possession of the author, plus photo

²⁶⁸ Books of detailed transactions in the possession of the author

²⁶⁹ Testimonial from G.Drewry, headmaster, 13/9/1949

²⁷⁰ Certificate 26/7/1948 and photo in possession of the author

²⁷¹ Document 15/7/1948 from London University, in possession of the author

²⁷² To whom it may concern, Hübner to LG, 6/9/1949 in possession of the author

²⁷³ Death Certificate, 21/12/1949 in possession of the author

1950-1983

Lore, lonely and again strapped for cash, rented out two rooms. In 1950, with the British Health Service finally established, she was able to undergo an operation on a non-cancerous growth. She had not been able to afford such an operation privately. Her health improved. Once Lore's presence in London became known, old friends from Berlin came to see her, Mrs. Melchior, Dr. Gertrud Schlesinger, Dr. Julian Hirsch among them. Some Goldschmidt relations, who had miraculously survived in Holland, also visited. In 1951, Professor Walter Hübner paid a visit, he looked very demure. I was in London at the time and questioned my mother as to why she was receiving that "old Nazi" but she replied: "No, he was the one who helped me!" In 1958, he sent her a copy of a *Festschrift* to celebrate the 80th birthday of Ernst Otto, which he had edited. In 1962, a postcard to 'dear and admired Dr. Goldschmidt' was sent from a holiday in Seeboden including greetings from his wife and daughter. In 1964, he sent the *Festschrift* (Celebration volume) which colleagues had published for his 80th birthday. He inscribed the volume to her with the words: "*In alter Treue*" (With constant faithfulness). But the enigma remained. While the CV of his life contained an entry that, in 1923, he became *Oberschulrat* of Berlin, there was no reference to the Nazis or his involvement with them anywhere in this CV or in the book! ²⁷⁴

A more joyful reunion occurred when, in 1952, Philip Wooley walked down Longwall Street, Oxford, where I lived. As a result the old friendship was reestablished ²⁷⁵

With the great help of *Rechtsanwalt* (lawyer) Auerbach, a friend of the late Ernst Goldschmidt, Lore applied for reparations from the West German Government and was awarded both a lump sum and a German teacher's pension, which, as the value of the Deutschmark improved against the UK Pound, became a magnificent source of income. It changed her life to one of great pleasure. She was able to enjoy her apartment, travel, spend money on her family and shower the grandchildren with Ackermann's chocolates. ²⁷⁶

Lore's main focus remained on teaching. In 1960, Lore changed to Leyton High School for Girls and taught there until 1967, ²⁷⁷ followed by a two year part time teaching position at the Parliament Hill School. When the authorities terminated this part time appointment, Lore, 72 years old, was most peeved ²⁷⁸ and registered with London University to take a degree in Russian. ²⁷⁹ Loving both the language and the

²⁷⁴ All these publications in possession of the author

²⁷⁵ I was looking out of my first floor window when I saw Philip Woolley passing. By the time I reached the road, he was 20m away. I was overcome with joy and kept shouting: "Mister, Mister!" Wolley turned round as if in a trance, he did not recognise me, as he had last seen me 13 years earlier. We fell into each others arms, the lady who accompanied him, his wife, was of course most astonished! He was overjoyed to find Lore Goldschmidt again and they remained friends for life. Later photo sent by P.W.

²⁷⁶ Receipt of reparation. Herr Ackerman, a lawyer, had retrained in Berlin as chocolateer. His magnificent chocolates were not only the joy of the refugee community but of the Queen Mother, Queen Elizabeth.

²⁷⁷ Leighton High School reference, 2/2/1967, in possession of the author

²⁷⁸ Parliament Hill School questionnaire and reference, in possession of the author

²⁷⁹ Certificates of Education, London University, 1970, 1972 in possession of the author

literature, Lore travelled to the USSR on several occasions. Her hearing and later her vision were much reduced but she kept active until Saturday, the 5th of March, 1983 when she collapsed. She died in hospital the following Monday, the 7th of March. ²⁸⁰

²⁸⁰ Personal Column, London Times, 9/3/1983