ELSE BEHREND-ROSENFELD
SIEGFRIED ROSENFELD

LIVING IN TWO WORLDS

DIARIES OF A JEWISH COUPLE IN GERMANY AND IN EXILE

Edited by Marita Krauss and Erich Kasberger

Living in Two Worlds

This unique collection of diaries and letters offers a vivid personal account of the experiences of a Jewish couple living parallel lives during the Second World War. While their children left for England just before war broke out, and Siegfried soon followed, Else Behrend was unable to obtain her visa in time, and remained in Germany. This volume includes Else's account of her years of persecution under the Nazi dictatorship, and of her life underground in Berlin, before her eventual daring escape to Switzerland on foot in 1944. Her dramatic story is presented alongside Siegfried's account of his very different experience, living penniless and in isolation in England, as well as some of her letters to her close friend and confidante, Eva. Complemented by QR codes that allow readers to listen to Else's own voice from her 1963 BBC interviews. Published in English for the first time, *Living in Two Worlds* offers an unforgettable and moving insight into the impact of the Second World War on everyday life.

Marita Krauss is Professor of History in the Faculty of Philology and History at the University of Augsburg, Germany. Her previous publications include biographies of the pioneering female doctor Dr Hope Bridges Adams Lehmann (2009) and the dancer Lola Montez (2020).

Erich Kasberger is an independent historian and freelance writer. He previously worked as a history teacher at a grammar school in Munich. He began researching a nearby site which had been an internment camp for Jews, where he established a memorial to Else Behrend-Rosenfeld and to 500 deported Jews. He received an award from the City of Munich for his work on the Rosenfeld family.

Deborah Langton is an independent translator. She previously taught at Munich's Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, and has translated numerous volumes of fiction and non-fiction from German into English.

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Edited by
Marita Krauss
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With a foreword by
Richard Evans
University of Cambridge

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FOREWORD

Else Behrend-Rosenfeld (1891–1970) was a German teacher and social worker, half Jewish and married to a Jew. Siegfried Rosenfeld (1874–1947) was one of a small minority of people classified by the Nazis as Jewish who lived in Germany through the years of Hitler's Third Reich (1933–1945), and survived to tell the tale. The fact that they brought up their children as Christians and did not themselves participate actively in the Jewish religious community offered the Rosenfelds little protection from discrimination and persecution.

Hitler and the Nazis believed that people of Jewish blood all over the world were innately inclined to engage in conspiracies and plots to undermine and ultimately destroy the German or 'Aryan' race. Hence they had to be removed. From the moment they came to power in 1933, the Nazis began to put pressure on Germany's small Jewish community, roughly half a million people, to emigrate, dismissing them from their jobs and removing the economic basis of their existence. By the outbreak of World War II in September 1939, half of Germany's Jews had emigrated, Siegfried Rosenfeld among them.

Those that remained had already been deprived of most of their rights and forced into an existence separate from that of the majority of 'Aryans'. The Nazis' antisemitism became increasingly radical during the war, which brought millions of Eastern European Jews under their control. In 1941 Hitler's paranoid vision came to imagine a world-wide Jewish conspiracy behind Germany's enemies, Britain, then the Soviet Union and finally the United States, and unleashed a campaign of extermination that left some 6 million European Jews dead by the middle of 1945.

The vast majority of ordinary Germans did nothing to prevent or protest against this unfolding campaign of hatred, discrimination and mass murder. Some were convinced by the antisemitic propaganda pumped out by the Nazi media and education system; some were intimidated by the Gestapo and the organs of the police state that made anyone who tried to help Jews liable to arrest and imprisonment: all, however, knew what was going on, and by the summer of 1942 at the latest were aware of the killing fields and extermination camps of the east, informed about them by soldiers and others who had witnessed or learned about them. After Germany's defeat in 1945,

ordinary Germans had to come to terms with their collective guilt for what later became known as the Holocaust.

Despite this, small groups of Germans had tried to resist the Nazis. The best-known act of resistance was the attempt by a group of army officers to kill Hitler on 20 July 1944, an attempt that only failed because of chance circumstances. There were other resistance movements as well. The most important secret organisations were linked either to the extreme left Communist Party of Germany or to the moderate, left of centre Social Democrats, who had been the largest political party in Germany before the rise of the Nazis, in the early 1930s, and the mainstay of the democratic Weimar Republic, effectively ruling its largest federated state, Prussia, until 1932.

Both the Rosenfelds were active members of the Social Democratic Party until the Nazis banned it in 1933; Siegfried was a senior official in the Prussian administration but as a Social Democrat and a Jew was sacked by the Nazis soon after they came to power. Despite massive persecution by the Gestapo, small remnants of the party continued underground propaganda work against the regime, and it is to these that Else Behrend-Rosenfeld owed her survival, along with relatives and friends from her university days.

Else Behrend-Rosenfeld's diaries and letters, gathered together for the first time in this book, give a detailed and often moving account of the discrimination and persecution to which she was subjected by the Nazis from 1933 until the end of the war. She recounts the verbal abuse and aggression to which she was subjected by Nazi officials, along with acts of spite and denunciation by ordinary Germans. But she also experienced many acts of kindness and consideration, which led her to doubt the justice of imposing the kind of blanket condemnation of collective guilt on the entire nation that her husband Siegfried, viewing events in the Reich from his British exile, clearly shared. The detail of her diaries enables us to observe the whole variety of attitudes and behaviour of ordinary, non-Jewish, non-Social Democratic Germans towards people like herself, much like that of another Jewish diarist who survived the Third Reich, the literature professor Victor Klemperer.

Perhaps she was lucky. In August 1942, as the mass extermination of Europe's Jewish population by the Nazis was reaching its terrible climax, Else clearly reached the conclusion that her luck was running out, and went first to Berlin and subsequently to Freiburg, southern Germany, concealing her identity and living secretly with a series of courageous men and women who were willing to shelter her. She had entered an even smaller world, one

of which we still know relatively little, that of German Jews living underground. Eventually she was placed in the hands of people who engaged on a regular basis in the highly dangerous business of smuggling Jews and others across the Swiss border, and made her way to freedom.

Else Rosenfeld was a gifted writer, and her account of these events and experiences makes for gripping reading. It needs to be remembered, however, that many Jews who tried to live underground were caught and killed; those who survived were a tiny minority. Betrayal, denunciation and hostility were more common than loyalty, discretion and sympathy. Just as important were the experiences of Siegfried Rosenfeld in Britain, eking out a precarious existence in Oxford and then subjected to the privations of internment on the Isle of Man as an 'enemy alien'. It is understandable that the story of Jewish-Germans living in exile from the Third Reich is usually told as a story of achievement, but there were many, like Siegfried, who were broken by the experience.

Richard Evans

INTRODUCTION

Marita Krauss

The story of the Rosenfeld family is at once extraordinary and yet entirely typical of the period. It is a tale of ghettoes, deportations, of certain death and a last-minute reprieve, as well as the grinding misery of exile. Else's diary recounts her life as a Jewish woman in Germany up to 1944, but this volume offers not only a selection of the letters she penned during this period to Eva Schmidt, a close friend since student days and a key player in Else's survival, but also an opportunity to listen to interviews with Else herself, recorded in 1963 by the BBC, all in her own voice and words.

QR Code 1: Rosenfeld, *An Old Lady Remembers*, BBC Radio, April/May 1963

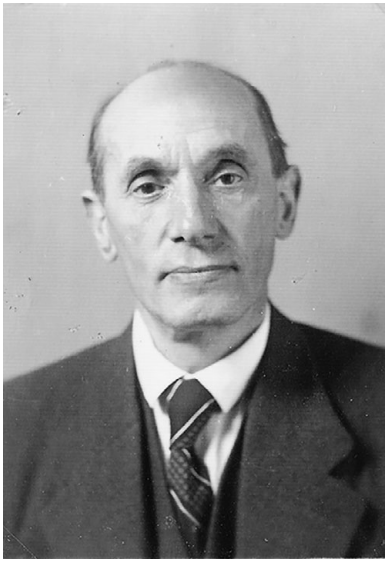
Ever since her diary was first published in 1945, it has formed part of the continuing debate about the conduct of 'ordinary Germans' towards persecuted Jews under the National Socialist (NS) regime.[1] It provides early evidence of the way some Jews managed to live underground.[2] Else Behrend-Rosenfeld draws a clear distinction, as do a number of others among her contemporaries, between those Germans seen as the perpetrators and those who displayed kindness and humanity in helping the persecuted while putting themselves at serious risk.

Siegfried's diary and letters, first published in the German version of this volume, *Leben in zwei Welten* (2011), present an altogether different view of

[1] Bajohr and Pohl, *Massenmord*; Benz, ed., *Überleben*; Kosmala and Schoppmann, eds., *Überleben*; Kosmala and Verbeeck, eds., *Facing the Catastrophe*; Moore, *Survivors*.

[2] Extensively in Lutjens, *Submerged on the Surface*; examples from Strauss, *Over the Green Hill*; Roseman, *Past in Hiding*; Friedländer, *Versuche*; Jalowicz-Simon, *Underground*; Lewyn and Saltzmann-Lewyn, eds., *Versteckt in Berlin*; Orbach and Orbach-Smith, *Soaring Underground*; Kosmala, *Nichts wie raus und durch!*; Zahn, Von einem Quartier zum nächsten, pp. 229–238; further accounts in Benz, ed., *Überleben im Dritten Reich*.

1. Else Rosenfeld, 1940s.



2. Siegfried Rosenfeld, 1940s.

Germany.[3] From the outside and his life in exile, Siegfried's own view of 'Germany – the appalling criminal' seems entirely justified when he first reads Else's diary on publication in November 1945 and thereby learns just what his wife lived through in the seven years they were apart. Siegfried Rosenfeld assesses Germany and its citizens from his various standpoints as refugee, active member of the German centre left, the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD), and sharp political observer now engaged with the Social Democrats in exile in Great Britain. He draws on his personal experience as a German soldier in the First World War to make astute observations on the course of this second war. Above all else, he longs for Else's rescue through an Allied victory over Germany. The diaries and letters of this one couple thus demonstrate widely divergent positions in this enormously significant debate.

It is an exception to find such duality in any account of Jewish lives under the Nazi regime. The way in which Else and Siegfried turn to one another through their diary entries, each of them grappling with the years spent apart, is another special feature of this volume. Originally written separately

[3] See Krauss and Kasberger, eds., *Leben in zwei Welten*.

from one another, the diaries have now been interwoven in such a way as to create a dialogue that feels at times like an ongoing exchange of love letters, but written with long months in between when neither knew what was happening to the other.

Historical Background

What happened to the Rosenfeld family represents the wider exclusion and persecution of other political voices under the Nazis over the period from 1933 to 1945, in addition to the more widely recognised expulsion and annihilation of Jews.[4] As active Social Democrats living in Berlin, they fell foul of the first phase of persecution aimed at left-leaning opponents of the National Socialists. Then, as early as 1 April 1933, came the boycott of Jewish businesses, the first of many measures intended to discriminate against Jews by stigmatising them, leaving them disenfranchised, excluded from economic life and eventually robbed, displaced or murdered.[5] Nazi Germany eventually enacted some 2,000 laws against Jews. By the close of 1937, there were 400,000 people in Germany now categorised as being Jewish. In the five years following 1933, as many as 130,000 of them had already emigrated.[6] Under the so-called Nuremberg Laws of 1935, many fully assimilated Germans but with a Jewish family background, such as the Rosenfelds themselves, were declared as Jews, along with anyone indeed practising the Jewish faith. Under the new Reich Citizenship Law, all of these people found themselves downgraded to the status of second-class citizen in Germany and with immediate effect.[7] Shortly thereafter, a Certificate of Aryan Descent, or *Ariernachweis*, became an essential requirement for anyone seeking access to paid employment. The Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service (Gesetz zur Wiederherstellung des Berufsbeamtentums) meant that in 1933 anybody with one Jewish grandparent, as well as any politically undesirable civil servants and their relatives, was suspended from public

[4] Comprehensive documentation can be found in the series Die Verfolgung und Ermordung der europäischen Juden durch das nationalsozialistische Deutschland, published by order of the Bundesarchiv. Volumes 1, 2, 3, 6 and 11 are of particular relevance as they focus on Germany in particular.

[5] Gruner, Einleitung, pp. 13–50; for the Nazi boycott of Jewish businesses, Gruner, *Verfolgung und Ermordung der europäischen Juden*, doc. 17, pp. 100–104 (Call for a Reich-wide boycott, 30.3.1933).

[6] Heim, Einleitung, p. 13, a detailed account of its development.

[7] Gruner, Einleitung, pp. 45f. Also documents 198 and 199 in Gruner, *Verfolgung und Ermordung der europäischen Juden*, pp. 492–494.

duty unless they had been serving soldiers in the First World War. The term 'Jewish' was defined in law by descent, although the only fixed criterion for ruling whether someone was Jewish was the religious affiliation of their grandparents, while the status of 'half' or 'quarter' Jews remained uncertain.[8] Over the period 1933 to 1938 Jews were, both in theory and in practice, successively shut out of the German economy.[9] Many of those impacted chose at first to remain in Germany, either because they considered themselves German or to be simply too old to move.[10] External migration became increasingly difficult when a special tax to stem the likely outflow of capital, first introduced during the Depression years, was further tightened, so that Jewish accounts were blocked. These twin measures meant that the Nazi regime could collect whatever funds remained once these desperate people had been forced to give up their properties.[11]

3. Boycott of Jewish businesses. Using the slogan 'Do Not Buy from Jews', on 1 April 1933 the SA tried to intimidate shoppers into not patronising any Jewish business. This is Bamberger & Hertz in Munich's Kaufinger Straße. Photo: Weiler.

[8] Longerich, *Politik der Vernichtung*.
[9] Heim, Einleitung, pp. 18–20; Gruner, Einleitung, p. 50.
[10] For observations not in favour of emigration, see Jünger, *Jahre der Ungewissheit*.
[11] Gruner, Einleitung, p. 50.

In November 1938, the so-called Night of Broken Glass or Night of the Pogrom (*Kristallnacht*) marked a watershed. Across the Reich, over 1,000 synagogues were burned to the ground, 7,500 Jewish-owned shops were wrecked, and 30,000 Jewish men were carried off to concentration camps and released only when they promised to leave the country. The scale of destruction and the proliferation of arrests and murders in 1938 left even the hesitant in no doubt that the only option was to leave. The Rosenfelds, in Munich throughout the pogrom, were among this number and resolved now to pursue the migration route. Sadly, fewer and fewer countries were willing to take in Jewish refugees, who often arrived without the means to support themselves. A number of organisations stepped in, making great efforts to secure visas and locate in the destination country those individuals prepared to host and sponsor people forced to abandon Germany. Siegfried Rosenfeld had the Quakers to thank for his own visa to Great Britain and his passage out in August 1939. In total, some 300,000 persecuted Jews left Germany before the outbreak of war, very much in line with the Nazi regime's aim of making as many Jews as possible desert the country. The routes to migration were many, and often convoluted. Escape to most other countries in Europe, such as the Netherlands, Czechoslovakia or France, offered no protection in the end, however, as German conquests meant those fleeing had to travel on further still or face internment and deportation even so. Regulations meant that Switzerland and England were often used for transit purposes, and anyone who could do so would move on to the United States, which in the end took a quarter of the 500,000 German-speaking migrants from across the Reich, Austria and Czechoslovakia.[12]

At the outbreak of war, the situation worsened. With the occupation of Poland, many Jewish and non-Jewish Poles died at the hands of the police and the military.[13] The National Socialists were striving towards what they saw as a 'solution to the Jewish question', and one of the many ideas put forward was to resettle all Jews on Madagascar, although this plan was never realised. With Germany's attack on the Soviet Union in June 1941, their plans became yet more radical. In this war of annihilation, over 1 million Jewish men, women and children in eastern Europe were shot dead. All this took place beyond the bounds of the *Altreich* – the German

[12] For more about countries of emigration, methods and statistics, Krohn and Mühlen, eds., *Handbuch der deutschsprachigen Emigration*.
[13] Löw, Einleitung, p. 27 and pp. 28–64.

territories prior to 1938. At the same time, the reign of terror intensified within the Reich itself. Jews were interned or allocated to forced labour, one example being at the flax-processing plant at Lohhof in Munich, where Else herself was set to work.[14] Jews who were either the main tenants in a property or indeed the owners were now forced to run 'Jewish houses' or 'Jewish flats' and to take in Jewish lodgers who had been driven from their homes elsewhere. To put this into practice, a law was required, promulgated as early as April 1939.[15] The enforced removal of Jews into 'Jewish flats' led to their loss of contact with old 'Aryan' friends and neighbours. Opportunities to flee dwindled fast as more and more countries were drawn into the war. An outright ban on emigration was put in place in October 1941. Between 1942 and 1945 only around 8,500 Jews succeeded in getting out of Germany.[16]

The next stage was internment in camps. In summer 1941 transit camps were set up in Munich at Milbertshofen and Berg am Laim, with Else Behrend-Rosenfeld put in place as overall head of housekeeping at the latter. The first two deportations to the East took place in 1940, as well as one to Gurs in France, followed by smaller transports from Vienna and Danzig. Systematic deportation on a larger scale started in October 1941. The first sizeable deportation of 1,000 Jews left Munich in November 1941, bound for Kaunas (Kovno) in Lithuania.[17] Many from the Berg am Laim camp were named on the deportation lists, and Else Rosenfeld describes in her diary the heart-rending farewells that had to be made. All of those taken to Lithuania were shot at Kaunas (Kovno). Only one person survived. After this, there were forty-three further deportations out of Munich to several different destinations.[18] Deportation did not necessarily mean immediate death. Sometimes deportees were held in a succession of different camps before being transported to one of the death camps in operation, such as Auschwitz II, Sobibor, Belzec or Treblinka, where they would be gassed. Across the Reich, 160,000 people were deported and murdered, 3,666 from Munich alone.[19] This represents a fraction of the 6 million Jews who fell victim to the Shoah. Forty of the transports out of Munich went to Theresienstadt, supposedly a 'model camp', although the provision of food and the standard

[14] Strnad, *Flachs für das Reich*.
[15] Gesetz über Mietverhältnisse mit Juden, in *Regierungsblatt I* 1939, p. 864f.
[16] Summary in Benz, Jüdische Emigration, pp. 6–16. [17] Heusler, Fahrt in den Tod, pp. 13–24.
[18] Ibid., pp. 13f.
[19] Kundrus and Meyer, eds., *Deportation der Juden*; Bundesarchiv, ed., *Gedenkbuch*.

of medical care, accommodation and sanitation were worse than inadequate, and many inmates were subsequently taken to Auschwitz to be murdered. Of the 1,550 men and women deported from Munich to Theresienstadt, a mere 160 returned after the war.[20]

The protection initially afforded to half Jews or quarter Jews, as well as to Jews in a 'mixed marriage' with an Aryan, grew increasingly fragile, and at local levels individuals were repeatedly persecuted or actually deported.[21] Since the passing of the Nuremberg Laws, anyone with one Jewish parent or two Jewish grandparents was categorised as 'Grade One *Mischling*' or 'half Jew', while anyone with one Jewish grandparent became 'Grade Two *Mischling*'.[22] In 1941 and 1942 there were repeated efforts to extend the concept of 'Jew' to any degree of *Mischling*, and the subject of mixed marriages and *Mischling* status was discussed over and over at the Wannsee Conferences. There were plans to forcibly separate couples in a mixed marriage and to subject *Mischlinge* to compulsory sterilisation, or alternatively to put them on the same footing as 'full Jews' and thus make them part of the Nazis' 'Final Solution'. Where a 'half Jew' married a 'full Jew', such as in the case of Else's marriage to Siegfried, the 'half Jew' was then deemed a *Geltungsjude*, in other words a 'full Jew', in spite of actually being a *Mischling*.

Full Jews and *Geltungsjuden* had little or no opportunity to escape deportation. In most cases, those who fled were swiftly tracked down. But there were people who helped those who had decided their only chance was to live under the radar, and these 'silent heroes' are today being increasingly recognised and honoured.[23] In August 1942 Else Rosenfeld left Munich to live underground in Berlin. Around 1,700 Jews managed to survive this way in the capital, out of an estimated 6,500 people living underground in Berlin.[24] These figures are approximations and do not take into account individuals like Else, seeking the anonymity of the city, who came in from elsewhere to join the underground and described themselves as 'U-boats'. In Munich alone, around 500 Jews

[20] Heusler, Fahrt in den Tod, p. 15; for Theresienstadt see for example Weiss, *Und doch ein ganzes Leben*.

[21] Meyer, *'Jüdische Mischlinge'*, pp. 379–382.

[22] For definitions and analysis see ibid., pp. 96–104.

[23] Detailed further in Lutjens, *Submerged*; Wette, ed., *Stille Helden*; Schrafstetter, *Flucht und Versteck*; Strauss, *Over the Green Hill*; Roseman, *Past in Hiding*; Friedlander and Schwerdtfeger, *'Versuche dein Leben zu machen'*; Jalowicz-Simon, *Underground*; Lewyn and Saltzmann-Lewyn, *Versteckt in Berlin*; Orbach and Orbach-Smith, *Soaring Underground*.

[24] Lutjens, *Submerged on the Surface*, pp. 211f.; Lutjens discusses in some detail the figures, which can only ever be viewed as estimates.

survived by living in hiding like this.[25] Across the Reich as a whole, estimates suggest, around 10,000 to 12,000 lived in hiding, of whom about 5,000 survived.[26] This was made possible by the tens of thousands of people across the Reich who became helpers, procuring false papers, providing food, seeking out safe accommodation and planning escapes across the border. Support networks began to take shape.[27] It took an estimated minimum of ten non-Jews to help just one person survive life underground. A wide variety of men and women became helpers, and their reasons for doing so were equally diverse, ranging from the political and the ideological to the compassionate. In many cases, it was the individual in hiding who took the initiative, actively making contact with old friends whenever a different place of shelter was needed for the night. These helpers put themselves at great personal risk. After the war was over, Eva Schmidt, key to Else's survival, confided in a friend that she had felt personally responsible for Else's life, which at times had left her close to despair. She had often felt unable to carry on, but she always did.[28] This help given to the persecuted is, with good reason, defined as 'resistance'.[29] But to be successful, it also needed the courage, determination and ingenuity seen in the fugitives themselves.[30] Chance and luck were decisive factors too. While Else was living in hiding in Berlin between 15 August 1942 and 30 May 1943, there were multiple arrests and deportations of Jews who had been living underground in the city. Then, in late February 1943, all Jews still working in factories in Berlin were rounded up in what became known as the *Fabrikaktion*, and were deported, while the Gestapo and SS raided flats and seized a number of those living in hiding. In Berlin alone, 11,000 Jews were arrested.[31] At first, about 4,000 escaped, but many were recaptured. In the middle of March Else too had to cope with an official check while she was living in hiding at Hans Kollmorgen's home. Towards the end of May she escaped to Freiburg and remained there until April 1944.[32]

[25] Schrafstetter, *Flucht und Versteck*.
[26] Gedenkstätte Stille Helden, Berlin: Silent Heroes Memorial Center, www.gedenkstaette-stille-helden.de/gedenkstaette/ (last accessed 10 November 2020).
[27] Düring, *Verdeckte soziale Netzwerke*.
[28] Conversations on 12 September 2011 with Elke Minckwitz, Weimar, Eva Schmidt's executor and the daughter of Hanna Schadendorf, friend to both Else and Eva, and on the same date with Jens Riederer of the Weimar City Archive.
[29] Lustiger, ed., *Rettungswiderstand*; about those who helped others escape with many further references, Düring, *Verdeckte soziale Netzwerke*.
[30] Benz, *Überleben im Dritten Reich*, p. 12. [31] Schoppmann, 'Fabrikaktion'.
[32] Lutjens, *Submerged on the Surface*, pp. 215, 220.

One of the most difficult tasks for a support network was the organisation of an escape across the border. This required helpers and helpers' helpers, but most of all money and good contacts in all manner of circles, including the illegal when it came to matters such as false passports or other identity documents. On the German–Swiss border near Schaffhausen, a support network run by Luise Meier and Josef Höfler helped Jews, including Else Rosenfeld, across the border.[33] On the Upper Rhine between Lake Constance and Basel, the German–Swiss border takes a convoluted course, offering reasonable opportunities for making a crossing. Jews were helped to escape by a number of local people, including the head of the Gestapo for Constance himself, Jakob Weyrauch, along with the Roman Catholic priest for Singen, August Ruf.[34] This was a highly risky business, and a number of Jews were caught and condemned to death.[35] Even when they had succeeded in getting across the border, people still could not be sure of safe haven: from 1942 onwards the Swiss authorities sent back as many as 25,000 Jews, while knowing full well that their lives would be endangered once they returned.[36]

Elsewhere within the National Socialist area of control, similar networks were also getting people across the border. Best known among these perhaps was Varian Fry, who, by order of US President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, organised escape routes across the Pyrenees with Lisa Fittko and her husband. Around 2,000 refugees succeeded in crossing the border thanks to this group, including prominent German intellectuals such as Lion Feuchtwanger and Heinrich Mann, who were living in France at the time of the German invasion and crossed into Spain and then onward to Lisbon for passage to the United States.[37] Yad Vashem, the World Holocaust Remembrance Center, has to date honoured more than 27,700 non-Jews by adding them to the list of Righteous among Nations in recognition of the risk they took in helping Jews escape the Nazi regime.[38]

[33] Düring, *Verdeckte soziale Netzwerke*, pp. 90–103; Battel, *'Wo es hell ist'*; Schoppmann, *Fortgesetzte Beihilfe*, pp. 163–178.
[34] Halbauer, Fluchthelfer an Hochrhein, pp. 179f.; Keller, Emigrantenschmuggler, pp. 200–212.
[35] Düring, *Verdeckte soziale Netzwerke*, p. 7.
[36] Since August 1942 Switzerland had been turning back all Jewish refugees; Battel, *'Wo es hell ist'*, p. 147; Keller, Emigrantenschmuggler, pp. 198f.
[37] Fittko, *Mein Weg über die Pyrenäen*; Klein, *Flüchtlingspolitik*; Sogos and Fry, 'Engel von Marseille', pp. 209–220; Strempel, Letzter Halt Marseille, pp. 185–196.
[38] Yad Vashem, Righteous among the Nations – Statistics, www.yadvashem.org/de/righteous/statistics.html (last accessed 6 September 2020).

4. Escape organisers: (*from left*) Josef Höfler, Luise Meier, Gertrud Höfler, Elise Höfler. Photo taken around 1952.

Source Documents

The life of the Rosenfeld family post-1933 is richly documented in diaries, letters and other autobiographical material. Else Rosenfeld's diary was first published in 1945 in Switzerland under the title *Verfemt und Verfolgt: Leben einer Jüdin in Deutschland 1933–1944*.[39] It is an exceptionally accurate source and was used as evidence in the post-war Munich denazification hearings.[40] This is not a diary where life was recorded on a daily basis, but one with irregular entries starting in 1939 and then taking a long look back over the period 1933 to 1939, her retrospective being abridged in this volume. After her flight across the border to Switzerland, Else prepared her diary for publication to bear witness to that whole era. The publisher's advance meant she now had some measure of personal freedom. She had, after all, escaped without financial means, with quite literally nothing more than her freedom. Siegfried Rosenfeld's diary, on the other hand, embraces the years 1940 to 1945 and is composed of fragments bearing witness to the wretched misery of

[39] See Behrend-Rosenfeld, *Verfemt und Verfolgt*.
[40] StAM Spruchkammerakten (Denazification Hearings) K 1919: Wegner, Hans.

life in exile, reproduced here as excerpts.[41] Any correspondence between Siegfried and Else after 1942 was made possible by Alice Rosenberg, Siegfried's sister-in-law, who was living in neutral Lisbon during Else's life in hiding. But even then, these letters had to be written in a code of sorts, with only indirect references. These letters have not been available to the editors because some luggage went missing during a family house move in the 1990s. What was saved, however, were 230 letters written by Else during her internment and life in hiding, all addressed to Dr Eva Schmidt, her close friend in Weimar.[42] This friendship had endured since their student days, and continued after the war with reciprocal visits and exchanges of letters.[43] The correspondence passed to us as researchers and editors relates only to the period dealt with in this volume, and was entrusted to us in 2010 by Hanna Cooper, Else Rosenfeld's daughter. The letters give a vivid account of the day's events, often with a sense of urgency, while the diary comes over as more measured. Else had a mission in publishing it, not to serve as accusation the moment the war ended, but rather to show other nations that while crimes had indeed been committed by Germany, those who suffered persecution had at times also found help and support. She wanted to demonstrate that the German 'collective guilt' referred to by the Allies had never in fact existed.

A further source has been the unique autobiographical interviews given by Else to the BBC. Broadcast in England during April and May 1963 as *An Old Lady Remembers*, these were made into twenty-three programmes, each lasting fifteen minutes.[44] Here, Else reflects in detail on her youth in Berlin and the special relationship she had with her father's Jewish family, and, with the perception of hindsight, she formulates evaluations and assessments that go far beyond the scope of the diary. In 1964 the BBC published a book *The Four Lives of Elsbeth Rosenfeld*, based on the radio series,[45] but the original interviews offer a wealth of extra information, along with the

[41] Hanna Cooper (Birmingham, England) gave us the typed version transcribed by Gustel Behrend (Argentina) from Siegfried's handwritten original. First published in 2011 as Krauss and Kasberger, eds., *Leben in zwei Welten*.

[42] As recently as 1984, Eva Schmidt dedicated a book to her dear friend: *Jüdische Familien*; a new edition in 1993 included an obituary of Eva Schmidt with all the key elements of her life: Uta Kühn-Stillmark, Autorin, in Schmidt, *Jüdische Familien*, pp. 139–143. See Glossary of Key People. Thanks to Elke Minckwitz and Jens Riederer, Weimar City Archive, for photographs and information.

[43] Interview with Hanna Cooper, Birmingham, England, 2010; photos of Else Rosenfeld und Eva Schmidt in Icking.

[44] Rosenfeld, *An Old Lady Remembers*, interviewer Charles Parker.

[45] Rosenfeld, *Four Lives*.

priceless addition of Else's own voice. It says so much about her as a person, so we have included QR codes to make available Else's voice and her reflections on the past.

QR Code 2: Early life among Jews and Christians

The many conversations and interviews with Peter and Ursula Rosenfeld, as well as with Hanna Cooper, are also of great importance. A warm relationship between the editors and Else's children was established as early as 1986, but Peter and Ursula have since sadly passed away. Hanna Cooper is now advanced in years. From Hanna, we received documents and photographs, the letters to Eva Schmidt and the BBC recordings. We also talked and corresponded with many other contemporary witnesses, including the son of the Quaker couple Drs Rudolf and Annemarie Cohen, Professor Rudolf Cohen, and with friends of Dr Tilla Kratz in Icking and Dr Eva Schmidt in Weimar, with the daughter of escape route organiser Hugo Wetzstein, and many more. They have all contributed to recreating the world that was Else's life.

Else's diary was first published just before the end of the war, and many names remained disguised to protect those who had helped her. Since secrecy is no longer an issue, real names have been used wherever possible. These helpers, known as 'silent heroes', are a very special group in whom researchers have in recent years taken a great interest.[46] In its turn, Siegfried's diary brings us so much about the network of exiles as well as about internment on the Isle of Man, where German refugees were held as 'enemy aliens' from 1940.[47] We learn about his hand-to-mouth existence in Oxford as an outsider, and of how his children, Peter and

[46] Wette, ed., *Stille Helden*; Kosmala, Stille Helden, 29–34; Schieb, *Möglichkeiten und Grenzen*. See the following for further information: Heim, Meyer and Nicosia, eds., *'Wer bleibt'*; Schilde, Grenzüberschreitende Flucht, pp. 151–190; Kosmala and Schoppmann, eds., *Solidarität und Hilfe*; Schrafstetter, *Flucht und Versteck*.

[47] Seyfert, 'His Majesty's Most Loyal Internees', pp. 155–182; Chappell, *Island of Barbed Wire*; Gillman and Gillman, *Collar the Lot!*; Stent, *Bespattered Page*; Lafitte, *Internment of Aliens*.

Hanna, grew up and made their lives in England, having started out as farmworker and domestic help respectively, only to work their way up from the bottom.

Biographies

Dr Siegfried Rosenfeld was born on 22 March 1874 in Marienwerder, West Prussia, the son of assimilated German Jews. He was raised as a Jew, but stepped away from Judaism in 1891.[48] His education took the classic route of the German middle classes, first at the local grammar school in Marienwerder from 1887; in 1893 he took his final school examination, the *Abitur*, at the Berlin grammar school called zum Grauen Kloster.[49] Afterwards, Siegfried studied law in Berlin and Freiburg, becoming a legal clerk in 1897. He then completed his military service, and in 1899 obtained his doctorate in jurisprudence at Rostock. In 1904 he established himself in Berlin as a lawyer and notary. The following year he joined the SPD. During the First World War he served four years in the territorial reserve.[50] In 1915 he married dentist Gertrud Rewald, also involved with the SPD, but she died after the birth of their daughter Gustel (Eva Gustave). It was through his niece, Dr Hertha Kraus,[51] that he met Else Behrend. She was a good deal younger than him, but they were married in September 1920. Their son Peter was born in 1921, and daughter Hanna in 1922. Siegfried Rosenfeld was elected to the Prussian parliament in 1921 and remained active there until 1933. In 1923, when he was forty-nine, he embarked on a career in the Prussian civil service, working first as a special adviser. On 30 June 1925 he was promoted by Prussian Minister-President Otto Braun, a fellow Social Democrat, first to the rank of *Ministerialrat* in the Prussian Ministry of Justice and later as *Ministerialdirigent*, thus becoming the most senior civil servant in that ministry.[52]

[48] *Biographisches Handbuch der deutschsprachigen Emigration*, vol. I, p. 614.

[49] IFZ MA 1500/50, Fragebogen (Questionnaire) on Siegfried Rosenfeld, completed by his daughter, Gustel.

[50] StAM Staatsanwaltschaften 7863, Special Court Indictment of Siegfried Rosenfeld, 09.08.1934.

[51] More about Dr Hertha Kraus, *Biographisches Handbuch der deutschsprachigen Emigration*, vol. I, p. 391; Schirrmacher, *Hertha Kraus*. See Glossary of Key People.

[52] GStA PK Rep. 90a, Minutes of Ministerial Meeting MF 1035, Agenda item 4, Proposed Promotions: 'Der Hilfsarbeiter im Justizministerium, Kammergerichtsrat Dr Siegfried Rosenfeld, zum Ministerialrat im Justizministerium', 30.6.1925.

QR Code 3: Siegfried's career in the Ministry

Else Behrend had a Christian mother, Gertrud Grosskopf, and a Jewish father, Dr Friedrich Behrend,[53] by profession a long-established family doctor in Berlin. This was considered a *Mischehe*, a mixed marriage, one of 3,215 such marriages in Greater Berlin in 1924.[54] Else arrived on 1 May 1891 in Berlin, the first of what were to be eight children born to the family.[55] The children were baptised and brought up in the Christian faith, as was customary in a mixed marriage.[56] Her father was a central figure in her life, and she identified strongly with him. It was he who helped her come to terms with a birth defect that had left her with a severely weakened left arm. Her upper arm lacked all strength and there was only minimal movement in the forearm. She learned not to allow this to be a handicap. From 1899 to 1901 she attended a Berlin school for girls, 'die Höhere Mädchenschule',[57] where she learned the arts of housekeeping and sewing. At seventeen, she trained as a kindergarten teacher and immediately found work in a large private school for girls. She prepared for the *Abitur* examination by taking a course of study run by the Helene-Lange-Fortbildungskurse,[58] as it was still exceptional for a woman to undertake further study, or indeed employment of any kind. In Prussia, for example, it was 1908 before women were allowed to attend university. Else studied German, history, philosophy and German literature, first in Berlin and then from 1916 at the University of Jena. Initially she wanted to be a teacher, but then gave a lot of thought to social work. Her academic ambition was to

[53] *Biographisches Handbuch der deutschsprachigen Emigration*, vol. II/2, p. 986 and IFZ MA 1500/50, Rosenfeld, Elisabeth (Elsbeth), Fragebogen (Questionnaire). Gertrud Grosskopf, born Berlin 1868, died 6.10.1944 in La Cumbrecita, Córdoba/Argentina.

[54] Meyer, *'Jüdische Mischlinge'*, p. 24.

[55] IFZ MA 1500/50, Rosenfeld, Elsbeth, Fragebogen (Questionnaire).

[56] Meyer, *'Jüdische Mischlinge'*, p. 25.

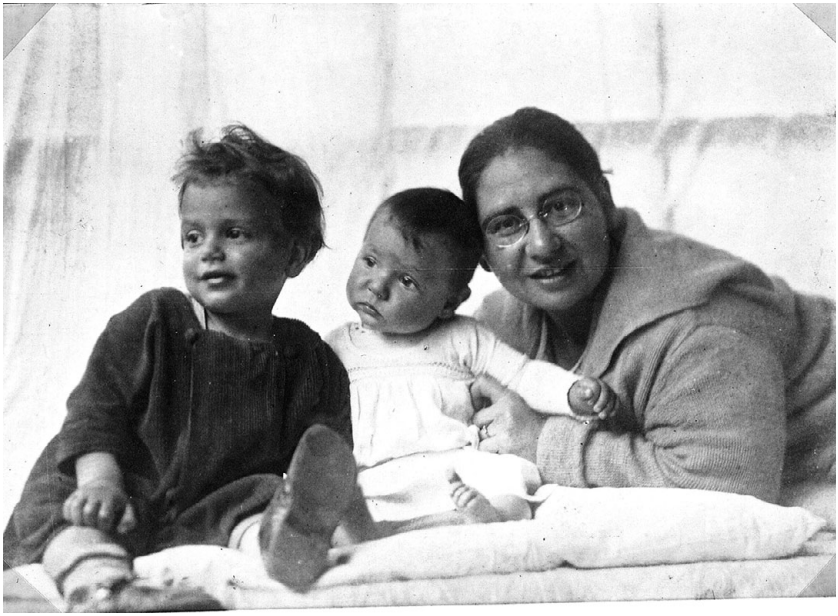
[57] IFZ MA 1500/50, Rosenfeld, Elsbeth, Fragebogen (Questionnaire).

[58] Helene Lange was probably the leading exponent of the *Abitur* qualification being opened to girls; Gerhard, *Unerhört*, pp. 138–162.

5. Siegfried Rosenfeld, around 1930.

obtain a PhD in history. In Jena, she found a group of friends – clever, active women with lively minds – all a few years younger than her,[59] including Eva Schmidt, Hanna Schadendorf,[60] and Hertha Kraus; all were friendships that were to last a lifetime. Since 1917 it had also been obligatory for students to do voluntary work in support of the war effort.[61] In 1919 Else Behrend completed her doctoral research and was awarded a university prize for her thesis.[62] She was twenty-eight. Following her marriage to Siegfried Rosenfeld and a few years at home with her young family, she was then able to find the role in social work she had always dreamed of. Under the auspices of the Workers' Welfare organisation, Else started in 1926 to work on a voluntary basis at the women's prison in Barnimstrasse, the Königlich-Preußisches Weibergefängnis.

[59] Rosenfeld, *An Old Lady Remembers*, episode 2; and Kühn-Stillmark, Autorin, p. 140.
[60] Hanna Schadendorf was born 02.07.1896 and died 23.02.1987; she was married to the medical doctor Kurt Schadendorf; conversation with their daughter, Elke Minckwitz, 23.03.2011.
[61] Rosenfeld, *An Old Lady Remembers,* episode 3.
[62] Behrend, 'Politischen Ideen', the private archive of Hanna Cooper, 1964, reissue of Else's missing certificate.



6. Else Rosenfeld with her children Peter and Hanna, 1923.

The Rosenfelds and National Socialism

During the late 1920s Siegfried Rosenfeld was already proving a thorn in the side of the National Socialists. His dual function in the Prussian parliament and the Ministry of Justice made him a valued and valuable contact for many in the legal profession. In November 1932 the then fifty-eight-year-old was made to retire on the basis of a temporary injunction valid until 1 May 1933 as part of government austerity measures passed in the Depression to 'simplify and reduce administration costs' ('Verordnung zur Vereinfachung und Verbilligung der Verwaltung').[63] The Prussian Ministry of Justice resurfaces in the exiled Siegfried's diary entry of Christmas 1943, as he reminisces about the building in Wilhelmstrasse, later destroyed by bombing, and along with it, the

[63] Leo Baeck Institute, New York, Ernst Hamburger Collection AR 7034/MF 672, Box 7, Folder 23 Siegfried Rosenfeld 1932–77, copy of a document from the Prussian Ministry of Justice in which Siegfried Rosenfeld is dismissed, 11.11.1932. GStA PK Rep. 90a, Minutes of a Ministerial Meeting MF 1063, session with Reichskommissar von Papen on 27.10.1932, resulting in Rosenfeld's permanent retirement with effect from 01.05.1933. *Biographisches Handbuch der deutschsprachigen Emigration*, vol. I, pp. 614f.

orderly world of justice and tradition that he himself had been so much a part of.[64] When the Nazis came to power, Else was informed that as a 'non-Aryan', her services were now also surplus to requirements at the women's prison.[65]

QR Code 4: Reasons not to leave

In July 1933 the family travelled to Bavaria for a much needed holiday but stayed on. Like many other German Jews, the Rosenfelds had been hoping that the prevailing situation would not continue.[66] After all, there were so many reasons not to leave their country: Siegfried's age, his pension and the children. Their first stop, on what was to become a far longer journey, culminating in exile in England, was Schönau on Lake Königsee. As early as 1934, they were as Jews asked to leave the locality because it lay in Hitler's favourite district, the '*Führerbezirk*' Berchtesgaden. The family moved on to Bayerisch Gmain near Bad Reichenhall, but their landlady, Margarete Winterberg, turned out to be the most scheming of informants, and Siegfried Rosenfeld was arrested on a trumped-up charge.[67] An amnesty on account of the death of President Hindenburg led to the charge against him being dropped. For the next few years the family made their home at Icking, in the Isar Valley.

The Rosenfelds now lived in beautiful surroundings and were once again free to meet up with old friends and make new ones. Evil felt far away. Even so, the outlook felt a little bleaker with every new antisemitic law passed by the government. Gustel, Siegfried's daughter by his first wife, emigrated to Argentina in 1937 and married her childhood sweetheart, Heinz, who just happened to be Else's youngest brother. That same year, Else and Siegfried's other two children, Peter and Hanna, began at the Jewish agricultural training farm at Gross-Breesen, an establishment whose purpose was to provide skills specifically in order to emigrate.[68] In early spring 1939 the two youngsters were able to leave for England with the aid of the Quakers.

[64] Siegfried's diary, Christmas 1943.
[65] Rosenfeld, *An Old Lady Remembers*, episode 8.
[66] Jünger, *Jahre der Ungewissheit*.
[67] StAM Staatsanwaltschaften 7863, Special Court trial of Siegfried Rosenfeld, further detail in Else Rosenfeld's diary.
[68] Angress, Auswandererlehrgut Groß Breesen, 168–187.

7. Icking in the Isartal, picture postcard, date unknown.

In 1938 the Night of Broken Glass was the turning point when escape became an absolute priority,[69] not only for the Rosenfelds but also for most German Jews still living in Germany.[70] The family had planned to emigrate to Argentina. Six of Else's siblings had already escaped and were settled there, as was Siegfried's daughter Gustel.[71] An increasing number of countries, however, were closing their borders to those suffering persecution. In the BBC radio programmes broadcast in 1963, Else spoke critically of this policy, commenting that America could have taken in every German Jew but didn't want to. Here is what she said:[72]

[69] Steinweis, *Kristallnacht*; for the situation in Munich, Heusler and Weger, *'Kristallnacht'*; Schrafstetter, *Flucht und Versteck*, pp. 28–31.

[70] Also Jünger, *Jahre der Ungewissheit*. Around three thousand Munich residents of Jewish background emigrated between 1933 and 1938, including many practising Jews. About seven hundred left for what they wrongly considered as safe havens in European countries, which, due to later German occupation, did not provide the escape expected. Those who fled to Eastern Europe met the same fate. A similar number were able to reach Palestine or the United States, but as refugees still faced years of difficulty. Up to 1942, a further four thousand Jews managed to escape to other countries.

[71] IFZ MA 1500/50, Rosenfeld, Fragebogen (Questionnaire).

[72] Rosenfeld, *An Old Lady Remembers*, episode 13. Else gave these interviews in English and they are reproduced here word for word. Her actual voice can be heard here by scanning the QR code 1.

8. Else and Siegfried Rosenfeld at Lake Starnberg (part of a larger photo), 1930s.

QR Code 5: Foreign countries and the persecution of Jews

Even after November '38, when nearly all the people in the other countries realised what happened, the authorities in the other countries didn't help us a bit – in the contrary, there were lots and lots of new regulations which made it extremely difficult for most of us to get out. You know, America at that time could have taken us in all, all the Jews remaining in Germany, it wasn't such a vast number. It would have been a very easy thing to do that – they didn't want to.

In the end, and just a few days before war was declared, it was Siegfried who received a visa to travel to England. He did not want to go without Else, but she persuaded him to leave because he was in greater danger than her.

9. The ruined Ohel Jakob Synagogue in Herzog-Rudolf-Straße, 10 November 1938.

On 25 August 1939 he emigrated to England alone. On 1 September war broke out. Else's visa never came.

War

Following Siegfried's departure, Else found herself an occupation as a welfare worker in the Jewish Community Centre in Munich.[73] Her diary recounts that her role included accompanying children on a Kindertransport bound for England,[74] and she also looked after Jewish adults from Baden and the

[73] Behrend-Rosenfeld, Leben und Sterben, pp. 452–457.

[74] Among the extensive writings about the Kindertransport are: Fast, *Children's Exodus*; Fox and Abraham-Podietz, *Ten Thousand Children*; Watts, *Escape from Berlin*; Hammel, ed., *Kindertransport to Britain*; Baumel-Schwartz, *Never Look Back*.

Palatinate, all staying temporarily in Bavaria on the way.[75] When over 1,000 Jews were deported in February 1940 from Stettin to Poland,[76] she joined forces with Gertrud Luckner, a pacifist, and the Quaker Annemarie Cohen, and together they started the despatch of relief parcels.[77] The content of the letters they received from the ghetto in the small Polish town of Piaski was profoundly shocking, and she had them published after the war as *Lebenszeichen aus Piaski*, or *Signs of Life from Piaski*.[78]

When Else was still based in Icking, she and her friend Dr Tilla Kratz, a teacher, moved into a small house adjacent to the Rosenfeld family's previous home.[79] But then, in June 1941, Else was assigned to forced labour and sent to work at the flax-processing plant at Lohhof.[80]

The heavy physical work involved became too much for her because of her weak arm, so she was instead ordered to take on all aspects of housekeeping at the newly created transit camp for Jews at Berg am Laim[81] in Munich. It was officially called the 'Heimanlage für Juden', or 'residential facility for Jews', and was located at the convent of the Barmherzige Schwestern, the Sisters of Mercy, adjacent to St Michael's Church in Berg am Laim.[82]

Else stayed here until August 1942.[83] She had an extensive range of duties, bearing in mind that up to 350 people were living there at any one time.

QR Code 6: In the ghetto at Berg am Laim

Her previous experience in welfare work helped her to quickly get to grips with the role, and the nuns proved an enormous support to the Jews thus ghettoised in their very midst. Else was able to rely on great friends during

[75] The list of Jewish people deported to Gurs in France in October 1940; Bundesarchiv, ed., Gedenkbuch.
[76] Ibid.
[77] For information about Gertrud Luckner and Annemarie Cohen, see Glossary of Key People.
[78] See Rosenfeld and Luckner, eds., *Lebenszeichen aus Piaski*.
[79] For Tilla Kratz, see Glossary of Key People.
[80] Strnad, *Flachs für das Reich*.
[81] Strnad, *Zwischenstation 'Judensiedlung'*.
[82] Kasberger, 'Heimanlage für Juden Berg am Laim', pp. 341–380.
[83] Else Rosenfeld's diary describes this period in detail, so only the main events are reported here.

this period, including Dr Tilla Kratz and Dr Eva Schmidt, and not least Dr Magdalena Schwarz, the doctor allocated to the Jews interned at Berg am Laim,[84] and the Quaker Dr Annemarie Cohen. In November the first big deportation out of Munich took place. It was sent to Kaunas (Kovno) in Lithuania, taking eighty-five of Else's charges with it. It fell to Else to inform female residents of the deportation order when their names appeared on the list, and she would also help them prepare for departure. At Easter 1942 her own name appeared on the list for deportation.[85] It was only the urgent intervention of the Jewish Community Centre that got her name removed at the eleventh hour, and she went back to Berg am Laim in the short term.

Life in Exile

Siegfried Rosenfeld stayed first in London at the home of a relative,[86] but then found somewhere in Oxford that happened to be near his son, Peter, who was working on a farm an hour or so distant. Hanna, meanwhile, was working as a live-in domestic help in the home of the Bligh family in Reading. Siegfried's early diary entries all centre around this period in his life. On 11 July 1940 Siegfried Rosenfeld was interned as an 'enemy alien' and found himself in the camp at Douglas on the Isle of Man.[87] Peter came to join him shortly thereafter. On 28 September, and after the strangest of times, Siegfried was released from the constricting life of the internment camp, but then lost the stimulating world of discussion, debate and learning he had enjoyed there. The many German intellectuals who found themselves in internment had rendered the oppressive nature of camp life that much more bearable through whole series of organised concerts, lectures and exhibitions.

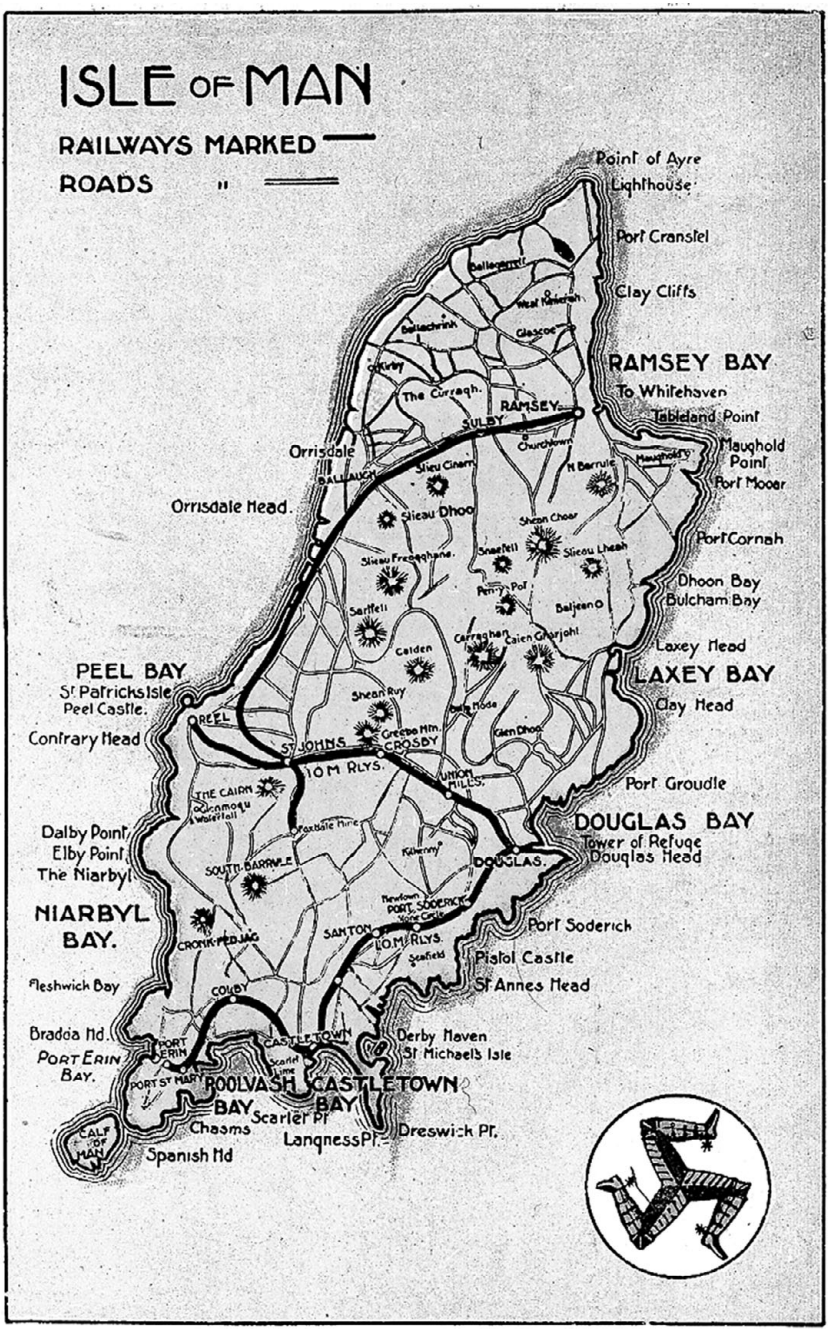
In September 1940 Siegfried took new lodgings in Oxford and kept himself busy through his own research among the city's well-stocked libraries. He was preparing a paper on the history of Jews in Europe, probably with the intention of securing a grant from one of the academic

[84] For Magdalena Schwarz, see Glossary of Key People.

[85] For more about the deportations out of Munich: Schrafstetter, *Flucht und Versteck*, pp. 44–56.

[86] Rosenfeld, *An Old Lady Remembers*, episode 14; Rudolf Cohen's card index for Siegfried Rosenfeld, with thanks to Rudolf Cohen Jr. See also Zahn, *Annemarie and Rudolf Cohen*, p. 19; Holl, ed., Stille Helfer. Interview with Hanna Cooper, Birmingham, England, September 2010.

[87] Dates in accordance with the diary. For more regarding internment on the Isle of Man, see Chappell, *Island of Barbed Wire*, particularly pp. 45–58; Seyfert, 'His Majesty's Most Loyal Internees', pp. 164–167, 173–177.



10. The Douglas Internment camp was on the eastern side of the Isle of Man. Colour postcard.

organisations in the United States, but his application was unsuccessful. And as a German alien, he was not permitted to take up any employment that could otherwise be done by a native. This meant he was forced to rely on his children for financial help. Siegfried's one and only concern at this time was to get hold of all the documents required for his family to travel to Argentina and take up residence there, or alternatively, at least to get to Cuba or Santo Domingo.[88] These were the last remaining hopes for saving Else from her existence in Germany. But in the end, they all failed. Siegfried tormented himself more and more with survivor guilt,[89] where typically the sufferer is filled with self-reproach at finding himself in a favourable position while his partner remains in severe danger. This was the period of the first deportations of Jews out of Munich. He wrote in his diary:

> Else's letter dated 31 October leaves me in no doubt that she's going to have to stay in Germany right through to the bitter end. Fate could not be more cruel to us. . . . And yet here am I, in the warmth of my room, working in freedom among people who live their lives without being treated like slaves. I take no pleasure at all in finding myself so much better off than my darling wife. How did it ever come to this? I accept all the blame. I was too slow in planning our own departure once the children had left. I don't know why I didn't do it straight away. The guilt will never leave me.[90]

'*The dream of Cuba has vanished*,' Else wrote for her own part. 'The grief behind those words. Nothing can console me. Whichever way I turn, I come up against the insurmountable.' Siegfried's anxiety for Else left him with a chronic stomach complaint brought on by his poor mental health.

Siegfried eventually found somewhere else to live and moved to an attic room in Oxford.[91] He became actively involved with the Federal Union, an organisation advocating a federal world state.[92] This gave him occasional

[88] Emigration to Argentina was made possible where relatives were already resident in the country and had called for the family to join them; Spitta, Argentinien, p. 145. So far as Cuba went, Siegfried's niece in the United States, Hertha Kraus, who was a Quaker, had managed to obtain the necessary transit visa, but no one could come up with the 1,800 dollars required for entry. See Siegfried Rosenfeld's diary 29.09. and 18.11.1941. For information on the settlements in the Dominican Republic, and on Latin America in general, Mühlen, Lateinamerika, pp. 299f.

[89] For more about survivor syndrome: Bergmann, Jucovy and Kestenberg, eds., *Kinder der Opfer*.

[90] Siegfried's diary, Oxford, 01.12.1941.

[91] Letter from Siegfried Rosenfeld to Hanna, 22.09.1941.

[92] Bosco, *Federal Union*.