1939

During her absence in England, another Nazi edict was issued to embarrass the Jewish population, which demanded that from the 1st of January, 1939, all Jewish women add the name, Sara, to their name, and all men, Israel. The school had to become the Dr.Leonore Sara Goldschmidt Schule, which involved great expense in reprinting stationary and Report Cards. All adult Jewish people had to register for a "Kennkarte" (identification document) which carried a big "J" on the outside and a photograph and two fingerprints ¹⁸⁵ on the inside, making the person look like a criminal. When the winter term report cards were issued later that month, late due to all the upheaval, they were the last ones issued before the enforced name change. They were all beautifully hand written in an effort to carry on in a normal manner. When an inspector came to see about the furniture that was to be exported, the author had to show him the furniture and use her wits showing him ordinary items and not the antiques as the Reichsfluchtsteuer (tax on fleeing the country) was to be levied on the value of this furniture.

By the time Lore returned on the 25th of January 1939 ¹⁸⁶ the passports for her children had arrived. A second cousin on her mother's side, Herbert Loewy, a former judge, came to offer his assistance with legal problems should they arise in Ernst's absence. His help was much appreciated. She wrote a letter to the *Stadtpräsident* (the town president), High School Division, applying for an extension of the Cambridge Examination Centre until 1940. ¹⁸⁷ She stressed the importance of the centre for the emigration prospects of the students as, following negotiations with the Home Office and Cambridge University, she was about to open a branch of the school in Folkestone, Kent. She signed it Dr.Leonore Sara Goldschmidt, with Sara added to her name. But when Dr.Hübner forwarded this request for extension to the *Reichsminister für Wissenschaft* (Minister for Science), adding an affirmative paragraph, ¹⁸⁸ he did not add the name Sara! On the 20th of March an internal memo from the Minister of Education to the *Stadtpräsident* extended the Cambridge University Examination Centre at the Dr.Leonore Sara Goldschmidt Schule until the 31st of March 1940. ¹⁸⁹

The news from the USA was mixed. Theodore Huebener, ¹⁹⁰ who had hoped to see the Goldschmidts before Christmas, had finally realised how desperate the situation had become. In her reply ¹⁹¹ to his letter, on the 13th of February, she emphasised the importance of receiving his letters: "of friendly feelings of men like you in other countries, because, beyond all material help, we want even more preserving of self-

¹⁸⁵ Kennkarte of Lore Goldschmidt 14/2/1939 in possession of the author

¹⁸⁶ Passport entry, Flughafen Tempelhof, 25/1/1939

¹⁸⁷ Letter LG to Stadtpräsident, 7/2/1939, copy Bundesarchiv, Potsdam

¹⁸⁸ Attachment Hübner to Minister for Education, 13/2/1939, Bundesarchiv, Potsdam

¹⁸⁹ Internal note from the *Reichsminister*, 20/3/1939, Bundesarchiv, Potsdam

¹⁹⁰ Letter from Huebener to LG, written 28/1/1939, received 11/2/1939, in possession of the author

¹⁹¹ Reply to above, 13/2/1939, copy in possession of the author

esteem and self-control". She continued: "I do not think that a great many people will be able to wait for their affidavits in this country. Most of the emigrants will have to leave Germany for other countries transitorily before being able to immigrate to the USA, especially those teachers who had been put into concentration camps in November." She described her efforts in Folkestone and with the training farm near Oxford. She stated that the University of Cambridge had promised support with her application to the English Home Office. But lack of capital was the main hold up as the German authorities refused all transfer of funds from Germany. Alvin Johnson's letter ¹⁹², received on the 20th of March, 1939, implied a turn for the worse, as he was told by US immigration that they will only give agricultural preference visas to trained farmers and not to her pupils. Having met the farmers that she had sent so far, he commented: "They are very good and I hope to settle them soon. If they are intelligent and work hard they can make a comfortable living. This means that there really is no permanent place for a farm manager like Mr.Moch."

The news from Britain was more hopeful. A copy of a letter from J.H.Langdon, the Hon. Organising Secretary of the Movement for the Care of Children from Germany, British Inter-Aid Committee, Bloomsbury House, London to E.N.Cooper Esq., Home Office, Aliens Department, Cleland House said, ¹⁹³ "I believe you have already received an application in respect of a school of some 200 children to be opened near Folkestone for the pupils of the former Goldschmidt School in Berlin, which would be under the auspices of the former director Dr.Goldschmidt. The School would be coeducational, and I am informed that the whole of the education would be in the English language and that at least half of the staff employed would be British subjects. My Committee have no objection in principle to this school; some little time must elapse before it can be opened, because a number of the guarantors of the eventual pupils at the school are resident abroad, principally in the United States, and it will be necessary for us to take measures to protect the Movement against a failure of such guarantees. In the meantime it would be helpful to us if you could communicate to me the view of the Home Office on this project."

But by March 1939, the political situation was getting more and more frightening as Hitler had been able to persuade Poland and Hungary to act as his henchmen. On the 15th of March, 1939, the remains of Czechoslovakia were carved up and annexed. This terrible aggression, unopposed by international condemnation, caused great concern among the Jewish population in Germany. To Lore, who had become nervous about Ernst's return to Germany, it added further anxiety. She decided to ring Lammers¹⁹⁴, Chief of the Reich Chancellery. According to my mother ¹⁹⁵: "Lammers replied that nothing stood in the way of Ernst Goldschmidt's return. She replied to him that she would not accept this statement as a satisfactory answer and demanded that he would give her his word of honour to protect Ernst if

¹⁹² Letter Alvin Johnson to LG, received 20/3/39, in possession of the author

¹⁹³ Letter from Bloomsbury House to Home Office, 17/3/1939, copy in possession of the author

¹⁹⁴ Lammers, Hans Heinrich, Chief of the Reich Chancellery

¹⁹⁵ Conversation communicated to the author on the day before her leaving, 20/3/1939

he returned." This amazing dialogue was reported to me, the author, at that time but never forgotten. 196

On the 20th of March ¹⁹⁷, Lore decided that, if Ernst did not return to Germany, her children could be kept as hostages. As a result of this fear, the author and brother Rudi, would have to leave immediately. There was no time to say good-bye to friends. The last few minutes spent with our kind and loving Gertrud Noël were most memorable, as on leaving, she, now an old lady, questioned the decision to emigrate, naively asserting that we may not be happy in England as Germany was such a wonderful country! The following morning, on the 21st of March, 1939, I, carrying a small suit case plus a book called "The Microbe Hunters", by Paul de Kruif, together with my brother, Rudi, carrying the Cremona violin, inherited from the murdered Alexander Zweig, flew from Templehof Airport, with RM10 (17s and 6p) each. We were met at Croydon Airport by our father and Dudley Cheke. After a short stop in London to visit Joseph and Elsie Bender at 29 Great Portland Street, W1 198, followed by an unforgettable ride on the top of a double decker bus to King's Cross station, we continued by train to Letchworth, Herts., where Mr.and Mrs. Harris and Mr.and Mrs.Fernyhough welcomed us into St Christopher School. My Abgangszeugnis 199 (the leaving certificate) in the name of the Dr. Leonore Sara Goldschmidt Schule was issued on the 23rd of March, 1939. It was signed by Rubensohn and arrived by post.

On the 22nd of March, Lore received the Affidavit numbers, 63459-63462, ²⁰⁰ for the family via the US Consul. The waiting time for these numbers was about two years. This made any thought of going to the USA most unlikely and England had to be the country of immigration.

The last summer in Germany

Ernst returned to Germany, an act of immense courage. Following his return, the *Lift,* which I had helped organise, was finally packed with furniture including the Bechstein grand piano. After the *Reichsfluchtsteuer* was paid, the crate was shipped to us, myself and my brother, in England. In Ernst's absence, a law had been passed on the 21st of February requiring Jews to sell all their remaining silver and gold to official

¹⁹⁶ At the time, the author did not give credence to this story, but, following a telephone call from Lubliniec in the year 2000, the author consulted "Who's Who in Nazi Germany". This amazing truth became apparent: "Hans Heinrich Lammers was born in Lublinitz, now Lubliniec, in 1879, the son of the veterinary surgeon. He studied law at Breslau and Heidelberg. He became the county court judge in Beuthen, now Bytom, in 1912. After military service during WWI, he joined the Reich Ministry of the Interior as a senior government advisor. In 1933 he was promoted to Head of the Reich Chancery. An imaginative bureaucrat, who combined a sense of protocol with natural brutality, Lammers legal expertise was much appreciated by Hitler who had known him for many years. He was made Reich Minister without Portfolio in 1937." What was his connection to the Zweigs? By 1879, Wilhelm Zweig had probably left Lublinitz but his father, Adolf, was certainly alive and was the well known publican there. Other members of the Zweig family owned the farm at Molna, a few kilometres outside Lublinitz, which may have used the services of Lammers' father?. How long had Lore known this man?

¹⁹⁷ Memory of the author

¹⁹⁸ Address from Leonard Heimann's letter, 7/12/1939; footnote 242

¹⁹⁹ Abgangszeugnis of author in possession of the author

²⁰⁰ American General Consulate, Berlin, 22/3/1939, in possession of the author

shops. Therefore, Ernst decided to pack the silver into a large suitcase. Together with a huge canvass bag, officially containing only bedding but in fact also the Persian carpets, he and Philip Wooley went to the Zoo station. Philip Wooley described the incident: 201 "Ernst Goldschmidt suggested that he and I go along to Bahnhof Zoo to investigate the procedure employed in registering luggage for the journey to London. The point was: if a passenger, about to board the train to Ostend, handed over luggage, would it be subjected to customs control on the spot or would it be loaded onto the train and later, possibly, examined at the frontier? We noticed that the luggage was simply weighed, the passenger would pay the charge and receive a receipt. So far so good. A few evenings later, I handed in some rather heavy pieces of luggage for registration and transport to London. Like the passenger we had watched, I was given a receipt for the fee and the luggage, bearing a number corresponding with that on the label stuck on it by the official. Off went the luggage to the luggage van, and I to my seat in the compartment. On reaching home (in England), I sent the receipt to a friend of Ernst Goldschmidt who later presented it at Victoria station." Eva Isaac-Krieger wrote independently about the luggage handler: "a devout anti-Nazi, a wonderful man, Herr Liedtke, our apartment superintendent, was also the luggage handler at the Zoo train station!" Obviously the reputation of the wonderful Herr Liedtke was justified as the stickers he placed on Jewish people's luggage indicated that customs had been done at Zoo station!

With more than half the furniture gone and their children in England, it was time for Lore and Ernst to vacate the apartment at Auguste Victoria Strasse 62. They moved into the boarding section of the school. They also began preparations for Cousin Wilhelm to leave for St Christopher School and for Cousin Mine Presch, who was 16 years old and, therefore, ineligible for a children's visa, to obtain a training position in a hospital. Both left for England after the Easter school holidays.

In England, these Easter school holidays had started on 1st of April, 1939. Because St Christopher School was closed over the holidays, the author had her first independent adventure, spending the holidays in Newport, South Wales, with Ella Glover's parents, both of whom were also mathematics teachers. On Good Friday, the 7th of April, ²⁰² Mussolini invaded Albania, the sole Muslim enclave in Europe. The Pope said nothing! This led to a great debate about the immorality and unavoidability of war, but the Glovers were not convinced. Even at that late stage, there was no feeling of real urgency about the political situation and 'war was unthinkable' in England.

On the 14th of April,1939 ²⁰³, Lore Goldschmidt received a reply from the UK Home Office, forwarded by the Movement for the Care of Children from Germany, stating that the Secretary of State had no objections to the establishment of the school provided the Movement for the Care of Children took full financial responsibility for the children. This letter offered some hope but no financial help.

²⁰¹ Passages from Berlin, Private publication

²⁰² Dates confirmed with 1939 Almanac

²⁰³ Letters from the Home Office and Bloomsbury House, 14/4/1939 in possession of the author

When the school restarted on the 17th of April 1939, students of the Goldschmidt Schule received a terrible shock. Inge Fehr wrote:" The beautiful house at the Roseneck had been taken over by the SS and we moved to a villa, Kronberger Strasse 18, on April 19th 1939." ²⁰⁴ Some teachers must have been warned because, in a letter dated the 16th of April, ²⁰⁵ Arthur Heckscher, the mathematics teacher, described how he, Fräulein Dr.Whertheimer and Justice Loewy saved all the physics and chemistry instruments by moving them in a handcart to 18 Kronberger Strasse. This had been the 2nd building of the Lessler Schule. The main building, Hagenstrasse 56, had been confiscated by the *Technische Überwachungsverein* (Technical Supervision Authority) after *Kristallnacht* and a few months later, in February, 1939, Tony Lessler and her sister left for the USA. ²⁰⁶ This left 18 Kronbergerstrasse available with Lessler Schule pupils transferring to the Goldschmidt Schule.

But as pupils were emigrating in ever greater numbers, only 3 members of my class in Berlin were still at the school 207, classes had to be combined. Teachers had to be flexible, Dr.Wertheimer had to teach Chemistry in English to 2 students preparing for the Cambridge Examination. ²⁰⁸ In fact, the *Fragebogen für höhere Schulen* ²⁰⁹ (the statistical questionnaire for high schools) as of the 25th of May, 1939, showed that numbers had fallen by over 50% from the previous year. Only 245 children were left in the school including 20 boarders. Only 16 full time teachers and 3 part time teachers remained together with the 3 loyal English teachers who were preparing students for the Cambridge examination in July. Ella Glover, the English mathematics teacher, had married a German, Kurt Goemann, and was registered in that name. Even Dr.Lewent was thinking of leaving and had requested a testimonial from Lore Goldschmidt on the 10th of May. In a letter to his son Dieter in the USA he wrote: "The G's are still here to cope with existing circumstances which may mean vacating Kronberger Strasse 18 by the 1st of July. They are trying to obtain permission to export teaching material. You can imagine how much worry the thought of deputising holds for me. Every day there are less students in the class and I went home to-day totally depressed."

On the 30th of June, Alvin Johnson wrote again. He was still trying to form his corporation and it must have become obvious to Lore that apart from the farmers, that she had sent, not much help would eventuate from him in time.

On the 4th of July, just as the summer term was coming to an end, a new restrictive law against Jews was ordered. All Jews had to belong to a new organisation the *Reichsvereinigung* with its government in Berlin. The *Reichsvertretung der Juden in*

 $^{204\ \}mbox{Passages}$ from Berlin, private publication, in possession of the author

²⁰⁵ Letter from A. Heckscher to the author, 16/4/1939

²⁰⁶ Hier ist kein Bleiben länger, publication, Wilmersdorf Museum

²⁰⁷ Letter from A Heckscher to the author, 22/5/39

²⁰⁸ Letter from I Wertheimer to the author 18/5/39

²⁰⁹ Fragebogen für höhere Schulen, 25/5/39, in possession of the author

Deutschland, which had been a voluntary organisation, founded by Leo Baeck and administered by Dr.Otto Hirsch, was dissolved. The new organisation was under control of the Gestapo with Dr.Otto Hirsch in charge. 210 The organisation would act as supervisor of the Jewish school system. 211 Lore Goldschmidt's reaction was not recorded but it must have been obvious to her that her time in Germany was rapidly coming to an end. Nevertheless, a voluntary summer holiday "camp" was established by her at Hohenzollerndam 102 ²¹² to give her students an enjoyable vacation. The Cambridge University Examinations had to be completed. They started on the 17th of July, 1939. In spite of all the turmoil, 6 students sat the O-level examination, 4 boys from the Goldschmidt Schule and two girls from the Kaliski Schule. The 4 boys passed .213 These were G.Meyer, H.Neckersalmer, W.Wischniak and M. Rosenthal. They took the following subjects: 6 passed English, 2 passed 12th Night, 4 passed Macbeth and 6 passed Authors. 2 passed Kings, 2 Old Testament, 2 English and European History, 1 Geography, 1 Latin, 5 French, 6 German, 1 Italian, 6 Mathematics, 2 Additional Mathematics and 2 Chemistry. 7 students passed the Proficiency in English examination.²¹⁴ That was an amazing achievement for both the students and the loyal English teachers. Once the examinations were over, Mr. Wolley and Miss van Hollick returned to England but Miss Glover, now Mrs.Goemann, pregnant, never left Germany .²¹⁵ Sadly, she could not be found after the war.

Lore and Ernst leave for England

Lore and Ernst left Berlin for England on the 20th of July, 1939, with multi entry visas for the UK. They left Dr.Kurt Lewent in charge of the school. He described their departure in a letter to his son, Dieter, ²¹⁶ in the USA. It was written in his spidery, elegant, gothic handwriting: "To-day is the big day when the G's are leaving us. I cancelled my three students in order to accompany them to the Templehof airport. What will happen in London? Fortunately she is not as far away and I can ask her before making decisions. But this time, I feel even less at ease as we are heading into unknown territory as far as the general situation is concerned and the future of the school in particular." (see footnote 215)

On arrival at Croydon Airport, Lore and Ernst received their immigration stamps which read: "Leave to land at Croydon this day, July 20.1939, on condition that the holder does not enter any employment paid or unpaid while in the United Kingdom." The

²¹⁰ Leo Baeck Yearbook, XXXII, page 365

²¹¹ Juden in Preussen, editor Kleming, in possession of the author

²¹² Letter from A Heckscher to the author, 18/7/39

²¹³ Letter from A Heckscher to the author

²¹⁴ Cambridge University Examination archives

²¹⁵ Letter from Lewent to his son, 20/7/1939, copies of excerpts with the author

²¹⁶ Parts of letter from Lewent to his son 20/7/39, the beginning of a very sad correspondence

visa had no time limit. ²¹⁷ They found that Canon Hyla Holden had made a start by renting a seaside boarding house, 6 Devonshire Terrace, 218 in Sandgate, a small seaside resort 2km west of Folkestone. Kent. Normally these boarding houses would be fully occupied, but with war clouds gathering rapidly, the usual holiday makers had not arrived. The boarding house, a terrace house, was located right on a pebble beach. It proved ideal temporary accommodation. It had a kitchen, dining room, living room and upper floors with bed and bathrooms, everything fully equipped. A caretaker couple looked after the house. Helene Schwabacher, Ernst's cousin, who had supervised the kitchen in the early days of the boarding school in Berlin and who, in 1938 had left to join her brother in Rickmansworth, again came to help. A few days later Lore and Ernst came to St Christopher School to thank Mr.and Mrs.Lyn Harris for their generosity and to take their three teenagers to Sandgate. Seeing my parents in England was a great relief, but leaving St Christopher School was sad as I had been very happy there. Sandgate was fun. Being so close to the beach made bathing possible and we soon settled down. We all had to help. The local shopkeepers were glad of our custom and often amused by our absurd requests, a German sentence translated into English. Refugee jokes abounded, all beautifully described by George Mikes in his book: "How to be an Alien". Within a few days of opening 6 Devonshire Terrace, more children arrived .²¹⁹ I wrote to Harry Nagler ²²⁰:" A new school has started". Arthur Heckscher and I kept our correspondence going. He sent me a star chart of the northern hemisphere with prophetic words written on its cover: "Um nicht ganz vergessen zu werden" (not to be completely forgotten). Klaus Scheye, who joined the following month wrote: 221 " In my address book, I had Mine Presch, a fellow classmate from the Goldschmidt days, a niece of Dr.Leonore Goldschmidt. I remember visiting her in Uxbridge, at the end of a London tube. We fell into each other's arms and it turned out that the school had risen from the ashes and was already functioning in, of all places, Folkestone, right next to the white cliffs of Dover. I immediately contacted Dr.Goldschmidt, and within two months was again 'home'."

With her children settled, Lore embarked on the arduous task of trying to move her school to England. While all their personal goods, the *Lift*, the silver and the big bed sack had arrived safely, no *Lift* from the school had come. This meant starting from scratch and she began a huge effort to raise money to finance the beginning of a school. Her problems were so different from 1934, when she had had an adequate sum of money. In England she was almost without cash. Ernst's smuggling activities helped somewhat as his cousin Ernst Schwabacher advanced money against the jewellery. But otherwise it was cap in hand. She contacted the Movement for the Care of Children with whom she had made previous contact. Since December 1938, the Movement had registered and rescued over 8000 children. These had entered Great Britain on a "white card ²²²". This movement was known as the *Kindertransport*

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 $^{^{217}\,\}mbox{Passport}$ entry in LG's passport, copy in possession of the author

²¹⁸ U.K. Registration Certificate of LG, No 686899, 1/8/1939

²¹⁹ Photo of 9 children on beach in August 1939 in possession of the author

²²⁰ Passages from Berlin, Private publication

²²¹ Passages from Berlin. Private publication

²²² Amy Zahl Gottlieb, Men of Vision, Weidenfels and Nicols

(Children's Transport). Usually, children left Berlin by train, sometimes under the guidance of Dr.Otto Hirsch, who accompanied them to London, but once they got there, each child would be billeted with its sponsor. Large sums of money had been collected in England by Jewish organisations such as B'nai Brith (Sons of the Covenant) and JRC (the Jewish Refugee Committee) which was deposited with the CBF, the Central British Fund for German Jewry ²²³ Lore Goldschmidt believed that by staying together as a group, greater emotional security would result for the children. It would also help parents, still in Germany, as they would know the surroundings of their children. She hoped that some money would be made available to sponser her project, especially for teachers who required individual financial sponsorship for their visas. When no help was forthcoming from these financial organisations, she became most distressed. She came back from London day after day crying that no one seemed to understand the urgency .²²⁴

Unsure of their future, Ernst contacted the American Consul General in London on the 28th of August asking for his visa application to be transferred from Berlin to London. ²²⁵

In Berlin, Dr.Lewent, with the help of Dr.Meissinger and Miss Lilly Silberman, kept the holiday camp going and some adults came for English lessons. For a while, he hoped that the Goldschmidts could create another success from very little as before, but realised that circumstances were very different this time. He became depressed and very disappointed when he thought that Lore Goldschmidt was not sending sufficient information to him. ²²⁶ But Lore Goldschmidt could never talk about defeat and would not accept it. She could not communicate to him that she was encountering such enormous difficulties. She could only relate her successes and there were very few so far. He became angry that she had promised so much and was not able to deliver it. ²²⁷ But he remained loyally at his post and the new school semester of the Dr.Leonore Sara Goldschmidt Schule started on the 24th of August.

By then, Lore had made some progress in England. First "Save the Children's Fund" and the Quakers had offered some assistance ²²⁸. Then came the big break. Canon Hyla Holden found a private English boarding school for girls, which was about to close. The old headmistress, Miss Godfrey, sad that she had lost almost all her pupils, was willing to hand over the school to Lore Goldschmidt provided she plus the lone pupil, whose parents were in India and who had nowhere to go, were allowed to stay.

 $^{^{223}\ \}mathrm{Amy}\ \mathrm{Zahl}\ \mathrm{Gottlieb},\ \mathrm{Men}\ \mathrm{of}\ \mathrm{Vision},\ \mathrm{Weidenfeld}\ \mathrm{and}\ \mathrm{Nicols}$

²²⁴ No written documents exist about these negotiations, authors memory only.

²²⁵ Copy of letter from EG to US Consul, London, in possession of the author

²²⁶ Letter from Lewent to his son Dieter

²²⁷ Another part of a letter from Lewent to son Dieter

²²⁸ No written documents in possession of the author, only Lore's notes.

Thus on the 1st of September 1939,²²⁹ Lore accepted her offer and miraculously, with the help of Canon Hyla Holden, the *Jüdische Privatschule Dr.Leonore Sara Goldschmidt* was instantly transformed into Athelstan School, Shorncliffe Road, Folkestone (Photo 12 and 13).

September 3rd, 1939 England declares War on Germany

But it was too late! Too late because on that very day Hitler, in spite of warnings from Chamberlain, invaded Poland. A total "black out" was ordered immediately. No light was to be seen after sunset. The double decker buses, travelling slowly up the steep hill to Folkestone, looked like ghosts. Soldiers of the British Expeditionary Force moved in next door and on the unforgettable Sunday, the 3rd of September, 1939, at 11 o'clock, Chamberlain broadcast those fatal words: "We are at war with Germany". The announcement was immediately followed by an air raid alarm, false alarm as the plane was one of ours, and we, children, went swimming!

Following the declaration of war, Aliens had to register and obtain identification cards. ²³⁰ They were classed as Enemy Aliens A or B. Class A were Nazis and interned forthwith. Class B, all the Jewish refugees, were not interned. Sir John Anderson, the Home Secretary, did not want to repeat the unnecessary hardship imposed on innocent aliens as had happened in WW1 when Ernst's cousins Ernst Schwabacher and Carl Goldschmidt had been interned. The border between England and Germany was closed. Among the last persons to gain entry into Great Britain was Gertrud Loewy, née Arnheim, together with her mother, Ernst's cousin. She had been the school secretary in Berlin prior to November 9th, 1938.

For the whole month of August, Lore had fought to raise money to overcome the visa restrictions imposed by the Home Office for German passport-holders on the 21st of May, 1938. She did not succeed in time and any further thought of rescuing the wonderful teachers, still left behind in Berlin, had to be abandoned. It was a real tragedy.

During part of August 1939 231 , Dr. Otto Hirsch had been in England but returned to Germany before war broke out. On the 19th of September, the *Reichsvereinigung*, with Dr.Hirsch as director, decided not to take over the Dr Leonore Sara Goldschmidt Schule and informed it accordingly. Dr.Lewent had to give notice to all the staff, even to himself $^{.232}$ On the 26th of September, *Oberschulrat* Prof.Dr.Hübner sent an official memo informing the school that it would be closed as of the 30th of September, 1939 $^{.233}$. On the 29th, Dr. Lewent called a dignified assembly worthy of

²²⁹ Lore Curriculum Vitae, written on 25/4/1952

²³⁰ Original document lost, only later versions available

²³¹ Paul Sauer, Otto Hirsch, Leo Baeck Yearbook, 1987, page 366

²³² Letter from Lewent to his son Dieter in the USA

²³³ Copy of memo from Hübner, 26/9/1939 reproduced in "Hier ist kein Bleiben länger."

the wonderful school. Bandman conducted the choir. On singing "*Nun zu guter Letzt*" (For the last time) he had tears in his eyes. ²³⁴ Lewent was heart broken as he looked at the empty buildings. While he, himself, was able to transfer to another school teaching part time, most of the other teachers had lost their livelihood .²³⁵

By then, 27 days after war broke out, communication between Germany and England had become increasingly difficult. All messages between the two countries had to be conducted via the Red Cross in Switzerland or via the USA. It was a most distressing time for Ernst and Lore. But Lore had always preached: "Do not turn back or, like Lot's wife, you will turn into a salt column" ²³⁶ and with immense determination she 'moved on'.

Some days after the acquisition of Athelstan School, named after the Anglo-Saxon king Æthelstan, 894-940 AD, we abandoned the house in Sandwich and moved to the large Edwardian building which came fully equipped with books, desks and even a gym. It was located fairly close to the centre of Folkestone. 237 As Lore had predicted, quite a few children, who had been billeted with families, some desperately unhappy, were sent by B'nai B'rith to Lore Goldschmidt's new school. As the news of the reopening spread, pupils appeared. Otto Fendrich wrote²³⁸: "It was in the winter of 1939 that we were told that the Committee (B'nai B'rith) had decided to move us from Macaulay House School in Sussex. I had been there since I arrived by Kindertransport in June, 1939; some of the others had been a little longer, some a little less long. I suppose there must have been about 20 of us in all, because a coach was hired to take us from Cuckfield to Folkestone. It dropped us outside Athelstan School in Shorncliffe Road. My memory of the first few weeks is of liberation: we were trusted to go out by ourselves, to keep any pocket money we had and our letters were not censored- all these were freedoms we had not had at Macauley House. The accommodation and the food were also much better. The general atmosphere was very congenial, and although there certainly was discipline, it was not obtrusive or draconian. Dr. Goldschmidt, as headmistress, was clearly in charge of every aspect of the school and more than capable of laying the law down when necessary (and it quite often was necessary) but even at the height of the storm one was aware of an undercurrent of affection and humour. The teaching was also of a high standard. I remember Miss Smith teaching English (the only Englishwoman on the staff until sometime later, when she was joined by a very young geography mistress), Mr.Stadelman (an ex-journalist) teaching German and Dr.Goldschmidt teaching History. There was also Dr.Julian Hirsch (French and Latin) and Mr.Sawady (religious instruction and more memorable, music)." Dr.Gertrud Schlesinger came to teach Mathematics and Science. Ruth Kristella who had married Max Goldstein, another teacher from Berlin, both joined the new school. Kristella taught sewing and cooking. Alfons Cohn, who had been one of the early members of the Goldschmidt Schule in

²³⁴ Passages from Berlin, private publication

²³⁵ No letters from Lewent to LG exist. All excerpts come from Lewent's letters to his son.

²³⁶ Ganacia 10/26

²³⁷ Photographs in possession of the author

²³⁸ Letter from O.Fendrich to the author, 29/1/1986

Berlin also rejoined and looked after sport. The very English Miss Godfrey accepted the relatively unruly boys and girls with great humour. Helen, the only English girl, soon declared that she was having the best time of her life. All the older pupils were gathered into a School Certificate Class and prepared to take the Cambridge examination the following July, 1940. The selected text books were: Shakespeare's "As You Like It", George Elliot's "Silas Marner" and Sheridan's "School for Scandal", books never to be forgotten. The author was a member of this class. Miss Smith, who came from Elham, Kent, must have come via Canon Hyla Holden and Miss Nussy. She turned out to be a magnificent English teacher who systematically and painstakingly transformed our English to School Certificate standard by teaching grammar, précis writing and style. ²³⁹

While communication between England and Germany had ceased, correspondence with the USA was possible. Lore received a reply from Alvin Johnson to her letter of the 18th of August giving him her new address. He hoped to prepare the ground for settlers by the 15th of September. ²⁴⁰ Shortly thereafter Lore received a letter, dated the 10th of September, 1939, from one of the settlers, Leonard Heimann. ²⁴¹ He wrote:" After an interview with Prof.J. and another one with a Mr.Mims (who will be appointed as the first manager of the settlement) I may give you the following information about the farm: Both gentlemen intend to go to Wilmington within the next few days. They will select the best part of the land to start with and will order the existing houses to be repaired as temporary cottages for the first settlers; that may take about 6 weeks. Then we go down with 4 other families. The cost for the completed farm unit will be US\$3600 and will be repaid with interest." The letter gave further details about the settlement to be undertaken. This first letter was followed by a second one written on the 7th of December from Watha, North Carolina. The local people had welcomed them. He described the houses as comfortable but primitive with a wood stove for heating. They were at present digging draining ditches and preparing the land with fertiliser. They were being paid \$2 per day. But he sounds content and reports that he found Alvin Johnson a most impressive and fascinating personality.²⁴² On the 11 of January 1940, Lore received a short letter from Johnson confirming Heimann's account. ²⁴³ On the other hand, the US authorities in the UK never answered Ernst's letter of the 29th of August 1939, concerning the US Visa transfer from Berlin, forcing Ernst to write an inquiry letter on the 28th of January 1940, to the Overseas Settlement Department at Bloomsbury House asking for information and further instructions.

After Christmas, Lore received a Red Cross Message from Berlin informing her that her brother-in-law, Kurt Presch, father of Mine and William had died of kidney failure in the Jewish hospital in Berlin. It was sent by his housekeeper. Lore was very sad as she had truly hoped that he would follow them to England. Mine and William were,

239 Memory of the author

²⁴⁰ Letter Johnson to LG, 8/9/1939, in possession of the author

²⁴¹ Letter from Heimann to LG, 10/9/1939 in possession of the author

^{242 2}nd letter from Heyman to friends, 7/12/1939, in possession of the author,

²⁴³ Johnson to Lore, short letter 11/1/1940, in possession of the author

therefore, orphans and Lore always tried her best to help them and act as their parent.

1940

With more and more children arriving, some from B'nai Brith, some from sponsors, the first house in Shorncliffe Road became too small and another larger Edwardian house, Earlscliffe House, was acquired (Photo 14). It lay across the road and had a beautiful garden. It was mainly empty and to save money, the older pupils helped move furniture across the road. Under Ernst Goldschmidt's direction, with much shouting, change of plans, chaos and much fun, this move cannot be forgotten. With the extra space available, Ernst decided to unpack the "Lift" containing the furniture and the Bechstein grand piano, which proved a great asset to the music teaching. Finally, the bed sack containing bedding and Persian carpets was emptied. The silver was unpacked. Ernst Goldschmidt began to feel at home. 244 Otto Fendrich wrote (see footnote 238): "After some months the school took over another house, on a corner on the other side of the road. This provided much extra space; a new dining room among other things. The first people to move into it were five boys, including myself, who were given a large light airy room overlooking the garden. The fact that we were 'on trust', because at night there was virtually no supervision (there was a staff member somewhere in the house but we hardly came across her) increased the feeling of excitement and pride of possession. Joseph Keiler and Gustav, who came from Worms and whose surname I have forgotten, were members of the gang of five who pioneered the 'new 'building. There was the old gardener who came with the 'new' house, supervising our rather amateurish attempts at horticulture."

Both, this house and its large basement had, on occasions, been used by the local branch of the Worker's Educational Association (WEA) for their meetings. They approached Lore Goldschmidt with the request to continue this association. Lore was delighted. They would pay some rent which was most welcome. But more important, it would bring local people into the school. Lore, pleased with being recognised as part of the Folkestone community, organised a social gathering with meal to follow each meeting. In this way, the people of Folkestone would realize that these Enemy Aliens were in fact true friends. Once, a young man from WEA, Oxford Branch, a Richard Crossman, came and gave a magnificent talk. He predicted that France would not be able to resist a German onslaught, as it had over mobilised and could, therefore, not maintain its supplies. To the author, then 16 years old, he appeared to be a brilliant speaker and during the meal she congratulated him. She suggested that he could be Foreign Minister of England one day. He laughed and replied that he did not want that job, that he wanted to be Minister of Education. That was the beginning of a friendship which sadly ended with Richard Crossman's early death in 1976. ²⁴⁵

²⁴⁴ Author's memory and photos of Athelstan School

²⁴⁵ Memory of the author

Another message was received via the Red Cross; this time a very hopeful message for one very young pupil. Her parents had managed to escape via a wild journey through Romania to Palestine. They wanted her to come and join them. She had been one of the children transferred by B'nai Brith to Athelstan School because, during her first billet with an East End family, she had contracted hair lice. She had begun to love Athelstan School but decided to rejoin her family and B'nai Brith undertook to get her safely to Palestine. We gave her a very tearful good-bye party.

To compensate for the absence of parents, who rarely managed to send a message, the organization of birthday parties and other celebrations was taken most seriously. We made every effort to keep happy. We played Monopoly, we played ping-pong, there was lots of singing. A sewing circle was formed to mend clothes with one person reading aloud, sometimes in German as we usually spoke English. Even some boys joined. Outwardly, pupils appeared happy. Everybody was looking forward to springtime.

Another letter from Johnson, dated the 2nd of April 1940, arrived ²⁴⁶. It contained the usual negative comment on Lore's idea about starting a school in conjunction with his agricultural settlement. Egon Stadelmann, who had been at Shorncliffe Road, had arrived in New York but Johnson did not see him as a suitable person for the settlement as he was neither married nor had farm experience. On the other hand, a much more interesting and encouraging letter arrived from Theodore Huebener ²⁴⁷, dated the 1st of May 1940. He had also met Mr.Stadelman and given him some sound advice how to proceed. He wrote that the Christian Refugee Committee was rendering valuable service. Refugee children were still arriving every day and that over 100 refugee girls were settled in one of the organization's boarding schools. He added a very important comment:" Public opinion throughout the country favors the Allies although the sentiment is strongly against active participation. According to a recent poll no less than 95% of the population is against our entering the European struggle."

This letter was written after Denmark had surrendered (the 9th of April)²⁴⁸ and Hitler had invaded Norway.

Internment of all German male refugees above 16yrs

The political fallout in England was enormous. Chamberlain's government fell and Winston Churchill became Prime Minister. Holland was invaded and surrendered on the 14th of May. Then the new British government made a costly mistake. It decided to reverse Sir John Anderson's decision and intern all B class male enemy aliens of 16 years and older. Ernst Goldschmidt, who was beginning to enjoy his first English spring in the beautiful garden with its lilac trees, was arrested by the police on Whit

²⁴⁶ Johnson to LG, 2/4/1940 in possession of the author

²⁴⁷ Huebener to LG, 1/5/1940 in possession of the author

²⁴⁸ All dates from Time Line 1939-1945 on the internet

Sunday, the 12th of May, 1940, together with all male teachers and boys over the age of 16. This, in spite of the fact, that Ernst had visited the police on the 10th of April and received a letter from the Chief Constable of Folkestone authorizing him to remain at Earlscliffe House until further notice. ²⁴⁹ It was a horrific shock to all of us and especially to Lore whose happiness was shattered. Belgium surrendered on the 28th of May. A few days later, the Swastika could be seen flying on the other side of the Channel. The evacuation of Dunkirk began. A ghostly smoke screen lay over the Channel as hundreds of boats could be seen landing on the beaches. They were bringing the British Expeditionary Force back from France. Some of these may have been our friends from Sandgate. Next night, shelling could be heard.

Evacuation to South Wales

Folkestone Town authorities informed Lore Goldschmidt to get ready for evacuation. All children would have to leave. Miss Godfrey decided not to come with us. When Helen, our English pupil, was told that she would go to relatives further north, she was most dismayed and cried at having to leave us. Some children left to stay with relatives or sponsors. Helene Schwabacher, now elderly and not well, left to join her brother Ernst Schwabacher in Rickmansworth leaving Lore to make all further arrangements. The "Goldschmidt" furniture had to go back into storage. Each child was allowed to take only what it could carry. With only 6 weeks to the School Certificate Examination, I filled my rucksack with the relevant school books. It was so heavy that others had to help lift it onto my back. On the morning of the 3rd of June, 1940, we, 30 children and Lore, walked bravely to Folkestone train station to join a train packed with other school children. It left promptly. It travelled very slowly. Nobody knew where we were going. It was a hot day. We started singing, then others joined in. Towards mid-day I recognised the scenery, the Cotswolds, having made the journey the previous Easter. We were going to Wales. We arrived in Chepstow, Monmouthshire, in the late afternoon. In a big hall, an efficient team gave each group their marching orders: Lore was told that her school would be billeted in Caerwent. The bus was waiting for us. Tired from the journey and apprehensive of the future, Lore understood the Welsh name to be a "Convent". The moment we were on the bus she informed us that we were going to a convent, that we were to behave and do as the nuns wished. We were all very apprehensive, quietly waiting for the bus to arrive. Then we came to Caerwent. Outside the village hall stood two policemen, one short and fat, the other long and thin, a reverse "Laurel and Hardy" situation. Realising my mothers error, I burst out laughing at the comical situation. With all of us laughing and relieved, we entered the hall to be welcome by the village people. They were Welsh miners who had been resettled in Caerwent, an old Roman town, to make a living from market gardening. Every child was soon billeted. The host families were delighted that "nice" children had arrived, not wild ruffians and that they would be receiving an allowance from the government for each evacuee. Lore and the author were billeted with the railway guard's family who could not have been more

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²⁴⁹ Letter from Chief Constable to EG 10/4/1940 in possession of the author

forthcoming. ²⁵⁰ Otto Fendrich wrote:" This pleasant period ended when it was decided to 'evacuate' Folkestone. We were moved to South Wales where Joseph Keiler and I were billeted on the village baker, Mr. Morgan and his family in Caerwent". Next day, all went to work, some went pea picking. I helped the baker and delivered bread. The villagers were very kind to us. But the importance of the oncoming School Certificate examination was not forgotten. Lore contacted Ella Glover's mother, who was the headmistress of Drayton High School for Girls, Newport, Monmouthshire about 15km from Caerwent. Her school took the Cambridge School Certificate and she invited us to sit the examination there in July.

But the British Government, very concerned with the possibility of an invasion by Germany, ruled that enemy aliens over 16 years of age would not be allowed within 14 miles of the coast and that we would have to leave within two weeks. This meant that Ena Bruck and I, who were over 16 years old, would not be able to enter Newport and only the two younger candidates, Heinz Behrendt and Rudi Goldschmidt would be permitted to go. I decided to contact the Chief Constable of Newport and apply for an exemption. He kindly agreed to grant Ena and me a short, but unforgettable. interview. After listening to our request, he replied: "I won't know you are here, will I?" Thus we moved temporarily to Newport and all four students took their School Certificate examination. Though frequently interrupted by aerial bombardment, the examinations proceeded according to plan. Otto Fendrich reported what happened to him and friends during that same time:" Grammar school places were in short supply and after a brief period in the village school, three of us (Joseph Keiler, Harro Bruck and I) were taken in by a girls' private school ('Nant Coch' part of Drayton High School) in Newport as day pupils. We travelled to and from Newport by 'Red & White' bus every day. The teaching was excellent and what also pleased us, we didn't have to do games. All this made up for the initial strangeness of being three boys in a girls' school."

Tintern

Caerwent, also too close to the coast, became out of bounds for Lore and a few older students, including cousin William Presch. By the time we returned from Newport, they had been moved to Tintern-on-Wye where Ena and I joined them. Lore was billeted with Pastor R.V. and Mrs.Nesta Smith (Photo 15). Pastor Smith was the Methodist Minister who preached at the local chapel. The Smiths, just wonderful people, gave Lore maximum support in her difficult circumstances. With Pastor Smith's help she was able to ensure that the younger children left behind in Caerwent were being well looked after by their foster parents as she, herself, could not visit them any longer. She found time to contact Robert and Margot Goldschmidt in London and received a letter ²⁵¹ and news of Dr.Gertrud Schlesinger, the mathematics teacher. Ernst, in the meantime had arrived on the Isle of Man. To raise

²⁵⁰ Author's memory

²⁵¹ Letter Margot and Robert Goldschmidt to LG in possession of the author

some cash, Lore decided to sell some of the furniture left in Folkestone to Viney's of Abingdon . 252

Before our arrival in Tintern, the Methodist Congregation had been enlarged by a group of conscientious objectors, conscripted to plant trees on the steep hillsides north of Tintern. Pastor Smith also looked after their spiritual welfare. I helped them with cooking and cleaning and earned some pocket money,. One of them, Jimmy Waite, became a friend. Ena worked in the Williams and Cotton Grocery Store, as we, both, were billeted with the manager of that store and his family. With the Battle of Britain raging, we, ironically, spent our holidays in the idyllic surroundings of Tintern waiting for the School Certificate results. When these results arrived, all 4 candidates had passed. We learnt of the existence of a Lydney Grammar School, Lydney, Glos. from the store manager as the main store of Williams and Cotton lay right opposite the grammar school in Lydney. As Lydney lay outside the protected area, Lore went to meet James Burch, the Headmaster of Lydney Grammar School. He invited Ena and me to continue our schooling at the Grammar School and most generously, he and Mrs.Margery Burch accepted us as evacuees into their house. Lydney Grammar School turned out to be a first class co-educational grammar school with a particularly good science department. Rudi Goldschmidt and Heinz Behrendt were apprenticed to an accountant in Newport and attended the Technical College there. William joined ORT. Otto Fendrich continued: " Eventually this school (Nant Coch) amalgamated with Athelstan School at Cleddon Hall, a remote country house above Tintern. There, guite a number of the old Folkestone pupils assembled. One of the two Nant Coach joint headmistresses, Miss Stefyn, (the other one was Mrs Glover) also came to live there. Joseph Keiler's aunt worked in the kitchen. It was pleasant, if a bit primitive, mainly because of the remoteness of the place. Not many tradesmen were prepared to deliver as far out as that. I have memories of helping transport baskets of laundry to Monmouth on a bicycle." Cleddon Hall was the hall of the village of Trelleck, which lies north-west above Tintern in the Welsh hills. Nant Coch School moved there after air raids on Newport became too dangerous. Lore joined the school when the new term started.

In August 1940, Ernst lodged an application with the Undersecretary of State to be released from internment. ²⁵³ Written in his distinct legal style, he set out reasons why the internment should never have taken place and that, as conditions under the White Paper Cmd.6217 were fulfilled, he should be eligible for release. But he was not released and had to spend the winter in the camp. Pastor Smith, who had never met Ernst, wrote him a most understanding, 4 page letter for Christmas ²⁵⁴. Lore sent the news to Theodore Huebener and inquired whether the USA would take German refugee children now in England in its evacuation program but was told by him that only children of British birth were eligible for evacuation to the US. ²⁵⁵

²⁵² Receipt for £11-4, in possession of the author

²⁵³ Copy of Application in possession of the author

²⁵⁴ Letter from Pastor Smith to Ernst, X-mas 1940, in possession of the author

²⁵⁵ Letter from Huebener to Lore 16/10/1940

1941

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

²⁶⁵ Letter Catesbys to EG, in possession of the author

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

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

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

Postscript

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

1942

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

 $^{266 \ \}text{Letter}$ from J Waite to LG, in possession of the author

1943-1945

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

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

Erich Rubensohn, committed suicide

Ernst Meissinger,

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

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

Aunt: Caroline Goldschmidt

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

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

Children of cousins: Hans Jeremias, Hella Schönbrunn.

Second cousins: Ernestine Götz.

Second cousin: Hans Goldschmidt drowned on the Andorra Star

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

Cousins: Martin and Charlotte Just. Bruno Lesser

Second cousin: Herbert Loewy

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

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

Gertrud Noël died in an accident

This article is dedicated to their memory.

1946-1948

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

1949

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

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

²⁶⁸ Books of detailed transactions in the possession of the author

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

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

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

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

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

1950-1983

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

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

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

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

²⁷⁴ All these publications in possession of the author

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

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

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

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

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

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

Personal Column, London Times, 9/3/1983