

ISSUED BY THE
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LEST WE FORGET

The main part of this issue is dedicated to the memory of the pogroms in November, 1938. The events of those days were a turning point in modern history. For the first time a State defied the sanctity of houses of prayer; the burning of the synagogues symbolised the destruction of one aspect of civilisation which even the Nazis had left untouched until then.

The events were no less important to the German and Austrian Jews themselves. Though they had gone through a process of ever-increasing degradation since 1933, the mass arrests during the pogroms exposed them indiscriminately to the brutality of the régime.

Some of our readers may resent the fact that this issue carries eye-witness reports of the pogrom victims, taken at random from the comprehensive records of The Wiener Library; they may shrink from the revival of these upsetting memories of the past. Yet merely general descriptions and impersonal figures would be inadequate to express the feelings of helplessness and despair which most of us had in those days.

The pogroms were also a turning point in the organisation of the exodus of German Jewry. It is significant that, during the nine months before the outbreak of war, the number of emigrating Jews was almost as high as it had been during the total preceding five-and-a-half years. After November, 1938, even those who had hoped that the system might change overnight or that, as far as the Jews were concerned, at least a *status quo* might be maintained, were left with no choice. But there were many who perished who could have been saved if more countries had followed Great Britain's example in relaxing their immigration policies.

Events occurred which, had they been predicted beforehand, would then have seemed utterly incredulous. In the light of past experience we feel, however, bound to ask: "Could it happen again?" Is it conceivable that a country like Germany might again embrace a system of barbarism and sadism? We cannot dismiss this question as easily as before the events. There are still—or again?—symptoms of neo-Nazism, of anti-Jewish feelings and of intolerance. But there are also strong forces fighting the evil. For the sake of peace and human progress we must hope that, ultimately, these forces will prevail.

The recent trials against the Nazi criminals responsible for the death of innumerable innocent people, remind us that the present situation is a strange and ambivalent one: on the one hand, we have the fact that, more than thirteen years after the war, the murderers are still at large; on the other hand, at least some of them are being brought to justice, even at this stage.

A few weeks ago in London many of us attended the Düsseldorf Schauspielhaus' performance of "Nathan der Weise". When we saw this play before we emigrated from Germany, we felt inclined to underestimate its

THE WAY TO THE POGROMS

In Memory of November 10th, 1938

The pogrom of November 10th, 1938, had for a long time been threatening German Jewry; it did not come upon them like a bolt from the blue. Since the assumption of power, the régime had waged a terrible war of annihilation against the Jews, using every means of "non-violence". The pogrom signified the transition to sheer, undisguised violence, to terrorism. Like the boycott of 1933, it was worse than anything that had preceded it and was at the same time the preliminary to unheard of crimes. Bringing to an end the period of so-called "non-violence", of the boycott and deprivation of rights, it was the bridge that led to Belsen and Auschwitz.

On announcing the Nuernberg Laws in September, 1935, Hitler had described them as "an attempt to regulate on a secular basis the relationships between the German and the Jewish peoples". Should the attempt fail, he would hand the matter over to the Party. This hidden threat hung over the German Jews for three years until, on the night of the pogrom, it was turned into reality.

Their situation had steadily worsened since 1933. They were being forced more and more out of business; Jewish employees were dismissed and Jewish officials flung out of their posts. Customers who dealt with Jewish shops had their names published and were pilloried. As a result of one form of boycott, the Jews were being increasingly rendered homeless; having received notice to quit, they found it first difficult, then impossible to find anywhere else to live. Since tenants would leave a house when a Jew moved in, and the names of house-owners who took in Jewish lodgers were published in the press, an increasing number of Jews moved into houses owned by Jews. But the number of these owners was dwindling, owing to the indefinable, yet irresistible pressure being exerted on many to sell their houses. The increasing homelessness was one of the heaviest burdens to bear. The feeling of insecurity was heightened by the refusal to give Jews passports, which had been granted them in the years immediately following the change of government, but were soon stopped. The new passports were only issued in cases of emigration and in July, 1938, all current passports held by non-emigrants had to be surrendered. They were replaced from January 1st, 1939, by "identity cards", which had to bear fingerprints, thus classing Jews with criminals. With the surrender of their passports came the

message. Were not the Jews, apart from certain prejudices, respected as ordinary human beings and treated as citizens of equal standing? Had not the philosophy of enlightenment left its indelible imprint on German thinking? Yet now that an assault has been made on basic principles which we had thought impregnable, the message of "Nathan der Weise" has become even more topical than it was in Lessing's lifetime. The Patriarch's verdict on one individual Jew: "Tut nichts, der Jude wird verbrannt", became a grim reality for millions of our people. We cannot forget this, and we are not entitled to indulge in shallow optimism. Yet, even after the darkest hours of our history, we must not despair or give up hope that respect for the values of our civilisation will prevail.

certainty that they were powerless in the trap set by the murderers. The decree of August 18th, 1938, enacting that Jewish children born after January 1st, 1939, might bear certain names only, was devilish. Not only German names were forbidden but also many Hebrew names. No Jew could call his son Adam, Abraham, Jacob, Joseph or David, or his daughter Eva, Ruth, Hannah, Rachel or Elisabeth. Instead, names such as Itzig, Ahasuerus, Awrum, Herod, Judas, Channe, Riwke, Breile, etc. were prescribed. One of the purposes of this list of names was to discourage Jewish parents from bearing children, since they would thereby be branded for life. Those males born before the decree had to take the name Israel, and females had to take the name Sara, after their other names. With wonderful dignity someone, whose name is unfortunately unknown to me, responded to this renewal of the stigma of the "Yellow Patch":

"Ja, Sara heisstest du, Fuerstin, und Israel, Kaempfer fuer Gott.
Meinte der Taeufer es wirklich im Spott?
Ihr ueber die Welt Verstreuten, ihr Samen,
Besser, als ihr selbst, kennt euere Namen
Der Widersacher von Gott."

Deprivation of Property and Freedom

The Jews of Germany were completely despoiled by the legislation enacted, which took the form of ordinances, partly of a seemingly general nature not mentioning Jews particularly, and partly directed against Jews alone. For years already, in many cases, a quarter of their assets had been sequestered to meet the Flight Capital Tax, even when they had no intention of emigrating. The levy on personal belongings of would-be emigrants, enforced in the summer of 1938, provided a new form of loot. Anyone wishing to emigrate had to pay a levy of 100 per cent on acquisitions made in 1938, and a smaller amount on those made between 1933 and 1937. Later, the levy was put up and up, till finally no longer 100 per cent, but quite arbitrary rates were levied.

At the same time mass arrests were started. No Jew could any longer be certain that he would spend his next hour in freedom. The spiritual oppression became unbearable. The year 1937 in Düsseldorf was especially terrible. A large number of community members were arrested, in many cases spending months of imprisonment without trial. Others were condemned to long years of incarceration. After the war ended some of these sentences were reviewed and the defendants were pronounced innocent.

First Attacks on the Jewish Religion

Until 1937, severe measures had been taken against Jewish persons but not actually against Jewry and its organisations. It is true that, immediately after the transfer of power, the *Shechitah* had been forbidden; otherwise, however, religious life remained immune for a time. This circumstance was changed in 1937. I myself, like many others, was put in prison that year for the first time, when abruptly the B'nai B'rith Lodges were forbidden through the entire Reich and their honorary officers arrested. But a year later, on March 31st, 1938, the Jewish communities were denied the status of corporations under public law and, as merely private societies, they lost the right to raise taxes. The German Jews nevertheless remained faithful to their communities and con-

(Continued on page 3, column 3)

DER STAATSBESUCH VON BUNDESPRAESIDENT HEUSS

Anlaesslich des Staatsbesuchs des Praesidenten der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Professor Dr. Theodor Heuss, veranstaltete die Deutsche Botschaft am 22. Oktober einen Empfang in der County Hall des London County Council. Unter den Anwesenden befanden sich zahlreiche aus Deutschland stammende Persoenlichkeiten, insbesondere Vertreter der Organisationen von Einwanderern, die als Verfolgte des nationalsozialistischen Regimes in England Aufnahme gefunden hatten. Wir veroeffentlichen im folgenden Auszuege aus der Ansprache, die Bundespraesident Heuss bei dieser Gelegenheit hielt, sowie einen Bericht ueber den Besuch des Bundespraesidenten bei der Wiener Library.

WIEDERGUTMACHTUNG DES UNRECHTS

Niemand wird auf die Idee kommen, keinem Redlichen wird es erlaubt sein, die Schrecknisse, die im letzten Weltkrieg geschehen sind, zu verniedlichen. Sie fanden ihren Ausgangspunkt in der Hybris der deutschen Gewalthaber, die in fast alle Voelker, auch in dieses, Leid trug. Das zynische Zertrampeln nicht nur verbrieft Buergerrechte, sondern der ganz einfachen menschlichen Rechte zum blossen Leben und zur eigenverantworteten Entfaltung setzte ja schon ein, bevor die Kriegstragoedie inszeniert wurde. Ich sehe in diesem Saale manche alten Bekannten, ja Freunde, die aus politischen oder aus sogenannten "rassischen" Gruenden aus dem Lande ihrer Eltern, aus der Heimat ihrer Jugend—und Mannesjahre vertrieben wurden. Wir sind England dankbar, dass es ihnen die Chance der Existenz, mochte und mag sie auch kuemmerlich gewesen sein und noch sein, gewahrt hat.

Wir wissen auch um die Pflicht, Unrecht wieder gutzumachen, was ja zumal im seelisch-familiaeren Bereich immer Notbehelf und im Materiellen muehsam erarbeitetes Stueckwerk bleiben wird. Handelt es sich doch um ueber 1½ Millionen Antraege, die durch einen Rechtsgang geschleust werden muessen. Ich weiss gut genug, dass noch sehr viel Bitterkeit den Weg dieser Arbeit begleitet. Sie wissen, dass Regierung, Bundestag und Bundesrat einheitlich die Loesung dieser Frage, die freilich in zahllosen Faellen unvollkommen sein wird, zugleich als Humanum und Politicum begreifen. Wie das Humane und das Politische ineinanderfliessen kann, wobei das Politische immer den Gewinn zieht, habe ich persoendlich bei meinem englischen Aufenthalt im Jahre 1947 erfahren. Wir Deutsche haben es in einem breiteren Bewusstsein erfahren, als die Stimme eines Mannes aus England unser Ohr, unsere Empfindung erreichte—eines juedischen Mannes. Es war die Stimme von Victor Gollancz. Ich wuerde vor mir selber ein Unrecht tun, wuerde ich diesen Namen nicht nennen.

Geistespolitisch liegen die Dinge nicht ganz so einfach. . . . Im Jahre 1911 trat Friedrich Gundolf ins breitere Bewusstsein durch sein monumentales, und in seinen Perspektiven tief bewegendes Werk "Shakespeare und der deutsche Geist". Welches Glueck fuer den Mann, dass er 1931, erst 51 jaehrig, sterben durfte, bevor sein Doktorand Joseph Goebbels daran gehen konnte, den deutschen Geist in die Gosse zu schmeissen.

. . . Ich bin kein Illusionist, der glaubt, mit Deutungen und Analysen den Lauf der Dinge kanalisieren zu koennen. Aber das soll meine Hoffnung bleiben, dass im Hin und Her politischer Sonderberatungen, mit allen ihren nie vorher angesammelten

Schwierigkeiten, nicht nur das Gefuehl, sondern auch das Wissen um eine gemeinsame Verantwortung fuer Wohlfahrt, Friede und Freiheit gesichert bleibe.

BESUCH DER WIENER LIBRARY

Der Friedrich Naumann-Schueler, historische Schriftsteller und demokratische Politiker Wuerttembergischer Praegung, Professor Dr. Theodor Heuss, gehoerte als unbeugsamer Vertreter einer liberalen und humanitaeren Weltanschauung zum Kreis der Verfolgten, dem das nationalsozialistische Regime den Broterwerb zu unterbinden wusste. Mord und Austreibung lichteten den Kreis naher Freunde. Wer aber von diesem Kreis ausserhalb Deutschlands die Jahre erlebt hat, in denen Theodor Heuss als Bundespraesident waltete, weiss von Taten der Freundschaft zu berichten.

Das Amt des Bundespraesidenten gewahrt verfassungsmaessig keinen unmittelbaren Einfluss auf Gesetzgebung und Verwaltung. Dass aber gleichwohl Widerstaende gegen das Wiedergutmachungswerk beseitigt wurden, dass immer wieder der Appell an das Gewissen zu geeigneter Stunde in starken Worten erklang, ist das Verdienst des Bundespraesidenten. Niemand, der ergreifender und grossartiger von dem gesprochen hat, was das Gewaltregime den deutschen Juden und dann allen Juden getan hat.

Nicht nur wegen dieser engen Verbundenheit zu juedischen Menschen, von Otto Hirsch, mit dem ihn gemeinsame Heimat und Studienzeit verknuepften, bis zu Leo Baeck, sondern weil er von der Geschichte und dem Schicksal der deutschen Juden weiss, nimmt er warmen Anteil an den Bestrebungen des Leo Baeck Instituts. Wie er in New York die Sammlungen des Instituts besichtigte, so nahm er sich auch in London trotz der vielen Verpflichtungen seines dreitaegigen Staatsbesuchs die Zeit, begleitet vom Deutschen Botschafter und den Beamten des Praesidialbueros am 23. Oktober die "Wiener Library" zu besuchen und dort die Dokumente der Verfolgungszeit, zum Teil auch solche, die ihn selbst betreffen, zu studieren.

Mr. Leonard G. Montefiore, der Praesident der Wiener Library, und der Direktor Dr. Alfred Wiener, ueberreichten dem Bundespraesidenten zwei Werke mit besonderen Erinnerungen fuer den Schwaben Theodor Heuss: Das eine, ein altes Buch "Wuerttemberg" mit Aufzeichnungen ueber seinen Geburtsort Brackenheim, das andere, das ueber "Juedische Gotteshaeuser und Friedhoefe in Wuerttemberg" berichtet.

Aus der Art, in der der Bundespraesident die Buecher und die zu einem grossen Teil ergreifenden Dokumente pruefte, sprach sein tiefes Verstaendnis fuer die Sammlungen und Arbeiten der Bibliothek, die heute nicht nur den Studien juedischer Gelehrter dient; auch fuer Studenten und Forscher aus Deutschland, die die Geschichte der Verfolgung schreiben, sind die Sammlungen eine unentbehrliche Quelle geworden. Der Praesident begriesste die wissenschaftlichen Verbindungen, die seit langem bestehen.

Jede Aeusserung Theodor Heuss' ist das Wort eines geistigen Menschen und gleichzeitig schwingt stets in ihr ein ethischer Impuls mit. Wiedergutmachung ist fuer ihn nicht ein Programm, um politischer Zielsetzungen willen geschaffen, sondern eine moralische Verpflichtung. Der, wie er sagte, nur begrenzt moegliche Versuch der Wiedergutmachung ist fuer den geistigen Politiker nicht nur ein Problem der finanziellen Sicherung der geschaeftigten und oft zerbrochenen Opfer. Ihm ist es darum zu tun, das Andenken an die tragische Geschichte der deutschen Juden zu waehren. So sind seine Besuche der Wiener Library und des Leo Baeck Instituts als Symbol seines Wunsches zu werten, dass dem deutschen Judentum das wuerdige Monument gesetzt wird, das es verdient.

BUNDESRUECKERSTATTUNGS-GESETZ

Fristablauf 31 Dezember 1958

Die Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany hat die folgende Verlautbarung erlassen:

Am 31.12.1958 endet die Frist fuer die Anmeldung von Anspruechen nach dem Bundesrueckerstattungsgesetz. Dieses Gesetz regelt Ansprueche auf Zahlung von Schadensersatz fuer Entziehung von Sachen wie Liftvans Hausrat, Wertpapiere, Schmuck, Platin-, Gold- und Silbergegenstaende, Devisen, Bibliotheken, Briefmarkensammlungen, Uhren, Pelze, Maschinen, Warenlager, Bankkonten usw.

Zwei Vorschriften des Gesetzes sind von besonderer Bedeutung fuer Verfolgte aus den deutsch besetzten Gebieten in Ost- und Westeuropa.

1) §13 gewahrt Entschaedigung fuer Umzugsgut, das ausserhalb Deutschlands in Europa beschlagnahmt wurde. Dies aber nur, wenn der Verfolgte aus dem Gebiet der Bundesrepublik oder aus Westberlin ausgewandert ist.

2) §5 gibt Anspruch auf Entschaedigung, wenn Vermoegensgegenstaende, wie die obenerwaehnten Sachen, ausserhalb Deutschlands beschlagnahmt und hinterher in das Gebiet der Bundesrepublik oder von Grossberlin geschafft wurden. Voraussetzung ist, dass der Wert aller Gegenstaende, die einem Verfolgten entzogen wurden, zusammen mindestens RM 1.000,—erreichte. Die Beschlagnahme ausserhalb Deutschlands und die Fortschaffung nach Westdeutschland oder Grossberlin muessen nachgewiesen werden.

Fuer Gold- und Silbersachen, Devisen, Edelmetalle u. dergl. ist dieser Beweis aufgrund allgemeiner Anordnungen in der Regel zu fuehren, da solche Werte nach Berlin abzuliefern waren.

a) Aus den okkupierten westlichen Gebieten (wie z.B. Frankreich, Belgien, Holland, Luxemburg) sind saemtliche den Nationalsozialisten bekannt geworden Wohnungseinrichtungen von Juden beschlagnahmt worden und nach Westdeutschland und Berlin gelangt, ebenso grosse Mengen von Wertpapieren, Kulturgut usw. Darueber liegt ausreichend Beweismaterial vor.

b) Es sind auch viele Dokumente vorhanden, die beweisen, dass grosse Posten von Wertpapieren (nicht aber Hausrat) aus Gebieten des okkupierten Ostens, insbesondere aus dem Generalgouvernement, grossen Teilen der Tschechoslowakei und von Oesterreich ueber die Reichskreditkassen an die Reichsbank Berlin zur Ablieferung gelangten. Dasselbe gilt fuer den Inhalt von Safes (Gold, Devisen usw.) und Briefmarkensammlungen, ferner fuer alle Wertgegenstaende, die den Haeftingen in den Ghettos und in den KZ-Lagern abgenommen wurden. Voraussetzung bleibt aber auch hier, dass der Gesamtwert saemtlicher einem Verfolgten entzogener Wertgegenstaende jeweils die Grenze von RM 1.000,—erreichte.

Die Antragsfrist ist wiederholt verlaengert worden. Eine nochmalige Verlaengering erscheint ausgeschlossen. Es wird deshalb dringend geraten, sich sofort mit einem Anwalt, der auf dem Gebiet der Wiedergutmachung spezialisiert ist, oder falls der Antragsteller unbemittelt ist, mit der United Restitution Organization in Verbindung zu setzen, damit die Antragsformulare ordnungsmaessig ausgefuellt und rechtzeitig vor Ende des Jahres bei den zustaendigen deutschen Behoerden eingereicht werden.

Besondere Informationen kann man erhalten im Zusammenhang mit: Entziehungen in Frankreich beim: Fonds Sociale Juif Unifie, 25 Rue de Berri, Paris 8; Entziehungen in Belgien beim: AIVG, 16 Avenue des Noisetiers, Brussel; Entziehungen in Holland beim: JOKOS, Herengracht 503, III, Amsterdam C.

VERFOLGUNGSSCHAEDEN-GESETZ

Contrary to expectations, the official application forms to be used by claimants living abroad have not yet been issued. An announcement will be published in this journal as soon as the forms are available.

The applications will have to be filed with the "Finanzlandesdirektionen" in Austria, and should not be sent to other institutions in Austria such as the "Hilfsfonds".

The address of the "Finanzlandesdirektion fuer Wien, Niederoesterreich und Burgenland (Entschaedigungsabteilung)" is Vienna I., Wollzeile 1. An announcement concerning claims of Austrian Jews for confiscated valuables is published on page 14, column 3 of this issue.

EYE-WITNESS ACCOUNTS OF THE NOVEMBER EVENTS

"I record what I myself saw, to remind those who saw it with me, and to warn the generations to come." Lion Feuchtwanger ("The Jewish War").

Nuernberg

In Nuernberg, which was under the control of Streicher, the S.A. was assembled at the market place at 1.30 on the fateful morning. Steel truncheons were handed out to them, and they were given detailed instructions on the devastations to be carried out. . . . A number of Jews were thrown into the streets from windows. Pictures in the homes of Jewish families were slashed. An art collector who owned a Rembrandt offered the masterpiece to the S.A. men, imploring that they should not destroy this irreplaceable work but should take it with them. No heed was paid to his plea. A weeping woman begged that the portrait of her dead father should be spared. She was rudely told to get out if she did not want to witness the destruction.

A well-known Jew was to be arrested, but as he was out of town his wife and son were to be taken instead. When the wife pleaded that the child, who was ill and feverish, should not be taken out into the cold November night, she was told: "So much the better—he will be disposed of sooner!"

A Small Town in Saxony

. . . Some of the people stoned the windows of Mrs. W.'s house. Others entered and caused havoc. A few, however, tried to save things which they considered to be of sentimental value, by hiding them under the beds.

At 7 o'clock in the morning a policeman arrived to take Mrs. W. into "protective custody". He was most courteous, asked who would care for the canary and, when they were in the street, offered to walk ahead so that she should not be embarrassed. Mrs. W. declined the offer saying: "If anybody should be ashamed at this moment it should be you."

In Hiding

. . . It was resolved that I should ask a non-Jewish friend of ours for hospitality. She was at once prepared to accommodate me and I spent one night in her flat but, as she lived in a block of flats, I was afraid she would suffer for hiding me. I therefore decided to travel to Weimar, where I took a room in a hotel. From there I proceeded to Dresden. When I entrained for Dresden, I saw hundreds of Jews being off-loaded, like cattle. They were driven by police—their destination Buchenwald.

In Dresden I was given sanctuary by a non-Jewish acquaintance. There I thought I might be safe, but it was not so. Two days after my arrival, on returning from a walk, I found two Gestapo men awaiting me, one of them a relative of my acquaintance's wife. Later I learned that I had been betrayed by the wife.

Buchenwald

I was first brought to the local police station and from there I was taken, together with about eighty others, to a large hall where there were already about 2,000 Jews assembled. We were made to form into groups of ten before a table behind which was seated a police officer. Upon his calling a name, the person so called had to approach him and say: "I am the Saujude . . . born. . . ." If anybody forgot to use the word

"Saujude", he was cruelly beaten. Tefillin and Talleisim were slashed to ribbons with the jibe: "You will anyhow be in Heaven soon without saying the Lord's Prayer." An opera singer was commanded to sing Srastra's aria from Mozart's "The Magic Flute": "In diesen heiligen Hallen kennt man die Rache nicht." We were also forced to shout in unison: "We are swine Jews and murderers. . . ."

In Buchenwald each prisoner was given a number, which was usually accompanied by a well-aimed kick or a stinging slap. Our heads were shaved. From 7 in the morning till 8 at night we had to stand on one spot. At 8.30 we were chased into the barracks, which we were not allowed to leave for any purpose until the morning. This was complicated by a diet of whale soup, which caused diarrhoea. From time to time S.S. men came in, picked out twenty or thirty Jews at random out of each hut, and put them to death outside. Often the prisoners were thrown against the electrically-loaded barbed wire. In their despair, some committed suicide in this terrible way, and nearly every day eight to ten bodies were to be seen hanging on the wire.

Sachsenhausen

. . . All the ties that had bound me to Germany had, by that time, been severed. I developed an aversion to these people which I shall not lose to my dying day. . . . Hours spent doing gruelling knee bends, being cursed at, suffering hunger and thirst. Here and there somebody slumps to the ground unheeded. He is only a "dirty Jew". Another slashes his arteries with a razor blade, and we only notice it when he collapses, with blood pouring from his wrists. An S.S. man passes, smiles, and bashes him in the teeth with the butt of his pistol. Now his face is also a gory mess. Only a short while and it is over.

Dachau

. . . At the Dachau railway station we were met by a small group of S.S. men, who were obviously disappointed that there were only a few of us. They beat us, to the horror of the policeman who had accompanied us on the journey, and then threw us into a van. When we arrived at the camp we met thousands of fellow-Jews. Almost all of them had swollen and bruised faces, and some were hardly recognisable as human beings. Some of the prisoners were over 80 years old.

The camp was surrounded by a barbed-wire fence. At various points watch towers with machine-guns and searchlights were mounted. One of the prisoners—a feeble-minded man—one day suddenly broke away during roll call. We tried to call him back but he ran directly towards the S.S. men. They gave him a cruel thrashing, whilst we had silently to stand by and listen to the cries of this poor creature.

We had roll call twice a day, which the seriously ill had to attend as well. The sufferings of the sick and old prisoners were beyond description. Those of us who were still able to think coherently felt that this brutality was not just an expression of hatred against us Jews but was really the manifestation of a system which had no regard at all for humanity in general. (Extracts from the Records of the Wiener Library.)

The Way to the Pogrom

(Continued from page 1)

continued to pay them their dues, even after state compulsion had ceased.

The synagogues, which had so far been spared, were not the objects of brute force until the middle of 1938. The first victim was the magnificent Munich synagogue. At scarcely a moment's notice the community was ordered to surrender its synagogue to the state and within less than 24 hours the demolition had begun. The Board of the Allgemeine Rabbiner Verband held a meeting in Munich on that fatal day of June 8th, and I was therefore an eyewitness of the happenings. The President of the community, Oberlandesgerichtsrat Dr. Neumeyer, was summoned to the town hall during our deliberations and was there given the order. He returned to us a broken man. Never to be forgotten by all who took part in it was the abysmal grief which hung that afternoon over the last divine service in the house of God, consecrated to its doom. Three months afterwards, shortly before Rosh Hashanan, the mayor of Dortmund disclosed to the Board that the Dortmund synagogue was to be seized and destroyed. The community was only allowed to hold divine service on Rosh Hashanah. Then the imposing building was torn down and a petrol station erected on its site. The community was promised an indemnity of RM 100,000, but immediately afterwards a fine of a similar amount was imposed on it under some pretext or other, and set off against the indemnity.

What occurred in Munich on June 8th and other occurrences were completely eclipsed by later events of the year.

Prelude to Destruction

October 28th, the date of the destruction of the Polish Jews in Germany, was the prelude for the destruction of the German Jews! On that day all the Jews of Polish nationality throughout the Reich were arrested, to find themselves dumped, a few days later, in a no-man's-land between the German and Polish frontiers, in the Collection Camp of Zbonzyn.

Three hundred and sixty-one Jews had been arrested in Düsseldorf. Some filled the corridors of the prison on the Fuerstenwall. Others were packed like wild animals behind bars. No one was spared. There stood, motionless, a young mother, in the pram before her the baby whose *Milah* I had attended a few weeks earlier; and there were men between 80 and 90. In a wheelchair sat a man, both of whose legs had been amputated. The frozen calm of the arrested was terrible: not a word was spoken, not a complaint uttered, but horror had so distorted their faces that I did not recognise some of them. They had had no breakfast and got no midday meal, so my wife provided fruit, chocolates and any packed foods available at the moment. Though we could not help them, we wanted to be with these people and, together with the community leader, Erich Felsenthal, we stayed till the buses arrived to take them to the station and the Polish frontier. Fourteen days later, on November 10th, I found myself again in the prison, but this time I myself, with many other Jews, was under police arrest. It had overtaken us: the fate of the Polish Jews, the fate of all the Jews of Germany.

I shall not say much about the pogrom of November 10th. Hundreds of thousands who went through the experience are still alive. Let them tell the tale. I will mention, however, that during that dread night there were signs and wonders, through which a might of a different order spoke to us. I will recount only one of these.

In Korbach, in Waldeck, the Jews had been driven together in the market place. The flames of the burning synagogue and of Jewish houses filled the night with a blood-red glow. Then there rang out notes which stirred everyone to the core: *Tehkiah! Shebarim! Teruah! Tekiah Gedolah!!* The spirit of God had come upon the teacher. These words were the only fitting ones. He had sounded *Shofar*. It was the trumpet of the Last Judgment, certainly for us Jews, but just as certainly for the German nation.

RABBI DR. M. ESCHELBACHER

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DAYS OF EMERGENCY

There were various preludes to the November pogroms. In the summer of 1938, a considerable number of Jews were suddenly arrested, and many of them were brought to Sachsenhausen concentration camp and to another one by the name of Buchenwald, hitherto unknown. The common denominator of the prisoners, it transpired, was that at one time or another they had committed an offence. The Nazis called the measure "Vorbeftrafenaktion", i.e., an action against "unsocial elements". But, with a few exceptions, these Jews were not criminals—they had either infringed some police regulations, often as far back as before the First World War, or they had been tried by the Nazis in 1933 or later for political reasons. In common with all other basic human rights, the age-old rule that nobody could be punished twice for the same offence was ignored by the Nazis.

During the Czech crisis which followed in the autumn, it became known that in the event of war all male Jews would be thrown into concentration camps. The Munich Agreement, controversial as it may be from a general political angle, provided a respite for the Jews in Germany and Austria, then in a trap. But a few weeks after Munich, the Polish Jews were deported to the frontier.

Mass Arrests

The climax was reached after the attempted assassination of an official of the German Embassy in Paris, vom Rath, when the synagogues were set on fire and over 30,000 male Jews were arrested. At the same time, the Jewish organisations were closed down. I remember the scene in the headquarters of the Central-Verein. The staff was lined up in the corridor, and the official in charge of the Berlin Gestapo announced that until further notice we need no longer come to the office. Much to our surprise, we were dismissed and none of us was detained. However, as the day wore on, an increasing number of our colleagues was rounded up. First we thought the measures in Berlin were restricted to leading personalities of the various Jewish organisations, but after a few hours we realised that indiscriminate mass arrests were proceeding. Often policemen took with them visitors who happened to be in the flat of the person on their list. As only male Jews were arrested, some tried to save themselves by taking refuge in households which consisted only of women and, during the day, they aimlessly wandered through the streets, outcasts in their own city. But their constant fear cannot be compared with the sufferings of their fellow-Jews in Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald and Dachau.

The only way out was emigration. Women queued at the German emigration office in the Linkstrasse, where they had to obtain certificates that, as far as the German authorities were concerned, nothing stood in the way of their husbands' emigration once they had procured visas. This was one of the cruel paradoxes of the system: the emigration office's actual *raison d'être* was to check on the emigration of non-Jews who, because of their experience or occupation, might be useful to the country, especially in case of war. For the sake of bureaucracy, however, Jews who had to emigrate had to obtain the same rubber stamp. There were also queues at the consulates of practically all countries, large and small. But the fron-

tiers of most countries were barred. The United States and Palestine were restricted in their immigration policies by the quota and certificate systems. The only country which really reached a helping hand and which thus lived up to the emergency, was Great Britain. Of the 100,000-150,000 Jews who left Germany between the pogroms and the outbreak of war, about 40,000 found refuge in this island, and in addition a further 40,000 from Austria and Czechoslovakia. One must have experienced what it meant in those days of anxiety if a letter from a guarantor or from a British immigration authority arrived in a Jewish household.

The rescue work was facilitated by the introduction of two new schemes concerning which the present writer could obtain some first-hand experi-



Fasanenstrasse Synagogue in flames
(from the Wiener Library Records)

ence: the admission of children and the establishment of a transit camp at Richborough (Kitchener Camp). Soon after the "Reichsvertretung" of the Jews in Germany was permitted, as the only Jewish organisation, to re-open its offices, applications poured into its Children's Emigration Department (at that time still at the Kurfuerstendamm), each of them with a photo of a little boy or girl on the form. Selections had to be made according to urgency. In a number of cases, the children's emigration made it possible for the other members of the family to leave as well, the fathers as inmates of the Kitchener Camp and the mothers as domestic servants. But there were many

instances where the children, with their nameplates fastened with string around their necks, were seen off at the station, never to set eyes on their parents again.

Even more difficult than the organisation of the children's exodus was the selection of the applicants for the Kitchener Camp. On an occasion such as this it seems fitting to pay tribute to the memory of two men who took a responsible part in this work: Senatspraesident a.D. Richard Joachim, the head of the department in charge, and Landgerichtsdirektor a.D. Dr. Walter Sprinz, the Chairman of one of the two selection committees. Both were deported during the war. They were never in the limelight, yet their devotion coupled with a strong sense of justice and of administrative experience, will not be forgotten by those who worked with them.

Only men up to the age of 45 who were in danger, and whose eventual re-emigration to the United States, Palestine or other countries was arranged, qualified for admission to the transit camp. Proposals were submitted by the regional offices of the "Hilfsverein" and, in the case of would-be emigrants to Palestine, of the "Palästina-Amt". The ultimate decision rested with two selection committees which met twice a week in the Kantstrasse headquarters of the "Reichsvertretung". The view from the window symbolised the situation: on the left the burnt-out shell of the Fasanenstrasse Synagogue, constantly reminding us of the pogroms and their victims in the concentration camps, and on the right the railway, with the trainloads of troops, impressing on us that there was no time to lose.

Under the circumstances, acceptance or rejection of an applicant was a matter of life and death. A proper grading of each case would only have been possible if all the applications had been scrutinised first. Speed, however, was the paramount factor and absolute justice was impossible. Outside intervention had to be eliminated and applicants or their relatives were therefore, in theory, not permitted to call on headquarters in order to plead their cases. It was, however, humanly impossible to ignore the presence in the corridors of visitors who, by their shorn heads, were recognisable as released K.Z. prisoners. When their cases were dealt with by the committee, the official who had interviewed them had to forget the impression they had left, lest he be carried away by his emotions, to the detriment of others who relied on their written applications.

Gestapo Pressure

There were other cases where the Gestapo intervened and tried to press for the prisoner's acceptance. Should one yield to this pressure, thus inviting further pressure, or should one leave the prisoner to the mercy of his torturers? More often than not, this was not an easy decision.

The particulars of the accepted applicants were sent *en bloc* to the Central British Fund which, in turn, forwarded them to the Home Office. No words can express the efficiency with which the Central British Fund, of which the department in charge was headed by Professor Norman Bentwich, played its part in the work.

Gradually, the visas came in. Whilst some of the admitted applicants tended to slow down their final preparations when the political horizon appeared to be lighter, most of them joined the group transports which were to bring them to England at the earliest possible moment. Thus, within the brief span between the pogroms and the outbreak of war, about 5,000 Jews from Central Europe were saved from certain death.

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A. G. Brotman

BRITAIN'S REACTION TO THE POGROMS

The November pogroms of 1938 created a deep and ineradicable impression on public opinion in Britain. It was indeed at the time the most outstanding manifestation of what Hitler really meant and the threat his régime was to civilisation. The racial laws, the discriminatory laws against Jews, the oppression of other minorities, the actions taken against the churches, were indeed regarded as retrogressive steps, but the general tendency of the leaders of public opinion, however much it condemned these actions, was to regard them as temporary aberrations rather than demonstrations of a fixed and ruthless policy. Although these measures were forecast and, indeed, elaborated with perverted arguments in Hitler's "Mein Kampf", nevertheless there were attempts to find mitigating circumstances for what kindly folk regarded as the somewhat intemperate effusions of a patriot who had suffered imprisonment for his "extreme nationalism".

The news of the 1938 pogroms, the organised attacks against the synagogues resulting in the great majority of the synagogues in Germany being burned and destroyed, provoked a sense of shock, almost greater among non-Jews than among Jews—Jewish feelings had become numb as the result of many such shocks which particularly those Jews had to suffer who were unfortunate enough to be within the toils of Hitler and his Nazi Germany, or in the other countries which had come under Hitler's control.

It is a sad if interesting exercise to analyse the reason for the public reaction. In the first place all religious elements were shocked at the fact that houses of worship had been destroyed with the connivance of the police and by groups acting on behalf of the German Government. The November pogroms could not, like earlier outrages in 1933 and 1934, be excused as an act of revolutionary fervour. In spite of the attempts of the Nazi authorities to make out that the November attacks were a spontaneous demonstration of justifiable German anger, the world outside Germany saw the attacks for what they were: attacks planned in cold blood, and in concert with the Nazi authorities. What was still more shocking was that the Nazi Government not only refused in any way to defend or to pay compensation to the victims of the outrages, but piled additional punishment upon them. It has also to be remembered that the November pogroms followed close upon Munich which, although it left a bad taste in the mouths of most thinking people in England, was nevertheless regarded as possibly holding out hope of better relations with a Germany presumably appeased by the tremendous concessions made at Munich. The pogroms disillusioned even those who were most hopeful, and it confirmed the view held by an increasing number of ordinary citizens in this country, who realised that Hitler should never have been trusted and could never again be trusted. The press was full of reports of the excesses and condemned them without qualification.

Board of Deputies Protests

The Board of Deputies, as the spokesman of the Anglo-Jewish community, held a special session at which a statement protesting against the outrages was made by the then President of the Board, Mr. Neville Laski, K.C., and solemnly endorsed by the Board. This statement was widely publicised in the press and through broadcast.

The most powerful action, however, took the form of a public protest meeting on December 1st, which was sponsored by the Board, at which Lord Sankey presided and where the speakers included the Archbishop of York, the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, the Moderator of the Council of the Free Churches, the Chief Rabbi and leading representatives of the three leading political parties.

Soon after this demonstration, Lord Baldwin launched by broadcast and by a letter in *The Times* a national appeal for the refugees and persecutees, the aim of which was to raise funds for the aid of all refugees from Germany and Austria, without distinction of creed. Contributions came in from every section of the population in small and in large amounts, and by the end

of the year the fund already amounted to over a quarter of a million pounds. Part of this fund was used immediately by the Movement for the Care of Children which, until the beginning of the war, brought over more than 10,000 children. The British Dominions and Colonies also came in with their ready help, which was stimulated by efforts made through the Council for German Jewry (now the Central British Fund).

The Home Office and other departments willingly co-operated to admit Jews from Germany as refugees on a more generous scale than hitherto, and for the purpose of avoiding difficulties of accommodation for refugees who were in transit for the United States and elsewhere, the Kitchener Camp was opened and took in a considerable number of refugees.

The November pogroms emphasised the necessity of saving as quickly as possible those Jews who were still in Germany or under the sway of the Nazis, and it is to the lasting honour of this country that once the people fully realised what Hitler was doing and what the victims were suffering they responded to the call for help with deep humanity and generosity.

APPEASEMENT'S END

Nowhere, probably, did the dastardly deed produce more devastating effects than in Britain. The French were hardly surprised at yet another display of Boche brutality, and the United States had long ago shed its isolationist fancies, though President Roosevelt still "scarcely believed that such things could occur in a twentieth century civilisation".

But Britain was in the throes of all the hopes raised by surrender to blackmail, and waiting for Mr. Chamberlain's "Peace in Our Time". Hitler had obliged his many friends by dubbing his latest territorial demand the last, and even Mr. Churchill was moved to recall, as late as three days before the pogroms, that he had "always said that if Great Britain were defeated in war, I hope we should find a Hitler to lead us back to our rightful position among the nations". In spite of strong opposition, the majority stood firmly by Appeasement.

This was no longer so after the pogroms. Though Chamberlain had only just announced, at the Lord Mayor's Banquet, that "Europe is settling down to a more peaceful state"—with Hitler issuing the last instructions for the burning of the synagogues—the revulsion was immediate and sincere, both among foes and friends of the official policy. "A Black Day for Germany", ran the headline of a *Times* editorial which said: "No foreign propagandist bent upon blackening Germany before the world could outdo the tale of burnings and beatings, of blackguardly assaults upon defenceless and innocent people."

The dreadful details kept pouring in, paradoxically enough, on Armistice Day, the twentieth since 1918, and such was the feeling aroused that the solemn service at the Unknown Warrior's Tomb in Westminster Abbey was interrupted by the Dean with the words: "Let us remember in silent prayer and sympathy the Jewish people in their hour of trial and suffering." Notwithstanding the "general desire to be on friendly terms with the German nation", the Archbishop of Canterbury felt these were events when "the mere instincts of humanity" made "silence impossible".

Mr. Attlee was reminded of the Bulgarian and Armenian atrocities, though the *New Statesman*, more accurately, contrasted the old "barbarism" with the new "sophisticated devilry". Most opponents of Chamberlain's policy drew the only possible practical conclusion. To them it now seemed inconceivable (as the *Conservative Yorkshire Post* put it) "how anyone who is not either himself needlessly duped or seeking to dupe others can talk seriously of producing European appeasement in confident collaboration with the convinced exponents of Nazi methods".

Some, like the *Spectator*, bluntly said that the word Appeasement had now been "obliterated from the political vocabulary".

He could count on substantial popular support, if a Gallup Poll can be trusted. The question asked by the British Institute of Public Opinion, "Do you think the persecution of the Jews in Germany is an obstacle to good understanding between Britain and Germany?" revealed a majority of 4 to 1 in favour.

The country's opinion was demonstrated in the House of Commons debate of November 21st, which passed Mr. P. J. Noel-Baker's motion that "this House notes with profound concern the deplorable treatment suffered by certain racial, religious and political minorities in Europe and, in view of the growing gravity of the refugee problem, would welcome an immediate concerted effort amongst the nations, including the United States of America, to secure a common policy".

It was not a great parliamentary occasion. None of the leaders rose. Chamberlain did not nor did Churchill, whose Memoirs, curiously, do not so much as mention the pogroms. The Government's spokesman was the Home Secretary, Sir Samuel Hoare. He easily disposed of the Nazi argument (used by evildoers before and since) that the cruel oppression was a domestic affair admitting of no interference from abroad. "How can a question remain exclusively domestic", the Minister exclaimed, "when it involves scores of thousands of men, women and children, destitute and penniless, seeking admission into other countries?" Britain, he vowed, would be "in the forefront among the nations of the world in giving relief to these suffering people".

The Times, which had been at the greatest pains to avoid offence, now abandoned its favourite theory by declaring in dismay that "the education of one people by the opinion of other people is a vain hope". There was a touch of weary fatalism in the further comment: "Nations cannot truly be brought to book save by the consequences of their own excesses." But at least, after the "excesses" had long gone practically unchallenged, the "consequences" at the hands of Britain were henceforth securely afoot.

Probably the saddest shock was suffered by one who fancied himself an expert on Nazi mentality, Sir Neville Henderson, the British Ambassador in Berlin. He thought the "inhuman" pogroms were "from the Germans' own point of view an act of incredible stupidity comparable in its effects with the sinking of the Lusitania and the shooting of Nurse Cavell. Thereby [he writes in his Memoirs] they turned the whole of world opinion definitely against themselves."

If this was true, it was distinctly foreseen by Hitler whose judgment in these matters was unimpaired by his obsession. But he reckoned that any loss of moral prestige would be offset by gains of political power. So far from weakening the German position, the pogroms were actually designed to buttress it. The cunning scheme was carefully and cynically expounded in a Memorandum issued by Ribbentrop's Foreign Office at the time. There it was explained that those who believed Nazi brutality might "strengthen anti-German centres" failed to "appreciate the fact, now becoming apparent, that the influx of Jews in all parts of the world provokes the resistance of the native population and thus constitutes the best propaganda for Germany's anti-Semitic policy". On the same argument, the Memorandum also gave a cogent reason why the Jews, if allowed to go, should first be thoroughly robbed. "The poorer the Jewish immigrant is (it said), and consequently the greater a burden for the new country, the stronger will be the reaction and the more desirable the effect from the point of view of German propaganda."

But Britain realised not only the desperate need for relief but also what was later called "the country's gain from the new diaspora", and just as Britain must be glad to have received those whom the press then described as "some of Germany's best and ablest citizens", so thousands of them will always remember with gratitude the refuge they found in Britain.

It was the pogroms which made Britain recognise that human suffering is literally indivisible, that we are indeed no island but truly, however unwillingly, a "part of the maine", and that the offence to the dignity and the divinity of man must surely be avenged, even by fire and sword.

C. C. ARONSFELD

Bertha Badt-Strauss

MY WORLD, AND HOW IT CRASHED

... On the great night, at Seder, our father was a king and our mother a queen, according to the old saying. We children felt, in all sincerity, as if we had just been liberated from Pharaoh's slavery: was not the winter over and gone, and was not spring come with its flowers and birds? All the age-old customs were alive not only for ourselves but also for the guests who came. Especially memorable to me will remain that Seder night when my Christian friend Maria "the God-seeker" happened to drop in; how she enjoyed the hymns! For were they not addressed to the One God whom the Christians revered as well as the Jews?

Many years after my childhood and youth the crash happened, in June 1938. At that time our little family of three, my husband and my little boy and myself, lived in a quiet street in Western Berlin.

It was a lovely day. The chestnut trees were in full bloom all along our street. Already the first linden trees were beginning to shed their sweet romantic perfume all over the town.

But there was no romance, alas, when I happened to look out on the street from my bedroom window early in the morning. Now I am not at all a habitual "window-lookerout". But that particular morning something had awakened me and driven me to the window. What could it mean? Three men were walking briskly side by side along our quiet street. To this day I can hear the sharp clicking of their hobnailed boots, on the pavement. Two of the men were unknown to me. Their faces seemed almost expressionless, the image of officialdom. But who was the man whom they held all too closely encircled, as if they would like to handcuff him? Goodness gracious: he was none other than our fat, friendly neighbour Mr. B., a well-to-do Jewish businessman. Well did I know how Mr. B. prided himself on being the soul of honesty, not owing a cent to anybody, and paying his taxes to the last penny. Still, there he was, arrested like a common criminal. What in the world could be the matter with him?

It all dawned upon me, and it was a terrible awakening when Mrs. B. rushed into my living-room some minutes later. Mrs. B. was always gracefully poised. Now she was dishevelled, tear-stained, as I had never seen her before.

"They arrested my husband! The Gestapo! They came for him and took him away. What in heaven shall I do? Help me, oh do help me. Dear God in Heaven: if I should never see him again. . . ."

That was the beginning of the darkest days of my life. But no more than a beginning. Mr. B. did have the rare good fortune to come back after some time, from a mysterious jail. He was strangely changed, and never told anybody what had happened to him.

Nobody Cares

Soon we all were to realise starkly what I but dimly sensed on that morning in June: that our world, the world of justice and good will, was gone from Germany: and nobody seemed to care. . . .

A tearful dishevelled little schoolgirl came to our house some months later. We knew her well: her father was a well-known physician, who had helped most of the babies in the neighbourhood to enter this sorry world. Chubby little Elsie herself was a pupil of my husband's and a friend of all the family. But today she was almost unrecognisable. Deathly pale, she grasped both of my hands and hoarsely whispered: "Send him away! . . . oh, do send the Doctor away! . . . Don't let him sleep in his own bed tonight! They will kill him . . . they will kill all the Jews in Germany!" And she choked with tears.

At first we did not understand what she wanted. In vain we tried to calm her. Then, slowly and stammeringly, she told us her story. Some Gentile friends of her father, grateful patients of his, had divulged the secret plans of the Nazis: every male Jew in Berlin was to be arrested and sent to a concentration camp.

"Now, now, take it easy, little Elsie!" said my husband, even-tempered as always. "Let me first have my cup of coffee, and then we shall see about it."

Nevertheless, even my husband lost his usual good cheer when he tried to call the members of his faculty on the phone and found that the very first man he called had just been arrested by the Secret Police. The man's sister answered the phone, and her voice broke with sobs.

From that day onwards we lived the life of hunted animals, all the Jews of Germany. Never before had I understood the passion of the hunter, nor the fear of the hunted. We began to feel what hunted animals must feel. We knew not why we had to suffer, nor how to end our sufferings. Was this country, with its green valleys and lush woods, the same country which we loved, which our parents and grandparents had loved? Where they and their fathers before them had lived in peace and good fellowship with their Gentile neighbours? Where our sons and brothers had fought side by side with their fellow-citizens . . . yes, and died with them? Here was my own brother, who was wounded in the First World War at its very beginning in August 1914. Now he was hunted like a criminal along with all his fellow-Jews.

Return of the Middle Ages

No, we could never understand it. Had the Middle Ages really come back in the year 1938 to our enlightened times? Oh yes, we had learned all about the medieval persecutions of the Jews in school. But we had forgotten it all, and had been glad to forget.

However, whether we understood it or not, we had to get accustomed to a totally new and peculiar manner of living. None of our husbands, brothers or sons dared sleep in his own bed at night. Sometimes, of an afternoon, a slightly disguised voice (alas, we were no experts at Robin Hood stories!) asked the housewife over the telephone: "Did you have any visitors?"

Sure enough, on the very afternoon little Elsie brought us her warning I did have a visitor, two of them. Two husky men in civilian clothes came and asked for the master of the house. They searched all our closets, as though they suspected I had hidden my husband underneath a bundle of old clothes.

Luckily, our buxom cook sent them off in her brusque way. "Herr Doktor is not here—do you think he tells me where he goes?" Reluctantly, they went away.

After a while one of them came back. All of us shook with fear. But it turned out he only wanted to date our cook. A little comedy amidst all this horror!

Those were the days when good friends and neighbours of yesterday blushed on seeing us in the street and looked the other way. Their youngsters had long ago joined the Storm Troopers (S.S.) and were happy to howl their favourite song

VERNICHTUNG EINES BUNDES

Was ist es, was damals vernichtet worden ist? Nicht nur die juedischen Gotteshäuser wurden zerschlagen, sondern mit ihnen brachen Pfeiler und Stuetzen eines menschlichen Bundes, auf den man vertraut hatte. Eines, so hatte man gedacht, binde alle doch noch immer zusammen: eine Ehrfurcht vor der Stätte, zu der Menschen kommen, damit sie aus der Enge und Not des Tages sich zu dem Ewigen erheben, dorthin, wo das Unsichtbare an sie herantritt und die unendliche Stille sich an sie wendet.

LEO BAECK

on Friday nights right in front of half-demolished synagogues: *When Jewish blood dyes red our knife, All will feel twice as good. . . .*

Those were the days when my childhood world crashed, never to rise again. And God looked on. . . .

It was then that a hand reached out from across the ocean to save our lives. After a long delay—caused by all sorts of red tape—we were at last allowed to enter the United States, that blessed country across the seas.

We had left our native land on a sultry day in August 1939. A faithful little group of friends and relatives had assembled at Charlottenburg Station to see us off. They were hoping we would all meet in the New World to build up a new life. There was the old Professor, our next-door neighbour, his frail body sustained by an indomitable will, and there was his brave wife, kindest of hospitable souls. There was the upright lawyer to whom we entrusted the care of our few worldly goods. (He tried in vain to save them from Nazi robbery.)

And there was my close dear friend, the tall lovely woman who had been a famous society belle in her youth, who had now become a selfless social worker and proud Jewish enthusiast; lover of German poetry, who knew Goethe's *Faust* by heart.

Why did all these pure souls have to perish? They still haunt my dreams at night. They will haunt me as long as I live.

Could it be that this is the meaning of ourselves having been miraculously saved from death: that there should remain some people, scattered all over the world, who do not sleep at night, and are haunted by the souls of the innocent millions who had to die? Some people who did not just read in the newspapers, "*Six millions have been murdered*" . . . and forget all about it in a happier world? Some who know deep in their hearts: this man and that woman, whom I loved and admired, they were murdered in cold blood. Some people who must continue to tell the world about the unbelievable crime, and ceaselessly implore: Watch out! Never let it happen again!

This is why I had to tell you about my world, and how it crashed.

(Copyright and Reprinted by kind permission of "The Menorah Journal [1951]" New York)

DAS WUNDER DER TROSTLOSEN NACHT

Der Chor der Schatten singt
Ueber Eis und Schnee und verhangenem Mond.
Nachtvögel flattern herum
Und belagern das drohende Schweigen.
Ein kleines Kind jammert die schlaflosen Stunden zuschanden.
"Trostlos ist diese Nacht", wehklagt ein Sterbender.
"Trostlos ist diese Nacht", schluchzt Rachel, die ihrer Kinder gedenkt.
"Trostlos ist diese Nacht", gröhnen die stampfenden Schritte.
Und das eilige Echo hallt
Durch die trostlose Nacht aus gestern und heute und morgen.
Ich aber lehne mein Haupt an die Steine der Klagemauer,
Sauge mit meinen Lippen der Jahrtausende Tränen auf
Und gedenke unserer Helden:
In der trostlosen Nacht rufen die herrlichen Namen,
Schmelzen die Mauern der Schande,
Wacht wieder das Wunder auf:
Hinter dem Ghettowall leuchtet Jerusalem!

ILSE BLUMENTHAL-WEISS
(Aus "Mahnmal", Christian Wegner Verlag)

Herbert Freedman

A PERFORMANCE WITH A PURPOSE

It was Tuesday, November 8th, 1938. Dr. L., administrative director of the Jüdischer Kulturbund in Berlin, sat in his office at the theatre in the Kommandantenstrasse. "Have you read the morning papers?" he asked W., the chief producer. W. drummed on the top of the desk. "When the 'Titanic' went down, the ship's band played on right to the last to avoid a panic. Every member of that band was drowned—every one. It is our privilege to play the accompaniment to the dance macabre of 1938."

The other nodded sympathetically, but more out of politeness than conviction. "They hold all Jews responsible for the Paris assassination, and German Jewry in particular."

W. got up. "That's nonsense", he said firmly. "I don't feel responsible for the action of a young hothead in Paris who takes pot-shots at an unknown official of the German Embassy. I've got my rehearsal to look after."

"There's more behind it than we can see at the moment", said Dr. L. "It smells of a new Reichstag fire."

W. hesitated, impressed against his will. "Anyhow", he said finally, "that's politics. My job is to see that the Scottish students' play, 'The Wind and the Rain', is ready for the opening night on November 10th." With that he went to the door and walked down the stairs to the stage.

An unusual silence reigned on the stage. Actors, stage-hands, limelight men and dressers were huddled together in a group. They were not laughing, shouting or chaffing. Their voices, which usually filled the stage with hubbub, had sunk to anxious whispers.

"Ring the bell, please", called the producer. "Ladies and gentlemen, rehearsal. Curtain down! We'll use the curtain today."

His businesslike mien did not meet with the usual response. The group did not break up. At last, the stage manager spoke for them all. "Are we really going through with the rehearsal today?"

The producer made no direct reply. "First act, first scene", he said with determination. "Get the stage cleared, please", and he turned his back on them and took a front seat in the stalls.

The bell sounded and the curtain rose. W. read out the stage directions: "The sitting-room of a boarding house in a small Scottish university town. It is evening. The stage is empty. A fire is burning in the grate and its reflection falls on the door. The landlady enters. Entrance landlady. Entrance! Where on earth's the woman?"

Instead of the landlady, the stage manager appeared breathlessly. "You are wanted on the house telephone. Dr. L. wants to speak to you urgently."

"What's the matter now?" asked the producer irritably. "Tell him the rehearsal's started. Tell him I'm not to be interrupted during a rehearsal." But he got up to go. "The administrative work stops us getting on with our real job", he grumbled.

He was soon back. This time his bearing was no longer so confident or his voice so incisive. "Drop everything", he announced. "No rehearsal today. The Ministry has just ordered the closing of the theatre. You can all go home."

The Scottish fireplace was put out and the harsh rehearsal light flooded the stage. A few people came up to the producer. He looked suddenly old and tired as he shrugged his shoulders at their questions. "You'll all be informed as soon as I hear anything", was all he could say, and he went off in the direction of the office.

On November 12th, the press published a ministerial decree forbidding all Jews to visit theatres, cinemas, cabarets and any such public places of entertainment. The next day, Dr. L. called a meeting of all senior members of the staff of the Jüdischer Kulturbund—as far as he was able to contact them—for Monday, November 14th, in the board room of the theatre. On that day, the room was loud with voices. All were glad to see each other after that terrible man-hunt. Yet when the clock struck ten, the general hubbub subsided. A sudden silence fell as they became aware of those who were missing.

Dr. L. read out the list of their colleagues who had been arrested—actors, members of the orche-

stra, office staff—and W., the producer. "Ladies and gentlemen", he continued, "on Saturday I was summoned to the Ministry of Propaganda. It appears that Dr. Goebbels wishes our theatre to reopen at once."

The smoke was still rising from the burnt-out synagogues, the debris of the pogrom still lay on the streets and 20,000 Jewish men were in concentration camps—but ring up the curtain; the Jews must go on performing!

A wave of indignation went through the small gathering and everyone began talking at once.

"Ladies and gentlemen", said Dr. L., "the Minister has agreed favourably to consider whatever recommendations we care to make, and has assured me that the necessary releases will be ordered at once."

Immediate releases? Somebody called out that they ought to put on a good face to any farce if it meant they could get their colleagues out. But unexpectedly, one of the actors objected. "How could we lower ourselves to play now?" he said. "We should make ourselves the agents of the Gestapo."

"I don't think we should set a higher value on our personal prestige than on the lives of our colleagues", replied the stage manager.

Dr. L. added: "We shouldn't bother overmuch about our own dignity. Metaphorically speaking true art has always freed men. And now, perhaps for the first time, art will free men literally and not merely metaphorically. In the circus arena of ancient Rome gladiators fought for their lives. In this circus of ours here we can fight for the lives of our friends."

The issue was decided. Only the choice of the opening play was left for discussion. "Charley's Aunt", was suggested in a recalcitrant mood—what would better reflect the senselessness of their situation? Yet such a provocation would have defeated its own purpose. In the end, it was agreed to resume the rehearsals, so abruptly stopped, of the Scottish students' play "The Wind and the Rain".

Of course, people asked what motivated the Government, with all other Jewish activities banned, to allow just the Kulturbund. Perhaps there was no political reason behind it. There was a Government department, set up to control the Jewish theatre, a bureaucratic, inflated organism which had become an end in itself and did not want to lose its *raison d'être*—yet one is as good a guess as the other.

There was no apparent difference between the routine of the performance of the first night of "The Rain and the Wind" and that of any other. The dressers and wardrobe mistress scuttled around as usual, and the players in their dressing-rooms hastily put the finishing touches to their make-up. Yet something odd betrayed the tension—the silence which lay over the dressing-rooms, usually a babble of chatter. What had to be said, was said in little more than whispers.

At 7.25 the first bell rang. Few people had come, mostly women and old folk and, of course, three men in bowler hats carrying brief-cases: the inevitable delegation of the Gestapo. At last the curtain rose and the lights flooded the stage. There was the parlour in a Scottish boarding house with a fire flickering in the grate.

At first, the voices of the players trembled uncertainly as the spotlights fell on their faces, but soon the magic of the stage engulfed them and they played magnificently: they were supposed to be a little tipsy after much champagne at a ball. The gramophone played a rumba and they laughed and danced, in their world of pretence and make-believe, one week after the pogrom.

Within a few days, the producer and the other members of the Kulturbund staff were released from the concentration camps. Looking back, this European theatre, by Jews for Jews, in the capital of anti-Semitism, appears as a unique phenomenon. It exposed as liars its very masters who declared that Jews, by their nature, could not interpret great music and the poetic word. Night after night it proved—if proof was needed—that art did not cease to elate Jews, even under the scourge of the Gestapo.

DAS SAKRILEG

Die Gegenwart des Geistes, der beim Worte wohnt, ermächtigt und verpflichtet uns, es genau zu nehmen mit dem Wort. Man kann—Beispiele sagen mehr als Erklärungen—von der Novembernacht des Jahres 1938, der Nacht, in der die Synagogen brannten, nicht, wie es heute unter uns oft geschieht, als von der "Kristallnacht" reden. Kristallnacht: ein solches Wort weckt Vorstellungen von Dummengungenstreichen oder allenfalls von mutwilliger Büberei. Was damals in Wirklichkeit geschah, war das Verbrechen des Sakrilegs. Der Geist nimmt uns in Pflicht: man darf nicht verharmlosen, auch im Worte nicht, gerade im Worte nicht.

ALBRECHT GOES

WILFRED ISRAEL'S ACTIVITIES

The anniversary of the November pogroms recalls to our minds the help rendered by Wilfred Israel during those dark days.

Being of British birth, he was able to explore many extraordinary ways to contribute to the rescue work of his fellow-Jews.

Shortly before the pogrom on November 9th, 1938, the so-called "Betriebsrat" of the department store N. Israel, established in 1815, informed Wilfred that something very important was to happen, and that it would be advisable not to open the store on that day. It was one of Wilfred's principles not to give in to the "Betriebsrat's" statements. He realised that by complying with their demands, one concession would follow another. Accordingly, the store was opened. However, unofficially the Jewish employees were informed that they could stay away on that day but, should they come, they were to leave the premises of their own accord if any disturbances arose.

By noon, a "spontaneous" gathering had formed in the Königstrasse, and tried to enter the buildings. The order was given to close the iron gates. However, the crowd proceeded to smash the display windows, entered the premises and broke up the interior of the store with long iron bars. The Jewish employees left as ordered, unharmed. During all this time Wilfred went around and calmed the remaining employees who, perhaps, felt that they were somehow responsible for these events.

Through his far-reaching connections, Wilfred was able to take effective action immediately the arrests began. He was quite fearless, and stood his ground even before the notorious Eichmann. He helped to trace people in the prisons, and gave them hope of an early release which, in many cases, he obtained. He procured possibilities of emigration not only for most of his employees, but also for many others.

Wilfred Israel achieved much in the field of rescue work in those sad years, and many German Jews all over the world have reason to thank him for the fact that they are alive today, and have reason to mourn his tragic and untimely death.

W. M. BEHR

VOM RATH'S PARENTS AND OBERKANTOR DAVIDSOHN

A report on the November events, given by the late Oberkantor Davidsohn, reveals the interesting fact that he and his wife were acquainted with vom Rath's parents, who lived at Prager Platz in Berlin.

As soon as the news of vom Rath's death was known, the Rev. and Mrs. Davidsohn visited his parents. "Dear Herr Oberkantor", said Mr. vom Rath, "neither you nor the Jews in general are guilty of what has happened". Three days later, after the anti-Jewish excesses, the Davidsohns again called on the vom Raths. Mr. vom Rath embraced the Rev. Davidsohn and said: "It is not in keeping with our feeling that the death of my child is avenged in such a way. If it would be possible to convey this to all Jews, it would be a great relief for us."

GERMAN AND AUSTRIAN NEWS

NEW CENTRAL OFFICE TO DEAL WITH EX-NAZIS

The Ministers of Justice of the West German Laender have decided to set up a central office for the co-ordination of measures to deal with crimes committed under the Nazi régime. This decision, taken at the 27th conference of the Ministers of Justice, follows the proposals made earlier by Professor Kogon and Dr. Nellman in Stuttgart. The Federal Minister of Justice, Schäffer, who took part in the conference, welcomed the resolution and promised his full assistance. The office will have its headquarters in Stuttgart and is expected to be working within four weeks.

"STAHLHELM" ACTIVE

A vindication of militarism and denunciation of the war crime trials were features of a conference held by delegates of the "Stahlhelm" ex-servicemen's organisation at Remagen. The President, Field-Marshal Kesselring, stated in a letter that the spirit of the "Stahlhelm" today was the same as in 1930. His deputy, ex-General von Manteuffel, was the principal speaker. Their aim was, he said, to stamp out all discrimination against German soldiers and to make the distortions of the soldier as shown in films disappear. Manteuffel also demanded an end to the "collective discrimination" against the Waffen S.S. Another speaker, Karl Behle, rejected the "red and pink efforts" to represent the "Stahlhelm" as a Nazi lackey.

An official statement promised staunch support for Dr. Adenauer and called for "determined defence of the western world".

FILM ON THE NUREMBERG WAR CRIMES TRIAL

The Continental film "Wieder aufgerollt: Der Nürnberger Prozess" was given the attribute "particularly valuable" by the office established to assess the quality of films. In stating the reasons for this highest of awards, the committee expressed appreciation of the endeavour to confront the German people with the brutalities of the Nazi tyranny and the guilt of its perpetrators, as they appeared in the Nuernberg process. In this way the film would serve to acquaint the Germans with the truth concerning their recent history. The documentary film, which comprises the period from 1933 to 1945, is based on evidence gathered from international archives and the factual accounts of the *Münchener Illustrated*. It is at present showing in Berlin.

ELECTION CANDIDATES WITHDRAWN IN BAVARIA

After the intervention of the Bavarian Prime Minister, Dr. Seidl, three candidates on the list of the Christian Social Union for the forthcoming elections to the Bavarian Parliament, have withdrawn their candidature. Their nomination aroused the opposition of a section of the public and within the Party itself because of the affiliation of these members with the Hitler régime. One of them was a former S.S. guard in the Mauthausen concentration camp, Peter Prücklmayer.

IN SEARCH OF DR. EISELE

The Egyptian authorities have declared that they are investigating the case of Hans Eisele, the concentration camp doctor who last June escaped to Egypt, where he disappeared without trace.

The Bavarian Ministry of Justice has announced that the material dealing with the proceedings of American courts against Dr. Eisele has been sent to Munich to facilitate further investigations.

OLLENHAUER INSTITUTES LIBEL ACTION

Horst Steinbach, a Berlin merchant, was sentenced to two months' imprisonment for calling Erich Ollenhauer, Chairman of the Social Democratic Party, a "Judenbengel" and a "Judenlummel". This incident occurred in a Berlin pub.

TRADE UNION'S WARNING

Otto Brenner, Chairman of the German Metal Trade Union, at the conference of his union in Nuernberg, criticised the permeation of public life, in particular of the medical and legal profession, with the servants and henchmen of the Third Reich as revealed in recent processes. Against the symptomatic slackness of the bureaucracy in dealing with such cases he raised the demand of the trade unions for a thorough revision of former Nazis in public positions.

"SOCIETY OF YOUNG EUROPEANS"

The German journal of the Fascist International, *Nation Europa*, reports on the first conference of a "Society of Young Europeans". The subject of the discussion was the "Causes and Effects of the Two World Wars". The speakers attacked what they called the "extra-European Powers" which would impose their colonialism upon white nations in Europe. It was, they reiterated, above all the war crimes trials, described as "group persecutions", which had enabled the "alien rule" to be set up.

Delegates to the meeting at Coburg included the chief editorial writer of *Nation Europa*, Helmut Sündermann, Hitler's deputy press chief; Dr. Schranz, the Member of Parliament of the German Party; and representatives of the League of Nationalist Students.

SACHSENHAUSEN CAMP GUARDS' TRIAL

The trial of two Sachsenhausen concentration camp guards, Gustav Sorge and Wilhelm Schubert, has commenced in the Bonn district court. The defendants are charged with the murder of numerous Jews and over 10,000 Russian prisoners-of-war. The case has been summarised by the prosecution in a 500-page indictment.

NATIONALIST YOUTH GROUPS

In an article appearing in the Munich periodical, *Politische Studien*, Arno Klönne analyses the strength and the political aims of the nationalist youth organisations in Western Germany. All these groups are united in their concept of recent German history. They ascribe the defeat of Germany in the two world wars to the "treasonable activities on the home front". According to the author it was a mistake on the part of the democratic youth organisations to ignore or to belittle the re-emergence of those groups with all their Hitler Youth trimmings shortly after the war. In 1956 their alarming growth prompted the Federal League of German Youth to issue an urgent warning against the activities of the nationalist groups, calling for resistance to the revival of fascist ideologies.

In conclusion, the writer of the article finds that in spite of social conditions, which seem to discourage any kind of extremism, the nationalist organisations have made no inconsiderable progress.

AUSTRIAN ORGANISATION PAYS HOMAGE TO LEADING NAZIS

The "Freundeskreis der nationalen Jugend Oesterreichs", an organisation composed of former Nazis, has awarded golden badges of honour to Rudolf Hess, the former deputy leader of the Nazi movement who is still a prisoner in Spandau, and Grand Admiral Karl Doenitz, Hitler's successor, who was discharged from Spandau some time ago.

ANTI-SEMITIC INCIDENTS AT LINZ THEATRE

The performance of "Beatrice Cenci" by Felix Braun, the Jewish émigré, was interrupted by disturbances, some of which were of an anti-Semitic character. Cries of "Away with this 'Judenstueck'"—"Away with this Jew" occurred.

It will be remembered that there were also anti-Semitic disturbances at the Linz Theatre on the occasion of the performances of "The Diary of Anne Frank".

ANGLO-JUDAICA

Standing by Israel

The transfer last month of two British submarines to the Israeli Navy, was not meant to mark a change in policy, but it was well in tune with what the President of the Anglo-Jewish Association described as the British public's "keenest interest in, and admiration for, the great developments of Israel and her courage".

These sentiments were not conspicuously displayed at the Conservative Party's Conference but the Leader of the Opposition, Mr. H. Gaitskell, at the Labour Conference recalled his Party's "pledges about Israel's frontiers" saying "we stand by them" and another prominent Socialist, Mr. Anthony Greenwood, stated, "the British Labour Movement has a complete understanding of Israel's vital interests". The new Vice-Chairman of the Labour Party is a Jew, Mr. Ian Mikardo, M.P., who is well known for his Zionist convictions.

Bigger Aliyah

The part played in Israel by the British Aliyah was praised by Mr. Justice Karminski on his return from that country, which he had visited as a member of the Anglo-Jewish Communal Delegation. He was determined, he said, to further Mr. Ben-Gurion's desire that British youth should emigrate to Israel, though he thought the figure (given by the Israeli Prime Minister) of 5,000 Olim a year was somewhat unrealistic in view of the relatively small size of Anglo-Jewry. Every Jew, Mr. Justice Karminski declared, could help promote the progress of Israel without in the least sacrificing his loyalties to the country in which he lived.

The Jewish Agency is at present actively exploring the prospects of migration from Britain, not only among young but also among middle-aged, middle-class people, whose interest in Aliyah is believed to have markedly increased in recent months. Meanwhile a second delegation of Anglo-Jewish youth leaders has paid an official visit to Israel.

Outlawing Racial Discrimination

As a result of the recent race riots, the Labour Party's National Executive pledged the next Socialist Government to outlaw racial discrimination in public places. They also called upon the present Government to make the colour bar illegal.

Another consequence of the riots was the decision by several local authorities to deny the use of town halls to the chief of the Fascist ("Union") movement, Sir Oswald Mosley, who last month launched a nation-wide propaganda campaign. In view of the Fascists' association with the outrages, it was felt that "meetings of any extremist organisations would be indefensible", though a different line was taken in Birmingham where the principle of "free speech" was thought to be at stake.

Oldest Synagogue Closed

The last service was held at the Great Synagogue, Duke's Place, which is now closed. Founded about 1690, it was the oldest of the five Constituent Synagogues which joined to form the United Synagogue in 1870. The main building was destroyed in the last big air raid on London, in May 1941, and temporarily rebuilt in 1943.

Demand to Claims Conference

A demand that greater respect be shown to the voice of British Jewry at the Conference of Jewish Material Claims against Germany, was made in a *Jewish Chronicle* editorial. The Jewish community in Britain, it was pointed out, was now the fourth largest in the world, also they had from the beginning shouldered to the full their responsibilities to the victims of Nazi persecution. Yet, as the Conference headquarters were in New York, British Jewry had been denied the opportunity of making the full contribution which its influence and experience justified.

Leo Baeck College's First Rabbi

The first rabbinical diploma of the Leo Baeck College was presented to the Rev. Allen W. Miller.

Paul Wohlfarth

JEWES IN MEDIEVAL MEDICINE

The Bible and the Talmud cite many rules for personal and social hygiene, all based on the conviction that God is the source of life, that He heals, and that priests and holy men practise medicine as his instruments. Later another factor, not always fully acknowledged, became important: the connection between the Jewish and the Arabic civilisations. The Koran, it is true, forbade any interference with the human body; anatomy was therefore neglected among the Arabs and Jewish medicine suffered. But contrary to the Romans, the Arabs generally allowed the Jews to practise medicine, although they periodically tried to convert them to Islam.

As early as the seventh century, Asaf Judaeus published a collection of medical precepts, popular in Syria and Mesopotamia, teaching the doctrine of the hereditary nature of many ailments and demanding that the poor should be treated free of charge. The most famous Jewish physician of the tenth century was the Spaniard, Chasidai Shaprut. Caliph Abdur Rhaman of Cordoba chose him as his physician and later made him his minister. There were also many Jewish doctors in Spain in the 11th century, the most famous of whom was Jehuda ha Levy who was, at the same time, the greatest Jewish poet of all times. He was educated in South Arabia, but settled as a doctor at Toledo, his birthplace. Later he went to Cordoba and, in his old age, to Palestine.

Moses Maimonides, the greatest Jewish doctor of the Middle Ages, was also Spanish, born in Cordoba in 1135. At the age of fourteen he saw the town conquered by the fanatical Almohads, who forced the Jews either to become Moslems or to leave. After many travels, the family finally settled in Cairo whose ruler, Sultan Saladin, was less intransigent. There Maimonides practised medicine, enjoying such confidence that the Sultan was not long in choosing him as his personal physician. He wrote a book on healthy living for the Sultan's son and, in another book, dealt with poisons. In his "Reasons and Nature of Illnesses" he condemned all kinds of magic, advocated simple drugs to complicated ones, and taught the importance of fresh air, the connection between mental and physical health, the use of psychological methods, the healing force of the sun, the principles of eugenics and sexual morality, the importance of cleanliness, of exercise and of harmonious relations between parents for the development of their children.

Owing to their linguistic abilities and their travels, the Jews were in a position to translate many Arabic text books, and to make the results of Arabic medical science known all over Europe. Jewish doctors also played an important part in the famous medical schools of Montpellier and Salerno. In 1180 Count William of Montpellier decided that anyone, regardless of origin, could lecture, and the statutes of 1220 permitted that lecturers could be admitted even if they did not belong to the Christian faith. Many Jewish teachers and pupils were therefore to be found in Montpellier during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and a Jew is said to have been the first to teach medicine there.

The University at Salerno had the same statutes as the Montpellier University, and its medical school became the leading one in Italy. Many Jews also taught there.

Kings of France, Spain and of Portugal, German Emperors, Doges of Venice and Genoa, had Jewish physicians. Many Popes, badly though they often treated the Jews in Rome, appreciated the skill and devotion of their Jewish doctors. Under Pope Paul IV (1555-1559), however, Jewish doctors could not be retained and some left for Turkey.

In England, when Edward I expelled the Jews in 1291, he allowed several Jewish doctors to remain. When Henry IV was ill in 1410, he called for the Jewish doctor Elias Sabot of Bologna to attend him. About the same time the Lord Mayor of London, Richard Whittington (hero of the well-known legend), called the Jewish physician Samson de Mirabeau to the sickbed of his wife, Lady Alice.

Jewish doctors were for a long time equally popular in Germany, where even monasteries engaged them. Both Regensburg and Basle had Jewish municipal physicians. Bishop John II of

Wurzburg allowed a Jewess, Sarah, to practise medicine and in about 1475 another Jewess, Zerline, is said to have practised as an oculist in Frankfurt. Even the rulings of several councils forbidding Jews to give medical treatment to Gentiles, did not greatly alter the position at first. But as religious passions grew and the persecutions of the Jews in Germany at that time increased, the position of Jewish doctors greatly deteriorated.

Among the Spanish and Portuguese Marranos, there were many Jewish doctors whose help was much in demand, like the Portuguese Gardia d'Orta, who wrote a book "Colloquios dos Simples e Drogas Medicinaes" (1653) dealing with tropical diseases, medical herbs and the cholera. Other Jewish Marranos were Amadeus Lusitanus, born in Castelbranco in 1511, and Amatus Nabib of Ferrera who treated the Pope but, owing to the Inquisition, had to leave for Salonika where he died in 1568. The physician Rodrigo da Castro was expelled from Lisbon because of his faith, and went to Hamburg where in 1594 he combated the plague. Catherine of Medici had a Jewish doctor, Elija Montalto.

Why did Jews play so large a part in medieval medicine? One reason was that they were excluded from most of the other professions. Furthermore, Christian monks and ministers were frequently forbidden to practise medicine, above all to treat women. Another explanation may be added. The Bible, in many instances, hints at the close connection between religion and medicine. That is why so many Jews have devoted all their energy and skill to the art of healing—those who are unknown and unsung and those whose names are world famous. What their ancestors lived for in distant centuries has also shaped the minds and the attitude of their descendants.

ERICH WOLFSFELD EXHIBITION

Two years ago it was my sad duty to write for this journal the obituary of Erich Wolfsfeld, formerly Professor at the Berlin Academy whom I had not only admired as a distinguished artist but whom it had been my good fortune to know personally. For these two reasons I am delighted to write a few words on the memorial exhibition which was held in October in the Ben Uri Art Gallery in London. What was the first impression, the pervading mood of this commemorative occasion? Delight in man and all his works, and a sense of competence and superb craftsmanship.

I think it was an excellent idea to give pride of place to Wolfsfeld's etchings. Here his great talent found most convincing expression. The artist believed with, one can almost say, fanatical obstinacy in the visible and touchable world. Abstraction meant nothing to him. Man and his natural surroundings were the field of his art. He was very sociable himself, he enjoyed the good things in life and the company of genial people, and he was what is called a "conscious Jew". This is a simple and straightforward statement. His work is an exact reflection of the man. Honesty is the reassuring quality of his art; the variable fashions of the day, the hunt for superficial sensations were not for him.

Etchings are intimate and they quickly betray anybody who is not a master of this medium. His etching of the famous synagogue in the Oranienburgerstrasse in Berlin will deeply move any Jew from Germany. The pastel "Arab Woman" is a masterpiece of composition. The twilight scene from Gerhart Hauptmann's "Gabriel Borkmann" (oil on paper) beautifully renders the gloomy and oppressive atmosphere.

Of the oil paintings I particularly liked the "Feluke on the Nile 1928". The bold diagonal composition reminded me of the Venetian masters of the late eighteenth century. "Market Place, Brittany 1933", shows a bolder use of colour and greater freedom of brush strokes, making us regret that he did not explore this technique further. There are some portraits which, it is true, do not reveal deeper psychological aspects of his sitters, but which are very good likenesses indeed.

A sincere man, a highly gifted artist, a superb craftsman, that was the lesson the commemorative exhibition taught us.

A. ROSENBERG

Old Acquaintances

News from Everywhere:—Hans Wallenberg, former editor of the U.S.A.-sponsored *Neue Zeitung*, has returned from the States to start a new political weekly for Dumont in Cologne.—Hans Kafka arrived from Hollywood on a visit to Berlin.—Siegfried Arno appeared for one night in Berlin's Titania-Palast.—Lilli Palmer is to star in two French films, "La Bête de chagrin" and "Liaisons dangereuses", and will also co-star with Clark Gable in the American film, "But Not For Me".—Max Hansen is appearing in "Bei Kerzenlicht" at Stockholm.—William Dieterle will direct three films from Munich, which will be his European headquarters.—Hermann Kesten is writing an introduction to Erich Kaestner's collected work, which will be published by Kiepenheuer & Witsch on Kaestner's 60th birthday.—Ernst Ginsberg appeared in "Julius Caesar" at Zürich.—Siegfried Arno has appeared on the stage again in Berlin for the first time since 1933.—Wanda Treumann, star of the silent films, will celebrate her 75th birthday on November 17th in Melbourne, Australia.

Germany:—Lucie Mannheim is appearing in "Look Homeward Angel" in Berlin.—Roma Bahn who, 30 years ago, took part in the first performance of Brecht-Weill's "Dreigroschenoper", is to appear in the revival at Berlin's Schlosspark-Theater.—Rudolf Forster took the part of Prospero in Steckel's "Sturm" production in Berlin. Werner Krauss will take the same part in the Düsseldorf production.—Sybille Binder appeared in Anouilh's "Leocadia" at Düsseldorf.—Robert Siodmak is preparing a film based on Hauptmann's play, "Dorothea Angermann".—Piscator is to direct "Der lebende Leichnam" in Mannheim.—Alfred Braun is directing "Freiwild der Liebe".

Home News:—In the name of his family, 66-year-old Ernst Freud, eldest son of the famous psychoanalyst, has protested against John Huston's project to produce a film on Sigmund Freud.—Martin Miller is to appear in R. Ardrey's "Shadow of Heroes" at the Piccadilly Theatre.—Richard Duschinsky will direct a Hauptmann play at the Arts Theatre.—Francis Martin, daughter of Viennese actress Jane Tilden, appeared in "Women in Love" on ITV.—Rudolphe Cartier, who started as a scriptwriter for Ufa in Berlin and became known as a producer of television plays, directed his first British film, "Passionate Summer", for Rank.—Anton Diffring will appear in "Mr. Venus", the new Frankie Howerd show at the Prince of Wales Theatre.—Josef Somlo, whose new film "She Couldn't Say No" is showing here, is preparing a film on de Maupassant.—Karl Otten is to leave England to settle in Locarno, where he will complete his work on German expressionist playwrights.—Dorothea Gotfurt's play, "No Other Way", has been produced by Georges More O'Ferrall on TV here.

Obituaries:—Olaf Gulbransson, the 85-year-old cartoonist of *Simplizissimus*, has died in Tegernsee.—British-born Alfred Piccaver, the once famous tenor of Vienna's State Opera, died in Vienna at the age of 69.—Markus Behmer, the master of book illustrations, died in Berlin at the age of 79.—Rose Mankiewicz (who was the former Austrian actress Rose Stradner), wife of the producer Joe L. Mankiewicz, has died near New York at the age of 45.

Austria:—Heinrich Schnitzler, who is to succeed Haeussermann as director of Josefstadt, will produce Thomas Wolfe's "Look Homeward Angel", with Vilma Degischer and Maris Emo.—Elisabeth Orth, the daughter of Paula Wessely and Attila Hoerbiger, is to make her debut in "Sieh und staune" at the Volkstheater.—Rosa Albach-Retty and Leopold Lindtberg have received the "Kainz" medal.—Hermann Leopoldi, the well-known pianist and composer, has turned 70.—Hans Jaray has directed his own adaptation of "Dear Delinquent" in Kammerspiele.—Sarah Leander has ventured a come-back in an operetta by Peter Kreuder at the Raimund-Theater.—Ernst Marischka is producing a film on Schubert's "Dreimaederlhaus".

PEM

BOOK REVIEWS

THE GOOD GERMANS

Sixty-seven biographical sketches form the second volume of Annedore Leber's account of resistance in Germany, 1933-1945 "*Das Gewissen entscheidet*".* tells the story of some of the active fighters who perished resisting the Nazis. The first volume was reviewed and discussed in this journal in January and February of this year. This sequel manifestly confirms the opinion of those who held that active resistance among the Germans was far more widespread than could at first be gauged from its ineffectiveness.

The profiles collected in the volume are grouped together under distinctive headings. This method, which sets the individual fighter within the framework of his group, itself underlines the breadth and depth of the movement against National Socialism. Moreover, each group of sketches is preceded by introductory remarks which bring this broader basis into perspective.

A preface deals with the extent of the catastrophe. The crime committed against the Jews is impressed upon the German reader through the story of the life, work, and death of Otto Hirsch, the last head of the Reichsvertretung of Jews in Germany, who—like Leo Baeck—refused to save his own life by accepting a post abroad, and stayed on to help save the lives of his fellow-Jews by furthering their emigration. An official report made to Himmler in August, 1944, stated that four million Jews had by then been killed in the death camps, while a further two million had perished in other ways. The "host of Germans" who—as the preface puts it—"were thrown into concentration camps and prisons because of their convictions and their actions," is estimated at more than one million. To what extent the very existence of the Nazi system depended on the concentration camps, is strikingly illustrated by an official map showing as black triangles the position of these camps dotted all over the German landscape. They are as thickly spread—especially in the industrial regions—as coal mines in the Ruhr.

The first chapter, "*Die demokratische Linke*", is specially devoted to victims among the resistance fighters in the Social Democratic Party and its illegal cadres; the second testifies to trade union solidarity. The third chapter, entitled "*Ethos und Radikalismus*", recalls some of the victims who apparently joined in the resistance as individuals rather than as members of a particular group. This may or may not be correct for Hans Litten, the lawyer, but it is not true for Alexander Schwab; his portrait, which contains a number of inaccuracies, does not do justice to the man or to the cause for which he died. The noble Carola Neher does not really belong in this book; for all we know she died in captivity—not, however, at the hands of the Nazis. All trace of her was lost in Stalinist Russia.

The chapter headed "*Tapfere Seelsorger*" portrays victims among ministers of the various Christian denominations. Under the heading "*Vom Buerger zum Staatsbuerger*" those in high rank and position are remembered, who made use of their status to combat the powers that be and, more often than not, fell victims to those powers.

The chapter "*Befehl und Verantwortung*" is devoted to the group of high-ranking officers who solved the conflict arising between "superior orders" and their own inner convictions by obeying the voice of their conscience.

The book, beautifully presented, by immortalising the few known names, is a memorial also to the many who have remained unknown. Once more we are taught the lesson that resistance is doomed to failure once a system of terror has established itself; it can be kept in power almost without regard for the number of those who begin to reject it. There is always at the disposal of a tyrannical power the few hundred thousand thugs and sadistic torturers needed to keep down its scattered opponents and prevent them from uniting and acting in concert. In the face of such massive and highly organised uninhibited brutality each and every resister becomes a hero. Those who were never faced with risking death of their own free will should be wary in condemning Germany because not enough heroes were forthcoming.

The tragic failure of the German resistance is,

* Mosaik Verlag, Berlin & Frankfurt a.M. DM. 19.80.

therefore, no indication as to its size. There are, however, a few pointers: we know now that in Berlin alone in 1945 several thousand Jews emerged from their hiding places, where they had been concealed by "Aryan" friends during the years of persecution; of such friends and helpers—who consciously risked their own lives—there must then have been many thousands.

For this we have the testimony of another book: It is called "*Dis Unbesungenen Helden*" and has been compiled by Kurt R. Grossmann (New York).† This book—by means of checked and verified examples—tells how Jews found helpers in Nazi Germany, how this work of mercy did not consist only of sporadic and spontaneous individual acts, but was frequently organised on a broader basis. Here, too, Christian clergymen distinguished themselves, as well as ordinary unpretentious men and women. This book is, indeed, the epic of the nameless hero, the Little Man who did not helplessly ask "what now?" but who knew exactly what he now had to do and, having done it, in many cases joined the ranks of the victims.

One example may suffice: Franz Fritsch, a well-to-do Berlin textile merchant, who, during the war, was seconded to the German economic administration at Cracow, used his position to establish contact with the local *Judenrat* and succeeded in saving the lives of a number of Jews. Through the carelessness of one of his protégés he was betrayed to the Gestapo and arrested. He later managed to escape, but the whole of his considerable fortune was confiscated by the Nazi authorities. Today he lives at Berlin-Britz on a pittance. His claim for restitution was turned down by the *Kammergericht* for the—astounding—reason that "his endeavours were directed solely to the rescue of persecuted Jews, an honourable undertaking, but not one that could be called active political opposition to the Nazi régime".

In a recent decision the Highest Restitution Court at Nuernberg has since laid down what is in principle to be considered "political opposition to National Socialism"; according to this definition a person may well have been a political opponent of the NSDAP, although his actions were not directly aimed at injuring or destroying that Party, as long as he can prove that he acted in opposition to the political conceptions of the Nazi Party, for example, by refusing to co-operate. A "refusal to co-operate" in the wholesale murder of the Jews can hardly be shown more clearly than was done by Franz Fritsch.

BERNHARD REICHENBACH

† Arani Verlag G.m.b.H. Berlin-Grünwald, DM. 14.80.

HEINE IN PERSPECTIVE

Two books recently published will be of great interest to friends of Heine. The one is the sixth and last volume of Heine's letters (Florian Kupferberg Verlag Mainz), containing the third part of the commentary and the index to the complete work. The editor, Professor Friedrich Hirth, died after finishing the fifth volume. The editor of the sixth volume treats the subject both knowingly and respectfully. His two studies, "Heines französische Freunde" and "Bausteine zu einer Biographie", are the most revealing portraits of the poet, and are really indispensable for any student of Heine.

The other book, "*Zwischen Klassik und Moderne*" (Ernst Klett, Stuttgart), by Walter Höllerer, historian of literature in Frankfurt and editor of the "*Akzente: Zeitschrift für Dichtung*", deals principally with Heine, but includes other portraits. It adds a great deal to our knowledge as well, and is important as the first literary work in German which places the poet in the right perspective. This book is particularly outstanding and inspiring—exciting as hardly any literary monograph of a period since the days of Gundolf and Strich.

The period dealt with by Höllerer is the twenty-five years between the death of Goethe and that of Heine. A panorama of German and European literature, especially contemporary French literature, unfolds before us, and is interpreted anew as a time when the foundations were laid for new experiments and movements that have impressed

the contemporaries of the last hundred years, from Baudelaire and Verlaine to Mallarmé and Trakl. There are three groups into which the treatise has been divided. The first, which is of most interest to us here, is headed "Disillusionment and Beginning", with two sub-groups—Grabbe, Heine and Büchner on the one hand, and Gutzkow, Raimund, Nestroy and Niebergall on the other. The other two groups contain Immermann and Grillparzer ("New Sounds in Resounding") and Droste, Mörike and Stifter, each trying to rebuild on the old foundations with new material.

The sub-title to Höllerer's book is "Lachen und Weinen in der Dichtung einer Uebergangszeit"—the extremes of two emotions typical, in the ways they are described, of modern utterances: laughter as a grimace and tears without relief. The two emotions represent comedy and tragedy at the same time. Höllerer's approach is that of the poet, and the specimens he has chosen to introduce each chapter are as characteristic as they are surprising and convincing. To give some examples, they include variations of the theme on monotony and ennui; images of Grabbe's Savoyard playing a barrel organ; Heine's marionettes of a clock tower and Büchner's simile of a roundabout.

Büchner and Heine both liquidated the so-called "Kunstperiode", and have more in common with each other than would appear at first sight. In contrast, Büchner and Grabbe are frequently lumped together, but more as the innovators of dramatic form than because of their poetic consciousness. There is nothing on record of what Heine thought of Büchner, but we know that the latter was critical of the "Junge Deutschland", a movement with which Heine had much less in common than with the "Scherz, Satire, Ironie und tiefere Bedeutung" of Büchner and Grabbe. Heine held Grabbe in high esteem, and compared him with Shakespeare and Kleist. Grabbe did not reciprocate this esteem, but Heine did not allow his knowledge of this to influence his judgment. Notwithstanding his polemical mind, he was able to admire what he considered spirit of his own spirit.

LUTZ WELTMANN

"COME UNDER THE WINGS"

One of the oldest Jewish forms of poetry is the Midrash, the explanation of each verse of the Bible, as our ancient sages understood it . . . according to their basic principle: "Turn the Torah to the right and to the left . . . for everything is in it." It speaks well for the inner life of American Judaism, that this oldest form of Jewish art has been renewed and brought back to a new life in our days. Grace Goldin is known as a sensitive poet and as a warm-hearted Jewess; but she is also the wife of a well-versed Midrashic scholar and recently told us herself how this charming book, which represents a new Midrash on Ruth and is both all Jewish and all American, was born in a mutual effort.*

Here is the tragic story of Elimelech, the man who fled from his country in the time of stress, and who was punished by losing his two sons to Baal and by losing his own life; here is the story of Naomi the Lovely One, who knew so well how to take care of her daughter-in-law and who was the inspiration for some of the best-known passages of the Bible, the theme of innumerable wedding sermons: "Your God shall be my God, your country shall be my country . . ." And there is the story of Ruth herself: only a little Americanised by the overbold addition that the wedding night in the barn is based on a "truly Moabite trick". Here is the story of Boaz the "man of property" (who is a little boring in all his virtue, as Maurice Samuel confesses); but in this old-new Midrash he is ennobled by the prediction which surrounds his aging head like a sort of halo: that he will be the ancestor not only of King David, but also of the Messiah ben David, for whom all mankind is waiting unto this day. So this thoughtful, new Midrash ends with the vision of the distant future, the Messianic time, which is what all of us are hoping for . . . and this is a refreshing idea in our own time of uneasiness and despair.

BERTHA BADT-STRAUSS

* Grace Goldin, "Midrash on Ruth". Jewish Publication Society, Philadelphia, Pa.

THE HYPHEN'S TENTH BIRTHDAY

It is now ten years since The Hyphen has been in existence, and it is of interest to trace the course of its development, and to discover how far it has deviated from its original function and how far it has fulfilled it. The Hyphen originally came into being out of the need of a group of younger people, mainly children of AJR members and those of a similar Continental background, to form friendships and to provide for themselves a social climate in which they would lose the feeling of being "Luftmensch" and "belong" through friendships.

An extract from letters written at the end of 1947 was published in *AJR Information* appealing to those of the "younger set" who did not yet feel "300% British" to write in, with a view to forming a new social group. At first, there were only two replies, and three people eventually met at the AJR office at the beginning of 1948. Gradually, we were able to interest more and more people. The original intention was to form a group which did not compete with any of the existing ex-Continental youth groups and was not aligned to any "ism", but was under the tutelage of the AJR. A number of the meetings were attended by representatives from the B'nai B'rith Youth, Claude Montefiore Circle, Primrose Jewish Youth Club and Ex-Servicemen's (N.B.) Association, some of whom advised against the formation of the intended group, fearing competition. Ultimately, we felt strong enough to call a public meeting for October 31st, 1948, which was attended by 60 or more people from London and the provinces, and yet another 30-40 were placed on our mailing list.

The first committee was actually formed before this meeting. One of its first activities was a study circle, whose subjects were "Immigration Waves into the U.K.", "Inquest on German Jewry" and kindred subjects. The talks were prepared and delivered by members of the group and by outside lecturers. Other groups which got under way were the play-reading, music and bridge groups, the French circle and the rambles, all of which were soon well attended.

The first General Meeting was called in March

1949, and at that stage all who had paid subscriptions or seemed interested were considered as members. There and then, a committee was proposed and elected and a draft constitution presented. Lengthy discussions in and out of committee on the name the group was to bear resulted in the adoption of the late Eva Massey's suggestion. This was to call ourselves "The Hyphen", which was defined as "the link between the Continental background and the newly found home". This suggestion was unanimously carried. The constitution was worded in broad terms and mentioned no restrictions as to colour, political views or religion of prospective members.

During the ten years of our existence we have had approximately 98 female and 69 male members, but our mailing list must have contained at least 400-500 names. We have had ten Chairmen, two of whom had two terms of office. The membership comprised 137 German, 12 British-born members, 12 from Austria, 4 from Czechoslovakia, 1 from Hungary and one Sabra. As far as one can judge, 5 members were Jewish only by origin, 3 non-Jews, whilst all the others were Jews. Twenty-five marriages were the result of meeting at Hyphen functions. For two of these couples it was a matter of *veni, vidi, vici* at their first meeting, and that was the last we saw of them. As far as we have been able to keep contact with old members, it has been ascertained that 13 members married "natives" and 65 chose Continental partners. So far, we know of 50 "Hyphenettes" having been born, but there may be more.

The main intake of members took place in the years 1949/50/51 and 1955, when the membership reached 86. Now we are down to 76, of whom 30 are still single. Of the present membership, 18 are founder members. Several couples who have resigned still remain on the mailing list and join us at least at the annual birthday party. Some of us also still keep contact with members who now reside in Australia, Belgium, Israel and the U.S.A. Newcomers have at all times been welcomed to our meetings, homes and rambles, and many have commented on the warm atmosphere they found with us.

The *Hyphen News*, a duplicated magazine, was issued for 5½ years under four editors and one editorial board; 16 editions were printed with up to 15 pages. Subjects covered were social news, literary contributions, poetry, puzzles and some editorials of a very controversial nature.

Lectures were arranged with a very wide range of subjects, some religious, some secular. Our speakers included several well-known personalities. We also arranged concerts, with members participating. In recent years the At Home functions were most popular and rambles have always been arranged. The highlight of the year has always been the annual birthday party, a social reunion, which includes sketches humourously depicting Hyphen affairs and personalities, games, dancing and refreshments.

One may ask now, has our social experiment proved worth-while and what has been achieved?

Although we set out with the intention of doing social work outside the group, it was shown that doing this within was at least as necessary. Even the shyest of our members found they could relax in our group and open up. Many have formed friendships which may well last a lifetime. On the whole, much fun was gained from The Hyphen, often most by those who planned the activities and made the group tick. An interesting fact is that so many of our married members have kept contact with us in spite of family ties and children and we still count quite a few of them amongst our "activists", more so than some newcomers who do not yet seem to have caught the right spirit.

The work of The Hyphen and the contacts made through it have helped many to a fuller life and greater integration. Thus The Hyphen's existence has been well justified.

Most of us may be more at home in the English language than our mother-tongue. But though our background, cultural ties, interests in the world around us and last but not least "Weltanschauung", made and still makes us so very different from our contemporaries born in this country, we are no longer self-conscious about this. Basically, our generation will not be unreservedly integrated into our environment. However, by our outlook, we can turn this into an asset rather than a liability.

PETER W. JOHNSON



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IN MEMORIAM

THE BISHOP OF CHICHESTER

In the concluding sentence of a letter which reached me only recently, I find what might well be cited as the perfect obituary of the late Bishop G. K. A. Bell, who, as Bishop of Chichester, earned for himself a place of undying affection in the hearts of countless refugees from Nazi persecution. "My husband and myself", wrote my correspondent, herself a refugee and the wife of a refugee, "feel deeply the great loss of a saintly man and a very dear friend."

A saintly man, indeed, but not of the type one associates with the "cloistered and sheltered virtues". Essentially a man of peace, he was prepared to fight for peace, but always and only with the weapons of peace. As the occupant of an ecclesiastical See which carried with it a seat in the House of Lords, the Bishop of Chichester, as we knew him, was fearless in his resistance against every form of tyranny. His was one of the earliest voices to be raised in this country in warning church and political leaders alike of the dangers of Nazism, and it was entirely consistent with his whole life and outlook that his last speech in the Upper Chamber should have been directed against the persecution of the Churches by the present régime in Eastern Germany.

But if he was scathing in his condemnation of Nazism, he was also discerning in his solicitude for its victims, and it was perhaps one of the highest tributes ever paid to his integrity that two anti-Nazi pastors should have approached him, at great personal risk, during a lecture tour he undertook in Sweden in 1942, to tell him of a plot already on foot to assassinate Hitler and to invite his help in bringing this to the attention of the British authorities. It was no fault of the Bishop's that the Foreign Office refused to take seriously what proved in the end to be an exact prognostication of the attempt eventually made on the Führer's life in 1944. He will be long remembered, too, for a number of speeches made at the height of the war criticising the indiscriminate bombing of German cities by the Allies. Whatever the massive effect of such raids in helping to bring about the downfall of the Nazi régime, they can never outweigh the moral value of the integrity of character and purpose which inspired this truly "saintly man".

But that is only half the story. He was also "a very dear friend", and to none more than those refugees from Germany and Central Europe in whose behalf he gave himself so freely during the years immediately preceding and following the outbreak of war in September, 1939. His earlier but largely unsuccessful efforts to stir up the churches of this country to recognise their responsibility in face of the needs not only of the Jewish victims of Hitler's anti-Semitism but also of those who, in accordance with the Nuernberg Decrees of 1935, were designated as "non-Aryan" Christians, eventually found fruition in the establishment in October, 1938, of a Christian Council for Refugees. This body, representative of all sections of the Christian community in this country, had as its joint Presidents the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, the Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, and the Moderator of the Free Church Federal Council. Moreover, a speech by the Bishop in the Church Assembly a few weeks later moved that body to promise to raise a sum of not less than £50,000 for the Christian Council. There followed an appeal by Lord Baldwin and the beginning of that close co-operation between Christian and Jewish refugee organisations which found its focus in Bloomsbury House and which owed so much to the Bishop's courageous initiative and persistent endeavour.

His contribution to the refugee cause, however, was so very much more than that of the organiser and administrator. He had a genius for friendship, and the ability really to enter into the needs and problems of people in all sorts of situations. I can still remember very vividly the impression he made when he visited the internment camps on the Isle of Man and not merely promised to convey messages to the relatives and friends of many of the internees whom he met but, on his return, actually did so! Nor was there a group of people more devoted in gratitude and affection to any individual than the group of seventy refugee

pastors and their wives whom the Bishop succeeded in bringing into this country.

Some years ago now a group of those who felt they owed so much to this "very dear friend" planned to erect, as a permanent record of their gratitude, a figure of St. Michael, of whose spirit and devotion the Bishop seemed to them a living embodiment. This figure, the work of a Viennese sculptor of international reputation, David Paul (Koenigsberger), himself a refugee, eventually found a home over the entrance to a new church at Harrow Weald dedicated to St. Michael and All Angels, and consecrated by the Bishop of London, by strange and perhaps happy coincidence, on the very day after the Bishop's death.

Bishop Bell will be long and gratefully remembered by many people for many things, but by none more than those who have cause to be thankful for his tireless activities on their behalf, to which the following inscription, in the entrance to the Church, bears record:

"To the glory of God and the honour of the Holy Angels the statue of St. Michael the Archangel has been placed over the entrance to this Church of St. Michael and All Angels as a thank offering by men and women who found in Britain a refuge from tyranny in the fourth and fifth decades of the 20th century after Christ and as a tribute to George Kennedy Allen Bell, who during his occupancy of the See of Chichester was tireless in his activities on their behalf."

REV. W. W. SIMPSON

LUDWIG TIETZ

March 5th, 1897 - November 4th, 1933

This month, twenty-five years have elapsed since the Jews in Germany were stunned by the news of the sudden death of Ludwig Tietz. The end of his life seemed to coincide with the climax of his career. He was one of the architects of Jewish life in Germany during its last period when, after the establishment of the Nazi régime, it had to be adapted to the changed circumstances. As one of the founders and honorary secretaries of the "Zentralausschuss fuer Hilfe und Aufbau"—the nucleus of the "Reichsvertretung"—he laid the organisational and financial foundations for the discharge of new tasks inside Germany, and for constructive schemes for preparing young people for emigration by vocational retraining. The work required imagination and courage, political insight and administrative abilities. Ludwig Tietz had all these qualities. He was also a dignified and upright spokesman of German Jewry both *vis-à-vis* the representatives of Jewish communities abroad and the representatives of the forces in power in Germany.

Tietz was cut out for these tasks by many years of Jewish work before 1933. Looking back at his life now, after the passage of a quarter of a century, many of those who were near to him may feel that the impact of his personality during these preceding years, though less conspicuous to the wider public, has been indeed of more lasting value. It was a time favoured by happy external circumstances: the economic security of a more or less middle-class society and the belief that, in spite of disquieting occurrences in the late 'twenties and the early 'thirties, the position of the German Jews as citizens appeared to be safe. Under these conditions young German Jews could build up groups with an intense community life. This was done more or less on the model of the general youth movement in Germany, with all the idealism and the romanticism it involved. Ludwig Tietz was one of their leaders.

He was different from most of those he led, both in age and in social standing. However, as we know from great historical movements, leaders are often more effective if they come from without. Distance endows them with wider vistas and may also make them even more attractive to their followers. That such objective distance does not imply subjective detachment from them is borne out, to a greater extent than in many other cases, by the example of Ludwig Tietz's attitude to those around him. He had the gift of finding his way to the core of those who needed him. He took them seriously, however young or humble they may have been. Thus an atmosphere of unsurpassed mutual con-

fidence was the basis of a great number of personal relationships. Once he had recognised a person's sincerity and good intentions, he would go out of his way to be of use to that person. But he was not prepared to compromise if he felt that these qualities were missing. There was no saintliness about him; he was endowed with a polemical mind and with a sense of humour which had its sources both in his Jewishness and his Berlin upbringing.

Yet beyond the personal trust which had grown up between him and his followers, a specific Jewish conception was a decisive factor. It does not lend itself to clear-cut definition; it was, however, closely linked up with the general educational ideal of the youth movement: the liberation from conventional lies, not only towards our fellow-men but also towards ourselves. The attempts of many emancipated Jews to suppress the Jewish component within themselves made them unbalanced personalities. A "return to Jewishness" was regarded as a prerequisite for the inner freedom of the individual Jew. This attitude proved of the greatest value in the years to come. It gave them strength to withstand the shock of 1933, a strength lacking in others who had been less conscious of their position as Jews.

The approach to the Jewish situation of Ludwig Tietz and his followers also manifested itself in the Jewish political life before 1933: the "Richtung Tietz" pressed for the participation of non-Zionists in the work for Palestine; they were convinced that Jewish existence in the Diaspora was a legitimate way of life, but felt that it could not remain divorced from this outstanding venture in modern Jewish history. Once emigration had become imperative, many of them decided to settle in Palestine—some, as a collective unit, in Kibbutz Hazorea. The Jewish organisations in Germany had hoped to perpetuate the memory of his name by sponsoring the Ludwig Tietz School, a training centre in Yagur. Unfortunately, however, the school had to be dissolved some years ago.

Those who spent their formative years under the guidance of Ludwig Tietz are now considerably older than he was when he died. The change of attitude to life that comes to everybody after adolescence has been accentuated by the upheavals we underwent. In the Jewish field, too, we can no longer afford to restrict our thoughts and actions to the "subjective" aspects of the Jewish question, having ourselves experienced its general "objective" aspects as victims of a persecution which surpassed all preceding measures against Jews in Eastern Europe. Yet, wherever we may now live, whatever our present outlook may be, and however we may have built up our lives anew, we know that the good fortune of having been shaped by the affinity to Ludwig Tietz, implies not only a unique experience in the past, but leaves us with a lasting obligation towards our efforts in the present and in the future.

WERNER ROSENSTOCK

RALPH VAUGHAN WILLIAMS

In Dr. Ralph Vaughan Williams, who died on August 26th, England has lost not only one of her greatest composers but also a man whose whole personality commanded universal affection. Unlike many great artistes, he never shut himself off from contemporary events, and his deep concern over the barbarism and inhumanity of the last 25 years has found its reflection in some of his major works. It is significant that he, whose art is deeply rooted in English tradition, whose style is intensely national, took a warmhearted interest in many refugee musicians and did much to help them before and during the war. His advice was always at the disposal of his younger colleagues, and his last appointment, the day before his death, was with the Israeli composer Chaim Alexander, who introduced him to Israeli folk music, giving him "a most enjoyable afternoon".

The funeral service at Westminster Abbey included some of the music from his ballet "Job", one of his greatest works, which re-creates the biblical story with visionary power.

We honour in Vaughan Williams the genius whose art represents the nobility of the English spirit, and we honour the man whose nobility matched the greatness of his art.

H. W. FREYHAN

PERSONALIA

HANNAH ARENDT AT FRANKFURT CEREMONY

The laudatio for Professor Karl Jaspers when he recently received the peace prize of the German book trade in Frankfurt-on-Main, was delivered by Professor Hannah Arendt, herself a pupil of the philosopher.

GERMAN ORDER FOR RUDOLF BING

Rudolf Bing, director of the Glyndebourne Opera from 1935 to 1949 and now director of the Metropolitan Opera in New York, received the Grose Bundesverdienstkreuz.

DOCTORATE FOR PROFESSOR G. KISCH

Professor Guido Kisch who, until 1933, held a Chair at Halle University and who emigrated to the United States, received the degree of Doctor of Hebrew Letters from the Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati. Professor Kisch is a legal historian and is an authority on medieval Jewish history and law.

APPOINTMENT OF DR. E. M. MANASSE

Dr. Ernst Moritz Manasse, professor of German and Philosophy at North Carolina College, has accepted a one-year membership in the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton University.

Dr. Manasse was born in Dramburg, where his father, the late Georg Manasse, took an active interest in Jewish affairs.

MAX BROD IN EUROPE

Max Brod, who is touring Europe, read parts of his novel "Mira" before an audience in the rebuilt Cuvillies Theatre in Munich. He repeated this lecture in Düsseldorf and spoke to the Jewish group there about cultural life in Israel.

FRENCH SCHOLARSHIP FOR RABBI O. LEHMANN

Rabbi O. Lehmann (Oxford) has been awarded a French Government scholarship for the study of Hebrew manuscripts in France.

DEATHS

The death has occurred in Amsterdam, at the age of 91, of Professor Max J. Friedlaender, the famous art historian. Prior to his emigration to Holland in 1933, Professor Friedlaender was a director of the Kaiser Friedrich Museum.

The lawyer Hermann Roetgen died in Essen at the age of 74. Until 1937 he was in practice in Bochum, where he was also a Board member of the local lawyers' association. He spent the war years in hiding in Holland, and returned to Germany in 1948. He always took an active interest in Jewish affairs and, until 1953, was Chairman of the Repraesentanz of the Essen Jewish Community.

Alfred Marum, the president of the former Jewish community of Sobernheim, died at the age of 80 in Andover (Massachusetts). For more than 50 years he was the chairman of the board of directors of the textile firm, A. Marum, in Sobernheim and Andover.

BIRTHDAYS

Dr. Fritz Aron celebrated his 70th birthday in New York. After practising medicine in Berlin, he joined the Office of the Reichsvertretung of the Jews in Germany in 1933, where he took charge of the special interests of his Jewish colleagues. After his emigration to the United States, he continued his work for his fellow Jews as a Board member of the American Federation of Jews from Central Europe, and as Chairman of the American-Jewish K.C. Federation. His friends all over the world extend their heartiest congratulations to him.

Mr. Paul Zucker, the architect, recently celebrated his 70th birthday in New York. He is the author of several books on architecture. His work in Berlin prior to his emigration includes the administrative building of the Medical Association and a number of factories and villas. At the same time, Mr. Zucker was a lecturer at the State School of Arts and the Lessing-Hochschule in Berlin. In 1937 he accepted a post at the new School for Social Research in New York. The reputation he built up in his new homeland is reflected in the fact that he was elected a member of the New York Chapter of the Society of Architectural History. He continued writing, and his latest work is "Town and Square, from the Greek Agora to the Village Green".

Dr. Friedrich Reichmann, whose 70th birthday occurred on August 18th, was born in Kattowitz. After the cession of the town to Poland, he became the representative of its German-speaking Jews. Forced to emigrate under the Nazi régime, he eventually settled down in Canada. As co-founder of the New World Club in Montreal, he was later elected its president.

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K. B. Ghulam Robbani Khan.

December 2, 1958. MOHAMMED (II).
E. I. J. Rosenthal, M.A.

December 9, 1958. SOCIAL-PSYCHO-
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Letters to the Editor

THE JEWISHNESS OF THE "NON-RELIGIOUS JEW"

Sir,—Dr. Robert Weltsch's thought-provoking "Thoughts for the Holy Days" (AJR Information, September, 1958) touches on a basic issue, the discussion of which has demonstrated how deeply and strongly Jews feel when trying to consider calmly the Jewishness of non-professing Jews. In a paper delivered to the Society for Sociology and Anthropology of the Jews in Vienna only four months before the "Anschluss", Dr. F. R. Bienenfeld ventured boldly and provocatively to show that "certain main principles of the Jewish religion continue to operate within the minds and souls of the non-religious Jews and determine their attitude towards life . . . without their conscious knowledge and notwithstanding their contempt for Jewish traditions". These are the ideas of the fraternity of all members of the community as sons of God with equal rights; of righteousness as the life blood of the Universe; of the power of knowledge and reason; and of the affirmation of this world and the negation of any other. "Non-religious Jews" have maintained and implemented these basic traditional conceptions which again and again "have broken through the clouds of unconscious memory". Popper-Lynkeus, Rathenau and Marx were adduced as striking examples to prove Dr. Bienenfeld's thesis.

In an English edition published in 1944 (it appeared again in the original German version in 1953 at the Frick Verlag, Vienna), the author described his paper as "the swan song of a spiritual community whose influence will survive its fall". The toll taken by the Nazis was indeed tragically devastating. The non-religious Jews of Central Europe ceased to exist as a group. But the problem has remained and has even gained new and wider significance beyond the boundaries in which it was diagnosed by Dr. Bienenfeld with courage and lucidity.

Yours etc.,
P. A. SLOW.

GOTTFRIED KELLER AND JONAS FRAENKEL

Sir,—May I venture to supplement the article "Gottfried Keller and the Jews" by Paul Wohlfahrt in your September issue.

I think that, when Jews are mentioned in connection with the Swiss writer, the name of Jonas Fraenkel should not be omitted. We are indebted to him for his magnificent edition of Keller's works—a model of philology. He delved into the secrets of the poet's style and thoughts with loving care, and thus discovered many new vistas.

When, about fifteen years ago, a new edition of Hans Andersen's fairy tales was published in Zurich, with drawings by the distinguished artist Albert Merckling, the portrait of the gardener of the Emperor of China, who protects the nightingale, bore Fraenkel's features. A greater honour for any man of letters is hardly possible.

We should not forget, either, that Fraenkel discovered another Swiss writer, Karl Spitteler, with whom he was connected by a life-long friendship.

Throughout his life, Fraenkel fought incompetence in the realm of letters. With unbounded courage he stood up for his beloved German literature, which had drawn him from Poland, first to Vienna and then to Switzerland. We get a convincing picture of his spirit by his collected essays recently published in Heidelberg. He also edited Goethe's letters to Charlotte v. Stein, which were published fifty years ago in Berlin, and which will shortly be re-edited by the Academy of Science of that city.

Yours, etc.,

(Professor) A. M. WAGNER.

7 Royal Crescent,
LONDON, W.11.

NEWS IN BRIEF

CLAIMS OF AUSTRIAN JEWS

Confiscated Valuables

Under the Federal German Restitution Law many gold and silver valuables which were handed over by Jews to the "Dorotheum" were passed on by that institution to the firm of Roessler and Co., which melted them down and transferred them to Frankfurt-on-Main in Western Germany.

The "Dorotheum" in Vienna is able and willing to give full information on whether specific objects were handed over to Roessler and Co.

Potential claimants are advised, after having obtained such information, to file claims under the provisions of the Federal German Restitution Law before the expiration of the dateline of December 31st, 1958.

ANTI-SEMITIC DIPLOMAT DISMISSED

Hans von Saucken, a member of the German Consulate in New York, was dismissed after having described an Austrian-born American journalist, Max Beer, as a "dirty Jew". The German Foreign Office, expressing its deep regret at the incident, stated that von Saucken had "betrayed a spirit for which there is not any longer a place in the German nation".

DOCUMENTARY BROADCAST ON ANNE FRANK

The recent B.B.C. Third Programme broadcast "The Footsteps of Anne Frank" will be repeated on November 5th. It is a radio version of the documentary by the German writer, Ernst Schnabel, of interviews with persons who had known Anne Frank.

FAMILY EVENTS

Entries in this column are free of charge. Texts should be sent in by the 18th of the month.

Deaths

Greiffenberg, Lotte, 10, Lancaster Drive, London, N.W.3. Our dear friend died suddenly on October 3rd. Hede Engelberg, Erna and Ilse Grasswald, Marie Goldenfeld.

Schindler. On Saturday, September 27th, Alma, beloved wife of Bruno Schindler, Dr. Phil., and mother of Li and George, and formerly Principal of Regent's Park School. Deeply mourned by all her family. 134 Beaufort Park, Falloden Way, London, N.W.11.

Juster, Isidor. On October 1st, deeply mourned by his wife, son and daughter - in - law, grandchildren, brother, sister-in-law and friends. 8 St. Gabriel's Road, London, N.W.2.

Lucas. On October 12th, our beloved mother, Ida Lucas. Deeply mourned and sadly missed by her sons, daughters - in - law, grandchildren, nieces, relatives and friends. Dr. and Mrs. Ernst E. Lucas, and daughter Eva, 5 Litchfield Way, London, N.W.11. Mr. and Mrs. Ronald J. Lucas and son Edwin, 32 Southlea Avenue, Thornliebank, Glasgow.

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MISSING PERSONS

Enquiries by AJR

Frieda Zitter and **Selma Zither**, last known address in Germany, Goepingen, Hauptstr. 20. Birth dates of both are unknown.

Personal Enquiries

Dr. Heinrich Fraenkel, Director of "Pollus Oil", Vienna, Central Office London; **Engineer Wiesenfeld**, who manufactured cigarette lighters; **Architect Bruno Pollak**; **Mr. Stern-**

schein, manager of "Stoch" Linz; all said to have lived in Vienna. Wanted by Mr. Z. Urbaukienier, 45 Craven Road, Rugby.

Miss Riekchen (Erika) Schreiber, born January 17th, 1888, Hamburg, daughter of Adolf and Pauline Schreiber (née Heymanson), wanted by her brother, Ivan Schreiber, a/c Estudio Carranza, Esmeralda 570, Buenos Aires, Argentina.

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Social Work

SELF AID CONCERT

As already announced in our last issue, this year's Self Aid Concert will take place on Wednesday, November 19th, at 7.30 p.m., at the Wigmore Hall.

The Hurwitz Ensemble, directed by Emanuel Hurwitz, will appear, and Allan Schiller, the child prodigy, will perform Mozart's Pianoforte Concerto in E flat, together with some works by Spanish composers. Grieg's Holberg Suite is also part of the programme.

Apart from the artistic aspect, the success of the concerts organised by Self Aid, which have now become an institution in the social life of our community, is of the greatest importance in the interests of the many needy people in our midst, to whose welfare the proceeds of the concerts are devoted. Though, fortunately, due to restitution and compensation payments, the position for many has considerably improved, there are still a large number of refugees from Nazi oppression in this country, from Germany and other European countries, who for one reason or another must still depend on the generosity of their fellow-refugees.

Tickets for the concert may be obtained at the office of Self Aid of Refugees, 1b Swiss Terrace, N.W.6. Tel.: PRI. 5151/2.

JEW'S TEMPORARY SHELTER

The report of the Jew's Temporary Shelter for the year ending October 31st, 1957, reveals that the work has increased considerably. Against a

daily average of about 25 residents in the preceding year, the number of persons lodging at the Shelter per day during the year under review, averaged over 55. Two-thirds of the refugees housed in the Shelter were Hungarians and Egyptians.

The work of the Shelter is mainly financed by private subscriptions, and the committee urgently appeals to the community for support. It is hoped that, in appreciation of the work on their behalf from 1933 to 1939, Jews who were admitted to this country as refugees from Nazi oppression will not fail to respond to this call. Donations should be sent to the Treasurer, Jew's Temporary Shelter, 63 Mansell Street, London, E.1.

SABBATH OBSERVANCE EMPLOYMENT BUREAU

In its report for 1957, the Sabbath Observance Employment Bureau states that the year was not an easy one, owing to the many applicants whose jobs became redundant through recessions in various trades and industries. This development particularly affected a number of elderly persons who were in the higher salary groups, and who could not easily fit into new jobs. Altogether the Bureau dealt with about 1,500 new applicants. These included the placing of 102 clerks, 90 secretary/shorthand typists, 40 showroom assistants and 26 dressmakers.

The Bureau has now been in existence for 50 years. One of its founder members, the Rev. I. Livingstone, recalls the Bureau's work in its first stages, in a special article published in the report.

One of the instances he mentions is that, in 1912, Viscount Samuel (then the Rt. Hon. Sir Herbert Samuel, Postmaster-General) approved of a scheme for the interchange of the day of rest between Jewish and non-Jewish members of the Post Office staff. It was also ascertained that Scotland Yard would provide facilities for the observance by Jews of the Sabbath as often as possible, if such facilities were applied for by Jewish policemen.

THE HYPHEN

The Hyphen programme for November includes the organisation's 10th birthday party, to take place on Saturday, November 22nd, from 7.30 p.m. to 11 p.m., at Hodford Hall (Methodist Church Hall), Hodford Road, Golders Green (back of P.O.). There will also be a talk on Sunday, November 30th, at 7.30 p.m. on "The Latest Developments in the State of Israel" by a member of the Friends of the Hebrew University, at Zion House, 57 Eton Avenue, N.W.3. Further particulars can be obtained from the Hon. Secretary, 69 Queen's Drive, London, N.4 (Tel. STA. 4922).

ACTIVITIES OF BERLIN JEWISH COMMUNITY

On the occasion of the High Festivals, the Berlin Jewish community issued a special publication for its members, which refers to the community's widespread and intense activities. The publication, amongst other things, mentions the establishment of the Leo-Baek-Wohnheim, and the forthcoming completion of a second Wohnheim, commemorating the name of Heinrich Stahl. The work of the community also covers the care of returnees, of whom every month about 100 are economically reintegrated.

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COUNCIL OF JEWS FROM GERMANY

Meeting in London

The Council of Jews from Germany, of which the AJR is the British constituent, held a conference in London on October 15th, under the chairmanship of its President, Dr. S. Moses (Jerusalem). The conference was attended by members of the directorate and representatives from Great Britain, the United States, Israel, France, and Belgium.

Following a report by the President on the organisation, activities and programme of the Council, Mr. R. Callmann, New York, one of the Council's representatives on the Board of the Claims Conference, gave a survey of those resolutions adopted by the Claims Conference at its last directors' meeting, which directly affect Jewish emigrants from Germany.

On the basis of a detailed report by Dr. F. Goldschmidt, London, on the present position in the field of restitution and compensation, steps to safeguard the interests of the Jews from Germany

vis-à-vis the German authorities were actively considered.

The internal organisation of the Council was discussed, and unanimous agreement on matters arising therefrom was reached. Furthermore, it was decided to give publicity to the Council's work at regular intervals.

The distribution of the Council's funds among its various regional bodies was also dealt with, and it was resolved that a certain sum should be provided for cultural purposes.

Full agreement was reached on all matters covered by the conference, and the principles of the Council's work in the coming period were laid down.

AJR BOARD MEETING

The AJR Board meeting took place in London on October 19th. A detailed report will be published in the next issue.

LEO BAECK INSTITUTE

Third Year Book

The Leo Baeck Institute's Third Year Book will appear shortly. It will include essays on Martin Buber, Eugen Taubler, Paul Nathan, Stefan Zweig, Albert Ballin, and a history of the family of N. Israel. Other contributions will deal with the relationship of German Jews to their environment, with the Berlin Jewish community and with institutions such as the Philanthropin in Frankfurt. The Year Book will conclude with excerpts from Leo Baeck's writings and a bibliography of post-war publications on German Jewry.

The price of the Year Book is 35s. Members of the Society of Friends of the Leo Baeck Institute will receive the Year Book and the Quarterly Bulletin (in German) free of charge. The minimum subscription rate for 1959 is £2 12s. 6d. Applications should be sent to the Society of Friends of the Leo Baeck Institute, 8 Fairfax Mansions, London, N.W.3.

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