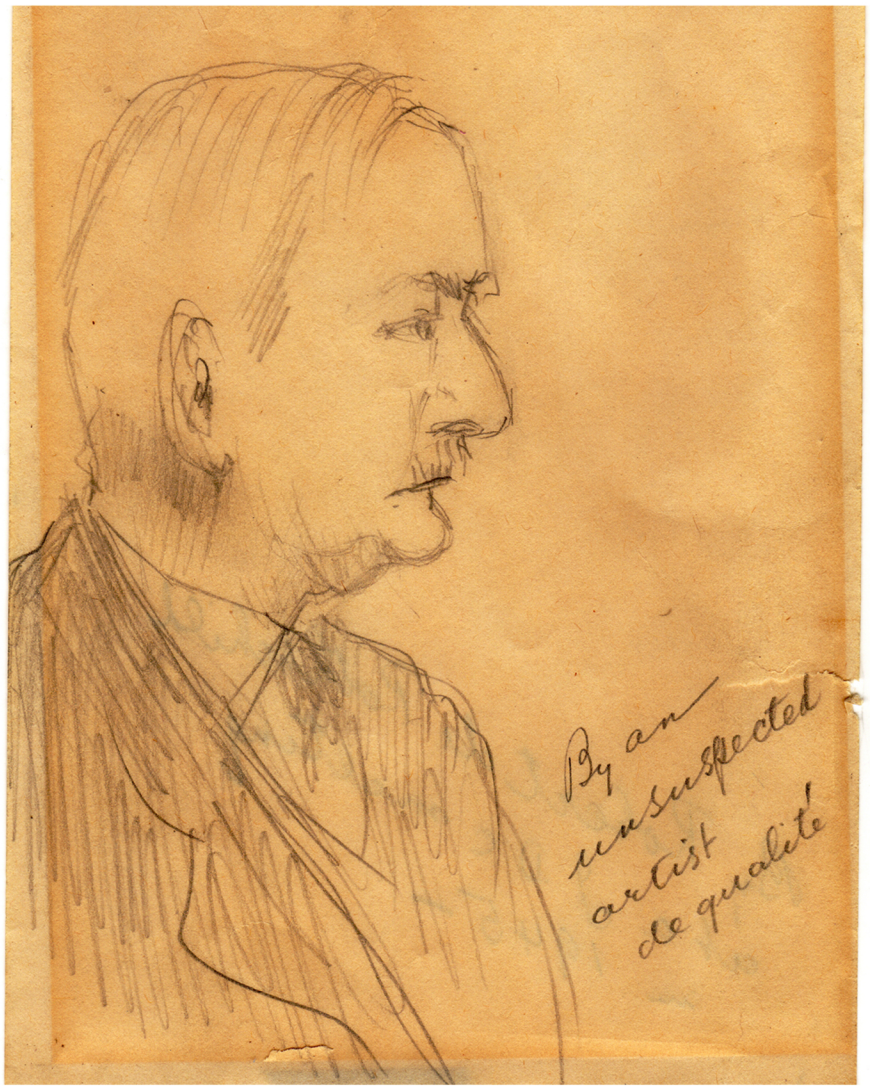
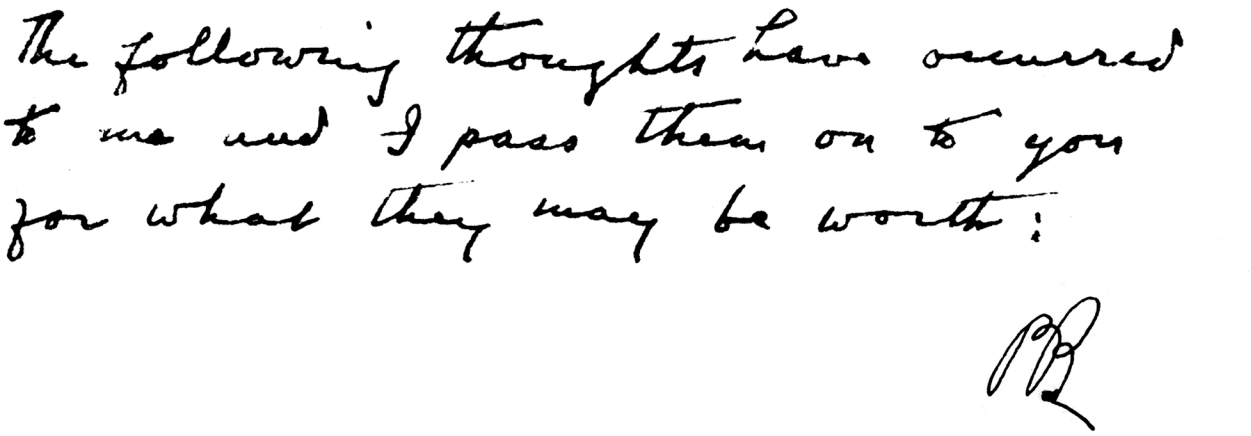
Paul Baerwald's Life and Papers: A journey



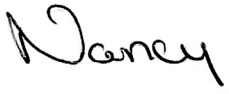
By Robert de Rothschild
at a JDC meeting
in 1945—

By Nancy Falk

Printed on notepads from ***Paul Baerwald's*** *desk:*



Thank you, Grandpa, for sharing. Writing, often just for yourself, was your way of working out your ideas, plans, opinions, and questions. Your letters to family further add to your legacy. Your 'day books' have given me and others a way to fact-check history and to follow your daily cares and much more. The unexpected discovery of letters your father wrote you between 1889 -1906 has given me an idea of your formative years. It's been an extraordinary journey for me.



Contents

Introduction 3

1. Three Baerwald Generations before Paul: Leyser Lewin, Lewin, and Hermann 10

2. Paul's life in Frankfurt, 1871-1891 20

3. Young Man in London, 1891-1896 28

4. Paul and Agnes and Jack.....33

5. Starting Out in New York 45

6. New and Old Family, World War I, and JDC.....59

7. Agro-Joint 76

8. Getting the German Family to Safety 88

9. Judaism and Zionism, non-Zionism, anti-Zionism 119

Postscript.....134

Endnotes.....137

Appendix 1. Family Tree of Lewin Baerwald and Frommet Herrmann

Appendix 2. Aaron Jacobi and Francesca Meyer Family Tree

Appendix 3. 1919 Edu letter to Paul and Emil

Appendix 4. H. Fred (Hermann Frederich) ("Butz") Baerwald "Life Story"

Appendix 5. Aaron Abraham Frenkel and Caroline Meyer Family Tree

Introduction

One of my memories of my grandfather Paul Baerwald was him sitting quietly in a small comfy chair in his house in Elberon, New Jersey, where I and my immediate family lived with him and my grandmother during the summers of my youth. I have many sweet memories of the times I spent with them. They were lovely with me and their other grandchildren. Paul and Edith and I played gin rummy and drank tea together. In their 80s, they played cards with lighted cigarettes dangling out the sides of their mouths. But I hardly asked Paul anything about his life, nor do I remember any specific conversations between us. He had a distinct way of holding his hands behind his back while walking, usually alone. He had visitors, one at a time. I watched him talking intently with each person. People who had known him for years, though usually a bit younger, would always call him "Mr. Baerwald." When he entered a room, people would stand to greet him (except his family). He was a force in the house without having to say much. I was 16 when he died. I wondered what he thought about on his walks, what did it mean for a German Jewish immigrant to live through two World Wars fought against his birth country and to spend decades working to aid Jewish refugees.

Twenty plus years later, I was working as a librarian and manuscript processor which coincided with my mother (Pauline) talking more about her father and his German family, and me developing an interest in learning about the family. Paul's papers – or some of them – were housed at the Herbert Lehman Archives at Columbia, but my mother had kept more boxes, not ready to give them up, wanting to go through them herself, but then she didn't have the time, as so often happens. "You seem to be the one right now interested in family history," she said. And I was, glad to take them and look through them and see where it would lead.

However, the real impetus to pursue my interest in my grandfather's life and his work came in 1997, when a surprising discovery emerged from a book found in my mother's desk, entitled *The London Metal Exchange*, with a picture of men sitting around the "Ring" and a note inside dated 1987 from her cousin H. Frederich Baerwald (Butz) apologizing for the "shock" and noting, "He's the 7th from the left." Pauline was not in good health at the time of

my conversation with her. But when I asked her who Butz was referring to in this note she said, in a strong tone, "That's my other brother, I don't want to talk about it ever again!" That piqued my interest! And it led to my contacting Butz to see whether he would explain.

And explain he did! He had known that other brother, Jack Harrison, for many years. Jack had been born to Paul and an English woman long before Paul married my grandmother. Butz told me I might be able to find Jack's two daughters — my first cousins — through the Sheen Tennis Club in Richmond Park, London. In my first call to the club I spoke to a staff member who said she knew Pauline and Mary Harrison well! I gave a brief explanation, and said I would like to hear from either of them if they were open to it. Ten minutes later the phone rang and it was Pauline. She remembered Butz very well, and in her childhood she had been told that Paul Baerwald was her "godfather" and there had been a picture of him in her house when she was growing up. But she did not think they had ever met, and the fact that my grandfather was also hers and Mary's was a complete surprise. She and Mary had long ago given up any expectation of learning about their father's family, since their father had never told them anything, no relatives on his side had ever appeared as far as they knew, and their grandmother Agnes died before either of them was born.

It was a novel and exciting phone conversation for both of us. What followed was the sisters' interest in learning about their unknown grandfather, going through their own family papers in light of this discovery, as well as my sending them information about Paul's New York family and his work. This led to meetings in person in London, a trip they took to the U.S. including Oakland where they met my brother Mike and his family, and a phone and letter relationship that we continued for almost twenty years.

By then, some very specific questions had been added to my interest in my grandfather. I wanted to understand his relationship with Jack's mother, Agnes Hutchison Harrison, and with Jack, his out-of-wedlock son. Had he taken responsibility for them, and if so, how? Who were they, these never-mentioned relatives? Who in the Baerwald family knew about them, and who did not? The answers to these questions, as far as I have been able to answer them, are presented in Chapter 4.

In the meantime, I gathered more boxes of papers, from various family members and locations. All told, this amounted to about ten boxes of Paul's correspondence, notebooks of his private musings, newspaper clipping, daybooks (annual pocket-sized calendars, one page

per day, in which he recorded appointments, guests, news events, opinions, activities, weather, and memories of what happened on that date in past years), account books, a "birthday book" listing the birthdates of family and friends, business and family correspondence, my grandmother's letters, and scrap books. I also went through his writing and correspondence in the Lehman Archives and then looked at microfilm on a few specific topics in the archives of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC), where he had held many positions including Chairman. I already had printed material in English on the history of the family, some of which duplicates material in the collection of Paul's father Hermann Baerwald at the Leo Baeck Institute, New York.

After my mother's death, in her papers, I found many letters from her father including four years of them (tied with pink ribbon) during her years away at college. I went further afield. I sought out, from other family, additional letters that Paul had written to his son Herman at college and to many other relatives, descendants of his eight siblings. I already knew some of these relatives, but most were only names in a genealogy. Some had stories to tell me, others had papers, photographs, books in German, and most importantly, a collection of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century letters from Hermann to his children, unearthed in a basement in Brooklyn.

As I went back and forth through these many sources — often again and again, as I understood more context and therefore was able to be attentive to the meaning of new details that had meant nothing to me at first — I began to focus on some particular threads of "Who was my grandfather Paul Baerwald?," both old questions and new. All biographies are partial, depending on the perspective and fascinations of the biographer and on what evidence comes to light. I can't claim to have examined every document in Paul's writings, or to have fully understood every one that I read, and another biographer might write a very different book. What I have written feels like a brush stroke of the lives of Paul and many of his relatives. I have avoided the temptation to portray Grandpa as a perfect man. Rather I've tried to include his foibles and contradictions and faults. It's hard to reconstruct, but I think the threads I found most compelling were these:

• What was his coming to America as an immigrant like? I had some vision, which I believe came partly from him, of the classic up-by-the-bootstraps immigrant story, the young man making it on his own and becoming rich. What I found was very different – a young

man, no greenhorn, very much guided by his father and by elite family connections that paved the way to a carefully planned ascent. Not to mention the foundation provided by the preceding generations.

• Who was he to all the relatives I knew or heard about, who seemed to pay court? Through his own determination, luck and generosity, but especially through accidents of history, he became a major source of financial support of his family back in Germany, who were buffeted first by World War I and its immediate after-effects, and then by the Nazi persecution of Jews. Over time, he became not just a financial resource but the relative who took major responsibility (with help from his brothers and others) for getting many of them out of Germany to safety and in many cases for helping them become very different sorts of immigrants to the U.S. than he had been.

• Who were the shrouded figures in his life, those hidden in plain sight but absent from his own accounts of his life? These include Jack and Agnes, of course, but also his older brother Emil, who preceded Paul to New York by five years. What were the personal and emotional effects of one bare-bones fact that I did know: his losing his mother when he was a young boy? Why did he wait till the age of thirty-eight to marry? What was his personal life like during his twenty years on his own as a bachelor in London and New York?

• What did he do in his two professional careers, the private one as a merchant banker for two international investment banking firms, and the public one as an officer, later chairman, and spokesperson and fundraiser for the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee? In the JDC work, I became interested in a particular project, the "Agro-Joint" farming colonies in the Soviet Union. Also, how did he balance these two careers with being the head of his own family of four children as a late-blooming husband and father?

• What were the most important historical contexts shaping his life? I ended up focusing particularly on Jewish "emancipation" in Germany in the 19th century, the industrial and financial boom in late 19th and early 20th century Europe and the United States, the outbreak of World War I, and the coming of the Nazi regime.

• How did he feel about or deal with his shifting and multiple identities, first as a German, then as an American, and simultaneously (especially given his responsibilities for foreign Jewish communities and the refugees from these) as a Jew? To what extent was he

religious? And what was his position toward Zionism as a remedy for the persecution of Jews, and towards the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine?

Some of these questions might have been easier to answer if Paul had not, as he wrote in a letter to his nephew Butz on July 27, 1953, "clean[ed] up some of my old files and torn up dozens and dozens of letters." Did he at that time also get rid of all his daybooks before 1934 or were they lost some other way? I found 27 years of these invaluable little books, from 1934 to his death. What about his many financial account books (covering assets of his own or those he managed for relatives), of which I have only four random ones, covering some transactions between 1925 and 1936?

Also – outside of Paul's control – documentary information on his travels to and from Europe is limited by the fact that New York immigration records and ship manifests covering 1897-1901 were lost in a fire; these were key years for his relationship with Agnes, work trips, and family visits.

The missing documents could have shed more light, especially, on Paul's life between the ages of twenty and thirty-eight, in London and New York, between his departure from home and his marriage. Still, I have been able to find out quite a lot. In the chapters that follow I start with the earliest known origins of the family in Poland and Prussia, following through Paul's childhood and emigration, and then discuss his public careers, personal life, and private "career" of taking responsibility for the European family. At times I have needed to depart from chronology to circle backward or leap forward in order to treat certain topics in a holistic way. The leaping and circling will be most apparent in the chapter about his relationships with Agnes and Jack Harrison and in the chapter about religion and Zionism (which consists mostly of quotes from his private writings). In the course of telling Paul's story I refer to a lot of relatives, many of whom, in different generations and branches, have very similar names. To try to keep you from being overwhelmed, I have created a family tree. (See Appendix 1, "Family Tree of Lewin Baerwald and Frommet Herrmann.") [1]

Besides Paul's and his father's papers, I consulted various collections of the New York Historical Society, the James Speyer papers at the New York Public Library, digitized immigration and passenger-ship records and city directories and newspaper collections at a variety of libraries in the U.S. and the U.K. And I referred over and over again to a Baerwald

family genealogy begun in longhand in 1898 by Paul's brother Eduard (Edu), continued by his son Butz, and digitized by my 4th cousin Jane Vogel.

As important and rewarding as the written sources have been my conversations with family members. Barely-known names when I began, they have become real people and friends now, and they have brought their forebears, Paul's brothers and sisters and nieces and nephews, alive. Ernest and Henry Schott, the only living grandchildren of Hermann Baerwald, told me family stories and Ernest translated the invaluable 1913 family history as well as other material.

Pauline Harrison and Mary Harrison Scarlett helped greatly. Mike Odenheimer, devoted historian of his branch of the family, recounted many conversations with his mother Dorothea (Doro) Frenkel Odenheimer and gave me a deeper understanding of the lives of relatives growing up in Germany in the pre-Nazi era, then the Nazi one, and then their experiences as immigrants in the U.S. So did Albert and Tom Goltz, two DVD's of interviews with Doro and her older sister Susanna Frenkel Goltz, Albert Frenkel (also a grandson of Hermann, who died in 2015), David Frenkel, Susanna Frenkel, Deborah Frenkel, Emanuel Frenkel and Douglas Frenkel. Jessica Baerwald gave me access to the papers of her father, Butz, including his handwritten memoir which is reproduced as Appendix 4, and to the collection of Hermann Baerwald's letters**.** Diane Baerwald Moore and her children Jan and David Baerwald shared stories and documents about Paul's youngest brother Ernst. Other grandchildren of Paul were encouraging and supportive: Patricia Falk, Michael Falk, Barbara Baerwald, and Peter Aron shared memories as well. My niece Logan Falk Prather deserves a big shout-out for her genealogical research and her design of both the book cover and the family trees that appear in the Appendices.

Leo Baeck Institute research director Frank Mecklenburg and JDC archivist Mikhail Mitsel gave me needed support and advice during archival research over many years. Susan Ray translated a selection of the Hermann Baerwald letters, which also required her painstaking deciphering of Hermann's antique German script. Henning Kahmann was always available to share his research on the Frenkel family history, as well as the Frenkel art confiscations by the Nazis, and restitution efforts and provided an invaluable historical walking tour of central Berlin.

Dick Cluster has been with me from the beginning of my interest and obsessive tangents in learning and thinking about my grandfather's life. He translated and deciphered materials in German to get the gist or in their entirety, answered questions I had (e.g., "What language would Paul's grandfather and father have spoken at home in the 1820s-50s?"), and contributed other historical knowledge related to different periods the book encompasses. His research in libraries and online uncovered more information and led to sources on Paul Baerwald's activities that I would not have found otherwise. (For instance, in 2017 he discovered a published book of diaries of Paul's brother Arnold Baerwald's second wife, Charlotte, whose children Paul had been deeply involved with, but about whom I had no information.) Along the way ─ including in our travels to greater London; Vitznau, Switzerland; and Berlin ─ Dick has met lots of my relatives, many long dead and others still living. In the last few years, he has edited drafts, helped me out of scrambled ideas and informational rabbit holes. More recently he has drafted several chapters for me to edit. Simply put, I couldn't have gotten this completed without him!

In the long process of writing, I have gone over documents, files, and the many other sources endless times. Not all are cited in the chapter endnotes, though I've done my best to give a good sense of specific sources by way of either the notes or explanations within the text. The boxes of Paul's papers will be added to his public collection at the Lehman Archives.

Of course, not all of the stories, facts, and impressions I have gleaned from the large Baerwald family are included. The rest are not lost, and the energy spent was worth every minute, the stories are in my notes and many in my head.

Above all, I learned from these stories what a different meaning Paul had to his extended family in Europe than he had to his immediate family here. To his grandchildren, he was our grandfather who loved us and kept his eye out for us. Whereas for his siblings and their children and many of his cousins and further afield family he was a steady lifeline. "Marvelous, most wonderful, helpful people," was how his niece Susanna Frenkel described him and his wife Edith. These relatives talked about him as an almost legendary figure who had saved their lives.

1. Three Baerwald Generations before Paul: Leyser Lewin, Lewin, and Hermann

The family trail begins in 1771, with the birth of Paul's great-grandfather in the town of Wongrowiec, about twenty-five miles from the modern city of Poznan, in an area that was shifting from Polish to Prussian control. (The German names for the town and city, respectively, became Wongrowitz and Posen.) There, a boy without a last name, Leyser Lewin (pronounced Levin), was born. Who his parents were, where they had come from and what languages they spoke or read or wrote, can only be surmised from histories of the time. Perhaps Leyser Lewin's family had moved westward from Russian or other Polish lands, but perhaps they had been in the same area for several generations.

In 1798 Leyser Lewin married Mindel, Paul's great-grandmother, the daughter of Juda Abraham of the nearby town of Margonin, a Jew of some means and legal privileges. At least at the time of his marriage, Leyser Lewin was listed as an artisan making lace, braid, tassels, ribbons and similar items for the trimming of clothes (*Posamentier*)[2].

On October 26, 1800, their first son, Lewin, was born in Wongrowitz. Sometime after 1800 the family moved about twenty miles northeast to Nakel (Naklo nad Notecia, in Polish, on modern maps), where four other children were born. Lewin, his oldest child, married in Nakel in 1825. Lewin's lifespan marks a time of immense economic, political and social changes in Europe, from which a tiny percentage of Jewish families were in a position to benefit. The period of economic opening for this portion of Prussian Jews began roughly in 1800. The bubble that created the Baerwald ascent into the Jewish bourgeoisie of Prussia was complex and always potentially volatile, subject to wars between nations and to social forces both progressive and regressive. Within that context these Jews were mindful of a being a few steps away from economic insecurity and the unpredictable forms of anti-Semitism and deprivation of legal rights.

In the 1795 First Partition of Poland, formerly Polish territories were divided among Prussia, Russia and Austria, significantly enlarging the Jewish populations of all three empires. Prussia's attitude "was to Germanize the total population as rapidly as possible."[3] Then, during the Napoleonic Wars, French armies temporarily occupied the area and, along with proclaiming 'Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity,' also began granting new status to Jews,

if only because Napoleon needed conscripts. After Napoleon's defeat in 1815, the area reverted to Prussia, and Prussian law in the realigned territory began to change.

It was during the period of the partition and afterward that more modernized record keeping took hold for reasons of control, taxation and military conscription. In that process, Jewish families acquired surnames, and that is probably how Leyser Levin took the last name "Baerwald." The name may be derived from the village or town of Bärwalde,[4] some eighty miles from Wongrowitz, Nakel, and Margonin. The first record of this name appears on Leyser Levin's marriage petition of 1798, and on Levin's 1825 marriage certificate as both his and his father's surname.

Laws about residency and other rights changed, so that no longer did Jews, for example, need permission to live in cities. Emancipation and naturalized citizenship, available to Jewish men with wealth and education, came about in various parts of Prussia starting in 1815. Despite the Jews' normal suspicion towards any new regulations, even ones that seemed to benefit them, Lewin Baerwald was listed as having been naturalized in Nakel, as a 'Kaufmann' (merchant or trader) in a document dated 11-8-1834.[5] He was among a very tiny portion, at most 5% of the Jews in what was then the province of Posen, to do so.[6] Most Jews in the province were ineligible because of poverty or lack of education.

Likewise, the Baerwald family's physical movement was part of the widespread Jewish migration as a result of new rights. The choice for men to marry women from other areas was one offshoot. Lewin was born in one town, his wife Frommet in another, and they lived and raised their family in a third. In the case of Lewin's eight children (born between 1826-1845), most movement was within or near the province of Posen. Only Hermann (Paul's father) moved further and further away within Prussia: Breslau, Berlin and then Frankfurt-am-Main. It was Lewin's grandchildren, born between the years 1858-1893, who made major geographical shifts. Of course, by this time they were part of much larger migrations, driven by both oppression and industrialization, involving people much worse off than they, including Eastern European Jews.

When did the Baerwalds begin to identify as German? I can only conjecture from history, not from any family documents. Certainly by 1800, some would have. The new rights brought families such as theirs into a path of assimilation, to thinking of themselves as

Germans as much as Jews. Circumstances of education, economics, and community made this process vary from place to place and family to family.

There is no specific information to know for sure in which generation German became the main language spoken in the Baerwald home. I can surmise that Lewin – as a business man in Posen in the first half of the 19th century – would have needed to speak both Polish and German as well as Yiddish. But in that generation Yiddish was most likely the language of the home.

Jews' historical roles as non-landholding tradesmen and middle men of goods and money didn't change, but the changing world around them magnified these roles. Industrialization made everything on a grander scale, at a faster pace, and allowed for branching out into more products. At least one historian has used Lewin Baerwald as an example of upward mobility.

> Many very rich German Jewish families started out quite modestly. Lewin Baerwald, a Talmudic student who decided to become a grain and wool dealer in 1826-27, later leased a tavern. By 1840 he had amassed 6,000 Talers in capital. Lewin's children gave up the sale of groceries and iron [hardware] from a store in their house in the 1850s to devote themselves full time to the wholesale grain business. By 1869 the firm had grown so much that they could take one third interest in the purchase of the 8,400-acre Shubin forest for 1,750,00 Marks and pay off the entire amount by 1872.[7]

By the mid-1850s, Lewin's male children (except Hermann) were deeply involved in the expanding family businesses. Key to this expansion was faster means of transportation. The family's investments expanded from wheat and textile trading and to the purchase of forests for lumber, a lumber mill, a flour mill, and modern distilling machinery for producing vodka out of potato crops planted on former forest land (1880s).

Here is what was written about Lewin thirty-two years after his death in his son Lesser Baerwald's 1913 *History of the House of Baerwald*.

> Lewin was destined by his parents, because of his intellectual gifts and his diligence, to study for the rabbinate. Therefore he was sent to be educated by the most important rabbinical scholars in the province when he was barely fully grown. He showed such great industry and eagerness, not only in his Talmudic studies but also in the general academic fields that were offered in those years, that as a 24 year old man he was considered ready and qualified to be appointed as a rabbi. [However . . .] in the years 1826-27, so as not to

> remain a burden on his in-laws [with whom he and Frommet lived], he turned to business and devoted himself to the purchase and sale of agricultural products, especially wheat and wool. Realizing his lack of experience in business, he sought at first to ally himself to business people of greater experience . . . all his attempts to make himself independent were unsuccessful. After a number of years of fruitless struggle, during which time their second son Hermann was born, my parents after heavy conflicts and many efforts decided to leave Nakel for a time and to take on the lease of an inn in Sossnow [twenty miles further to the north] which had been offered to them. With heavy hearts did they leave dear old Nakel and on October 1836 entered a new and difficult environment under great social and intellectual privations but with untiring diligence and boundless energy. My mother looked after the sale of liquor and groceries, while my father devoted himself to the business of agricultural products and in particular to the trading of wheat . . . after four year of joint endeavor with great self-denial and exemplary industry, my parents had amassed savings in the amount of 6000 talers. They decided to return to Nakel and did so in the fall of 1840.[8]

Hermann, in a memoir of his early life that he wrote at the age of twenty-three, similarly describes that period of hardships for his father and mother:

> . . .because my parents lost their whole assets through various misfortunes and considerable thefts. My father found it necessary to accept an offer from a friendly landowner to run the inn on his estate in Sossnow because he saw no prospect of providing for his family while remaining in town. The four years (1837-1841) my parents spent in the village were times of severe trials. A living room and a closet in an old thatched hut constituted the living quarters of our entire family [six children by 1840]. So poor was the foundation of the house that not rarely during heavy rainfalls the living room was flooded.[9]

After the family's return to Nakel, with money in his pocket, Lewin's business ventures grew steadily. However, during the 1840s he was often on the road much of the week.

Though Lewin had given up on his Judaic studies after his marriage in 1825, we know that he wanted his second son Hermann to have the scholarly career he could not have himself. Hermann wrote:

> Due to long and diligent immersion in these [Talmudic] studies he developed an affinity to scholarship. The less conditions permitted him to satisfy this inclination, the more he tried to transfer it to his children.[10]

By the 1850s Hermann's brothers Aron, Lesser, Max and David, and several brothers-in-law were partners with Lewin in the expanding multifaceted business and began to set up

their own businesses in some cases, with the family interests spreading as far as the city of Bromberg (Bydgoszcz). I don't know much about Lewin's travels to other parts of Germany, but I do know that in 1870 he and Frommet traveled to the fashionable resort spa of Bad Ems northwest of Frankfurt, accompanied by Lesser as far as Berlin (Lesser was traveling there on business) and then accompanied by Hermann from Frankfurt to Ems. One of Hermann's few surviving letters to his father, which begins "Beloved Father!," is thankful for Lewin and Frommet's safe return home from that trip, and recalls what Hermann is sure will be a "lasting memory" of how they "saw the king on the critical day" on the promenade at Ems, a reference to the circumstances around the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian war.[11] Eleven years later, Lewin died at the age of 81, followed by Frommet two years later. He had lived long enough to meet 39 of his 46 grandchildren.[12] Included here is a shortened version of Hermann's spoken farewell at the grave site in Nakel in 1881. Hermann spoke of his father and his role, from Hermann's perspective, as a bridge between Jewish and German learning and culture:

> He came here as a young Talmud student to begin a family, continuing his Talmud studies and selflessly instructing others. Through these activities he expanded the strength of his insight and wisdom. Independently he assimilated German culture and independently he developed into a business man through constant and honest application.
>
> The conduct of his life exemplified the need for modern education, for German culture. He was the intellectual founder of the Hebrew county school which continues to grace our community. It is in largest measure due to him that we installed the first rabbi that had a German education. It was he who encouraged with active participation the founding of the school for higher education from which the Gymnasium grew. . . But, as it often happens, his entire ethical philosophy of life found its origin in the Jewish scriptures which he had studied in his youth. They were the source from which came his love of mankind, his all enveloping love of mankind and his toleration of opposing points of view.[13]

The family in Nakel continued to observe Jewish traditions and rituals in the home. In a letter describing what was reported to him about his mother Frommet's last days in 1893, Hermann wrote that:

> She roused herself and got up early on Friday; the Sabbath challah was lying, as usual, on the breakfast table. She blessed the loaves and then returned to bed, but when the Sabbath started she got up again, put on her best clothes,

> and went into the back room which was decorated to welcome the Sabbath. She recited the blessing over the Sabbath candles with fervor and, as always, concluded with a blessing for her children. Then Tante Jettchen, as usual, read her the prayer for the Sabbath evening. She washed her hands, sat down at the table, Sigismund recited the kiddush. My beloved mother was in a particularly celebratory mood, all present had to take a glass of wine; she toasted each one individually, and then wished each one of them health and happiness. Even the two serving girls, the cook and the housemaid, had to enter, partook of the wine, and received a blessing. . . [The next day] she asked whether the prayer that is usually said for the sick would be said for her in the synagogue, and whether we had remembered the poor.

Hermann also wrote that "the seven days of mourning" were observed, followed by the funeral; the members of the family arrived only in time for the funeral itself.[14]

Hermann became the only scholar and educator among his siblings. He described himself as having "a tendency to seriousness" affected by watching his parents' economic struggles as a child and by awareness of the poverty in the larger community around him. Further, in his 1850 memoir:

> This disposition was reinforced ...as I suffered from various illnesses in my 11th and 12th years, rarely attended school and seized the opportunity to sink into idle introspection... And if even now I lack the cheerfulness and vivacity ... I cannot give up a certain brooding seriousness in spite of my struggles against it.[15]

In Nakel, before the hard period involving the move to Sossnow, Lewin and Frommet had stretched their money and paid to send Hermann and his older brother Aron to a private Jewish school. The main subject of instruction was Hebrew and study of the Talmud, but two of the eleven hours of classes were devoted to the study of German, writing, arithmetic and other subjects. Lewin also took time from his busy schedule to tutor the boys in Hebrew and the Bible in the early morning hours.[16]

In 1840, at age 13, Hermann was sent to Gymnasium (high school) in the town of Konitz, which was made possible by the fact that an aunt was living there. He later wrote that he studied "incessantly," in part because "I, who could hardly read and write [German], could not understand how I managed to be accepted in such a prestigious school."[17] However the next year, when his parents returned to Nakel, Hermann also went home and continued his

Talmudic studies, in case he were to study Jewish theology. Then he went back to Konitz and the Gymnasium, where he stayed until August 1845, when the aunt, with whom he was living, died. Then he went home to Nakel again, and just as he was going off to a school in the city of Posen to "perfect my knowledge of Hebrew"[18] he contracted typhus.

When Hermann was finally healthy again, his parents sent him in April 1846 (at 18) to study in the city of Breslau (Polish: Wroclaw), some 150 miles away, at the Elisabet Gymnasium. There he added Latin classes and read German classics including Schiller and Goethe.

He loved school, the friendship of like-minded students, and the political fervor for change which was all around him during the revolution of 1848 (which he refers to as "the developments"). "On every corner I heard the maxims of freedom and equality... This should come true now. I had very often painfully perceived that because I happened to be a child of Jewish parents. I was excluded from many things in the community and deprived of a fatherland."

Deeply affected by his teacher of German history along with the excitement of the times, he turned towards the life-long study of German history and philosophy. His education continued, first two years at the University of Breslau, followed in 1852 by matriculation at the University of Berlin, to study under the tutelage of the prestigious historian Leopold von Ranke[19], completing his Ph.D. in German history and Philosophy in February 1855 with a thesis on the 13th century Hapsburg ruler Rudolf I.[20] However, as he pursued this career, he could teach only in institutions where Jews were accepted, and the authorities did not want Jewish teachers at the Protestant state schools. In 1856 he passed the state teachers' exam in Breslau with high marks, but could not get a job. So he moved to Vienna, in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, to take a private position as tutor to the three children of the Prussian consul Moritz Ritter von Goldschmidt.

While he worked as a tutor, he continued his research and study on the reign of Rudolf I at the State Archives of Vienna, publishing in 1856 a book of 493 pages about a manuscript from the period for which the Imperial Austrian Academy of Science awarded him the Gold Medal for Arts and Sciences.[21] In the early 1860s he again applied for teaching jobs, one in Vienna and two in Prussia (including one at his former high school in Breslau), but was denied. In February 1862 he filed an official protest based on the Prussian constitution with

the Ministry of Education and Religion, but this too was rejected. Thus he had to abandon a long-held dream to eventually lecture on medieval history at his alma mater, the University of Berlin.[22]

Instead, sometime in the late 1850s, Hermann got a provisional position at the newly established Jewish Teachers Seminary in Berlin, which was made permanent in 1864. In 1863 he met Selma Meyer Frenkel, who came from a prosperous merchant family on her mother's side, and they married the following year. Hermann was 36 and Selma was 19.[23] Much later, in 1949, Paul told the story of his parent's courtship and marriage this way:

> He had met her . . . at the wedding of his oldest brother [Aron], who married her aunt [Bertha Meyer]. A most romantic and unusual correspondence, going on for many months, followed the meeting, and after a while they became engaged. My father was then a teacher at the seminary in Berlin. My oldest brother Arnold and my oldest sister Elise, were born in Berlin, and in 1868 my father was called to Frankfort to become head of the Philanthropin.[24]

Finally, in 1868, after his history of being denied acceptance into institutions for which he was well qualified, this thoroughly Germanized academic and published historian, with a family to support, was hired as principal of a Jewish-run school in Frankfurt. He had already made something of a name for himself in a process of reforming Jewish education then underway, and his appointment in Frankfurt was facilitated in part by the liberal Jewish Berlin lawyer and politician Eduard Lasker.[25]

The "Philanthropin," whose formal name was Realschule der israelitischen Gemeinde (school of the Jewish community), was an important institution of the time described in social histories of German Jewry as a model of modern educational curriculum. It was established in 1804 by the chief bookkeeper of the Rothschild bank, with support from Mayer Amschel Rothschild, founder of the banking dynasty. The school's initial purpose (according to a JDC fundraising speech by Paul in 1945 and supported by other accounts) was to help poor Jewish boys get an education. However, the nickname "Philanthropin" also probably alluded to an 18th century movement of progressive, humanistic school reform, which gave birth to schools with that name in various German cities (the name deriving from the Greek root meaning "love for humanity"). The motto of the Frankfurt Jewish school was "Enlightenment and Humanity."

The school soon attracted the children of well-off Frankfurt residents, both boys and girls. It covered the grades we would call elementary and high school. It was a non-denominational school, although primarily attended by Jews. Their goal was not to separate themselves off as Jews, but to enter into the educational process of Germanization in Prussia. (One historian estimates Frankfurt's Jewish population in 1871 at 10,000, accounting for 7% of the city's population – well above the percentage for Germany as a whole or for other major cities.[26]) In the school, German culture and history were cultivated along with mathematics, science and world history, with the goal of preparing students to enter the fast-changing world around them. Many languages were taught including Hebrew, and Jewish religious studies were part of the curriculum in some grades. At some periods in its history the school had state support. The Philanthropin continued through World War I and until it was closed by the Nazis in 1941-42.

Hermann in some ways foresaw his work at the Philanthropin when 15 years earlier he had written:

> . . . I decided to study history and philosophy. On the one hand an inner inclination pushes me toward that, on the other hand it is my duty that forces me to devote myself to a teaching career. In these times of materialism everywhere, paralyzing every progress or mankind and threatening to destroy every ethical foundation, it is the duty of everyone who believes in the destiny of mankind to devote himself to the education of the young, and to give an enlightened view point through the study of history. Once familiar with the true needs of the time, it is possible to prepare for a better future.[27]

Hermann held his position as principal of the Philanthropin for the rest of his working life, from August 1868 until his retirement in 1899. He reflected after retirement, "The move to Frankfurt signified a turning point in my life. Had I not come here, I would have soon become rector of the girls' school and that would not have been very much. But everything that I could be for my children has stemmed from Frankfurt."[28]

During this time he also published a number of scholarly papers and books, including a biography of Leopold von Ranke.[29] He was active in the community in various ways, including membership in the Masons (apparently a separate Jewish or largely Jewish lodge).

After moving to Frankfurt, Selma and Hermann had four more children. Selma died in 1878, having given birth to six children in nine years. In 1880, Hermann married Emma Sandberg, a widow, a distant cousin and friend of Selma's. Hermann was 52, Emma 26.

Hermann died in February 1907. Emma Sandberg Baerwald died in Berlin in 1926.

In eulogies, Hermann was described as active in his community, a respected educator and family man. According to Paul's 1945 fundraising speech already quoted above:

> My first contact with efforts to help Jewish people in distress was in the year 1885. At that time the Jews in Rumania went through particular difficulties and a committee was formed in Frankfort to collect money for their assistance. My father was Honorary Secretary of that committee and he dictated to me the minutes of the meetings. He became an ex-officio member of the many charitable undertakings of the Jewish community of Frankfort.

2. Paul's life in Frankfurt, 1871-1891

By the time of Paul's birth, Hermann and Selma had lived in Frankfurt for three years. Paul was born into a house full of small children: Arnold 4, Elise 3, Emil 2, and Meta eleven months, with the Philanthropin and all its students a few steps away. Paul didn't have much of his mother's time; another brother, Edu was born three years later, and then his mother died at the age of 33. Two years later, Hermann married Emma, and they had 3 more children, Selma, Ernst and Leonore (Lore). In Paul's 20 years at home, he lived in a large, busy household of children, parents, and servants. By the time he started his banking apprenticeship just before turning fifteen, only Arnold had left home, for medical school. Elise left home when Paul was eighteen, and Emil when he was nineteen. By the time Lore was born in 1893, Paul had been working in London for over two years. All told, the spread of years of Paul's siblings was twenty-seven years, and only two years separated the birth of Hermann's last child, Lore, and his first grandchild, Hans (the child of Arnold).

Sixty-seven years after his birth, Paul wrote in one of his many notebooks: "Dec. 21, 1945 7:30 a.m. This is the shortest day of the year. My mother was born on Dec. 21, 1845. A century ago. I don't remember any of her birthdays. She died on Sept 27, 1878, on the day when I was 7 years old."[30] This fact, that his mother died on his own seventh birthday is repeated time and again in his personal writings.

More light is shed on Paul's early experience by Lore's retrospective account based on family stories:

> There was not much doctors could do [about Selma's cancer] at that time, but all the time they tried and operated to no avail. During the long illness of Selma, her cousin Emma Sandberg, a young widow, had come to the house to help her with the children. After the death of Selma it was in these Victorian times absolutely unthinkable for her to stay on. . . So after a few struggling years my father, then fifty-two, burdened as he was with the directorship of a big school and all it involved, asked my mother to come and be his and mother to the children. Mother was then 26. These kids after years of being mostly under the supervision of hired help must have been and unruly bunch to say the least and the first year must have been hard, especially as the maids told them "now you get a stepmother" . . . But after a year there was a little girl [Selma Baerwald] lying in the laundry basket and the children rallied around it in admiration. . . . After three years, another hard luck story. A boy

> was born named Phillip after my mother's father. He died soon after an incompetent man, entrusted with the little operation of circumcision, bungled it. The child bled to death. After three more years, my brother Ernest was born, a pale little fellow of whom my mother always said that he sat in the corner of the davenport and one did not see him.[31]

By the time of the birth of Ernst (all Paul's writings call him by the nickname "Ernesto," which I will use from here on), Paul was thirteen, in his next-to-last year of school. His later writings show that he loved his stepmother Emma, whom, in correspondence, he always called "mother." Several descriptions below will fill out the comings and goings of the household. More sense of family life has come to light via letters from Hermann to various of his children between 1889 and 1906.

In his 1945 JDC fundraising speech, Paul referred to "regular Friday evening attendance at the big synagogue in Frankfort which is now destroyed." The high holy days were taken seriously, and in later years, after the children were grown, they would often come home for these. For instance, in 1894, when Paul was living in London, Hermann wrote in a letter, "We spent Yom Kippur in solemn reverence and gathered around the family table that evening happy and in high spirits. Paul was our dear guest." I suspect that the boys had bar mitzvahs, but Ernesto is the only one for whom I have evidence.

Paul's nuclear family was the one farthest removed geographically from Nakel, the center of the Baerwald clan, where they generally traveled during the summer. Though as a school principal Hermann was the least well off of Lewin's sons, still Paul's immediate family was not lacking for goods or traditions. In 1954, Paul wrote that he was:

> ...brought up in the home of a teacher and educator where large family made economy necessary and where desserts were served only once a week -- on Saturdays -- and where one whole winter coffee was served without sugar, even though cakes and cookies came pretty regularly from Nakel and there was a box of cookies at our large dining room table where three or four of more of us did our homework. There was much abundance in the homes of the grandparents and Uncle Lesser in Nakel and great wealth in Berlin at Uncle Hermann Frenkel's where we visited from time to time. There was much wealth in the homes in Frankfurt where we had dancing lessons.[32]

Paul's entire formal education took place at the Philanthropin, which adjoined their home. Thus he would have seen his father in both home and school, which offered a look at how this hardworking man presented himself. All of Hermann's children attended the

Philanthropin, though for differing numbers of years. Some graduated – both boys and girls – but some did not. Paul did not graduate – he went for nine years, from the ages of 5 to 14 ¾. His school report cards -- each one signed twice by Hermann, as both principal and parent – show diligence and seriousness. The class titles listed on the report cards for six of the nine years he attended are fairly typical of what is described in histories of schools of the period. Paul took as many as 14 different subjects at the same time, which was not atypical. At age 8½, Spring term 1880, he took Jewish religion and history, Hebrew, German, French, secular history, arithmetic/bookkeeping, natural history, writing and gym. At later ages, additional subjects included English, geometry, physics, chemistry and math. In his grades, penmanship and language stand out overall. His best subjects at the end of his formal schooling were English and math.

In Paul's writings, there are many references to how he began his work life, but no opinion or explanation as to why his formal education was terminated before completing the Philanthropin. Perhaps it was to get him started on a business career as soon as possible, and on the ground floor, so to speak. Emil went to work at about the same age as Paul, but the oldest brother, Arnold, must have graduated because he went on to study medicine at the university in Heidelberg. In any case, Paul started his banking career at the firm Lazard Speyer-Ellissen in June 1886, three months before he turned fifteen. Here is what he wrote in 1956 about beginning his apprenticeship there:

> There were attached to the Philanthropin a number of Stiftungen [endowments]. Some for scholarships for pupils at the School, some for pupils on their leaving school and continuing their education at the Gymnasium and/or universities, others for some sort of financial help for teachers at the School, some for orphans, etc. And for all those Boards my father was Honorary Secretary ex-officio and thus he established personal contacts with the lay trustees who were business people, bankers, merchants, etc. One of them was George Speyer [*sic*, though in German his name was Georg]. Into his office others graduating from the Philanthropin had drifted, one or two of them who had in the course of time been shifted to London and New York. It was therefore not unnatural for my father to go to George Speyer and ask him: "Can you use a Lehrling [apprentice]?" That firm was of the highest standing. And so for 2½ years I was a Lehrling with the only pay at Christmas of M.100. Their usual term was three years but most of the time one was made a Commis clerk. I believe the pay was M.100 out of which I was soon able to pay a share of the household expenses, either that, or my clothes.

Georg Speyer's connection to the Philanthropin was a natural one, since he himself (born 1835) had attended the school before Hermann's arrival. So did other members of German-Jewish banking families with whom Paul would later be connected in London and New York. For instance, Jacob Schiff studied at the Philanthropin before emigrating to New York in 1865. Later on, some of these German-Jewish-American families sent their sons back to Germany to attend the Philanthropin for some part of their education. Examples include several San Francisco families such as the Slosses and the Glaziers; Henry Glazier, who sat in the same classrooms as Paul at the same time, later became his brother-in-law when they each married Jacobi sisters.

Georg Speyer's much younger American-born cousins James and Edgar, 9 and 10 years older than Paul, were sent to Frankfurt for schooling (in the 1870s, at a non-Jewish *Gymnasium*, a college-prep high school). The Jewish bourgeoisie of Frankfurt, made up of merchants and bankers, was not large. Hermann, as head of a prestigious school and involved in the community, would have known them all.

There was another possible bank at which Paul could have apprenticed. His uncle Hermann Frenkel (his mother Selma Frenkel's brother) was a partner in a bank in Berlin. I imagine that Hermann the father consulted with Hermann the uncle about his plans for Paul. Perhaps Paul was still young and needed at home. Or perhaps the deciding factor was the size, history, and international reach of the Speyer firm. The Speyer family banking business in Frankfurt dated back to the 17th century. Members of the family had set up their American branch in the 1830s and marketed U.S. government bonds in Europe during the Civil War; their London branch opened in 1862.

In any case, Paul went to work for Speyer, and later recalled the office on the Rossmarkt, overlooking the Gutenberg memorial, where, "My first assignment was the writing in longhand of advices of drafts to New York which we sold to clients . . . Later on I went into the bookkeeping department. There were no typewriters and everything was done in longhand, and there were no adding machines [so all calculation had to be done] in the old-fashioned way. After that I got into the bond department, which was the equivalent of the present security cage."

There first years at Speyer gave Paul an eye and ear into international financial and industrial developments. One part of the firm's business, Paul recalled, was selling the bonds

that financed the massive post-Civil War railroad construction in the U.S., at a time when, partly because of personal connections growing out of German emigration (non-Jewish and Jewish) to the U.S. as a result of repression following the failed revolutions and liberal/democratic movements of 1848, German investment in the U.S. was growing. He noted:

> Large packages of bonds of the Central Pacific and the Southern Pacific, of the San Joaquin Valley, Denver & Rio Grande, of Chicago, St. Louis & New Orleans, Spring Valley Water Works, Pacific of Missouri, City of Chicago, to mention only some of these bonds, arrived from NY and were sold to investors and institutions in many parts of Germany. They were all quoted on the Frankfort Stock Exchange . . . . Because of the widespread activities of the House of Rothschild which started in Frankfort, the Frankfort and the South German investing public had become acquainted with foreign securities much earlier than Berlin or North Germany.

Another Frankfurt connection who would loom large in Paul's later life was Felix Warburg, who came from a Hamburg banking family on his father's side and a family in the diamond business in Frankfurt on his mother's (Oppenheim) side. They met at the home of Paul's contemporary Victor Reichenberger, with whom Paul would remain close friends for years. Paul wrote:

> My relationship with Felix Warburg dates back to many, many years ago, in happy times, in Frankfurt. We came across each other first when he was so very intimate in the house of the Reichenbergers and when he spent much time in the company of their daughter Resi, a never-to-be-forgotten person of unusual charm, and who in 1894 married my brother Arnold.

In the fall of 1891, after five years at Lazard Speyer-Ellissen, Paul moved on to the next stage of his career, with the related firm of Speyer Brothers in London, managed by Georg's cousin Edgar.

In the meantime, earlier in 1891, Emil had left home to pursue a business career in the United States after working for some years in Frankfurt. On April 2 of that year, Hermann wrote to Emil his "first lines to you in America," saying that "My thoughts were with you through all your travels and I was happy to know that you were once again on solid ground. May God be with you and watch over you wherever you are. News from our son in the distant world was the first great joy in our family home."[33] Hermann added that he planned to write Jacob Schiff and asked Emil to give his regards to several other influential German-

Jewish Americans including Berthold Hochschild and John Jacob Langeloth, the German-born co-founders of the American Metals Company [the firm for which Emil would go on to work for a time].

In those moves and those of the other children later on, Hermann kept a watchful eye, as his letters are full of his hopes for them, opinions about what they are doing, direct advice and indirect cajoling. Hermann would also write to one sibling about another, not necessarily directly to the one involved. These opinions refer to career choices and marriage possibilities (especially for the daughters), as well as to small tactical details such as how to follow up on contacts or to dress. Most of the examples date from after Paul's departure for London, because the letter-writing became most frequent once Emil, Paul, and others of the children had left Frankfurt. Still, I will quote them here to give the flavor of Hermann's oversight.

> 1894, to Emil: "Meta turned 23 in October. It is one of my dearest wishes that she should marry and preferably remain here in Frankfurt. However, as of yet no connection seems to be in the offing . . . Paul is not entirely pleased with his position; he writes that he would like to move up and it seems that the prospects of doing so are not entirely favorable. Whether or not it would be a step forward to move to New York is not yet clear, the London branch of Sp is probably bigger than the one in New York. . . . Eduard will soon have his first semester of [university] study behind him; even as recent as Christmas time, which he spent here, he was unable to drum up much interest for religious studies, but just last week he wrote on a postcard to Arnold 'law better', and so it is possible that he will gradually develop an interest for that. Prospects in Prussia for lawyers are very poor . . ."
>
> 1901, to Paul: "Your move to New York was a great step forward. And, of course, [knowing] the foremost business language has contributed its share in that. But things don't always remain the same. Setbacks can also occur – and that's why it's necessary to make use of the good times and to anchor your worldly foundation. I hope that you are methodical and are doing this. I also hope that you, dear child, will use your connections with the influential gentlemen there to solidify your position. You'll surely write to us about that."
>
> 1901, to Emil: "Next month Ernst is supposed to enter business; his school leaving grades and evaluation are very good in the commercial disciplines. If he should prove to be business-minded, he will have an opportunity to get ahead in the firm of Leopold Cassella & Co, Ltd. I still don't know whether Selma should actively take up a teaching career. I wish my three daughters would eventually fulfill their career ambitions as housewives. Until now Meta

> is the only one for whom that has not materialized, even though I thought it would be so easy for her. But I'm not giving up hope. Selma, too, wants to reserve her decision for a little while yet."
>
> 1902, to Paul: "I'm very pleased to hear that Emil, to whom I send my kind regards, has made a good start in his own business. One must multiply one's expenses from month to year, because expenses as a rule do not lessen, but rather increase; but as far as income in concerned, one must guard against multiplying one's monthly takings, because only rarely is there any guarantee that they will remain the same. My hopes are grounded on Emil's business acumen and on his ambition to finally create a solid position and foundation for himself. I also hope that he will not abandon crucial caution and that he does not start out with the idea of becoming rich quickly."

"Anchor your worldly foundation" might be the best way to summarize Hermann's overall concern. My sense is that Hermann believed every family, in this new era, needed to be strategic in the placement of their children, the right professions and spouses chosen. The letters I have read convey a pressure to not waste time, to choose wisely and stick to it. At the time Paul left for London, besides Emil being in the U.S., Arnold was already a medical student or doctor in Heidelberg, and Elise was in Danzig, married to the lawyer Hans Behrendt. Later, Meta would move to Danzig with her businessman husband, Edu would be a lawyer in Frankfurt, Selma would marry into the Frenkel family in Berlin (the family of Hermann's first wife), Ernesto would follow a technical/business career in a dye and chemical firm in Italy and Japan, and Lore (not yet born when Paul left) would marry a non-Jewish German businessman and live in Italy. Although much of what Hermann said about the girls had to do with their marriages, letters also refer to Selma and Lore's studies at a music conservatory and to Selma's work teaching music at the Philanthropin. (Later, after Hermann's death, Lore also served as a nurse during World War I.)

The thirty letters that have been transcribed do not express particular concern for the children's adherence to Judaism or religious practice, though they do mention family gatherings for Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur and refer to "best Passover wishes." They do not mention any bar mitzvahs though quite likely some of the non-transcribed letters could. On the other hand, the letters are full of conventional expressions of "thank God," "with God's help," "God be with you," etc. The one main reference to Jewish issues is a statement in 1893 of Hermann's strong objection to mixed marriages, using a family friend as an

example. “I am most decidedly against mixed marriages between Jews and Christians,” he writes. “In such instances one is never on an equal footing; Christianity dominates, it goes without saying that the children are raised as Christians; I have never seen any happiness there.” (The occasion of this lecture was his objection to Arnold’s discussing marriage with his future wife, before securing Hermann’s consent, at a time when Hermann thought he was too young and un-established. He expressed confidence that “I am absolutely persuaded that my sons will never do what F. B. [the family friend] has done, because you all know my principles and there is a strong and solid bond between us; we stick together no matter what. . . I did not fail to recognize the good fortune that had befallen me as a result of the fact that Arnold had turned his affections to a young woman of such outstanding qualities and from the best of our local Jewish families. Even so, I want to repeat again and again that I definitely demand of my sons that they turn to me before they take the most important steps of their lives.”)[34]

In August of 1891, Hermann, Emma, and most of their children gathered outside of Berlin to celebrate the 70th birthday of Paul’s maternal grandmother Caroline Meyer Frenkel, who had spent much time in the household in Frankfurt while Paul was growing up. They joined with Uncle Hermann Frenkel’s four children and extended Frenkel relatives for a weekend of festivities. I can see Hermann the father, Hermann the uncle, and Grandmother Caroline offering Paul their support as he would be leaving for London two months later.

3. Young Man in London, 1891-1896

"I came to London," Paul recalled fifty years later, "in November 1891, although our office was right across a very narrow street from the Bank of England, the fog was so thick that for the first three days I could not see the Bank of England."[35]

A month before Paul's move, Hermann B. wrote his daughter Elise:

> Our Paul will be in London on November 1st! How unhappy I am to see him leave! But I have to say to myself, it is time that he get into a lively, diverse and active business. His boss here in Frankfurt told me that London will only be a transit stay for New York, but probably a lengthy one. Then Paul will have the opportunity to get his commercial education in the 2 world trade centers, and if God keep him–as I hope– in good health he will advance with honors. For the beginning, his salary will be £750 (a year), somewhat above the M3,000, besides he will get a New Year's bonus. With that he can live comfortably and hopefully save some. I am glad he starts in this way and does not receive more.[36]

In a later letter to Elise, Hermann wrote "Time in London not so happy nor satisfactory, advancement in firm slow." Paul's (slim) accounts of those years are quite different. There are no surviving letters from Paul to his father – or to anyone else at that time in his life. Years later he wrote various descriptions of his time in London, and quite extensively about his work life.

Moving to London as a 20-year-old was a transformative experience: of leaving home, being on his own, living in a boarding house in a hub of international banking, speaking English, and meeting people from many countries who had converged in cosmopolitan London, the biggest modern industrialized city in the world. The first section of the London underground transit system opened the year before Paul arrived. It was the first deep-level electrically operated railway in the world. Edgar Speyer, the senior partner of Paul's new British employer, invested heavily in the underground and its expansion.

Paul had more responsibility at Speyer's London office than he had in Frankfurt. He worked long hours Monday to Friday, which included a two-hour lunch, and half days on Saturdays. About Speyer's place in the international investment world, he later wrote, "When I came to London in 1891...our main activity was the sale of American bonds to the English, Scotch and Irish public. Millions of bonds which arrived in large packages from NY were

sold in large and small amounts to the institutions and private investors thorough stock exchange brokers in London, Manchester, Glasgow, Belfast and other places."

Paul's business activity placed him in the City of London, the compact financial district where the offices of banking houses, stockbrokers, and import-export merchants were clumped around the headquarters of the Bank of England. Speyers Brothers' office had been, since 1884, at 7 Lothbury Street. (The building is still there, converted to condo flats.) More specifically, for the purpose of understanding Paul's trajectory, he was working in a subset of that environment that was predominately Jewish and included many who had come from Frankfurt and likely knew the Baerwald name, some of whom had been students at the Philantropin. These Jews knew each other through a maze of interlocking personal, marriage, and business networks, and these connections would serve Paul for the rest of his life.

Also at 7 Lothbury in 1895, for instance, was the local office of the American firm Benjamin Neugass & Co, investors and cotton merchants. One of Neugass's sisters was married to Mayer Lehman in New York, and another to Isaias Hellman in San Francisco; Paul would later work with the Lehman sons in the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC), and Hellman's son would become Paul's brother-in-law. Also at 7 Lothbury was the investment banking firm Seligman Brothers; two of the eight brothers were based in London, the rest in New York or San Francisco. Several of the New York brothers spent summers in Elberon, New Jersey, the shore community where Paul would find his way twenty years later; the son [Hugo] of one of the London-based Seligman brothers would marry a cousin of Paul's future wife.

On Old Broad Street, a few blocks away, was the office of Lazard-Freres, housing men who would become Paul's lifelong friends, and Paul himself would became a partner in their US branch in 1907. At 29 Great St. Helen's Street, four blocks from Lothbury, were Lewis Lazarus & Sons, metal merchants, who later hired Paul's brother Emil to be their US representative.

All these firms were doing very similar international finance transactions, all in the tiny district that was the City of London. Their partners and employees would see each other face to face constantly. They would meet in pubs for lunch and were social friends. Paul was getting all the advantages of the connections, though at this point he was still an employee. He worked for those people, lived on a salary, saved, and started investing.

In his first days or weeks, he might have lived with another Speyer employee as he looked for a boarding house with other single men. Since he missed the census year of 1890 and never applied for British legal status, I have only his word and a bit of other tantalizing evidence about the areas of the city where he lived, a little of whom he lived with, and what he did outside of work.

Paul settled into six London winters and four summers. He wrote that he lived in "Hampstead and later Maida Vale (Sutherland Avenue) and in 1894 and 1895 during the summer with two other young men in Surbiton, where we swam in the Thames almost every morning before breakfast." And also: "There were Germans and Austrians and English men of my age, all of modest circumstances. The evenings were spent mostly at home; 2 or 3 of us generally went to a show on Saturday. In the summer 3 of us had rooms 'up the river' and we had a rowboat for Saturday afternoon and Sunday." In a different reminiscence he recalled that "Life seemed not too dear in a boarding house and from my salary of £200 a year – or was it £220 – I could save £20 or £30. There were no movies, but about once a week we went to a show and got a seat in the pit for 2/6 [two shillings sixpence], and could even afford a hansom or fourwheeler to go to the West End Theatre district." And in yet another reminiscence, showing something of the conditions and also his mastery of English slang: "The 'slavey' put a pitcher of hot water for washing & shaving in front of my door every morning, there was a bathroom on the next landing."

Maida Vale was an inner London suburb developed during the 19th century, not far from Paddington Station, diverse but mostly middle class. In the 1890s, ten to twenty percent of its population was Jewish, including many German Jews, some of whom commuted to work in the City. Sutherland Avenue had both Jewish-run and Irish-run boarding houses, and probably others. In an address book of Paul's is an entry on that street for an immigrant from Bavaria who worked with his brother-in-law importing and selling Cuban cigars; the whole family were members of the Bayswater Synagogue, as were many other Jewish residents of Maida Vale. However, what most struck Paul – at least looking back many years later – was how "English," not Jewish, his new surroundings were:

> I worked with English "Clerks" & lived in an English Boarding house . . . The boarding house was of the middle class type, a thoroughly English landlady whose brother had a position in India, Civil Service. Her nephew carried on, by mail, a chess game with his father which took a year & longer to finish.

Surbiton, meanwhile, was on the Thames west of London, with a long-established train line to London, and was early in the process of becoming an outer suburb.

At the same as he was striking out on his own, Paul remained under the eye of his father and his father's friends. Travel time from Frankfurt to London was about 15 hours. Paul traveled to Frankfurt at least once a year in 1893, 1894, and 1896. Mail, meanwhile, came in a day. Paul recalled that, "Letters were common, one wrote and received many."

Paul also wrote that, in London, "My social visits, mostly Sunday luncheons, were with Henry Oppenheimer, a partner of Speyer Bros., and Albert Seligman, a relative of my father's best friend, the lawyer Fuld to whose firm my brother Edu was invited, immediately after he graduated from the university." (Oppenheimer, Seligman, and Fuld all appear on a list of Philanthropin trustees for the year 1898, the first two based in London and Fuld in Frankfurt.) Sometimes Emil came to London from New York.

One example of how his father and his father's connections were planning his future is documented in a 1940 reminiscence about Felix Warburg in which Paul recounted what happened during a trip to Frankfurt in 1893.

> When on a visit to Frankfurt in 1893, Felix had left the firm of Nathan Marcus Oppenheim, Mr. Oppenheim [Felix's maternal uncle and another Philanthropin trustee] came to my father and said he was wondering whether I would want to become a pearl and diamond merchant and take the place of Felix in their business. That was the first time that I was asked to be some sort of successor or substitute for Felix. My father thereupon went to Georg Speyer, who suggested that I should stay where I was, and that saved my fate for the time being.

The next year, during Paul's week-and-a-half visit home for Yom Kippur, Hermann wrote to Emil about their conversations, including one during "our usual walk along the Main River":

> Any attempt to get ahead at SP is a slow process; seniority there is usually not breached and all the top positions are solidly occupied. Even so, Paul is hoping to make his way in this firm. I know that they know and value him as absolutely reliable, punctual, orderly, intelligent and discreet, and the bosses always tell me that "he has chances".[37]

The long-foreseen move to New York came sooner than expected, with an abrupt offer in 1896 to replace Otto Kahn in the Speyer office there. Kahn had, like Paul, moved from Germany to London, where he had gone to work for the local office of Deutsche Bank; he

then went to Speyer in New York, married the daughter of a partner in Kuhn, Loeb, and Company, and jumped to that firm as a partner. Paul was asked to take his place at Speyer & Company. Here is Paul's recollection of how this came about:

> In 1896 the New York house asked London to send someone over . . . They wanted someone who had knowledge of the details of the London business. Although as far as the London office was concerned I was not in line of seniority, I was asked to go. My two seniors in time of clerkship either preferred to stay in London or perhaps were not considered as likely to adapt themselves as easily as it was considered I could, to NY life and circumstances.

He left for New York six weeks later.

This concludes what can be documented about Paul's time in London. Clearly, it leaves a giant gap about his personal life. Paul was good looking, short, and often self-described as shy. He had business and boarding-house friends of his age. What were young, single men on the rise doing with their scant free time, besides Saturdays at the theater or summer rowing on the Thames? What was Paul caring about, thinking about, writing home about, what were the young men discussing as meals were cooked for them and their clothes were laundered? What did he spend his salary on, was he frugal, or sending money home, or investing it? Or all three?

None of those questions will be answered. So let's just imagine Paul making his first Atlantic crossing, on the *S.S. Lucania*, from Liverpool in March of 1896. He had mixed feelings about leaving London. As he wrote in 1952, "My stay in England – London -- from my 20th to 25th year has never lost its meaning for me. It was a happy time, in retrospect it certainly seems those were happy years for the world." But nothing would stop his professional advancement, and I will pick up that story in Chapter 5.

Here I need to interrupt the chronology to tell about an important aspect of Paul's life that began during the London period and continued till he died. This is the one that helped pique my interest in searching in my grandfather's papers and life story – his relationship with Agnes Hutchison, the British, non-Jewish woman with whom he later fathered a child, three-plus years after his move to New York, and then his relationship with that son, Jack Harrison.

4. Paul and Agnes and Jack

I have explained in the Introduction how I learned about Jack's existence, talked to my mother's cousin Butz about him, found my cousins Pauline and Mary in London, and continued to pursue clues to Paul's relationship with Agnes and their son Jack. Because this chapter is more speculative than many others, I have organized it as a series of questions and tentative answers.

When did Paul and Agnes meet?

Somehow Paul met Agnes Hutchison in London. I have no information about when or where, but I know that it must have been while he was working in London (November 1891 to April 1896), and at least four years before Agnes' pregnancy with Jack.

The evidence for the relationship beginning then is in Agnes's address book, which her grandchildren Pauline and Mary photocopied for me. Agnes maintained this address book over a period of many years, apparently beginning in 1896 or before; most entries are not dated. Paul is always listed as "P.B.," at both business and home addresses, unlike almost all the other names. It seems that, from the first, this was a relationship she wanted to keep secret. She had eight undated P.B. entries in the "B" section, one more in the "P" section (dated Nov. 27, 1900) and four more scattered among the "W"s (two of them dated July 1900 and Sept. 1901).

The slim but very convincing pieces pointing to a relationship while Paul was still in London are:

- A PB entry in the "B" pages with the addresses "Speyer Bros. 7 Lothbury & 16 Rechneigraben Strasse Frankfurt-am-Main." This is actually two entries, one above the other, connected by the "&" sign. The first is the Speyer Brothers office in London, and the second is the Philanthropin school address -- that is, where to reach Paul via his father and/or during his visits back to Frankfurt.

- A PB entry also in the "B" pages for "Messrs Speyer & Co. Mills Buildings, PO Box 477, Broad St., NY." The Mills Building at 11 Broad Street was the Speyer address in New York from the 1880s (or earlier) until May of 1896 when they moved up the street to the

Johnston Building at 30 Broad, a few weeks after Paul began working in New York. So this must be an address he gave her when he left London, to write him in the U.S.[38]

- The entry for "Emil Baerwald c/o Consolidated Steel and Wire Co, Havemeyer Building, NY." Consolidated Steel and Wire was located at this address (26 Cortland St.) only from 1893-1897, after which it merged into another company with a different address.[39]

Who was Agnes?

The City of London census and other records tell us a lot more about Agnes than about Paul. Agnes Mary Hutchison was an only child, the daughter of Alexander Hutchison and Sarah (Smith) Hutchison. Her father, who came from Scotland, had in the 1870s and early 1880s been co-owner of an iron foundry on an industrial wharf on the banks of the Thames. Her mother came from Southwark (south bank of Thames); census records show Agnes's maternal grandfather working his way from "vinegar, pickle, and sauce clerk" to "wine merchant"; her maternal uncles started working in their teens as various kinds of clerks (merchant's clerk and insurance adjuster's clerk).

In the 1871 census, when Agnes was four, the Hutchison family -- Alexander and Sarah, Agnes, and Sarah's unmarried sister Caroline -- lived near Greenwich and had one servant; their neighbors were a shirtmaker, a jeweler and watchmaker. By 1881, when Agnes was 14, the family had moved out to Croydon, a town some distance to the south of London, and had two servants. Neighbors' occupations included "income from dividends," "farmer with 65 acres and 2 laborers," and "stockbroker's wife."

However, something seems to have gone wrong in the years 1882-84: one of Alexander's partners went bankrupt, Alexander is listed in various sources as a "metal trades valuer" and a "commission agent" (e.g., salesman working commission), and the foundry disappears from the London commercial directory after 1883. Then in 1884, when Agnes was 17, Alexander died of pneumonia -- not in Croydon but in the London working/middle-class neighborhood of Fulham, where the family seems to have moved.

By 1891, when Agnes was 24, she had gone to work in a milliner's (hat-maker's) shop. She was living with an uncle on her mother's side, a former insurance clerk who had become an insurance adjuster and (according to the census) "member of Lloyds." Her male cousins, all in their twenties, were working as banker's clerk, lumber trade clerk, provision dealer's

clerk, and insurance adjuster's clerk. Agnes' aunt Caroline lived there as well. Her mother Sarah doesn't appear in the 1891 census, but she may have lived there too. There were two servants. Next door was apparently a boardinghouse whose boarders included a merchant, a law student, and a commission merchant.

That's all I know about Agnes's situation before (or during) the time she met Paul. To him, she must have been from a different world than the one that surrounded him. Hers was English, Protestant, and somewhat different in terms of class. Paul, Emil, and Carl Haas (see below) are just about the only Jewish-seeming names in Agnes's address book. By contrast, in a list of recipients of announcements of Paul's wedding in New York many years later, Agnes (listed as "Mrs. Harrison") and a few London business associates are among the very few non-Jewish ones.

How did they meet?

Agnes was four years older than Paul. If they met for instance in 1894, she was 27 and he was 23. The boarding houses where Paul reported living were not near any of the addresses I have for Agnes or her relatives. Did he walk into the milliner's shop? Did she go to work in the City (the financial district) in some other capacity? Was she working someplace else, perhaps as a servant or governess to a family he knew? Pasted inside the back cover of her address book is a want-ad for "a lady about 30 to be companion to young people" with dressmaking skills and adept at "making herself useful." This ad was probably from after Jack's birth[40], but had she done this type of work before?

One way or another, her address book contains entries for a number of men and women who lived or traveled abroad: Vienna, Berlin, Hong Kong, Copenhagen, St. Petersburg, and Shanghai. The majority of them have British surnames, though a few are German. Some have street addresses, while others are c/o businesses or post offices. They could be family or personal friends, but they could be people she met through work.

Could Paul have known any of the male cousins with whom Agnes was living in 1891 and presumably after, who probably worked in London somewhere? Did he meet her through a mutual acquaintance – perhaps Emil, or perhaps the intriguing figure named Carl Haas, apparently a mutual friend at some point, because his is the only name to appear in both Agnes' address book and Paul's wedding announcement list.

Carl Haas, two years older than Paul, likewise came to London from Frankfurt and worked in a German-Jewish investment banking firm in the City. The son of a Frankfurt wine merchant, Salomon Haas, he made his move to London in 1887 and lived in a series of boarding houses in Bloomsbury, Hampstead, and Kensington, and during 1893-95, and again starting a few years later, he lived in Surbiton, the suburban town upriver on the Thames where Paul lived in the summers of 1894 and 1895 "with two other young men." When Haas applied for British citizenship in 1895 he was working as a "stockbroker's clerk" for the firm of A. Biedermann & Company, with the goal of becoming a member of the London Stock Exchange. The Biedermann office was about a block from Paul's at Speyer Brothers. The witnesses to Haas's application were all employees of firms in the City, two of them at 7 Lothbury, which would have been either Speyer or another firm that rented from Speyer in the same building.

I have no way of knowing exactly when Paul met Carl Haas or when Haas met Agnes. The address for Haas in Agnes's book is for a house in Surbiton that he bought in 1898, and in which he lived until sometime between 1902 and 1904, but she could have met him earlier.[41] Adding to the mystery is the fact that on the last page and back flap of the address book, Agnes hand-wrote a series of train times to and from Waterloo Station and Surbiton. So sometime she must have been in the habit of going there.

However Paul and Agnes met, and however much time they spent together during Paul's period working in London, they stayed in touch after he was transferred to New York. In Agnes's address book are a series of home addresses for Paul in New York, several of which don't match any I know about from other sources, and they are likely to be boarding houses where he lived before 1900. Because of the lack of New York shipping manifests before 1901, I know only (from a British passenger list) of a return trip from Frankfurt via Southampton in the fall of 1898, but I know that he frequently traveled the New York–Southampton and New York–Liverpool routes when visiting London on business and going to Germany to see family in the later years for which I do have records.

Jack's birth, childhood, and schooling

After Paul's transfer to New York, I believe that Paul and Agnes saw each other regularly on his trips to England between 1897 and 1900. In any case, I know for certain that

they saw each other in January or February 1900, which is when she got pregnant. Pauline and Mary have concluded from their research that Agnes and her mother Sarah left London (when Agnes was 'showing'?) and moved to Reading, where Jack is registered as having been born October 31st 1900, to Agnes Harrison, married to Jean Harrison, a "corn merchant."

There is no evidence of this Jean Harrison ever having existed, except on Jack's birth certificate. None of my searches of English birth, death, marriage, census or other records have turned him up. But Agnes lived from then on under the name of Agnes Mary Harrison. Her death certificate, dated March 18, 1931, declares her to be the "widow of Jean Harrison, a corn dealer," which must have been the fiction all those years. Her Reading address on the birth certificate is "108 Caversham Road." The birth was not registered till December 7, so presumably she and her mother stayed in Reading at least five weeks.

After some time, mother, grandmother, and baby returned to London. In the 1901 census, Sarah is shown living in another suburb with another of her brothers, and Agnes doesn't appear. But Pauline and Mary know that, in general, Jack grew up in Fulham, in the western part of London. Pauline and Mary know that at some time their father lived with or was frequently taken care of by Agnes' friend Dorothy Gurling at 12 Letterstone Road in Fulham.[42] Hence Pauline's middle name, Dorothy.

Other Fulham addresses for the family include 25 Fernhurst Rd. (where Sarah died in 1920) and 57B Fulham Park Gardens (where Agnes died in 1931). All of these are relatively close together.

Jack did well in school, ranking in the top of his class in the Childerley Street Central School, Fulham, at age fourteen, and continuing to study until he was sixteen, in 1917, which was two more years than was normal for the time. (Nationally, in the 1910s, 50% of students stayed in school till they turned fourteen, but only 8% of 14-15 year olds were in school, and 2% of 16-17 year olds; figures for London were probably higher.) That Childerley was a "central school" means it was a vocational school for students staying on rather than dropping out at this age, with some emphasis on science and business as well as the regular subjects. In general, during this time, post-elementary schools charged fees.

Jack's early employment history is less clear. Butz told me he thought Jack worked for the metals wholesaling firm Lewis Lazarus and Sons, where he would have begun sometime

in the 1920s. By the early '30s he was working at a related firm, Henry T. Long & Sons, formed in 1929 by an ex-Lazarus employee. In 1930, Jack met Billie Ainslie at the Sheen Tennis Club and they married in 1930. Jack and Billie's marriage certificate says that Jack is: "Son of Jean Harrison, deceased," and of "Agnes Hutchison Harrison." By the time Agnes died the next year, Jack and Billie were living at 32 Deanhill Road, East Sheen. The children followed: Pauline Dorothy March 25, 1932 and Jean Mary February 18, 1936.

What about Paul?

Now, what about Paul? It's clear that he traveled to Europe in the fall of 1900. By October he was in Frankfurt, and he spent much of October and November in Germany and France. He left his sisters Selma and Meta in Mainz on Nov. 21, and the next thing I know is that he departed from England for New York on the *S.S. St. Louis* out of Southampton on Nov. 24. Did he go to Reading to see Agnes and the baby? Checking train routes from the time, I see that he could have gotten from Mainz to some Channel port and then from there to Reading by boat and train in time to board the ship. Other documented European trips, before the war, were in 1901, 1902, 1903, 1905, 1906-7, 1909, 1911 and 1913.

In any event, he and Agnes were in touch. In her address book are the succession of all his New York work addresses (for Speyer at its various locations, and then for Lazard Freres after Paul changed jobs in 1907), and a variety of home addresses. In the special notebook listing all recipients of wedding announcements when Paul married Edith Jacobi in 1909, there is one in Paul's handwriting for "Mrs. Harrison" at 12 Letterstone Road (Dorothy Gurling's address).

This wedding announcement confirms what I had suspected before finding it, which is that Paul told Edith about Agnes and Jack. In return for accepting this past and continued connection, it seems clear to me, Edith's proviso was not to tell the children she and Paul would have together. On a picture post card of California dated 1910, which Agnes saved, Paul wrote, "We are spending a few weeks at this wonderful country place in California where the roses are now in full bloom. Shall probably be back in NY before the end of November. [signed] P." (Pauline Harrison found the postcard inside an envelope that had been mailed in England to 12 Letterstone Rd.)

Paul must have been sending money throughout this time, which would have been a contributing factor to Jack being able to stay in school. The first actual records of his sending money that I have, from my very incomplete set of his account books, are disbursements to A. Harrison in 1926 ($485), 1928 ($1,463), 1929 ($1,940), and 1930 ($971), and a record of a cable sent to "Harrison – Ldn." in 1927. After Agnes's death in 1931, Paul sent money directly to Jack. For instance, I have one note of his directing the Lazard branch in London to debit his account for £25 ($100) to be delivered to Jack.[43]

About Paul's influence on Jack's work life, Pauline wrote me, "We had the impression that he (Paul) had helped my father in his employment and connection with the London Metal Exchange, and we know that my father and Butz worked together. And they were both unemployed in the 1930s." Pauline and Mary remember hearing that their father had worked for a firm called Henry T. Long. Butz told me, as mentioned above, that Jack had worked for Lewis Lazarus and Son, and his memoir manuscript shows that when he (Butz) arrived in England in 1933, he went to work for Henry T. Long, and that Jack Harrison was already one of the three non-Long-family employees in the company. Jack and his cousin Butz became friends, and were both 'metal men' for the rest of their working lives; Pauline and Mary found Butz's U.S. address (kept up to date whenever Butz moved) in their father's address book after he died, as well as that of Butz's mother, Paula Baerwald. Paula lived in London in 1939-1940, during the Blitz; a December '39 letter from Paula to her children Butz and Liese (who was already living in New York by then) reported that Jack and Billie had invited her to spend a weekend with them sometime in the coming year.

Here is what I know about Paul's connections to the Lazarus and Long metal firms: Emil worked for the New York office of Lewis Lazarus (an old London-based metals firm dating back to the first part of the 19th century) from 1904-1915, and maybe earlier and later. Henry T. Long himself worked for Lazarus in the '20s and then formed his own business in May 1929 (at 135 Fenchurch St., the same address recalled by Butz in his memoir). In 1933, Paul and Butz's father Edu arranged for Butz to leave Germany and go to work for Long in England. In 1937, Butz recalled, when Long "ran into financial difficulties. . . he asked for and received a loan of £10,000 from my uncle Paul."[44] Clearly Paul had sufficient family and financial connections to both firms to have helped Jack get employment with them. (On January 31, 1929, Paul wrote a check to "Lewis Lazarus and Sons" for $220 and he sent a

cable to them on Feb. 15. Judging by the fact that Paul later sent money to Butz in similar fashion through checks to Henry T. Long & Co., maybe this money was for Jack.)

As to the personal relationship between Paul and Jack, Butz told me that he thought Paul and Jack would meet sometimes when Paul came through London after World War I. (Since there are no surviving daybooks before 1934, the first documented evidence I have about Paul visiting Jack comes from 1939 – a daybook entry on July 2 that says, "3:30 – Jack Harrison and wife." After that, because of World War II, Paul didn't get back to London until 1950; that year's daybook notes, on May 14, "1 pm lunch Billie & Jack Harrison & daughters Pauline & Mary." The daughters, who were teenagers at the time, do not remember this lunch. Why would they, if Paul was only a vague "godfather" whose relationship to the family was unknown? For Jack, on the other hand, introducing Paul to these two grandchildren may have been important. Paul's daybook notes a radio-telegram from "Harrison" on May 17, when he was on board the *Queen Mary* on his way back to New York.

However much or little correspondence between them may have been destroyed, I did have one telling four-page letter from Jack to Paul, written January 21, 1942, found in a folder of birthday greetings for Paul's 70th birthday. It is addressed, "Dear Uncle," and it includes:

> Butz wrote me recently that you have successfully reached your threescore & ten and although rather late in the day I would like to offer my congratulations. I feel sure that when you look back you must feel a certain glow of warmth in your heart at the success achieved through your own hard work, which I know from Butz has not ceased, for he often writes me how hard you have worked in recent years in the cause of others. The happiness of your married life too is an example to others, and I still treasure your letter to me, when I was married, with the advice to avoid the first quarrel . . . [news of the children and the war] . . . Mrs. Harrison joins with me in sending you our very best wishes for many more years of happiness and also our love and best wishes to Mrs. Baerwald. Maybe when peace is here once more we shall see you again.

During World War II, Pauline knew that: "Father was working for the trade newspaper The Metal Bulletin." An earlier bout with rheumatic fever made him ineligible for the British army. Butz recalled that Paul's New York son, Herman, was asked to deliver a care package

to the Harrisons when he was posted in England during the war; this probably was in 1942-43 when Jack and his family were living in a village outside Oxford.

There is a July 22 entry in Paul's 1953 daybook that says, "Letter from Jack Harrison he accepted a new job." In that same year, according to Butz, Jack came to the States to work for a year for Eutectic Welding Alloys Corporation on Long Island. Eutectic also had a Baerwald connection. The owner, René Wassermann, came from a German banking family who had been Paul's bankers in Germany during the 1930's until the Nazis took over the bank. René and his cousin Sigmund ended up in the U.S. as refugees. Sigmund was a friend of Paul's and close friend of Emil and Jen in Europe and NY. Pauline Harrison also recalled "René Wassermann" as a name known to them as some kind of business associate of their father's.

Well past retirement age, Jack was (again) an authorized dealer on the Metal Exchange. Jack and Billie were very active in the Sheen Tennis Club, as well as the Surrey County Lawn Tennis Association. Billie died in March 1980, Jack in August 1982. Their daughter Mary died in 2015, and her sister Pauline wrote me in 2016 that she was having memory difficulty and could no longer drive. I have not heard from her since then.

My conclusions and best guesses

The evidence is fairly conclusive that Paul met Agnes about 1894 and their relationship, in changing ways, lasted for the rest of her life. They knew how to find each other, and that continued to be true for Paul with Jack as well.

The flow of the relationship seems appropriate. For Paul, a 23/24/25 year old on his own in London, I suspect it was his first serious relationship. It didn't keep him from moving up or over the ocean in the plan drawn up by Hermann, in which London was a stop on the way to New York, and the road forward and upward was through the insular and clannish German-Jewish aristocracy in the U.S. Yet the relationship continued during Paul's early years in New York. When Agnes became pregnant, Paul was 28**,** and Agnes 32. Was this a time of reckoning and tension for Paul? Did he consider deviating from his prescribed path, marrying Agnes, and either bringing her into his life in New York or returning to England? I don't know, but if he did consider this, he found it to be too much of a stretch. His father's opposition to mixed marriages had been made clear in the 1893 letter quoted in Chapter 2

and probably many other ways. (On the other hand, some fifteen years after Hermann's death, Paul's youngest sister Lore did marry a German, but not a Jew.)

What went through Agnes's mind? For her, unmarried at 33, was this her chance to have a child? After all they were in relationship, albeit a long distance one. They might have had a future.

I posit that, for Paul, this relationship was sustaining, because I have not found another reason why, from the age of 25 to 38, a wealthy merchant banker could not have found a suitable wife in NY. Paul left no clues to any relations with women until his love letters to Edith Jacobi, whom he met and married in 1909. Edith was a woman in his social circle, her family transplanted from San Francisco, her father the New York wine merchant for the Jacobi family wine business. Edith took her time finding a husband; it was unusual to be still unmarried at age 30. I believe each of them had a fulfilling past by the time they met. They proved to be a great match, both happy to have found the other.

What did Paul feel about Agnes and Jack? That was 'doing the right thing' by contributing to their support? That he was doing the same for them as he did for his German family, who – as we will see in the following chapters about his life in New York – he supported and protected in various ways? He supported Jack's education and helped him find him a job in the metals business in the same way that he helped Butz and other refugee relatives get jobs or get an education, and loaned them money for business ventures. How did he feel about Jack growing up without a father, not so differently from the way Paul had lost his mother when he was so young? Whatever letters they exchanged that might shed light on these questions no longer exist.

Carl Haas as Paul's path not taken.

To Paul's decision not to marry Agnes, and to remain firmly within the German-Jewish world, his friend or acquaintance Carl Haas presents an interesting contrast. Carl stayed in England, married a non-Jew not from financial circles, and gradually assimilated -- while also doing well financially.

Carl's British girlfriend was also named Agnes. Agnes Scott was born in Bloomsbury. Her father George, a piano maker, died sometime during her youth, just like Agnes Harrison's father. How Carl Haas met Agnes Scott poses the same unanswered questions as

how Paul Baerwald met Agnes Hutchison, but from records I know they were married in 1898, at the ages of 29 and 23, in St. Mary's Chapel, Pancras, in a Catholic ceremony according to the marriage certificate. They were married April 20, and their son was born on January 14, in a newly bought house in Surbiton.

As noted above, Paul and Carl stayed in touch at least through 1909, because he is included in the list of wedding announcement recipients, where he appears in the alphabetical "H" section in Paul's handwriting a few pages away from "Mrs. Harrison." In Carl's case, the entry is for "Mr. and Mrs. Charles Haas" at Biedermann & Co. c/o London Stock Exchange. He had apparently begun anglicizing his first name around the time of his marriage, being listed as "Charles" or "C.D." Haas in the Surbiton local directory beginning in 1899. As Carl/Charles moved up in the Biedermann firm, becoming a broker and a member of the Stock Exchange, the family moved to a series of new and presumably larger houses in the same town. He and Agnes had two sons, both of whom went to private school in Westminster from the age of 13 on.

In response to the wave of anti-German feeling during World War I, Haas formally changed his whole name – like at least thirty-one other Stock Exchange members of German or Austrian origin, both Jewish and non-Jewish to judge from the names listed in a newspaper article on the topic. In June, 1915, he officially became Charles David Hayes. Sometime after 1915, he moved from Biedermann to a firm called Cuthbertson, Hood, & Co., from which he retired in 1929 (the same year Paul definitively retired from Lazard Freres). Retiring along with him was Arthur Hood, and remaining on as partners were Gerald Thomas Edward Cockerill and Frank William Radford Douglas, so it seems safe to say this wasn't a German-Jewish firm. Charles Hayes lived on in Surbiton until his death in 1950.

Father and daughter: a family secret comes out

Another question not answerable was how Paul felt over the years of not telling his children (or, later, his adult children). Was it simply that for his generation, having an illegitimate child was not uncommon, but telling your other children about it was not done? Or was it, also, that the longer he waited to reveal something hidden, the harder it became?

In any case it was a family secret kept from Paul's children, but one that was quite open among other family members. Those who knew – and to varying degrees had met or spent

time with Jack – were Paul's brothers Edu and Emil and their wives and Edu's two children, Butz and Liese.

What must have been particularly galling to Pauline, when she finally found out from Butz, is that all those people (except Edu) had been living in New York since 1940, which meant she was surrounded for nearly five decades by relatives who were in on the 'secret' that her father had not shared with her. She had a special place in her father's life, and he in hers, as can be seen from their letters back and forth, and by her following him into refugee work and social service agencies from the time she finished college. What finally let the cat out of the bag, Butz told me when I went to him with my questions, was that he and his wife Juliana had invited Pauline and my father to dinner, and Butz mentioned Jack by accident, forgetting that Pauline did not know who he was to her, though he thought she had met him on several occasions. As he put it to me, "I slipped." He said that Pauline was very upset to learn that her father had kept this secret from her all his life.

Once she did learn of Jack's existence, she buried it within herself – not discussing it further with Butz or with Liese, nor telling Bobbie, her only surviving sibling. In 1997, when I had the brief conversation with Pauline, besides telling me she never wanted to talk about it again, she said, "and Bobbie doesn't know." She kept the Metal Exchange book and Butz's note in her desk with her address books, checkbook, and other papers she wanted close by.

5. Starting Out in New York

On January 31, 1896, Paul sent a telegram from London to his father in Frankfurt that read:

> In a few months I am supposed to go to New York for our house <stop> View it as a big opportunity <stop> I want to accept tomorrow <stop> Please answer tomorrow morning care of Speyer whether approved <stop> Uncle Hermann has advised acceptance.

Paul's uncle Hermann Frenkel (his mother's brother), a prosperous banker in Berlin, had experienced a meteoric rise since starting at Deutsche Bank in 1870 at age 20, and had married into a wealthy Berlin Jewish family as well. Clearly Paul was ready for the new opportunity, he had gotten his uncle's seal of approval, and he just needed his father's final okay. The move to America had been part of the father's plan as well, and now the time had come.

Paul's new boss was James Speyer, the director the American branch of the family investment bank. Speyer, ten years older than Paul, had recently returned to New York, where he was born, after years in European schools and working in the Speyer offices in Paris and London. Paul arrived in New York on the British liner *R.M.S. Lucania* from Liverpool on April 3rd or 4th. He recalled the trip (fifty years later) as "having sailed luxuriously with only one other man in the cabin." A few days later, on Monday, April 6th, he went to his first day of work at the firm's office in the Mills Building, 15 Broad St.

Paul's experience was far from that of most Jewish immigrants at the end of the 19th Century. He arrived fluent in English, with a secure job, colleagues to help him settle in, and his brother Emil. Under his belt he had five years of living in sophisticated London without his family, learning to cope with a new environment, and liking his independence and the confidence that came with it.

He never set foot on Ellis Island, nor was he sick, hungry, or tired from traveling in steerage, nor worried about unknown problems with immigration officials. Rather, like all first- and second-class passengers, he was examined by a doctor who boarded the ship before it landed, and then he was allowed to disembark at the Lower East Side piers (while the third-class and steerage passengers were transported to Ellis Island in a ferry or barge for a much more rigorous and unpleasant experience). If he had any worries, these may have been about

not losing any of his six suitcases, and about spotting Emil or someone from Speyer & Company on the dock.

However, like many who arrived to find their names incorrectly spelled or changed, Paul's name was written in the ship's manifest incorrectly. The entry on the manifest line number 1086 was for "Peter Baerwald." His "ethnicity" is "German."

Testifying to the significance of this journey for Paul's life is that his telephone number when I was a child (and possibly from the time he first had a telephone) was AT-9-1086, echoing the manifest.

Here are three brief recollections of his first days in New York, two in letters to Pauline while she was at Smith College, in 1930 and 1931, and one more from written recollection from 1943:

> Dear Pauly, Another Easter Sunday comes into my mind. 34 years ago, I arrived on good Friday in NY from London our ship was covered with ice. And on Sunday when I was shown the wonders of 5th Ave it was too hot for an overcoat, and there began many disagreeable trying weeks and months but I stuck it out and finally found my place. But it was not all fun. (April 20, 1930)

> Dear Pauly, 35 years ago I had hot X buns for breakfast on the ice covered Cunard liner Lucania coming into NY harbor and Monday it will be the anniversary of my entrance into a NY business career. I don't know whether it happened before that the Good Friday fell on exactly that date in those 35 years. (April 3, 1931)

> I went to the New York office . . . dressed as I did in London – high hat, morning coat and cane with a silver handle (a farewell present) but I soon found out that high hats were not used, nor morning coat, nor canes. (Summer, 1943)

What I actually know of his time in New York before he married Edith is scant. Unfortunately, he left very little record of his thirteen years as a bachelor in New York. Most of what I know of his whereabouts and activities comes from documentary sources.

He may have gone first to live with Emil, who had been living in the U.S. for five years before Paul arrived. The known addresses I have for Paul begin in 1900 and come from New York city directories, Agnes Harrison's address book, and Paul's 1901 citizenship application and 1902 first passport. These include 14 E. 45th Street, 41 E. 63rd, 24 W. 45th, and 64 W. 37th. Emil appears at several of these addresses in the same sources, though not always at the

same time as Paul. Another suggestion that he lived with Emil comes from a stream-of-consciousness recollection (in June 12, 1948): "I remember well when Brooklyn was united with NY City in 1898. It was a little more than 2 years after I arrived in NY and I was being paid somewhere around $2000 to $2,500 a year by Speyer & Co. We spent the summer either in Staten Island or in Bath Beach, just below Bensonhurst." I don't know whom the "we" would refer to other than Emil. I will return below to the question of why Paul was not more explicit about Emil in any of his reminiscences.

The last address I have for Paul before his marriage is 120 W. 57 Street, which appears on the letterhead of a note he wrote to Edith just before their marriage.

A general outline of Paul's first decade in New York goes like this:

- Ten years at Speyer & Co., continuing to work his way up, making money as an investment manager for clients, for the firm, and for himself. At first this was a continuation of what he had seen in London and Frankfurt, the sale of railroad bonds and other U.S. securities to European investors. Then U.S. savings banks and insurance companies began investing in such bonds as well, creating a new market handled by the Speyer firm. The firm also bought and resold Mexican government bonds and those of the new Cuban government just after the U.S. occupation. (Cuba needed the money to pay promised benefits to Liberation Army veterans; Speyer got control of certain Cuban government financial decisions and the right to collect up to 1.5% of Cuban customs duties if interest on the bonds was not paid.)

Paul's great-nephew Albert Goltz, who worked in banking, has interpreted a part of Paul's duties and skills as follows:

> [One function] was to maintain and analyze information [for both the firm and its clients] on how the companies/governments were doing and what their future prospects were, [which] would have involved quite a bit of personal relationships with major clients of Speyer, PB's colleagues in other banks and brokerage houses and at the stock exchanges as well as the company/government executives. To be successful in this kind of work, PB would likely have had to be thorough and meticulous, very knowledgeable about markets and the products he was selling, a good schmoozer, and someone who inspired trust and confidence.[45]

In this context Paul “rose to a confidential position” within the firm. His recollections include coding and decoding telegrams about negotiations with the Mexican government, and personally carrying $67 million worth of Central Pacific bonds to Washington as part of a procedure in which the railroad was repaying and renegotiating government loans. In 1902 he received “single signature” status at the firm.

And in this context, he made his fortune. In 1900, he was able to give Emil $10,000, at a time that Emil was unemployed. When Paul left Speyer in 1906, he had saved $85,000 (approximate value in 2019 dollars = $2,400,000).

- Continuing to make business and personal connections, almost entirely within the German Jewish enclave of New York. In 1903 he was invited to the Adirondacks, to a “camp” (group of luxury vacation homes) on the Saranac Lakes called the Knollwood Club that had recently been built by a group of six prominent Jews including the stockbrokers Elias Asiel and George Blumenthal and the constitutional lawyer Louis Marshall, all of whom would soon play other roles in his life. Jewish business men had begun building vacation homes in this area after an 1877 incident in which Joseph Seligman (oldest of 8 Seligman brothers in the U.S. and in London) was denied entry into a hotel in Saratoga, NY, despite having been a regular guest before.

In 1905, Elias Asiel proposed Paul for membership in the Harmonie Club (a private German-Jewish men’s club). Asiel also had a summer home in Elberon, New Jersey, where Paul would soon be spending summers and buying a home. Also in 1905, Paul made the first large charitable contribution, later writing that in this year “I was able from my savings to establish a bed in honor of my father at the Mt. Sinai Hospital for $1,500.”

He also had his connections via Frankfurt. His city of origin was important to his social New York life, especially with the very wealthy. He was welcomed into the New York homes of Jacob Schiff, Felix Warburg, George Blumenthal, James Speyer, the Seligman family, and others.

There is information to show that he loaned money to an art dealer and art book publisher named Carl Gluckmann, who had his gallery ("art rooms") at 14 E. 45th St, the same building where Paul and Emil periodically lived. When Gluckmann declared bankruptcy in 1913 (after having been in business since the 1890s), among his leading

creditors were Felix Warburg, whom he owed $2400, and Paul "Bairwold," whom he owed $1200.

- Maintaining his ties to European family.

His recollection about the Mt. Sinai hospital bed donation shows that his Frankfurt family was very much on his mind. "The occasion was the 25th anniversary of the day when my father married again in 1880. I was very happy to be able to do that as recognition also for mother who had handled herself so well during that period and looking back on it now, it certainly was a most remarkable performance on her part. Emma Sandberg was 26 years old, there were 6 children, the youngest Edu, 5 years old."

He kept up constant correspondence with family in Frankfurt, Berlin and new people in London, and he traveled regularly to Europe on trips that combined business and family visits. The letters from Hermann, besides being full of advice, touch on such topics as family visitors, illnesses, jobs, promotions, memories, deaths and inheritances, births, and the like. One such letter includes (excerpted without ellipses):

> Frankfurt am Main, April 3, 1901
>
> Dear Emil and dear Paul! May these lines reach you in good health and united in good intentions. It's now 8 days since the little grandchild in Danzig was born. The ceremonial rite of admission to the covenant (Bris) took place today. We have just received a telegram from Danzig that everything went very well. Great is the joy in the whole family; Lieschen is feeling fine, as is the boy who has been given the name Franz Günther. Today it's off to Severin Bartholomaeus [art exhibit of the works of this 16th century German painter]. And so we have had a series of happy events. We intend to remember all of that this evening at the seder and above all Eduard's convalescence; thus we will celebrate the feast with deep gratitude to providence and in memory of the children and the fast.[46]

Six days later, April 9, 1901, he wrote a long letter to "Dear Paul and dear Emil" that began:

> Your telegram, dear Emil, arrived 'well delivered' on the evening of Thursday, April 4, the evening of the second seder. That only served to heighten our holiday expectations. So, you could both be seen on Fifth Avenue the day before yesterday. Even so, the best of all is your being together and having the

opportunity for heart to heart conversations. For that I wish you all possible joy from the bottom of my heart.

Paul's seven trips back to Europe that I have evidence of, before his marriage, are: Oct-Dec 1898, Oct-Dec 1900, sometime in 1902, Jun-Sept 1905 (London, Frankfurt, Switzerland), July 1906-Spring 1907, and Feb-March 1909. There had to be at least one other trip in January or February 1900, when Jack was conceived.

In 1902 both Emil and Paul were members of the Deutsche Gesellschaft, a longstanding German society whose main purpose was to aid new immigrants from Germany, and they went to at least one lecture there together.

At the same time, Paul was assimilating as an American. He (but not Emil) became a U.S. citizen as soon as he possibly could, on July 25th 1901, just over the required five years after his arrival. He got his first U.S. passport in October, 1902. Five years later (after a long European trip that included his final visit to his father in 1907) he took a transcontinental train trip across the country and back. He stopped in, at least, Chicago, Kansas City, St. Louis, Denver, the Grand Canyon, Los Angeles, Santa Barbara, San Francisco ("one year after the fire," as he recalled it), Seattle, Spokane and again Chicago on the way back.

- He and Emil were bachelors together in New York – Emil until 1906 and Paul until 1909. Besides their having shared residential addresses, their offices were located within a few blocks of each other for many years. (Emil's New York office addresses from the late 1890s through 1920 included 1 Nassau St., 40 Rector St., 74 Broadway, and 80 Broadway, all in the Wall Street area near Paul's offices at Speyer & Company and then Lazard-Freres.) He was a source of information about the metals business. The two brothers must have socialized with the same sorts of German-Jewish businessmen to whom their father had introduced them; Emil too was proposed and accepted into the Harmonie Club, in 1907. The two brothers had shared family concerns and received joint letters from Hermann and other relatives in Germany. And yet, none of Paul's surviving recollections about early days in New York mention Emil, and there is no existing correspondence between them.

What lies behind this omission and absence? What was so toxic about Emil? Several possible reasons have come to light.

One is that Emil was not a very successful businessman and was at times an embarrassment. Hermann used his connections to start Emil on a career in the wholesale metals business, apparently as a salesman, working in Newark and living in Hoboken, and then being transferred to St. Louis in 1893 as exclusive representative of the American Metals Company, "a secure and promising position" according to his father. But something went wrong and by 1895 he had "dropped down from the height of your position with what for a salesman was the harshest conceivable loss. . . the catastrophe in St. Louis, which unfortunately cost more than merely a great deal of money." (The "more" may refer to the effect on the family's relations or reputation with the Hochschild and Langeloth families who were the owners of the firm.) Something similar happened in his next position, in New York or New Jersey, though by 1897 he had "unexpectedly obtained a very lucrative and promising job after months of unemployment and after having gone through a difficult and trying period."

In his letters, Hermann praises Emil's "commercial and other talents" and the "commercial abilities you developed and honed through hard work and with a great deal of effort for the good of the firms," but traces his recurring difficulties to a lavish lifestyle and overspending on meals and travel on company expense accounts. There is evidence to support Hermann's worries. When Emil returned to New York in September, 1895, after one of two trips to Europe the year of his "catastrophe" in the St. Louis job, he brought with him, according the ship manifest, 18 pieces of luggage.[47] So when Emil got that new "promising job" in 1897, Hermann warned him to economize:

> It's a fatal error to believe that you can live like a grand seigneur, travel first class, dine and wine at the best restaurants, etc. The General Director won't be impressed by what class of railway carriage you use. The most important thing is that you behave like a gentleman and sell the products at the most advantageous price. Solidity and frugality impress much more than flippancy and extravagance. The amount of your large credit account will be used up sooner than the bosses and you want to see happen and sooner or later discussions about these large expenditures will end up in arguments. . . I beg and implore you to change your life style . . . in order to keep your position and eventually to save a sum of money, something that you haven't been able to accomplish in your 13 years of business activity. Your sense of honor has to force you to that, so that you finally begin to pay off your debts.

Hermann's fears seem to have been justified, because in 1901, he wrote to Emil that "days of heavy despondency and depression have passed since I learned on September 6th, by way of New York, that you were fired and once again without a job." [48]

However, Emil seems to have eventually turned a corner, though he never became the business success that Paul was. In 1902, Hermann wrote Paul that "I'm very pleased that Emil, to whom I send my kind regards, has made a good start in his own business. . . I hope he will not abandon crucial caution and that he does not start out with the idea of becoming rich quickly." A year later he asked Paul, "If the office of A.M. Crane & Co [a large midwestern metal casting and fabricating firm] in New York is to be abandoned, will Emil still stay with the firm? . . . You can surely imagine that it concerns me very much." The next year he wrote birthday greetings to Emil: "May this next year of your life be one of good health, prosperity and the fulfillment of your desires, a year of satisfying, successful employment. My own happiness is totally dependent on yours."

New York business directories list Emil as working for a variety of metals firms, although in January, 1904, Hermann wrote him that "the slump in the iron industry does indeed seem to be great" and "I hear Buenos Aires is under consideration [by you]." He adds:

> I have an acquaintance there, a Mr. Fernando Weil, one of the owners of the agricultural firm Weil Hermanos, which exports a large part of the Argentinian harvest; they are very respected there and very rich people who would be happy to be of service to you if the occasion arises. The thought that you would go so far away from us [is] painful, but I can't judge the situation from here.

That possibility apparently did not materialize, but from late 1904 on he seems to have been steadily employed by Lewis Lazarus and Sons of London as "manager" of their New York office. A trade journal from December '04 says the firm "announced that Emil Baerwald will represent their interests in the U.S. in metals and tin plates" and an ad in '05 says he is "representing Lewis Lazarus and Sons, London, importer of pig tin and tin plates; ores, mattes, and metals." He continued to work in their U.S. office into World War I at least, married in 1906, was elected to the board of managers of the NY Metals Exchange in 1908, and in 1917 became a member of the first Board of Trustees of the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies.

Another possible cause of Paul's reticence about his brother, besides Emil's difficulties in business, was his pro-German sentiments during World War I, to be discussed in the next chapter. At the same time, Emil was very important to Paul in any number of ways, even if he was often financially dependent. This became even more true after Emil moved back to Europe post-WWI, as will be discussed in chapters dealing with Paul's support of his family in Germany.

In June 1906, after twenty years of working for the Speyer family firms in three countries, Paul left Speyer & Co., even though he did not have another job waiting. In a recollection many years later (1950) he wrote, "My world at Speyers followed a tradition, a man who has worked in in Frankfurt was known to be useful in London, and therefore known to be useful in New York. Somehow or other, for me, the burden seemed to become too heavy, and I felt I was not quite fitted, as the world was on upgrade I felt sure I could make a living elsewhere."[49]

Speyer & Company was a firm on the way down, not up. James Speyer was an aggressive and smart investment banker, but also something of a prima donna who had pushed experienced non-family partners out of the firm, as well as creating a feud with powerful banking interests including J.P. Morgan. Also, Speyer & Co. was no longer as big as the growing and interlocking U.S. firms that were less tied to European houses, and there were no more Speyer heirs to succeed James. A *New Yorker* profile of James Speyer in 1932 was titled, "Banker, Old Style." It reports that, although Speyer wanted to be the sole or lead banker for large loans, stock issues, or mergers, he often lost out. [50]

Supported by his savings and investments, Paul went to Europe for almost a year, sailing from New York on June 2nd with his friend and Speyer co-worker Martin Erdman. In his first stop, London, he "lived like a king at the Carlton in Haymarket – breakfast pretty regularly in Martin's sitting room – he traveled with a valet." While in London, Paul and "an old friend" made an investment in Union Pacific stocks based on an expectation that a dividend would soon be raised, which it was, even exceeding his expectations, "and there was a substantial advance and it paid my expenses." Could the "old friend" have been the stockbroker Carl Haas? Did he see Agnes and/or Jack, who was then six years old? He spent the summer, fall, and winter of 1906-1907 traveling around Europe, never aimlessly.

His first stop after London was Paris. On June 20 he was in the French capital with his close family friend Victor Max Reichenberger. July 5th he was in Berlin, and he spent some time during the summer with his parents "who had rooms in a villa in Hamburg . . . Father was ageing quite rapidly and I was happy to be with him. I believe I was a comfort to him." A letter from Hermann to Paul's brother Ernesto in Milan indeed says that Paul's "presence is my greatest comfort and joy." Hermann also pointed to Paul as an example of how to succeed in the business world "through loyalty and dedication and to fulfil your responsibilities with energy. In this way you will in time be promoted on merit."

Paul returned to Paris in the fall ("Went to Paris in October. Lived like a free man."). This was when he was offered his next job, again via the old Frankfurt connections, at a meeting with George Blumenthal in Paris. Blumenthal had been born in Frankfurt in 1858 and came to the U.S. as a young man. He too had begun his career at Speyer, and then moved to Lazard-Freres in 1893. He was a senior partner at Lazard and very wealthy, especially through foreign-exchange speculation. He invited Paul into the New York branch as a general partner. As Paul later recalled, he could not make a commitment right away because of his father's ill health, but after Hermann's death, "I informed B. I was ready." Sometime during the European trip, his good friend Elias Asiel invited Paul into his stock brokerage firm, but Paul chose the much larger Lazard-Freres instead. His 1950 recollection of this move says, "When asked to go into L.F. I gradually found out or felt that all that GB wanted was men who could watch things once they were running smoothly—he did not need men who could help make a lot a money. That he could do alone without help."

Whenever he was not traveling elsewhere in Europe, though, Paul was in Frankfurt or Hamburg until his father died on February 9, 1907. Emil, meanwhile, had married Jenny Dreyfus in December 1906, in New York, which was followed by a trip to Europe for the couple to see Hermann and for Emil to meet Jen's family in Basel. Paul joined them in Basel on Feb. 5, four days before Hermann's death. The American brothers and Jen were in Frankfurt when Hermann died, as presumably were all the other siblings who lived in Germany -- Arnold, Meta, Edu, Selma, Lore -- and Ernesto might have come home from Italy where he was working. (Elise, their oldest sibling, had died in 1904.) Paul stayed on two more months, while Emil and Jen returned to New York Feb. 25th from Southampton.

Paul stayed in Frankfurt with his stepmother until April, when he returned to New York for his planned transcontinental train journey (again with Martin Erdman), and began his new job at Lazard on June 1, 1907. The train trip was partly business, because he noted, after recalling the cities where he stopped, "with introductions from L.F. to bankers in most places." He spent the next two decades as a partner at Lazard.

The next big step in his life was his marriage to Edith Jacobi two years later, in June of 1909. It is curious that between the time Paul arrived in New York at age 25 and his engagement to Edith when he was almost 39 he had not found the right woman to marry.

The issue could have been his preoccupation with work, financial security and position; or it could have been the emotional and physical time and space occupied by his siblings and parents in Germany. And then there was Agnes in London. One way or another, his marriage was the first big decision he made without the support of his father, though he did consult Uncle Hermann Frenkel.

One recollection of his and Edith's first meeting appears in a letter to his children written in 1954, which shows, once again, the tightness of the German-Jewish business/social circles in which he moved, and suggests that he had known Edith long before their courtship began:

> In New York my first social invitations came from Felix Warburg and Jacob Schiff, later on the Hochschilds and Blumenthals, not to forget the Seligsbergs. My brother Arnold had been at school with Alli [Alfred] Seligsberg in Frankfurt, and that is where I first met mother, at 963 Madison Avenue, at Sunday supper. And so in all those years I saw a good deal of rich people, mostly of course in business.

Alfred Seligsberg was Edith's first cousin. Edith's aunt Regina Jacobi had married a much older William Seligsberg who died in 1877 in Frankfurt. Two of her four children married into the Seligman family, several of whose investment-banker members Paul knew from his time in London and in New York. At one of these weddings, in 1903, Edith was a bridesmaid for her cousin Leonard. The wedding announcement in the *New York Times* (December 3) read "Seligsberg-Seligman" and lists attendees, a who's-who of the New York City Jewish elite including many friends and colleagues of Paul's, although not him.

Edith herself had come to New York from California at the age of twelve, in 1891. Both sides of her family were German-Jewish merchants in San Francisco, who made their money in dry goods, tobacco, and wine; some of these ancestors had been there since Gold Rush days. Edith's father Frederick Jacobi moved east to run the New York branch of his family's wine distribution business, which took the name Lachman and Jacobi.[51]

Edith, like Paul, apparently was in no hurry to marry. She was 30 when they were wed, quite rare for that era. Family lore has it that she was "picky." In 1907 someone (author and occasion unclear) recalled that in 1905 it seemed both Edith and her younger sister Rena were "headed for the grave in this complacent state" (i.e., single), and then, after Rena's marriage, "One chapter's finished now/That Edith still is in the ring, I think you'll all allow."

Edith spent her twenties in New York enjoying partying and the time she spent outside the German-Jewish uptown cocoon, working with immigrant children at the College Settlement on Rivington Street in the Lower East Side. She liked to tell her grandchildren that one of these children was Eddie Cantor, whom she taught to dance and remained friends with for years.[52]

In a story that Paul wrote for his children in 1920 (when they were 10, 8, 6, and 5 years old), Paul wrote about their mother's history.

> . . . NY and a busy life began and the 'kindly club' was established on the Eastside, near Rivington St. where a great many poor people live in small apartments and narrow rooms and where there is not much diversion for the children unless a nice and kind friend comes along to give them a treat. And Miss Jacobi became very fond of some of these children . . . So the years went on and on and then one winter at some of the parties a young man was rather attentive to Miss Edith, she had met him before but she didn't know, although he has often told her since, that he had always liked her and thought a great deal of her but during that particular winter, she sort of liked him and during several of the parties they had long talks together and the oftener they met the fonder they became of each other and when the young man asked her whether she would marry him she did NOT say no. And it was not long afterward that they were married....

Whenever exactly their courtship began, we know from a letter Paul later (also 1920) wrote to Edith on one of her visits with her California family, that he consulted his uncle Hermann in Europe:

> I think it was just about this time, around the middle of February 11 years ago, on my walks in Monte Carlo with Hermann Frenkel when I finally and firmly became determined to make an end to my bachelor existence and when I had secret fears of Eugene S. getting ahead of me. It has been a wonderful eleven years because and also in spite of so many things that have happened to us and in the world. We can both be thankful that we can be helpful in the world and helpful also to the smaller circle of family and friends. What a blessing your presence is there at this time! All my love

Finally, there is a love letter among Paul's papers describing their courtship. Written shortly before their marriage, on Paul's "120 West 57th Street" letterhead with no date, and placed in an unstamped envelope addressed to "To Miss Edith Jacobi 57 West 58 Street 'personal,'" it says:

> 1.50am
> Your relatives are right, there isn't a girl like you on the face of the globe and there isn't anybody that's good enough for you. I have often dreamt - with eyes open - lying awake at night of some such happiness as I am experiencing now but then I turned around in my bed and called myself all sorts of a fool and a dreamer. And that it should come to me now I cannot yet quite grasp and understand. May I have the will power and strength to live up to some of your expectations. God bless you.
>
> Forever your grateful Paul

The wedding took place at the Jacobi home, followed by dinner at Delmonicos, Fifth and 44th St. Among Edith's few surviving papers, I found dried flowers, part of her veil, and the menu printed on thick beige silk:

E.J.P.B.

<u>Menu</u>

Chaud

Homard a la Newburg

Bouchees a la Reine

Froid

Filet de boef, Jardiniere

Galantine de dinde

Langue historiee

Mayonnaise de volaille

Salade de crabes

Sandwiches assortis

Rillettes

Chaoux, Chatillon

Entremets de Douceur

Gateau, Amandine

Glaces de fatnaisie

Petits fours

Bonbon Devises

*****

Pol Roger 1900

Apollinaris

*

57 West 58th Street

Mercredi, le 2 Juin 1909

Delmonicos

They were the first couple listed in the *New York Times* daily list of wedding announcements, from June 3rd, 1909: "Baerwald-Jacobi on Wednesday June 2, at the home of her parents 57 W. 58th St. Edith daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Frederick Jacobi to Paul Baerwald son of the late Director Dr. Hermann Baerwald of Frankfort-am-Main." Oddly enough, I have no information on where they spent their honeymoon. Wherever they went, they returned to New York to begin their life together.

6. New and Old Family, World War I, and JDC

After their brief courtship and their wedding, Edith and Paul rented a house at 50 W. 49th St, while Paul started his 3rd year as a general partner at Lazard. At the ages of 30 and 38, they were both making rapid life changes. Edith came directly from living with her parents and basically being taken care of within the family; Paul, though long out of his parents' house, came from having his daily needs met in a series of bachelor boarding house communities. Both had grown up in large households, but neither had the experience of making their own decisions on how to manage a home together. At their ages, they may have had different set habits to negotiate.

In the first six years of their marriage Edith was pregnant half of the time. She gave birth to four children, both her parents died, she traveled to Europe twice, and she took on the management of two different homes including at least three servants as well as governesses. Her independent life and charity work on the Lower East Side faded, but didn't end.

Pauline (Pauly) was born at home in late March, 1910, a little over two months short of their first anniversary. Edith and Paul bought a house across the street at 43 W. 49th, and moved in sometime during 1911 after redesign and renovations were completed. They would live there for 11 years, until the call for a bigger house and the Upper East Side drew them to a townhouse at 9 East 88th Street. Pauline's recollection of her childhood on 49th Street was:

> There were a few cars on the block, the ice was delivered in a great big wagon, and there were horses on the street at all times and the smell of horses. [These were] not great, huge smells like probably on the Lower East Side at the time. . . A block below was 6th Ave. We lived in the middle of the block and on 6th Ave was the elevated railway, the sound of which was part of our lives, and since our bedroom, my bedroom and Herman's, was on the back of the house, I would hear the squeak going around the corner as the El turned to go wherever it went to, it turned West on 53rd St.[53] [Now all of this area is part of Rockefeller Center.]

The couple's social life, like Paul's business one, continued to unfold within their mostly Jewish web. In 1912 they summered in Elberon, NJ, at a rental house on Elberon Ave, in which their son Herman Frederick Baerwald was born on June 12th. Elberon, a village of Long Branch, and other nearby villages became home to a German Jewish summer colony whose members had been building mansions since the 1880s**.** Paul's charitable contributions

were likewise to New York Jewish institutions: Mt Sinai Hospital, the American Jewish Committee (1906) and JDC beginning in 1915. On the other hand, when it came time for Paul and Edith's children to enter school, they did not go to a largely Jewish private school as Paul had done in Frankfurt, but rather to an experimental private school, the Lincoln School, which enrolled children from upper and upper-middle class New York families of all religions including the children of John D. Rockefeller Jr., who financed the school at its inception. Pauline began there in second grade in 1917, the year the school opened. (After several years of independence, it was later administered by Teachers' College of Columbia University.)

When Edith's father Frederick died in New York in 1911, his remains, like those of her mother Flora four years later, were sent west and interred in the Brandenstein Mausoleum in the Jewish cemetery in Colma, south of San Francisco. Edith and Paul's first two children were followed by Jane in August, 1914, and Florence (Bobbie) July 1915. The family kept renting summer houses in Elberon until 1920, when they finally bought a house at 924 Ocean Avenue.

Throughout this time, ties to Europe continued. On July 5, 1911, the family of three departed from New York harbor for a long visit to Europe, with 3 servants accompanying them. They returned to New York September 23, from Cherbourg. Edith met Paul's German family, people she knew only from letters, including her mother in law, Emma Sandberg. They gathered at a resort in Hamburg. There is a wonderful photo of all of the siblings – Arnold, Emil, Meta, Paul, Edu, Selma, Ernesto, and Lore -- and spouses. Notable about the picture are the immense hats of the women and the variety of men's wear of the times. In March, 1913, the family, now including Herman, left New York with four servants, two of whom were described in the ship's manifest as "nurses." After visits to Frankfurt, Berlin and Hamburg and possibly other stops, they returned to NY July 13th.

However, Paul's relationship to his European family and to his German identity changed dramatically a year later with the coming of the war that pitted Germany against England, France, Russia, and eventually the United States.

He had to question his own identity as a proud German-American. By no plan or fault, his life was upended in areas including the international businesses he was involved in,

concerns for his huge German family, and his own praise and love of everything German. He would have to think about his country of origin and the Baerwald family in ways he was not yet prepared for. He would spend the rest of his life with the implications. What he didn't know in 1914 was that not only would he give money to Jewish relief causes, but the war would begin his lifelong involvement in the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee and in supporting his family abroad. In the Nazi period this would also include overcoming obstacles to rescue many relatives by getting them out of Germany. Relief, refugee efforts, fundraising, and financial support of Jews he knew and Jews he didn't know would be an integral part of his life and mind for the rest of his life – another 40 plus years.

In April, 1914, Paul's friend Victor Max Reichenberger, with whom he'd spent bachelor time in Frankfurt, Paris**,** and probably other places, died in Germany. This was an event important enough to be recorded in a special calendar in which he kept track of births, deaths, and other significant dates. In hindsight, did that foreshadow what was about to happen to his European ties? The war became very personal: two of his brothers, Arnold, a doctor, and Edu, a lawyer, were in the German army. Arnold's son, Paul's nephew Hans, was killed on February 22, 1916, on the second day of the eleven-month-long Battle of Verdun. Meanwhile, Paul's younger brother Ernesto had graduated from the Philanthropin, and gone to work in 1901 as a trainee at the Frankfurt-based chemical dye firm Cassella, later acquired by IG Farben. (Letters from Hermann to Paul in September 1900 and April 1901, show that Hermann first tried to place him in an apprenticeship in a metals firm, while considering Cassella or Speyer as a fallback alternative.) In 1903, Cassella had sent him to work for its branch in Italy, where he spent nine happy years, mostly in Milan.[54] At the outbreak of the war, he was working for IG Farben in Kobe, Japan, where he had been transferred. Due to Japan's entering the war on the British side, he ended up briefly in the German army in China defending the German-controlled city of Qingdao; the Japanese army captured the city without a fight, and Ernesto was sent to a POW camp back in Japan for the duration of the war. He and Paul were able to correspond during his internment, often with wry humor from Ernesto's end. For instance, he compared his little garden in the POW camp to Paul's second home and grounds on the Jersey shore. During his time in the camp he studied Japanese, served as an interpreter for the prisoners, and played violin in the camp orchestra that he

helped organize. He was able to receive mail from Germany, at least erratically, and send news on to Paul and Emil in New York. This was important once the U.S. entry into the war – in April 1917 -- interrupted mail between Germany and the U.S.

I have no letters or other evidence about Paul's thoughts on the causes of the war, or the U.S. entrance into it, or what this did to his feelings about the German part of his identity. I know that he was not alone. Books and archives on the most famous of these German Jews in America (including the Speyer, Schiff, Warburg and the Lehman families) give a sense of the complexity for each of them. The main direct effects on Paul's life included:

- No more trips to Europe until 1922, a break of nine years, a time of important growth for the next generation, during which the US children had no serious concerns, but the children of his siblings in Germany had many.

- Generalized suspicion of German-Americans and pressure on them to declare their loyalty to the U.S. Emil was forced to resign from membership in the Harmonie Club for expressing pro-German sympathies. The club had 821 members in April 1917 and 755 members in April 1919; it was not so large that Emil's views would be overlooked. His expulsion from the club was dramatic, and surely unpleasant and uncomfortable for Paul. The minutes of the club's Board of Governors state: "The resignation of Mr. Emil Baerwald dated April 10th 1918, was presented. Upon motion, the same was accepted under the rules." And, four days later, at the annual membership meeting on April 14th, a new rule was adopted:

> That no enemy alien, or any other person who is not in full sympathy with the war aims of the U.S. against the governments with which this country is at war, may be introduced as a visitor of the club or otherwise have or receive the privileges or hospitalities of the club.[55] [Note that 'Germany' is not mentioned.]

German-Jewish Americans felt particular vulnerability since the anti-German sentiment often was layered on top of existing anti-Semitism.

- Division within the U.S. German-Jewish business community. While many publically supported the British side, others retained sympathy for Germany. Jacob Schiff, for instance, attempted a position of neutrality in the early years of the war, for himself and his firm, and

opposed U.S. entry until sometime in 1917. In 1915, he refused to allow Kuhn, Loeb, and Company to participate in a loan to the Allied powers because some of the funds would go to Tsarist Russia with its history of pogroms. At Goldman Sachs, there was also division within the firm, with the Sachs brothers being pro-Allies and Henry Goldman sympathizing with Germany to the point where he was pressured to resign from the firm when the U.S. entered the war.

- Breakdown of the historic multinational family business ties. In London, after war was declared, Paul's former boss Edgar Speyer resigned as a partner of the Frankfurt branch of the family bank. Soon, because British subjects were required to break their links with companies doing business with Germany, he resigned as a partner of the American bank, run by his brother, as well. Nonetheless, suspicions regarding Speyer's German parentage (and his Jewish ancestry too) led to a hate campaign against him, including threats by other families to remove their children from his children's school. As a result, he offered to resign his title as baronet. The offer was rejected by the government, but Speyer and his family in effect were forced out of England and moved to New York in 1915. As the war wore on, new attempts were made to revoke his title, and he was finally stripped of it after the war. Paul must have been asking himself whether something similar could happen in the U.S.
- The devastation for many Jewish communities in war-torn Europe, particularly Eastern Europe, the Balkans, and Turkey, led to the creation of JDC, in which Paul took his first role, as Associate treasurer, in mid-1917. The assimilative German Jews in NY and around the U.S. found themselves having the same concerns for family and "co-religionists" in Europe, as the Jews of other 'nationalities,' bonding over the fate of all Jews in the midst of the many war zones.
- The minute it was possible after Germany lost the war, Paul took on responsibilities not only in JDC but also personally for his family in the defeated and economically depressed Germany.

Before getting specifically to Paul's joining JDC, I want to provide some context on the various Jewish communities that account for the "joint" in the name.

Even well-off Jews were well aware of anti-Semitism and discrimination. They expected to encounter it in the work world, the social world, universities, and where they could buy property or feel comfortable living. One response was to bond among themselves – in Paul's case, in the tightly knit enclaves and relationships I have already described. As far as religion rather than ethnicity is concerned, those in these enclaves were generally not very religious and tended to Reform or "Liberal" Judaism. However, their understanding of anti-Semitism involved some of them in efforts to defend the rights of Jews worldwide, including Jews very different from themselves.

An example was the formation in 1906 of the American Jewish Committee (AJC), the first American Jewish national organization for the defense of Jewish civil rights in the U.S. and abroad. Paul was not involved in this, as far as I have any evidence, but he knew at least the New Yorkers among the 81 original members, many who continued for years in Paul's public and personal life. These men founded the AJC in response to a pogrom in April 1903, on the border of Rumania and Russia (45 dead, more than 500 injured, and homes of 2000 families destroyed). Again in 1905 a series of pogroms left more than 2000 Russian Jews dead or homeless. AJC's official statement of purpose declared its goals to be "to prevent infringement of the civil and religious rights of Jews and to alleviate the consequences of persecution." In short, to bring worldwide attention to what was occurring, and to in engage in relief and refugee work. Heading this organization were public leaders of the U.S. Jewish community in different fields who were known in the wider American community. Their self-images might be typified by what Jacob Schiff said about himself: "I am divided into three parts; I am an American, I am a German, and I am a Jew."

At the same time, the immense Eastern European immigration of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century brought other groups of Jews to the US, who were different from the German Jews and different from each other. The vast majority were pushed out by pogroms and other violent upheavals or by dire economic conditions, and they arrived in the U.S. with barely the clothes on their backs. They were poor immigrants, mostly Yiddish-speaking, and their connection with the industrial boom of the United States was as industrial or craft workers or small workshop/store/factory owners, not as bankers or merchants. Among this wave of Jewish immigrants were laborers and trade unionists as well as (or including)

socialists, anarchists, and other sorts of revolutionaries. Also among them were many more religious and particularly Orthodox Jews.

In short, they were much more diverse than the first wave in the mid-19th century. The lives and beliefs of this wave of immigrants – starting in 1880s and continued until the new restrictions imposed by the Immigration Act of 1924 – were complex and in flux. Further complicating the picture were the various strains of Zionism that had begun in Europe and were spreading – especially although not exclusively among the Eastern European Jews, presenting the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine as the key worldwide goal for the Jewish people. (It should be said that there were many German Jews who, from the turn of the 20th century on, gave money to programs and projects in Palestine – direct relief, agricultural development, technical/trade schools and educational institutions. They thought of Palestine as a spiritual home of Judaism, but not a potential nation state.) This was the context in which the new devastation of European Jewish communities unleashed by the World War pulled all of these diverse and contradictory elements of American Jewry together to act around concern for the lives of their families and "co-religionists" abroad. In late 1914 and 1915, three large national groupings, each largely associated with a particular constituency, formed and then partially coalesced:

- American Jewish Relief Committee – made up of German Jews, many who came out of the AJC. They included Zionists of various stripes (Rabbi Judah Magnes, who had officiated at Paul and Edith's wedding, and Louis Marshall), non-Zionists (Schiff, Warburgs, Lehmans...), and anti-Zionists.

- Central Committee for the Relief of Jews Suffering Through the War – made up of religious, Orthodox, mostly Eastern European Jews, including Leon Kamaiky, publisher of the Yiddish daily newspaper *Tageblatt*; Harry Fischel, a Russian-born Orthodox community leader and real estate tycoon; and Albert Lucas, a British-born Orthodox leader.

- People's Relief Committee – led by non-Orthodox socialist Jewish activists and writers. Its chairman was Meyer London, Socialist Party congressman from the Lower East Side 1914-18 and 1920-22. (London was one of the 50 members of the House of Representatives to vote against U.S. entry into the War.)

These three groups joined forces (beginning the fall of 1914 with the first two of them, and then folding in the People's Relief Committee after its creation the next year) into the Joint Distribution Committee of Funds for Jewish War Sufferers. The purpose was to centralize the distribution of funds in Europe under one umbrella, and also to coordinate and subdivide fundraising efforts within the different constituencies.

It's likely that Paul contributed to AJC well before the war, and also to JDC from the beginning. But his active involvement began early in 1917. As he recalled later, "In 1917 Felix Warburg got hold of me and told me that Arthur Lehman would not serve (Herbert Lehman had resigned to go into government work) as Treasurer of the JDC unless I would help him and so I became Assistant Treasurer."[56] Suddenly, Paul found himself in the midst of all the national and international issues facing Jews everywhere, and equally in the midst of internecine factional maneuvering and turf struggles among the many strands of Jewish religious and secular activism in the U.S. as a member of the Executive Committee.

Felix Warburg had quickly become the heart and soul and mover behind the effort to pull the American Jews together to aid the Jews affected by the war. As already described in the chapter on Paul's life in Frankfurt, he knew Felix through family connections. Felix worked from 1889-1895 in his maternal grandfather Nathan Oppenheim's pearl and diamond business in Frankfurt, which he left to marry Frida Schiff and moved to New York. (As noted in the chapter on Paul in London, Nathan Oppenheim in 1895 had approached Hermann Baerwald to ask whether Paul wanted to return from London to Frankfurt to take Felix's place.) With Felix's March, 1895, marriage to Frida, he had an easy entrance into the investment banking firm of Kuhn Loeb, headed by the Frankfurt-born and Philanthropin-educated Schiff, where he became a partner in 1897.

Though Felix's Frankfurt family was very much richer than Paul's, and Felix had a thirteen-year head start in creating a family, they were peers in other ways: the same age, came to New York a year apart, were investment bankers, and shared a similar upbringing. Paul wrote of his first years in New York, "I had occasional visits at Felix's house on 72nd Street," and says that Felix would have preferred to see him more except that "I [was] even at that time not very socially inclined."[57]

Felix, the JDC chairman, was outgoing, gregarious, a big thinker involved in the community – a very public activist for Jewish and NY social causes. He needed a trusted peer on the finance side of the relief work, a competent financial manager and administrator (more so than a famous name), someone who he knew to be thoughtful, meticulous and loyal. I believe that Felix had his eye on Paul, but that between 1914 and 1916, Paul was occupied with his fast-growing family and his banking career, so Felix waited. It was not until early in 1917 that given Felix's friendship, the pressure of the war, financial security, and the honor of being asked, Paul was ready to take on this new commitment to be part of the JDC organization.

Later, in a 1942 letter to Herbert Lehman (then governor of the state of New York), Paul wrote about his beginnings and his trajectory at JDC:

> My own work in JDC consisted from the start primarily in an administrative capacity, tutored as I was in the first instance by the ability and experience of Arthur Lehman, later on however, being able to become myself a tutor for other treasurers and for the personnel in the office, and with the help of the other treasurers and with this well schooled and loyal personnel, a basis was established for the administration of the financial affairs of the JDC which up to date I believe it can be stated, had met with very little criticism , if any, and on the contrary, is being looked up with general approval. Gradually a considerable amount of executive work came my way, and when our good friend Felix Warburg became anxious to relinquish his Chairmanship and I was called up to assume that Chairmanship, the polices of the JDC had become so well established and there were so many members of importance on our Executive Committee who worked together closely and the support of the committee by important people throughout the country was so strong, that there was no difficulty in carrying on the traditional lines.[58]

The context in which Paul stepped into his duties was a huge JDC fundraising effort that had been announced at a mass meeting at Carnegie Hall in December of 1916. As a result of Judah Magnes's investigative trip to Europe in July 1916 and his report to JDC in November that distribution of aid was efficient but the amount was far too little, JDC was seeking to raise at least $10 million for relief in 1917 alone, while a much larger sum would eventually have to be raised in America for rehabilitation of the Jewish communities in Europe after the war. In March, Sears Roebuck owner Julius Rosenwald announced he would contribute a million dollars of his own funds (39 million in 2019 equivalent) if a ten million total in other

donations were reached; a number of other figures announced similar but smaller commitments equal to 10% of what was raised in their local cities or states.

Internal JDC records show that Paul first became Chair of the Purchasing Committee, and by May 1917 he was Assistant (or Associate) Treasurer under Arthur Lehman. By July of '17, he was serving as both Associate Treasurer and a member of the executive committee, present at most meetings of the leaders of JDC. He served on the so-called Committee of Eight (the number of members varied), an inner decision-making subset of the executive committee, whose members included Magnes, Warburg, and Arthur Lehman.

I spent a good deal of time delving into JDC's internal archives because I wanted to try to get a picture of the growing variety of operations going on, the many partners that JDC tried to or needed to engage, and the part Paul played in these operations and the decision-making.

The internal records show his treasurer duties and expectations including money management of many kinds, fund distribution, and fundraising tasks. On the financial management side, for example**,** a June 14 memo to Paul from Harriet Lowenstein (lawyer, accountant, and secretary to Felix) noted, "Mr. Warburg thinks it would be unwise to buy roubles for a period longer than two months, and he says that if you feel like trying as a first venture to purchase two months' allotment he is perfectly willing that this be done."[59] The record of a Committee of Eight meeting on June 29 at Felix's office at Kuhn-Loeb indicate some of the complexities of moving money to where it was needed (the "distribution" that the organization's name implied): The State Department had notified JDC that they would be allowed to send funds to German and Austrian-occupied parts of Eastern Europe; JDC's treasurer was to forward the funds to the State Department, which would then route them, through the Dutch consulate, to a Dutch aid committee, which would in turn get them to their destinations. The State Department would also transmit funds for Palestine to the Dutch government, which would forward them to the manager of the Anglo-Palestine Bank. Other funds were to be sent to a support organization in Petrograd to purchase food to be taken into Rumania. Details for the Holland plan, including newly appointed staff to set up a permanent bureau there, and Petrograd/Rumania plans were also discussed. Still other items on the agenda related to questions of postwar help to Jews in the war zones, criticism of the JDC by the American Federation of Zionists (some of whose officers were also involved in JDC),

inviting the president of the "Bank of the United States" to come to a future meeting to describe methods of transmitting monies to individuals in the war zone, and recalling $1200 that had been appropriated for used clothing for Poland, because the time period for authorization to ship via Switzerland had expired.[60] This was typical of the concerns of the Executive Committee and of special committees on an array of issues: the number of individual countries and communities with particular aid concerns, the financing, the internal issues around prioritizing countries or parts of the world, reports from abroad, national and international budgets and staffing, relations with many other organizations or governments on a variety of issues – and, not the least, fundraising.

Aside from his primary duties, Paul – like many officials and rank-and-file members of JDC – participated in direct fundraising from individuals. A list of fifty-four fundraising teams from December 1917 includes Team #22, "captained" by Mortimer Schiff and including Paul Baerwald, that raised $293,000 during a two-week period, and Team #51, "captained" by Mrs. Bernard Pollak and including Mrs. Paul Baerwald, that raised $21,000. A little competition or group effort was a new or old tactic to expand the funding network and raise money from team members themselves.

In the early years the organization's structure was evolving rapidly, as JDC coalesced and acquired more funds and more staff. Members of the executive committee were on several committees at once. A list of the standing committees in 1919 included, besides the Executive Committee and Campaign Committee, those on: Administration and Coordination; Distribution of Funds in Russia and Occupied Territories; Palestine; Rumania, Serbia and Other Countries (of which Paul was chair starting in 1917); Individual Remittances; Finance; Law; Publicity; and War Chest – as well as short-term subcommittees that formed as need arose.

In 1918, Paul chaired the subcommittee to investigate conditions in Salonica, Rumania, and the Balkan States, which met often at his Lazard Freres office. This is an example of one of thousands of memos, letters, and telegrams in the JDC archives. Among the actions taken was to send a cable to M.M. Rothschild and Sons in London: "Salonica continues piteous appeals . . . please cable any recent information and whether anything being sent from England. Have cabled David Lubin, Rome, asking him to investigate report." In 1920, Paul was a member of the "Administrative Committee," whose minutes for one meeting show him

urging the hiring of more staff in the Remittance Bureau, which as its name implied, routed remittances from individuals in the U.S. to their relatives and others in Europe. That year he was named Treasurer; his name is on all Executive Committee communications, as well as other committees and sub committees focused on areas in Europe and elsewhere, and the Finance committee, with constant financial and fundraising concerns. He held that position for 12 years, until sometime in 1932, when he became Chairman of the JDC.

With the end of World War I, JDC's work only increased, because the new task was to deal with the aftermath in the disrupted and often devastated Jewish communities. JDC representatives could travel into many previously inaccessible areas where they saw and reported on the specific disasters. That meant JDC or its representatives had contact with governments all over war-torn Europe, all with a dizzying array of human and social devastation. JDC campaigns in the U.S. raised $33.5 million between 1919 and 1921, which was a start. The postwar relief effort required more staff and volunteers in NY, and a new main European office in Paris. JDC made use of old and new trusted intermediaries abroad, working with Jewish organizations that already existed, including the *landsmanschaften*, local mutual-aid societies in the Yiddish-speaking villages and also among immigrants in the U.S. (organized according to the specific communities they had come from). Fundraising and distribution thus included not only the big-donor campaigns, but also the specific task of collecting and forwarding family remittances. Money-raising strategies differed among the constituent groups, with JDC handling the money and the Executive Committee making decisions for donations not already earmarked. JDC in New York was responsible for purchasing food and materials, renting ships, coordinating shipping destinations, arranging for ships to be met and supplies distributed from there.

Income and expenditures went across Paul's desk or the desks of those who reported to him. The finance department had a staff of 15 (in 1923) plus auditors who came in every two weeks. The JDC archives also provide a sense of the the growing staff and the issues of managing it. A memo to Paul in December 1922 asks him please accept Evelyn Morrissey's recommendations for salary increases for about 40 staff members in various departments who were: secretaries, stenographers, stenographer/correspondents, clerks, mail clerk, cable clerk, Russian typist, Russian clerk, accountants, cashier**,** department heads, and assistant heads**.** Most had been hired in early 1920 or 1921, some in 1922. One specific example is for

Dorothy Speiser, a stenographer and correspondence assistant who was making $115 a month, and in 1923 was raised to $135. (Speiser became a long-time employee, rising to Assistant Treasurer by the 1960s.)[61] A September 1922 salary recommendation memo includes comments about specific employees: "Knows whole location system and is more than a typist." "Special ability and conscientiousness. Widow with child." "Composes her own letters, etc; practically a correspondent. No increase in two years."[62]

Information from a 1923 memo lists 28.5 full-time equivalent paid staff in the administrative department alone: 3 publicity, 8.5 stenographic & cables, 4 filing, 2 messengers, 2 stock, 1 switchboard, 1 secretary's office, 1 controller's office, 2 incoming mail, 3 under or part of Exec. Committees). In addition, for other departments, it lists: Accounting, 15; Russian Food, 19.75; Remittance Bureau, 4.25; War orphans, 6; Landsmanschaftn, 5; Russian, 1; Medical, 1; Cultural and Refugee, each at .25 . A year later, the department continued to grow.[63] In addition, there were the European offices, the main one in Paris and others at different times, given the conditions, for example, Holland and Poland. A memo from JDC Paris lists personnel: 1 Garage, 3 Warehouses, 2 Refugee, 2 Remittance, 1 Child-care, 5 Stenographers, 1 Reconstruction.[64]

Paul's own involvement with day-to-day staffing issues is suggested by this memo to the Committee on Salaries and Personnel, from 1923, titled Salary Increases American Overseas Personnel: " . . .a sub-committee of the Administration Committee, appointed to consider standardization of salaries, with Mr. Baerwald as chairman, recommended with regard to American personnel, 'that all arrangements with respect to members of units be made in America, that the grades established be from $150 to $300 monthly plus, save in exceptional cases which have been called to the attention of the Committee . . ."[65]

Alongside his work in JDC, Paul was reconnecting with and supporting his own family in postwar Germany. Care packages shipped to relatives were an immediate first step. Sanna, Frenkel, a niece, born in Berlin in 1908, was six when the war started. In a video interview many years later, she remembered that right after the war, he and Edith "sent a trunk load of clothes, not only for our family [but] to his other brothers and sisters– clothes and shoes, bags and bags of flour and non-perishable goods. . . We had never seen chocolate and all these delicacies.... We had ration cards, I remember the dark bread and the beet jam." Sanna's

sister Doro Frenkel, born in 1915, recounted her 4 year old memories in an interview with the Shoah Foundation in 1996: "Uncle Paul sent trunk loads of candies and chocolate. We often got packages from America."

In a letter to Paul and Emil written in August 1919, their brother Edu described his time in the war and his immediate postwar situation and that of other members of the family. I quote a little here to give a sense of the moment. The whole letter is in Appendix 3.

> Liebenzell, August 12, 1919
>
> Dear Emil and dear Paul! Since the mail is once again permitted, I want to write to you constantly. Your kind and detailed letters of July 19th are a great joy, and the prospect of seeing you, dear Emil, and Jen here with us in a few weeks is absolutely wonderful. So much so that one hardly dares to believe in it's coming true. I'll take this opportunity to tell you again that we are all well. It's difficult to give you an idea of the life we lead and of the conditions as they exist here. It's a stroke of good luck that I have a lot of work to do. Brooding over the events of the outside world is too disagreeable. [. . .] In the morning, and in light of the lack of milk and butter, the children get a bowl of soup and a piece of military bread with artificial honey and marmalade. Ever since I returned from the field and have managed to discover sources, Paula and the children look much better, as the enclosed photograph shows, and they no longer complain about being hungry, and I too have gained some weight after I lost so much due to the deprivations of life in the field. Our standard of living has become very expensive.[66]

Family lore has it that, as a result of the Harmonie Club scandal, sometime after the war ended Paul told Emil to leave the U.S. This is not precisely what happened. The armistice was signed in November 1918, and the Treaty of Versailles in June, 1919. Exactly when and why Emil and Jen actually moved to Germany and set up a home in an apartment in Berlin is unclear, but it is clear from Edu's letter that Emil was expected in Berlin sometime that fall. Yet, in the Baerwald photo collection is a photograph of Emil and Albert Einstein standing next to each other on a beach, possibly in NJ, during Einstein's three-week visit to New York that was part of his American lecture tour of 1921. In 1923, Emil applied for the first time to become a U.S. citizen, giving his address as the Plaza Hotel, NY, but his application was denied. Evidence from ship manifests and letters shows that for nearly two decades Emil and Jen were traveling back and forth between the U.S. and Europe, with a series of apartments in Berlin.

In 1920, Emil arranged for Baerwald family members to assemble at a summer resort in Switzerland, paid for by Paul. Butz wrote in his memoir, "As a 7 1/2 year old in the summer of 1920, my parents, Liese and I together with 15 other family members spent about 6 weeks at the Park Hotel in Vitznau in Switzerland invited by my uncle Emil. It was my first experience with luxury, white bread, ice cream, and whipped cream, my first visit to Switzerland, the beautiful Vierwald-Statter Lake."[67] Arnold, Paul's oldest brother, who was very ill with kidney cancer, managed to attend, stopping for radiation treatments on the way. He died shortly afterward, in October, at the age of 54 in Frankfurt.[68] At Arnold's memorial, the officiating rabbi spoke of this gathering as "the time when the whole family was together in Switzerland, his longing to be in the mountains where he hoped to find healing." Paul and Edith and their children, however, were not part of the Vitznau gathering. It was not until the summer of 1922 that Paul would see his siblings Meta, Edu, Selma, Lore and their children. (Elise died in 1904 and Arnold in 1920, and Ernesto lived in Japan.) Paul, Edith, their four children (12, 10, 8 and 7), and the children's governess landed in Bremen and visited Berlin, Frankfurt and surrounding places, where the children met their cousins, whom they knew only by names and photographs. Paul's nieces and nephews had lived through the hardships of wartime, while Paul and his children lived quite luxuriously with the war far from their daily experience. When the American and the German children met, ages 3-12, what was that experience like for them, and the adults as well?

It was quite a long visit for some of the older children, including two months in Switzerland. As Butz described it, "In 1922 Uncle Paul invited my sister [13] and me [10] to stay for two months with his children in Territet in the French speaking part of Switzerland (and on Lake Geneva). Together with my cousin Herman Baerwald we attended as day students a boarding school. All teaching was in French."

Paul continued financing trips in both directions. In the summer of 1924, Edu's family (Edu, Paula, Liese and Butz) came for two months, spending time in both New York and Elberon. In 1927, Pauline went to Germany with her German-language teacher, and in 1929 the whole New York family visited Europe. Throughout the 1920s Paul's brothers and in-laws would travel to the U.S. for visits, as did his niece and nephew Sanna and Paul Frenkel, each of whom spent time on their own or with their cousins. In her interview, Sanna recounted visiting Pauline at Smith College as well as Pauline's friends in New York. Sanna

remembers having told Uncle Paul she had gone to a speakeasy with Pauline. She said Paul was surprised to hear that, and didn't believe her.

American as he wanted to be, Paul also wanted his Baerwald family united. His siblings were bi- or trilingual, and their children were all learning English. Paul had 33 first cousins, spread all over Germany, many of whom he would be in contact with later on. Only a handful had left Germany for the U.S. Without their trips to Europe, Paul's children would have had few relationships with Paul's close relatives.

Paul's and Edith's children knew more about their mother's large San Francisco family. Her sister Frances Hellman had four children in San Francisco, Rena Glazier in New York had two, and her younger brother Fred lived in New York as well. Edith too had many cousins, as each of her parents, Flora Brandenstein Jacobi and Frederick Jacobi, came from large families. But in the post WWI years Paul and Edith's preoccupation was Paul's side.

From records I have, Paul financially supported many relatives in Europe, not entirely but regularly from the time World War I started into the late 1920s. Fragmentary documentation shows payments starting in 1919 to Edu in Berlin, and later to Meta in Danzig, Selma in Berlin and later Zurich, and over many years to Emil in Germany, Switzerland or the U.S. Some received money every month, others irregularly. It's very hard to say anything definitive about amounts of money, because the few account books I have are a mystery of handwritten double-entry bookkeeping and a dizzying array of different accounts. It's not always clear what was a gift, a loan, or money sent to be distributed among the family, or funds to be invested in Europe, or proceeds from the family members' own investments in the U.S. that were handled by Paul. Paul sent larger sums to the LMO (Lenny Mannheim Oppenheimer) bank, an account in German marks, that Emil had access to, presumably for the family and possibly for JDC donations in German currency. In one year Paul gave Edu $4,000 in monthly installments, noted meticulously every month. In 1929 he helped Edu secure a mortgage for a home, and in 1930 he sent Edu $11,000. Was this for living expenses or school costs, or for various others in the family, or was it payment for Edu's time as an active member of ICA (Jewish Colonization Association)? In the 1920s Emil and Edu were involved with JDC work, formally or informally. Still, no one could have guessed, in the 1920s, that this was just a beginning – that most of Paul's nieces and nephews would become refugees in the next decade and would live most of their lives in the U.S. –

nor that the traumatic events of the Nazi period would become Paul's major preoccupation, both in terms of great efforts to get his family out of Germany and in terms of his intensified work at JDC because of the Nazi-era crisis and because, after Felix Warburg's retirement in 1932, Paul became the chairman and public face of the organization.

Luckily for his German family, during the time that he was a bachelor, then family man, and then the unexpected patriarch of the Baerwald clan, Paul had continued to accumulate his fortune as a well-connected, hardworking man in a period of immense industrial growth and corporate profits and several prolonged stock market booms – and when capital gains taxes were low and industrial unions by and large did not yet exist. In the 1910s and '20s he continued as a general partner at Lazard and also served on the boards of directors of several corporations. At the end of 1927, at the age of 56, he scaled down his position at Lazard to that of limited partner, and he fully retired on December 31, 1929.

Fragmentary tax-return evidence allows me to make some estimates of PB's income in the 1920s, with annual income varying between $350,000 and $1,000,000, placing him among the top 2% of income-tax filers, and sometimes the top 1%. From what I can see, his lifestyle differed from that of the Schiffs or Warburgs or Lehmans only in scale. Shy as he described himself, he and his family lived a life of luxury, knew the German Jewish elite, the Protestant rich such as the Rockefellers and Harrimans, and high-level officials of New York State and the federal government.

7. Agro-Joint

In his work at JDC from 1917 to 1945 as committee member, assistant treasurer (1917-19), treasurer (1919-32), chairman (1932-45), and donor, Paul's heart and soul went into a myriad of efforts to aid his co-religionists. Each crisis or situation, each effort to support Jews in the places they lived or as refugees finding safe haven wherever possible, was complex and different--whether in Germany, the United States, the Dominican Republic, Japan, Argentina, Shanghai (China), Cuba, Lithuania or Russia, whether in the pre-Nazi years or after Hitler had taken power in Germany.

I will not try to include in this book a history of JDC's work under Paul's leadership during the Nazi period in Germany, since these have been written elsewhere[69], and I have not been able to find much in either Paul's surviving papers or in JDC archives to shed detailed light on his feelings about his JDC work or his role in internal debates or processes. In general, he seems to have been viewed as a steady and reliable executive who sought compromise and paid great attention to administrative and financial details. In terms of the Nazi period, I will concentrate in my next chapter on Paul's work to rescue members of his large extended family, which was parallel to his work in JDC on the mammoth rescue effort. But first, the current chapter is a brief description of one JDC supported effort that spanned the period from 1924 to the mid-1930s, which Paul was intimately involved with from its beginning, a program in Russia known in JDC shorthand as "Agro-Joint."

Agro-Joint was an unlikely alliance between the JDC – and particularly a few of its largest and wealthiest donors – and the government of the Soviet Union, for the purpose of resettling thousands of Russian Jews on agricultural land in the Ukraine and Crimea so that they could become farmers using modern agricultural techniques. The project had two official phases, that of the American Jewish Joint Agricultural Corporation from 1924-28, and the American Society for Jewish Farm Settlements in Russia, Inc., thereafter.

This was a big and bold effort that took place during a fraught period of post-WWI and post-Russian Revolution turmoil and potential famine in the new Soviet society, which presented particular problems and opportunities for the nation's population of approximately 2,750,000 Jews. It involved an unlikely set of bedfellows including U.S. capitalist donors and investors, Soviet communist national and local authorities, a Russian-born U.S.-trained

Jewish agronomist who had left Russia as a political exile and returned to head up the project, other Russian Jewish agronomists, and as many as 200,000 total settlers.

The antecedents of Agro-Joint were of two kinds: nineteenth century attempts to expand the number of Jewish farmers in Russia through settlement schemes, and JDC's relief work in the Soviet Union through the U.S. government's American Relief Association (ARA) in 1921-23.

There had been some Jewish colonies in the southern Ukraine starting in the late 19th century, as – despite many tsarist prohibitions on Jewish mobility and land ownership – some tsars periodically allowed or encouraged this migration from shtetls to the land. After 1890, some of these colonies got support from organizations of Western European Jews, especially the Paris-based Jewish Colonization Association (ICA, established by the Baron de Hirsch, and oriented mostly toward creating Jewish farming colonies in South America and Palestine). In addition, there were a few small Zionist communal farms in the southern Ukraine, formed by Jews who came back from Palestine to set this up as training ground for future Russia-to-Palestine emigrants.

Then, beginning in 1921, the ARA became involved in famine-relief work in Russia, in agreement with the Soviet Government. (This was after the Allied intervention in the Russian civil-war on the anti-Bolshevik side. The aid operation began after it was clear that the Soviet government was a fait accompli, and, also, the Soviet side was willing to accept Western aid.) JDC, like other private relief organizations including the YMCA, cooperated with the ARA, specifically on feeding programs in areas with large Jewish populations.

When the ARA ended operations in the Soviet Union in 1923, JDC entered into an agreement with the Soviet government to continue its work independently, not just through food-relief programs but also through supplying tractors, seeds, livestock and other supplies to the existing Jewish farming colonies. Seeing the need for a much larger effort, JDC hired Russian émigré agronomist Dr. Joseph A. Rosen to direct a large new settlement program, the Agro-Joint. Rosen, who had already been working on the JDC-ARA relief program, had also worked on programs to establish Jewish immigrants on the land in the United States. During his student days in the tsarist era, he had been exiled to Siberia as a revolutionary activist, then had emigrated to the U.S. and completed his education here. He was not a communist, but was open to seeing positive aspects of Soviet policy.

Despite the fact that the U.S. and the Soviet Union had no diplomatic relations at the time, the State Department gave the JDC a green light, and in late 1924, the JDC (represented by Rosen) and the Soviet government (represented by Soviet premier Alexei Rykov) signed an agreement with 28 articles authorizing Agro-Joint to "conduct activity in Soviet Russia for the purpose of transferring new sections of the Jewish population to land cultivation and agricultural occupations, and also of strengthening agriculture among Jews in general."[70] Authorized activities including buying land (or accepting free land) from the government, making grants and loans to farmers and cooperatives, operating experimental stations and training facilities, hiring employees, constructing buildings, importing machinery, and working also with non-Jewish populations in the same areas.

Bernard Kahn, European head of JDC, cabled the New York office from Moscow on July 1, 1925:

> After four weeks stay Russia careful study conditions and visiting new Jewish settlements can safely state that Jewish settling on land Russia is most important reconstructive work we can do STOP in conversations with representatives all groups I found almost everywhere enthusiastic support this work opposition raised somewhere was not against work itself but only against some methods STOP agrojoints and Rosens work unanimously admired everybody Russia STOP agrojoints initiative gave great impulse work STOP four thousand newly settled Jewish families still suffering lack houses and equipment are nevertheless hopeful . . .

What was the confluence of forces and motives behind this unlikely cooperation?

- **The Soviet government** wanted to modernize agriculture to be more productive, so as to deal with acute shortages of grain and to finance rapid industrializing, and it wanted to settle new small farmers (as individuals or cooperatives) on land confiscated from the estates of the old nobility. It wanted to deal with the "Jewish problem" through assimilation or offering some cultural autonomy (opinions differed), but in any case by directing Jews into productive work rather than shtetl-based "parasitic" small commerce, away from old traditions, and away from organizing as a group distinct from other Soviet citizens. It wanted to resettle the Crimea (depopulated by WWI and the civil war) with people from elsewhere in Russia, who would be a counterweight to the native and sometimes nationalist Muslim Tatar population, and also to the ethnically German colonies in the

area, which stemmed from 18th century Tsarist settlement policies. And finally, they recognized that Russian Jews tended to have somewhat higher levels of education than traditional Russian peasants, and had higher rates of participation in the Red Army and the Communist Party.

- **JDC** wanted to provide sustenance for the impoverished Jews of the shtetl. It wanted to give them a place in the new Russian society by rescuing many of them from the status as *lishentsy* (classless) in the new Soviet system and therefore unable to benefit from many government programs and opportunities. It wanted to modernize Russian Jewry into "new Jews" (more like the American Jews of JDC, in a sense). And it wanted to direct its aid money to new productive enterprises that would generate profits to be re-invested, rather than just giving charity. JDC executives and donors also, presumably, approved of the idea of aid money going to finance the export of goods by U.S. corporations such as Ford Motor Company, which were exporting heavily to the USSR. Despite the lack of diplomatic relations, between 1925 and 1929, one-quarter of American tractor exports went to the USSR, and the Soviets were buying trucks and industrial equipment as well. Thus the financiers and retail magnates associated with JDC were within the mainstream of American businesses,
- **Russian Jews** wanted to avoid starvation in the shtetls, and had begun spontaneously migrating to the old agricultural colonies in the southern Ukraine on their own. Also, although Agro-Joint did not sponsor religious activities in the colonies, the scale of the effort and the contribution to the Soviet economy provided a degree of protection for private religious ceremonies, kosher slaughtering of animals, and other practices, which some local Agro-Joint staff quietly aided.

This did not mean that Agro-Joint was uncontroversial. Some U.S. Jews disapproved of any form of aid to Russia because of its past treatment of Jews, some opposed dealing with the communist regime, and the Zionists saw emigration to Palestine as the solution for the Jews of Russia, and thus saw working to improve their conditions within the USSR as a diversion. But the JDC leaders, including Paul, saw Agro-Joint as the most efficient way of aiding the largest possible number of Russian Jews. As Bernard Kahn wrote in 1925:

> Of all countries in the East, Russia seems to me, viewed in a broad and generous way, the only country where the Eastern Jews will eventually have the most of opportunity. . . . Whatever economic and political conditions may eventually supersede those prevailing under the present regime in Russia, the time is over when a Jew in Russia could make both ends meet by engaging in small-trade of the pre-war and pre-revolutionary period.[71]

The fact that U.S. immigration law had drastically tightened in 1924, putting an end to the previous large waves of immigration from Eastern Europe, only made the situation more acute.

In part to insulate JDC from criticism and controversy, in 1928 the JDC leaders changed the funding base of the program. Whereas before it had been supported by broad fundraising campaigns like other JDC relief efforts, in '28 it was reorganized as a private corporation in which a much smaller number of investors pledged $8,000,000 in subscriptions over a period of years, receiving long-term Soviet bonds in return. The trustees of the new American Society for Jewish Farm Settlements in Russia included Paul (who also served as Treasurer) and other current or former JDC executives (such as Felix Warburg, James N. Rosenberg, Herbert Lehman, and Louis Marshall); the largest single pledge, among the forty-two subscribers in ensuing years, was $5,000,000 from Sears Roebuck chairman and philanthropist Julius Rosenwald.

Paul was intimately involved in Agro-Joint details, regularly corresponding with Rosen, with other JDC staff who visited the Agro-Joint colonies, and with Rosenwald and other donors. Topics of these letters over the years include the urgency of supplying promised funds before the Soviets decided to award the land to other groups; aid to nearby non-Jewish peasants to promote good relations; how much or whether to support religious activities; the effect of Russian collectivization policy on the colonies; Rosen's requests for budgets based on crop seasons rather than calendar years; authorization of the purchase of yarn for knitting and weaving cooperatives and wire to make trellises for vineyards; need for more careful accounting; and many more. Paul's letters to Pauline at college contain a number of references to Agro-Joint, particularly the fundraising aspect:

> Did I write you that Mr. Rockefeller has contributed $500,000 to the Russian fund . . .We are delighted as you can imagine. This not public yet. -- November 9, 1928

> We signed our contract with the Soviet government for our 10 mill $ [ten million dollar] American Society for Jewish Farm Settlement in Russia a few days ago and I think it was a memorable occasion. -- January 17, 1929
>
> Am giving a dinner party 22 or 24 on Wednesday evening for the people who made the Russian Farm Settlement enterprise possible to meet Dr. Rosen who will give a report about program success of these settlements. Mr. Rosenwald is here from Chicago - as Dan Koshland is here I may have San Francisco representation, also expect one man from Cincinnati and one from Cleveland. Only men, but mother will help me receive the guests. -- October 14, 1929

Historians' accounts of the actual number of farmers aided by Agro-Joint vary, in part because the project aided existing colonies as well as establishing new ones, and because, as laws changed and Jews became able to establish small farms and workshops around the towns where they already lived, Agro-Joint provided training and loans for these activities too. JDC Assistant Treasurer Evelyn Morrissey, who visited the settlements in the Ukraine and Crimea in 1935, reported that "Agro-Joint was the immediate founder of 215 colonies in Ukraine and Crimea, in which 20,000 Jewish families lived, each family having on average 5 members. . . Starting from 1924, Agro-Joint built 10,000 houses. 1000 tractors, 700 tractor plows, 100 pumps for artesian wells, 36 combine harvesters, and a large number of other machinery, such as road-graders, silage-cutters, reapers, tower silos, incubator equipment, potato, cotton, and corn planters automobiles, trucks and spare parts were purchased and shipped to the USSR."[72]

As implied by this list, Agro-Joint agronomists and advisers encouraged crop and livestock diversification, including the creation of vineyards, orchards, and tree nurseries, as well as product diversification into non-food products (such as blown glass, textiles, and machinery), and they were very active in electrification of the settlement villages. Both inside and outside the settlements, Agro-Joint also participated in various forms of technical and industrial training. As historian Jonathan Dekel-Chen reports:

> Rosen concentrated all of the mechanized farm implement in the hands of capable crews composed of American instructors who turned operations over to teams of young colonists. These teams prepared tracts before the arrival of the new colonists and plowed, planted, cultivated, and often harvested for all of the colonies in the settlement blocs. In some cases, the colonists supplemented the mechanized work with their own horses and oxen. The tractor teams . . . also sold or donated services to neighboring, non-Jewish

> villages. Colonists usually paid the team with a predetermined, reasonable percentage of the harvest crops.[73]

In this and in other ways, Rosen managed to convince the staunch private-enterprise capitalist JDC executives and funders that various mixtures of cooperative and private economic structures would provide them more bang for their buck. As it turned out, these cooperative structures, such as the tractor teams, protected the Agro-Joint colonies from many of the harsh aspects of Soviet forced collectivization of peasant villages in the 1930s, because the colonies already had many of the characteristics of the *kholkoz* (collective/cooperative farm) favored by Bolshevik policy, or could easily adapt to fit into new state structures.[74]

As new arrivals continued to come to the settlements from the shtetls, many of the grown children of the original settlers – given their status as "toilers on the soil" rather than *lishentsy*, moved to the cities either for professional education or to work in industry. (Settlement schools tended to be run in Yiddish at the elementary level, and then in Russian in the high schools as these were established.)

In sum, Dekel-Chen argues:

> Even if their numbers never surpassed 8 or 9 percent of the nation's total Jewish population . . . Soviet-Jewish farmers plowed the fields of northern Crimea up to the autumn of 1941, both in practice and in more abstract forms. They represented a hybrid of shtetl commercialism, Agro-Joint mechanization, and the new Soviet society. Although most young people left the kolkhozes in search of higher education, a permanent core of successful colonists was forged on the steppe, more akin to the model Soviet kolkhoznik than were most of the indigenous peasants. Moscow's campaign of popularization produced a picture of the "new" Soviet-Jewish farmer rooted to the land, at the cutting edge of the rural economy. The results obtained by those who stayed in the kolkhozes largely substantiated this image.[75]

That success, however, was marred and then eliminated by two historical factors: the Stalinist purges of the Great Terror in 1937-38, and the Nazi invasion of the USSR in 1941.

When Stalin unleashed the terror, purges, and show trials of the late 1930s, Agro-Joint lost its most important allies in the Party leadership. Alexie Rykov, for instance, who had signed the original agreement with Rosen in 1924, had lost his position as Premier in 1930, been increasingly marginalized as the decade went on, and was finally arrested in 1937 and executed the following year. Further, in the atmosphere of paranoia and xenophobia,

anyone with ties to capitalist countries and Western organizations was likely to be accused and persecuted as a spy. Agro-Joint staff had already dwindled from around 3000 employees to 100, as new funding ceased and the settlements were able to continue on their own and were administratively folded into local government agencies dealing with farming cooperatives. But the staff who remained, mostly agronomists, instructors, and accountants based in the Moscow office and the Ukraine and Crimea field offices, found themselves under suspicion, and many were arrested on charges of "collaboration with a counterrevolutionary organization, founded by the director of Agro-Joint Dr. Rosen." [76]

According to research in Soviet-era archives by JDC archivist Mikhail Mitsel, 16 Agro-Joint staff or family members, including the co-directors of the Moscow office, agronomists Samuel Lubarsky and Ezechiel Grower, were executed, and 11 more were sentenced to Siberian labor camps, where at least 5 of them, including Crimea director Aaron Zaitchik, died. Only two of those arrested are known to have been released for "lack of evidence"; one had served a half year in detention the other a year and-a-half .

"The arrests of Agro-Joint workers," Mitsel writes, "were determined by their associations with the groups at risk:"

> They worked in an organization that preserved its original name – the American Jewish Agricultural Corporation (Agro-Joint) – with everyday working contacts with foreigners. Many of them were professionals who had been abroad, received their education in Europe, or were born in parts of the former Russian Empire that later became independent countries. Many of them had relatives abroad: in the USA, Palestine, Poland and Lithuania. Due to their frequent contacts with foreigners (workers and donors of JDC – mainly citizens of the USA), the employees of Agro-Joint became a vulnerable group: in many interrogation files the connection with foreigners is presented as the major crime.[77]

The repression was not limited to the Agro-Joint employees. According to Mitsel's research, in the settlements served by Agro-Joint in Ukraine and Crimea about 150 Jewish farmers and other farm-related workers were arrested and charged as counter-revolutionaries or spies. Of these, about 40 were sentenced to death, 72 received terms in work camps of 3 to 15 years (of whom 8 died in custody), and 40 were released.

All of these Agro-Joint employees and colonists were among the hundreds of thousands of victims, from high officials to ordinary citizens, of the Terror of 1937-38.

Joseph Rosen himself had already left Russia for Paris, but, as Mitsel says:

> He clearly understood the danger to his colleagues throughout the USSR when he was informed about the first arrests in Moscow and Dnepropetrovsk. In a letter dated December 11, 1937, addressed to Paul Baerwald and James Rosenberg, Rosen stated 'This is going to be a rather sad letter but it has to be written. I do not want to have it typed as I do not yet want the office personnel to know about it.'

The letter recounted the first arrests of Agro-Joint employees, as well as the arrests of some German Jewish refugee doctors whom Agro-Joint had helped resettle in the USSR and were now viewed as spies. "Things that are happening now in Russia are beyond any comprehension," Rosen reported. "Stalin is ruining the country and unless he comes to his senses soon the situation will become hopeless."[78]

Rosen also wrote from Paris to Soviet officials to request a visa to return to the USSR, rather than allowing his staff to suffer in his absence. With legal immunity as a U.S. citizen, he was allowed to return for six month during 1938 for the technical purpose of negotiating the winding up of Agro-Joint's affairs (turning over the remaining Agro-Joint assets and archives to the government, with a promise that the assets would be used largely for the benefit of Jews), but despite a personal meeting with Prime Minister Vyacheslav Molotov, he was unable to do anything to protect his friends and coworkers caught up in the purge. He was, however, apparently able to provide some clandestine financial aid to the families of the arrested staff. In many cases, Mitsel reports, Rosen did not know until sometime after World War II what exactly had happened to those arrested, and even then the information was incomplete. The same was true, therefore, of Paul and other JDC officials who depended on Rosen for most of their information.[79]

Despite the Terror, however, the Jewish farming settlements themselves continued to operate, as already described above, until the Ukraine and Crimea were overrun by the German invasion of the USSR in 1941. Very little is known about exactly what happened to the colonists. The majority of the colonists seem to have joined the mass evacuation to Central Asia ahead of the German army, while those who did not get out in time fell victim to the Nazis. Either way, this tragedy was the effective end of the Jewish agricultural settlements. Most historians agree that they had played a crucial role in preventing starvation and improving the situation of Russian Jews in the 1920s and '30s, but they did not survive

World War II. Some of the evacuated settlers remained in the Central Asian SSRs, while others returned to Russia. In the Ukraine, their lands were by then occupied by others. In Crimea, many resettled on their former lands or new ones, but now as minority members of non-Jewish kolkhozes, though sometimes rising to leadership positions. But for various reasons including post-war Ukrainian and official Soviet anti-Semitism, many then left the countryside for Crimean cities in the late 1940s. "In addition," says Dekel-Chen, "some Agro-Joint agronomists who had survived the purges and returned from wartime evacuation received jobs in the Soviet economic ministries."[80]

Agro-Joint is one example of how JDC responded to many human crises affecting Jews all over Europe. Decisions were made as strategically as possible, under immense pressure, with the funds the organization was able to raise. Paul must have had qualms about working with Stalin, but others he respected were more open to ideas that could affect the most number of people.

After Agro-Joint, Paul carried on as JDC chair until the end of 1945 with the weight of his co-religionists and his German family on his shoulders. The quiet man I knew later on must have had many regrets and second thoughts, as well as successes to remember. One clue to such thoughts is provided by a letter to his children after the ocean liner *S.S. St. Louis*, in May, 1939, was unable to land in Cuba with over 900 German Jewish refugees despite their having visas and despite the last-ditch efforts of JDC to negotiate with the Cuban government on their behalf. The passengers were subsequently refused entry by both the United States and Canada, and the *St. Louis* had to return to Europe. Finally, the passengers were accepted by several European countries, with JDC posting a $500,000 bond on their behalf. Paul's letter to his children is dated June 18, 1939, just after this apparent resolution of the crisis. Paul wrote of:

> . . . the unexpected incident of the St. Louis, time absorbing and exciting to say nothing of money which has to be provided (and which perhaps if one had had the courage to use some of it beforehand in some particular way could have prevented this happening??) etc. etc."

In other words, Paul was reflecting, JDC could perhaps have succeeded in bribing Cuban officials to honor the original visas, if it had acted fast enough and with a high enough offer.

8. Getting the German Family to Safety

As noted at the beginning of Chapter 7, I am not including in this book an account of Paul's work in JDC in the Nazi era in Europe. This chapter is about Paul's many efforts over the same period to get his family members out of Germany and into the U.S. or other safe havens. In both his JDC work and his family concerns, I can only imagine the devastation he felt about how the country where he'd been born and the German culture so studied and respected by his father had now turned against his own Jewish people.

Paul's help for family members included filing visa applications, writing affidavits pledging financial support and/or testifying to the good character of the would-be immigrants, seeking other co-sponsors for them, paying train and ship passage from Germany to stopovers in Europe or Asia and then the transoceanic journey to the U.S., and in other ways, via his connections through JDC (and other contacts), working to get through the endless red tape and to fight for places within the tight U.S. immigration quotas. Several relatives have told me that they heard that Paul filed affidavits for about 120 individuals, including siblings, first cousins, nieces and nephews, second cousins, and their descendants and in-laws. This exodus began in 1933 and continued after World War II, until about 1950. He also provided these refugees, to varying degrees, with financial support or help in finding jobs or getting educations – and at times in micro-managing their lives or trying to enlist other relatives in taking over some of this burden.

What I'm including in this chapter is not an exhaustive account of all those Paul helped. I haven't searched through Paul's correspondence to find every mention of a refugee, and I can give only truncated versions of the interviews I did with living relatives. What I have done is to choose examples that testify to a range of different experiences and offer evocative quotes or details.

I will begin with the Frenkel family – that is, the family of Paul's half-sister Selma and her husband Arthur Frenkel, also Paul's cousin. In many ways their family serves as a microcosm for what Paul did for other relatives and of the issues that Paul constantly circled around in his letters about this topic. Then I will discuss his other siblings, their children and farther-flung relatives. To follow all these family connections, see Appendix 1**,** the family

tree of Lewin and Frommet Baerwald's descendants, and Appendix 5, the descendants of Aaron Frenkel and Caroline Meyer.

I. Uncle Hermann Frenkel and his descendants

Hermann Frenkel, a prosperous banker in Berlin, was the brother of Paul's mother Selma Frenkel Baerwald. In 1878, the same year his sister died, he became a partner in the Jacquier and Securius Bank at the age of 28. Thus, as Paul was making his way towards the New World starting in 1886, Hermann had already made his way successfully in the Old World. Yet, paradoxically, the Frenkels would end up years later being financially in need of Paul.

By 1902, Hermann was sole proprietor of J&S, buying out the other partners with a capital investment of 900,000 marks. He then took on Albert Pinkuss and Eugen Panofsky as partners. As often happened within such firms, Albert Pinkuss was to become his brother-in-law. Hermann Frenkel and his wife Henrietta Pinkuss were one of the wealthiest families in Berlin at the time. Her family home, which she inherited, was the Schloss Friedenthal (Friedenthal Castle) in Oranienburg. Albert Pinkuss was worth an estimated 10,000,000 marks by 1912. Hermann served on many boards concerned with banking regulation issues, and was well known and well respected.[81]

Hermann Frenkel and Henrietta Pinkuss had four children, Paul's first cousins Arthur, Gertrude, Erich, and Alfred. The growing family lived at Tiergartenstrasse 18d, a forty-room villa in a neighborhood of the very wealthy and diplomats. Their summer home was Henrietta's family property in Oranienburg. Hermann's sons Arthur and Erich eventually became partners in the J&S bank.

In the early 20s, the post-WWI period in Germany, the bank did not do well. Henrietta sold her mansion near Oranienburg. (It later became a Nazi installation used first as a center for attempted forgery of British and U.S. currency, and then for training special forces for covert operations. It has been said that the Nazis brought Jewish prisoners from the nearby Sachsenhausen concentration camp to work on the forgeries.[82]) Hermann Frenkel had by then lessened his involvement with J&S and become more interested in art collecting and (as reported to me by several of his grandchildren) womanizing. With the worldwide economic depression of the 1930s, Hermann's fortune rapidly diminished.

In 1930 Uncle Hermann asked for a large loan from Paul, secured by a mortgage on the family home on Tiergartenstrasse. Paul loaned him $95,402 (400,000 German goldmarks), at 8% annual interest. The loan document called for payment of interest-only (no repayment of principal) until July 1, 1933, after which a monthly schedule for repaying the principal could be set.

Could Paul have said no to the request? What were his options given the fatherly and supportive role his aging Uncle Hermann had played for him? Did he owe it to the old man to help him for his late-in-life foibles, for building an art collection, for taking semi-leave of the bank, for the post war Depression? Did Paul think he would get paid back eventually?

From an investor's point of view, Paul knew more than many the financial risk he took. It was a big drain of cash shortly after the Crash. Between his international banking contacts, his contacts with U.S. diplomats stationed in Berlin, and from the many JDC staff who worked in Europe, he was well aware of the insecure German economic and political situation. He was not going in with blinders on. On the other hand, the house was in a good location and the mortgage document itself a conservative detailed business proposition, allowing the lender to call in the entire principle if the borrower missed payments, failed to keep up fire insurance, and other such provisions.

Paul agreed to the loan for family reasons, but possibly also as a way to have the monthly interest added to money he kept in Germany for use there, which he kept in several bank accounts and also invested in the bonds of German utility companies. Whatever his reasons, the loan turned into a constant irritation from 1932 up until his death. In the course of mid-1930 through 1931, Paul received the six scheduled quarterly interest payments. Then Hermann Frenkel died in May, 1932, after which there was only one more payment. The Tiergartenstrasse home, and the obligations under the mortgage, passed to the Frenkel estate (which made no more payments), and then eventually to the German government with the confiscation of Jewish property.

Paul was engaged in one attempt to sell the house in 1933. The next mention in his papers comes in several letters to a lawyer in Germany in 1941 (after the outbreak of WWII but before the U.S. entrance) about the possibility of recouping his investment. Then, after the war, he made attempts to get compensation.

Arthur Frenkel in Germany and Switzerland

Hermann's son Arthur and Arthur's wife Selma were the next members of the family for whom Paul first managed money and then provided support. Arthur was Paul's 1st cousin and in 1906 became his brother-in-law by marriage to Paul's half-sister Selma.

Arthur at the time of the marriage worked at J&S bank, where he rose successfully and became a partner by 1919. However, he did not have the same interest in the banking business as his brother Erich, who was also a partner and to whom Arthur gradually transferred his share. He left the firm at the end of 1925 and withdrew his money from the bank by 1927 (apparently sending some to Paul to invest for him in the U.S.).

In the mid-1920s, Arthur moved his family back and forth between Babelsberg outside Berlin, a series of apartments in the affluent and trendy Charlottenburg district of Berlin, and various parts of Switzerland including Lucerne and Zurich. (Babelsberg was the site of a major film production studio started before World War II; I was told that Arthur, a very good photographer, had a connection to the studio.) But one way or another, this very wealthy family started to spiral downward and used up their capital. When it was gone, Paul began his support of Arthur, Selma, and their four children. It is not clear from records I have when Arthur ran out of his money and Paul's began.

The letters to and from Arthur were only between 1930-1936, and financial records in two different account books cover 1930 and 1931. The two accounts -- one just for Arthur and one for Arthur and Selma -- each contained $3,000 to $4,000. Could that be all that was left from selling off his partnership in J&S? Were there other accounts in the U.S., or was there other money in Germany that was later frozen or taxed or confiscated by the Nazis as controls on Jewish assets tightened?[83]

Paul began to lend the Frenkels money as early as 1931, as indicated in a handwritten letter signed by Selma in Berlin and Arthur in Zurich, on letterhead "Berlin-Wilmersdorf" Rudesheimer Strasse 2," dated Jan.14, 1936: "I hereby beg to acknowledge the receipt from Mr. Paul Baerwald - New York of loans made to us as follows: 1931/32 $1,500; 1934 Swiss frs 24,365." In an August 25, 1932 letter to Zurich from Paul: "I am sending you a check for $1,200 today to your order. Kindly acknowledge receipt. For the present, I am not charging that to your account, hoping that in due time you will be able to send the money back to me." I have no evidence whether any of these loans were ever repaid.

The finance-related letters between Paul and Arthur show an ongoing tussle between them, as well as losses Arthur's U.S. investments sustained in the 1929 Crash. Here are parts of two letters written during the depth of the financial depression:

October 3, 1930

Dear Arthur

I have your letter of the 17th of September and thank you for your good wishes. You ask me to make a remittance of $3,000 and I have attended to that today. Of course, you understand that your securities, like everybody else's, have shrunk a great deal, and today's value is as follows: 200 Allegheny Corp. at 19- $3,800, 63 RH Macy & Co 117- $7,371. And after debiting the above $3000, there is now a debit balance on the account of about $3,900. In addition to that there is an account here in the name of Mr. Arthur and /or Mrs. Selma Frenkel on which there are 42 shares RH Macy & Co. valued at $4,914, without any credit or debit balance.

Markets here are too uncertain to enter any new ventures. I believe a great many prices are low and anybody who has money to invest can do so, but he would have to be prepared to wait quite a long while for a definite improvement in the market.

I do not know what you mean when you ask whether it is possible to get back any income tax. The government gets taxes from profits whenever profits are made, but when there are any losses they do not pay anything back to you. Best wishes, yours . . .

January 22, 1932 [sent to Zurich]

Dear Arthur: I have to acknowledge receipt of your power of attorney signed by you and Selma for Mr. Nothmann . . . .I note your request for the other $1000. And I will have to think about that a little more before I can send it to you.

I am sorry to hear that your father's condition is not satisfactory. No doubt the general situation in Germany and in Europe influences his mental condition as it does everybody else's. One certainly would have wished a better old age for him.

We were delighted to know that Selma went to Danzig. It surely must have been a great help for [her sister] Meta's mental attitude to see her and to have been there at the time of the birthday. Best to all, Yours, Paul

Arthur's grandson Mike Odenheimer had this to say about Arthur's dwindling fortune, also casting some light on his financial relationship with Paul at this time:

Having taken the bulk of his money out to live his life in Switzerland, Arthur indulged his hobbies such as photography and traveling. The depression and

> its consequences ruined him. His investments were worthless and he was apparently no longer able to support his family in the style to which they were accustomed. PB had quite a bit of money in Germany, which after 1933 he could not get out. PB offered to support Arthur and Selma, if they would return to Germany, where they could use the money.

Selma did return to Germany in 1933, remaining there until 1938 when Paul brought her to the U.S. as I'll discuss below. Arthur made his home in Zurich, but still traveled to Berlin.

Arthur and Selma Frenkel's children, their memories, and Paul's role in their escapes from Germany.

Susanna (Sanna), Paul, Dorothea (Doro) and Wolfgang Hans (Albert) were special to Paul, because they were his nieces and nephews and also connected to his mother's side via Arthur. Sanna (b.1908) and Paul (b.1911) were the older pair, and Doro (b.1915) and Albert (b.1919) were the younger pair. Paul kept in constant contact with the lives of these four children, for 53 years. From the early 1930's until his death Paul was helping to support Hermann Frenkel's descendants.

All four of Arthur's children later told stories of their lives in Europe and what it was like to become a refugee. What follows is a summary of what I have gathered for the years 1925 to the early 1940s.[84]

Arthur and Selma's children's strongest early memories were of the two-acre country house and land in Babelsburg, without electricity, with animals and fruit trees, places to roam, fields of lupine, where they lived a much less formal life than they lived in Berlin. Albert said to me in 2008. "That was my paradise, I never told anybody that before." As a family they also went hiking, biking, and traveled to England. Selma was outgoing, cultured, a concert level pianist, had been a teacher of piano at the Philanthropin in Frankfurt, loved theater and was loved and respected by all her children.

On and off during most of the late 20s and 30s Arthur lived apart from his children. He more and more preferred traveling the world with his camera – mostly portraitures, and later was involved in the growing 16mm film industry. He was alternately described as an interesting father, an unreliable father or an absent father. Arthur's grandson David Frenkel summarizes the little that Albert had to say about his father:

> What I understand is Arthur cashed out of the bank . . . essentially being a playboy, traveled around the US then back to Germany. . . He kept company with Olympic swimmer Sonja Henie. There are pictures of her with him. . . . He lived like a wealthy aristocrat. . . . My father doesn't speak about him.

Sanna, in a taped interview, talked vaguely of that time. She remembered that her father spoiled them with presents, they rode horses, went on mountain hikes. "We traveled, and stayed in simple hotels, he was down to earth." In school year 1926-27 she boarded at a girls finishing school in Vevey, Switzerland. In 1929 Sanna and her mother were invited by Paul to the US. They joined Paul's children in London for the trip to the U.S. on the SS Majestic. She had a wonderful time with her American cousins. In the interview she also said. "Uncle Paul was guardian of the family." She may have traveled to the US a second time, on her own. By 1930, Sanna was back in Switzerland and 22 years old. She and her brother Paul were more independent than their younger siblings, and traveled between Switzerland and Germany which was still possible for this family. Sanna was busy, working some of that time as a secretary for her Uncle Edu Baerwald, who was by then a lawyer in Frankfurt. (I believe she also worked in London for a period of time, as a way to improve her already good linguistic abilities.) She enjoyed what she could of the cultural events, whether in Zurich or Berlin, learned how to drive, rode horses, and skied in the winter. In early 1936 she went to a Hitler rally, which convinced her that she had no future in Germany. She wrote Uncle Paul for help to get to the U.S. Paul followed up in correspondence with her Uncle Ernesto in Tokyo, that he should share in the effort to help family leave Germany, which led to an invitation by Ernesto for Sanna to come live with him and his family. Within three weeks of the invitation from Ernesto and a telegram from Paul that said, "You should accept it," Sanna was packed and left Berlin for the scenic journey on the Trans-Siberian railroad. In a week she was in Tokyo. Ernesto found her a job in an American law firm, where she worked for four years. In Paul's papers there is a copy of an affidavit for Sanna that he sent to the U.S. consulate in Tokyo on Dec. 14, 1938, but she does not seem to have used it immediately. In 1940 she married Joe Goltz, an American working as a U.S. film distributor in Japan, and the two of them left Japan, luckily, shortly before Pearl Harbor.

Sanna's son Albert Goltz wrote in 2014:

> I don't think Mom was all that keen to go to Japan, but I recall her saying that Paul was the family patriarch and she felt his advice needed to be taken seriously. I suspect she didn't have the resources to come to the US on her own, and would not have thought about moving somewhere where she was not being looked after by family. Perhaps PB thought after Mom, a few other family members would go to Japan, but one might speculate that by '37 and certainly '38 the political situation in Japan was starting to look shaky and the options for getting family out of Germany were England and the US.

In 1930, meanwhile, Paul Frenkel began working at the German light-bulb and electrical conglomerate OSRAM in Berlin, in the business side of its operations, starting as an apprentice at the age of 19 after graduating from high school (*Gymnasium*) in Berlin. After completing his three-year apprenticeship, he worked for OSRAM as an employee for a few months, but then was fired as of June 30, 1933. His sister Doro said in her oral history that he got in trouble because he "opened his big mouth," and Paul F. intimated to his children that he wrote or spoke publicly about the dangers of National Socialism. Paul's younger brother Albert said that when Paul lived in Berlin, in the early 1930s, "He saw the writing on the wall and wanted to get out." He had his share of personal experience with anti-Semitism around Berlin, where he rode on his bike with an American flag attached. He was beaten up by classmates, including Werner von Braun. In late 1933, he left Germany for Italy. He spoke very good Italian, having gone to school there for some years in the 1920s while living with his aunt and uncle Lore Baerwald Schott and Eduard Schott, to whom he felt close. He may have spent part of 1934 in Milan with them as well.

According to his children Deborah and Emanuel, during this time he devised a strategy that allowed him to return to Germany for visits. He joined the Italian Fascist party, which at that time admitted Jews, and on his trips to Germany he wore that party's uniform and gave the fascist salute, which apparently offered him protection from harassment. On his last border crossing out of Germany, he crossed on a bicycle, probably in the uniform. Sometime after that, he left Italy for the U.S., with an affidavit on his behalf having been submitted by his uncle Paul.

Emanuel, his son, thought that he had been to the U.S. twice before he emigrated, traveling first class, paid for by Paul; that from an early age he felt himself an outsider and philosophically rejected old Europe and admired the U.S. Emmanuel said he arrived in New

York and promptly headed west on a Greyhound bus. He settled in San Francisco, refused to speak any German, and began working as a door-to-door salesman. In Paul's financial records were lists of checks and cash paid out to his nephew, starting in 1935 ($420 that year) and continuing into 1936 ($760) and through the mid-1950s.

In 1938 he married Hannah Cohn, whom he had met in Berlin years before. They married on board the ship on which she arrived in San Francisco on August 26, because that was the only way she could enter the country. Sometime in these San Francisco years, he told his children, he came across his old Italian Fascist pin and threw it off the Golden Gate Bridge.

Doro, because of the family's frequent moves, went to twelve or thirteen different schools, or she and her brother Albert were tutored at home. She felt the impact of the Nazis in her schooling when it came time for college, as she was only able to attend a Jewish teachers' college in Caputh for training in primary education, rather than a regular university in Berlin. She spent time in Italy, helping her aunt Lore with her two young sons. In February 1937 Doro, at 22, accompanied a group of 25 young Jewish children out of Germany, to an English school, Stoatley Rough, started by Quakers in 1934 for Jewish refugee children, where she worked until December 15, 1937. There were supposed to be two teachers traveling with the students from Hamburg, but the other teacher got sick and left Doro to manage by herself. It sounded like they had a rough trip across the Channel.

Doro was happy to be away and on her own in England, working at the school. In the spring of 1937 she met up with Albert who was on his way from Hamburg via South Hampton to New York on the SS Manhattan. They visited on the ship, as can be seen in a photo taken on board, but Doro would not be going to the U.S. yet. Later that year her mother asked her to return to Germany. She wanted to stay in England, but nevertheless returned to Berlin in late December, 1937, or January 1938. Finally in late August 1938 she left for NY, and her mother followed in early November–with much of her furniture. In Paul's papers are copies of his affidavits for Doro and Selma.

As Doro finally left Germany, she had mixed feelings about her father. Arthur was in poor health and wanted Doro to move to Zurich and take care of him and she didn't. Soon after her arrival in New York, Doro went to Smith College for one semester (Fall 1938), but

didn't stay as she wanted to join her mother and her brothers Paul and Albert in Berkeley, and she didn't feel right having her uncle support her in college. She wanted to go to work and help the rest of her family. In a taped interview she described Uncle Paul and Aunt Edith as "Marvelous, most wonderful, helpful people."

Albert remembers his older brother Paul saying to him "Be careful of Hitler." Albert was 6 or 7 when his parents moved to Switzerland, and about 14 when he moved back to Berlin with his mother. His memories are locked away and in talking with me he was pretty silent about his childhood. Albert did say a few things about his time in Germany from 1933-1937 as a high school student. He recounted to me (quoted as best I can from 2008 notes) a "sad story.... I was invited to the Pesach meal at my Uncle Edu and Aunt Paula's in the spring of 1934; Selma, Sanna, and Doro were also there. After the meal Edu said, I'm taking Albert to the office with me. When we got downtown, we saw Brownshirts smashing windows in the Plaza. Uncle Edu was pale. We got out of there, and I'm not sure he ever got to his office again. He was a sensitive and serious man." (Edu died of cancer, July 1934.)

Albert's son David wrote:

> Even at his young age he was aware of the growing anti-Semitism and the activities around it. He was aware that Jews were being imprisoned and he did not ride any public transportation for the fear of being arrested and thrown into prison. He witnessed the smoke arising from the burnt out Reichstag [February, 1933] that he routinely biked past and through the Brandenburg Gate. His head schoolmaster wore a Nazi uniform and he was routinely harassed by the Nazi brown shirts at his school. Before he left Germany in April 1937, he went to the J&S bank (then well into in the process of "Aryanization" with the remaining Jewish partners gradually being forced out and replaced by "Aryan" ones) and was taken to the third floor to watch a Nazi parade and saw Hitler in his car.

After three or four years in Berlin he was relieved to have passed his last *Gymnasium* exams and had travel documents in order to leave, once and for all. Paul's affidavit on his behalf is dated February, 1937. Years later, Albert told of his American cousin Herman picking him up at the boat April 16, 1937, being in NY with his uncle and aunt, being sick, riding a bike, and being in Elberon, NJ. He told his daughter Susanna that Paul had advised him, on arrival in New York, to take up a practical occupation as a tradesman, like a plumber

or electrician. When Albert proposed college instead, Paul agreed to support him for a limited time, on the condition that he go study in California where there were fewer Jews and where Frances Hellman, Paul's sister-in-law, was a trustee of UC Berkeley, and could look out for him. So he left for San Francisco on May 4th. Paul Frenkel, who had by then been in San Francisco for almost 3 years met his younger brother Albert at the Oakland train station. The two brothers drove to San Francisco, running out of gas on the recently opened Bay Bridge. In June, Albert walked into mid-level classes at UC Berkeley and received his B.A. (Phi Beta Kappa) two years later. In 1942 at age 23 he got his Ph.D. in Plant Physiology (the youngest Berkeley doctoral graduate ever, as of then) on the use of radioactive tracers in plants. During this time he met lifelong colleagues in his later career in biochemistry. After graduation he moved to Los Angeles to work at Cal Tech as a researcher. In 1944 he got his U.S. citizenship and was drafted into the Army Corps of Engineers and assigned to work on the Manhattan Project, first at Oak Ridge National Laboratory and then at the University of Rochester, as part of the Project's research on the potential effects of radiation on its employees. After the war he worked briefly for the Atomic Energy Commission and then had a long career as a professor of botany and plant physiology at the University of Minnesota.

Selma's and Arthur's departures

Selma's life in those years was as politically and emotionally complex as that of her children. She had only reluctantly left Switzerland for Germany 1933, but she had to because of the financial support that Paul could only give her there, where he had Deutschmarks in the bank.

On Jan. 3, 1933 Paul wrote:

> ... I received a copy of Edu's letter to you for Jan. 17th. I agree with all he says and I am convinced that the sooner you get settled in Berlin the better it will be for all of you. Of course there is every reason why you should write to me quite frankly and try to justify your attitude. I am convinced that better times are in store for all of us and your nature will in due time, I am sure, assert itself and you will become more optimistic.

Later that month (January 30, 1933), Hitler became Chancellor, but Selma, once back in Berlin, was resistant to recognizing the reality taking place there, and didn't want to make yet another new start at age 57. But Paul, by 1938, was insistent on her leaving Germany, and he

wrote an affidavit for her in September of that year. Then, like her four children she too began another chapter of her life, this time in the Bay Area in Berkeley, near her two sons as well as other close relatives. (Within two years Selma's other siblings Ernesto and Lore would also come to live in Berkeley.)

Arthur was still in Europe at the beginning of 1939, and Paul's affidavit for him is dated in April. He arrived in New York on the *RMS Queen Mary* August 7, 1939, quite ill. In Paul's daybooks there are notes, between August 8 and October 5th, which I will quote or paraphrase here and add clarifications. These give a sense of what happened to Arthur those last seven weeks of his life and a sense of some of what else Paul had on his schedule and on his mind.

To judge from his daybooks, Paul hardly saw Arthur. He was extremely busy with JDC work and with family on Edith's side. On Aug. 8, 1939, Arthur was released from Ellis Island, and Paul saw him that evening. It's not clear where he was staying, but Paul tended to put the arriving relatives up in hotels, and not in his home. Emil was safely in NY by then, and he was the one who arranged for medical care and housing for Arthur. On Aug. 9 Paul wired Selma to come East to be with Arthur. The next day he wrote, "Edith much upset about Arthur's situation." On Aug. 16 Selma arrived; that same day Paul noted that he was working on a U.S. visa for Ernesto to be able leave Japan. By Aug. 29/30 Selma was in Elberon with Paul, and on the 31st he noted, "Calmness, Selma discuss nursing home for Arthur." On September 3, Paul noted, "War against Germany declared" by Britain and France, and the next day, that "Arthur had high fever 103/104 degrees." On Sept. 8 Paul had a good talk with his son-in-law Dr. Henry Doubilet about Arthur, and he paid a bill from a Dr. Lebfeld for $2,802. The next day Selma called to say that Arthur had a bad night. On Sept. 12 Paul noted "Arthur better," and then on Sept. 14, "Dinner Rena [Edith's sister], Selma and Edith discuss Arthur." On Sept 24th, Arthur was in the hospital, and so was Rena's husband Henry Glazier; the next day Paul noted, "No change with Henry or Arthur." Then, on September 26, "9 a.m. Edith phones Arthur died last night, 9:37 train to NY." On Sept. 27th (Paul's 68th birthday): "9:30-12:30 at JDC, 1:45 funeral, 2:30 crematorium." On October 5, Paul's brother in law, Henry Glazier died.

Besides Arthur and his children, Paul also got his other Frenkel cousins Erich and Gertrude and their children[85] safely to the U.S. and helped to support them financially in

New York. All told, he provided affidavits and secured visas for sixteen members of the Frenkel family.

The Frenkels' meaning for Paul

Before I move on to Paul's other siblings, I want to explain the kind of meanings that I think this history with the Frenkels had for Paul – and some of these meanings will also apply to other members of the family.

This particular family – his beloved mother's family – had four kinds of significance to him: First, his uncle was a parent figure. Examples from documents that have survived are the 1896 telegram about Paul's move to New York, and Paul's reminiscence of his conversation with his uncle in Monte Carlo about proposing marriage to Edith.

Second, there was a role reversal in which Hermann became dependent on Paul through the Tiergartenstrasse mortgage, and then Paul supported Selma and Arthur, mostly due to his uncle's and his brother-in-law/cousin's life choices including absences from family, financial irresponsibility, and lavish lifestyles. All this touched Paul's moralistic sense; he must have felt put upon that the Frenkels were not more prudent, despite some circumstances beyond their control.

Third, his bitterness and disillusionment with Germany after the rise of Nazis, of which one small but nagging expression was his dogged effort, reflected in endless correspondence from the 1940s until his death, to get restitution from the Occupation authorities and then the German government for his interest in the Tiergartenstrasse property, which was confiscated by the Nazis and then damaged and finally destroyed by both sides during the war. He never recouped a fraction of that loan.

Fourthly, and probably most important, there is the success story of getting his sister and her husband and their children out of Germany, and Paul's living long enough to watch the children have adult lives. Ironically, perhaps, in view of his early advice, Paul became particularly proud of Albert for his academic success. It was Albert to whom he turned in his later years when Frenkel family issues came up, one of which was the Tiergartenstrasse restitution case.

The next generation, Hermann Frenkel's American-born great-grandchildren (Paul's grand nieces and nephews) have been successful, generally in fields that Hermann Frenkel and Paul would have approved of, education and finance or a combination of the two.

II. Paul's other siblings and their children.

Beyond Paul's sister Selma and her Frenkel children, there were other siblings and cousins with complex life stories that involved Paul's being instrumental in getting them to the U.S. or other new homes during the Nazi period. Their stories show the tight connections and communication among the Baerwalds. Each one includes an interesting life in Germany before the Nazis, with most then leaving their country of birth and giving up a standard of living that they had, in general, recouped after WWI but again found threatened with the rise of vicious anti-Semitism. However, not all of the family was saved.

I'm going to tell about each sibling and his or her descendants in turn (though not in chronological order), and then some cousins as well.[86]

Emil had come to the U.S. in 1891 at age 22 and returned to Germany in the 1920s. He and Paul had a complex relationship in which many secrets were shared, and each had the 'goods' on the other. He was the only Baerwald other than Paul to appear in Agnes Hutchison's address book. During the 1920s and '30s Emil, with his wife Jen, moved in and out of Germany. He had various business dealings in Germany, London and New York. For Paul, he was a source of information and networking in Europe.

In a letter dated June 21, 1922, written on a ship heading back to the U.S. from Europe, Paul writes to Edith about Emil who is still there:

> If I hear nothing from Emil by the time I arrive [in NY], I think I shall tell people that he is doing 'some special work for a certain concern and that the chances are it will mean a permanent connection.' I thought of this formula this morning and I am sure it will be satisfactory to them. I must be prepared to say something.

From about this time on, Emil and Jen had an apartment in Berlin, a city neither of them had made their home in before. Emil had many Baerwald and Frenkel relatives in Berlin, while Jen had family members of her father in Basel, Switzerland. They lived variously in Berlin or Basel until early 1939, returning often to the U.S. for short trips both together and

separately. Jen, particularly, but Emil as well, spent time at spas in Germany and Switzerland, as is evidenced by her correspondence to her nieces and nephew in New York

Emil remained connected to the metals business and was a collector of Chinese ceramics and of first editions of German classics. His passion and knowledge about art and books was broad.

Meanwhile, he served as Paul's emissary to the family in Europe and also as Paul's eyes and ears and financial agent in Germany, starting in the early post World War I years when their siblings and others were in need of material and financial help. He reported to Paul on their family's well-being. Emil had check-signing powers for Paul's account at the A.E. Wassermann Bank in Berlin, and perhaps for other accounts. Unofficially and possibly officially he was at times involved with European JDC work.

Emil advised Paul on investments in metal industries. During 1933-38, while living in Berlin, Emil was a director of the Levy-Stern Metals Co. He remained connected to Louis Lazarus & Sons in London, and afterward to Henry T. Long, who left Lazarus and set up his own metals company in 1928. This was where Emil arranged to have Jack Harrison work, and a few years later Paul arranged for his nephew Butz to work as an apprentice clerk at the same firm. One specific anecdote which hints at Emil's role comes from Butz's memoir (Appendix 4). In 1937, Butz informed Emil, who was visiting London, about "a situation" at the Long firm, to which Paul had recently lent £10,000. Emil "castigated me strongly that I should have disclosed the situation earlier." Emil then wrote a long telegram to Paul with instructions to pass the news on to another investor. The lesson Emil imparted to Butz was, "If things go wrong in business disclose the difficulties early and open up."

The previous year, Paul had asked Emil to investigate whether Arthur Frenkel had any funds remaining at the J&S Bank. Also, as mentioned above, in 1937, Paul and Emil arranged to sell Emil's Chinese art collection, at Sparks in London, under Paul's name, in part as a way to avoid German taxes,[87] and also to have additional money in London as family members were arriving there from Germany for indeterminate periods.

All the while, Emil and Jen had been involved in post-World War I recovery work in Germany. In the mid-twenties in Berlin, Jen, who had been involved in social work in New York in the early years of the century, founded or helped to found a free-food program that

became informally known as the "Baerwald Kitchens." These services, supported by an all-volunteer staff,

> . . . were organized by Mrs. Emil Baerwald after the inflation in order to help impoverished gentle folk and intellectuals who had lost everything in the war or during the inflation period and who could not bring themselves to apply for assistance from official Relief Societies. . . It is an association without name or bye laws because only through this anonymity can the sting of public charity be eliminated.[88]

Jen raised money for the kitchens both in Germany and in the U.S.

It's not clear whether the Baerwald Kitchens, at the outset, served both Jews and non-Jews, but as Nazi restrictions on Jews' economic activities were imposed in the 1930s, the kitchens were formally renamed, in 1933, as Jüdische Heimspeisungen (Jewish meals-in-homes). The earliest fundraising letter I found from Jen to JDC dates from 1934 and implies that, starting in 1933, the Kitchens began to receive about a third to a quarter of their funding from JDC, and the rest mostly from individuals in Germany and the United States.[89] A document in the JDC files described the program as providing food, some jobs, and social space "for the former middle classes who are constantly becoming more impoverished."[90]

(In 2018, I happened to learn that she brought to Berlin, a copy of Jane Addams' book *Twenty Years at Hull House* that she had bought in New York. The book was among many Jewish possessions that were looted by the Nazis; at some point it came into the hands of the leader of the Nazi women's league, and it was returned to me, as a representative of the Baerwald family, by the Berlin library's looted book restitution program.[91])

There is little information about Emil's own financial situation during the '30s. He and Jen had some money in Swiss banks, he continued to have business dealings in Germany as long as that was possible, and also in England, and he received money from Paul, directly or in the form of Paul paying travel expenses.

Emil was one of many who didn't take Hitler seriously. In a letter to Pauline, his niece, dated January 19, 1936, Emil wrote, "Hitler's only a fad." He and Jen continued to travel in and out of Germany. Jen, however had become an American citizen in 1934. She was in a better position to travel vis-a-vis the Nazi authorities than Emil. However, by May of 1938 their situation was becoming untenable, as described by the U.S. consul in Berlin, Raymond Geist, who wrote to Assistant Secretary of State George Messersmith on May 18, 1938:

> The situation here is becoming more severe and grave since the promulgation of the laws looking toward the confiscation of the property of non-Aryans and the setting up of Kommisars in Austria who have taken away the businesses of people without the slightest recourse to law. These events are well known in Germany and those people who up to now have not been able to leave the country are filled with the deepest consternation and dejection..... [several paragraphs further]
>
> Old Emil Baerwald has also been causing me anxiety. His passport has been taken away also; but he refuses to yield to the hard fate which these people are trying to impose upon him. He and Mrs. Baerwald keep going, but I think that the health of the old gentleman is beginning to break under the strain. I have done everything I could to cheer him up; and he remains in touch with me all the time. His wife tells me that when he comes to see me or has a luncheon appointment with me he is always cheerful and like a new man. I decided, however, to try to get him a passport; as he has refused himself to make any move, insisting that there is no use. He steadily refuses to immigrate; though I understand that his brother, Paul Baerwald in New York is urging him constantly to come. But he would like to visit his brother again and to spend a month or so recuperating in Switzerland.
>
> I took him over to the Auswanderungsberatungstelle [emigration advisory board], the Director of which is a good friend of mine, and I think in another week or two I shall get a passport for Mr. Baerwald. I shall be very happy indeed if I can get this through; and I feel pretty sure of success. They are only giving passports to German non-Aryans if they can show that the trip abroad is in the interests of German business, that is, if they bring in divisen [foreign hard currencies], which Mr. Baerwald cannot show. Otherwise passports can only be had for emigration once and for all from the country; and he will not hear of immigrating. If you should see his brother I would appreciate your not mentioning my anxiety about his brother; as I understand Paul Baerwald is very much upset about the fact that Emil has no passport and cannot leave the country. I have put the matter up to the authorities in such a way that I do not see how they can refuse to grant my request [but] wanted to let you know about these two individuals in particular....[92]

Raymond Geist succeeded in getting Emil's passport back, and on June 20th, 1938, Emil got a U.S. visa, issued by the consulate in Berlin. He went to London, where he stayed at the Savoy Hotel, and departed Southampton on Aug. 3, on the *SS Queen Mary*; the ship's manifest lists him as a merchant, of German nationality, traveling alone. He arrived in New York on August 8 and spent time in New York and New Jersey, often with Paul. One task at that point, to judge from letters written by Emil, was to get his assets (or Paul's in Emil's

name) out of Germany by way of Jen, whose U.S. citizenship allowed her to carry out financial transactions by then prohibited for German Jews.[93] Emil returned to Europe one more time on the *SS Aquitaine*, arriving in London on Sept. 6th, where Jen joined him three days later.

On October 21, just three weeks before Kristallnacht, the U.S. consul Raymond Geist, was still worried about Emil and Jen. He again wrote to George Messersmith:

> It is a terrible situation and the plight of the Jews in this country is going to get worse, I am glad that our friends Frits Eichberg and Emil Baerwald got out in time. Emil Baerwald is now in Switzerland (at Basel) and will not return to Germany. If he comes back there is danger that I cannot get him out again. His wife is leaving here definitely on the first of December. His firm was denounced in the *Stürmer* [newspaper] and therefore he fears that he might be annoyed if he returns. He is now seventy years old and a few days in a concentration camp would be the end of him; and it is impossible to know what pretense would be seized upon to annoy him.
>
> The pressure of the immigration work has reached and passed its peak. During September we had to deal with thousands of desperate people, who stormed the Consulate General day after day. At times it seemed that we could not control the situation any longer; but we kept our heads and finally brought the applicants under control and now everything is going smoothly again.[94]

On January 6th, 1939, after Jen had rejoined Emil in Basel, he was issued a new visa to the U.S. On his final voyage across the Atlantic, Emil left from Le Havre, with Jen, on the *SS Manhattan*. The manifest lists him in first class, as a merchant by occupation and with "forced emigration" as his purpose; this time his nationality is "Hebrew." Paul is listed as his sponsor, and Emil's intended address is 70 East 96 St. They arrived in New York on March 3rd.

Emil would live his last nine years in New York, most of that time at 2 East 86th St., only two blocks from Paul's home. He was cultured, fluent in English, German, and French, and had friends and family (Paul's and other Baerwalds) all around New York. He had some work as a translator, to judge from a letter he wrote to his and Paul's brother Ernesto in California, though it is not clear for whom. By and large Emil continued to act directly or indirectly as Paul's right hand man/confidant and secretary with the myriad of issues, arrangements and financial dealing that were part of the family business of getting people out of Europe. Then, once the relatives arrived in the U.S., there was a whole different set of

issues of supporting family with counsel, letters of recommendation for work, and financial support. Emil's letterhead had the same address as Paul's, 120 Broadway. In a February 1940 letter that shows them working together, Emil wrote to Raymond Geist, now in Washington at the Dept. of State, "My brother and I have been trying to get our [distant] cousin, Dr. Leo Baerwald, Chief Rabbi in Munich, to come over here . . . For many reasons, my brother and I are very anxious." Emil's name was the only signature.

Their relationship also included business interests. In June of 1943 Emil wrote a birthday letter to Paul's son Herman, who was in the Navy, which made it clear that Paul and Emil were involved with investments together.

> Dear Herman, My long association and work with Baron Oscar Von Kohorn has, at last borne fruit. He and his chemist, an Austrian Refugee Josef Ehrlich, a very resourceful man, have perfected a substitution for rubber cement which was widely used in the Shoe and Cork industry and which can not be made anymore because rubber is not available anymore for these purposes.
>
> With the substantial help of your Father (who does not want to have this fact known) we have organized the Erko Co. 501 Fifth Ave. NY and we are installing a factory at great John St in this city where we shall start production on a Commercial scale early next month. I will manage the Commercial end and the prospects are good as the Erko products are of excellent quality entirely which require no priority. We are hopeful of good results.
>
> I am very happy - happier than I can tell you - to be active again and busy producing something useful and to have the chance of earning my own living- and perhaps a good deal more.
>
> I am thinking of you today on your birthday with all good wishes. Emil

In 1943, Emil once again applied for U.S. citizenship, and this second attempt succeeded. On January 22, 1944 he became an American citizen. On his 75th birthday in 1944, he wrote again to Herman, that he "could greet the Stars and Stripes as my own flag," and borrowing a phrase from Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*, "you had greatness thrust upon you at your birth; I had to achieve it and it took me a devilish long time to get there – but at last I made it and I am very happy about it." He predicts that "before I finish another year, the Nazi beasts will have been destroyed and then we shall be able to look forward to a better world." He died in February 1948, and was the first family member to be buried at the Mt. Pleasant Cemetery in Hawthorn, NY, a plot bought by Paul in 1928.

The family lore handed down to Paul's grandchildren was that Emil and Jen lived an overly stylish and extravagant life at Paul's expense. On the other hand, Pauline, his niece, also talked about how much she learned about art from visiting museums with Emil. As I have mentioned in the chapter on Paul's early New York years, all of Paul's surviving reminiscences of the prewar and postwar period and his jottings in loose papers and notebooks omit discussion of Emil entirely. All my information comes from other sources, including Paul's daybooks, account books, correspondence from family members other than Paul, and documentary sources such as city directories, newspapers, and archival records.

Eduard (Edu) was Paul's favorite sibling and they looked quite the same. He received his civil law degree from the University of Berlin (1902),[95] and worked as a lawyer in Frankfurt. He had a small, tight-knit family. Paula, his wife, was a trained typist, knew shorthand and worked in his law practice. Near the end of World War I, Edu at age 42 was drafted into the German army, and Paula took care of their two small children, Liese and Butz. It was a hard time for the family, for the children, for his business and for himself. When he came back from the front at the end of the war, he had lost a lot of weight and was not in good health. He spent time reestablishing his law practice, as well as trying to find extra food for his family. In the ten years following the German defeat, the country was in turmoil, with growing political, economic and social unrest and monetary inflation. Edu's family also needed financial support from Paul, including a loan to buy a house in 1924. It appears that Edu also distributed funds from Paul to various family members on both a regular and emergency basis throughout the 1920s. He was active in the Jewish community in Frankfurt, was a board member of the ICA (Jewish Colonization Association), and worked with JDC via the ICA. Edu's 1919 letter written to Paul and Emil (already quoted in Chapter 6) suggests that he wrote Paul often. This would have been a great help in terms of Paul's family concerns, and would have included what Edu was seeing and thinking as it became an uneasy time for any Jew in Germany.

In 1933, a quick family decision was made that Butz, then working in the Lincoln Menny Oppenheimer Bank (LMO), should not return to Berlin after a trip outside Germany with his sports team. Butz, then 21, went instead to London. He was welcomed into Henry T. Long & Co.**,** a metals trading company, that Emil knew and Paul had invested in. Butz

worked there off the books, as an intern, for the next four years, where he learned the metals industry, a field he continued in later. As mentioned above, Jack Harrison was working at Henry T. Long and mentored and befriended his much younger cousin. Both Jack and Butz remained in the metals business until they each retired, and these cousins remained lifelong friends. Butz traveled back to Germany only twice, the last time in July 1934 for his father's funeral. Edu died fairly quickly of cancer, but not before Paul (who was by then persona-non-grata in Germany or in any case deemed it unsafe to visit Edu there) made a special spring trip to Paris, where the brothers met for the last time. Butz continued to live in London until he came to the United States in late 1937.

At the time Edu died, Liese was finishing work on her Ph.D. in biochemistry at the University of Berlin**.** Ironically and luckily, Liese had the right to stay in school, as a Jew, because of a German law that if your father served in WWI you had the right to complete your degree. This was a law the government adhered to, though Liese had to study in conditions of overt hostility, with a lack of professors' support or student friendships. In the spring of 1935 she took her exams, received her doctoral diploma, and left for Denmark with her American boyfriend shortly afterward. In 1936 they married in Budapest (including a notice in the *New York Times*) and arrived in the U.S. without needing an affidavit from Paul, though with his financial support. Paula, however, stayed in Germany until 1938, when Paul helped her relocate to England while awaiting a U.S. visa. Paula spent two years in London, living through a part of the German Blitz. She lived in a boarding house, apparently with other refugees coming and going and attempting to get to the U.S., and she worked at Bloomsbury House, a building housing a variety of refugee aid organizations – presumably Paul had something to do with this. During this time she also met Jack Harrison and spent time with his family, outside of London, as well as other family and friends waiting out some years of the war in England. In the spring of 1939, Paul and Edu's youngest sister Lore arrived in London with her teenaged sons, and Paula became family for them. Finally in September of 1940 she was notified that her visa had come through, and she got passage on the *S.S. Samaria* that arrived in New York on November 19. At the age of 55, she started a new life in New York that lasted for the next 43 years and included close friends from Frankfurt who had also made it to the U.S. and her grown children Liese and Butz.

Lore, the youngest sibling, and her sons Ernest and Henry had their own refugee experience, starting with their expulsion from Italy. Lore had been living in Milan since she married Eduard Schott in 1922. In the fall of 1938, Mussolini decreed that non-native Jews had to leave Italy within six months. Lore and her husband (German, but not a Jew) had their family life torn apart in a moment. In April 1939, the children, then aged 15 and 11, were forced to depart Italy with their mother, leaving their father behind with no idea how long the separation would last. Eduard had a business to maintain, in order to support his family. Lore and the children, with Paul's help, got a transit visa that allowed for them to enter England temporarily, pending their ultimate departure for the U.S.

Lore and her sons arrived in London. It was a hard period for all three of them. The boys were shortly sent out of London to boarding school, separated not only from their father, but now from their mother for months at a time. Wartime conditions made it difficult for her to travel to see them. Ernie recalls having a good experience, having command of English and feeling old enough to be on his own. Henry remembers his experience as a hard time, without an adult male figure in his life, knowing very little English, and not being treated very well at the school. These were years of strong anti-German feelings and distrust of German refugees. Lore was also worried that when Ernie turned 17 he could be sent to the internment camp for "enemy aliens" on the Isle of Man. Fortunately, in the late summer of 1940, Lore got her visa for the US. She brought the boys back to London, to be prepared to leave quickly whenever passage on a ship became available. This meant all three of them were there throughout the intense early months of the German air attacks (the Blitz), which Paul, in New York, was noting daily in his war news entries in his daybooks, with notes such as "air raids continue fiercely," "most terrible bombing," "worst air raids yet London and Scotland," and "worst air raids yet, fires London docks." At last, in late November they boarded a mail ship packed with refugees, and made it safely to Boston on December 6, 1940. After a few days in New York, the family crossed the U.S. to join Lore's sister Selma and brother Ernesto, who also were recent refugees, in Berkeley. Paul spent the next six years, during and after World War II, in a continued attempt to get Eduard a visa to come to the United States from Italy. In 1946, after a long eight years of separation, much effort, and constant correspondence, the family was reunited.

Ernesto, as mentioned in Chapters 2, 5 and 6, had gone to work in Italy from 1903 to 1912 for the dyestuff firm that became the German chemical conglomerate I.G. Farben, then was transferred to the firm's branch in Japan, and was interned there during World War I. After his release, he went back to work at Farben, re-opening the company's Japanese operations, and then went home to Germany on leave. Family lore has it that he was instructed to come back with a German wife. Indeed, in 1921, he married Ottilie (Otti) Forell, and the two of them had a long, leisurely honeymoon in New York, across the U.S. and part of Canada by train, on to the West Coast and then by ship across the Pacific. They settled in Tokyo, where he returned to his position as a director of the I.G. Farben office. He and Otti had two children, Ann (b. 1922) and Hans (b. 1927). Every three or four years the family traveled to Germany, via India or the U.S. or Siberia. In both 1933 and 1934, according to Hans's son David Baerwald, these trips were combined with Ernesto's serving as the translator for official delegations made up of members of the Japanese royal family and government officials.

"Our last visit as a family to Germany was in 1934," Hans and Ann wrote in 1995. "After that as a Jew it was no longer safe for [Ernesto] to return to Frankfurt." But, Hans wrote, "Farben kept him on until 1938, despite his being a Jew. He was very valuable to the company because of his very good knowledge of the language and because he had many Japanese friends in 'high places.'" Still, "By the summer of 1938, the long arm of the Gestapo had reached Japan, and the Nazis had gained control of the German embassy in Tokyo. I.G. Farben, ever mindful of maintaining good relations with the 'powers that be' in the German government, fired him. He spent his last two years in Tokyo running the local office of the JDC."[96]

The reference to a "local office of the JDC" does not seem to me, based on JDC archives, to be strictly correct, but those archives and other sources show that Ernesto was active with a number of local committees offering aid to Jewish refugees and that he served as a go-between linking them with JDC. Japan served as an escape route for Jews and other European refugees, including some from Germany as well as several thousand Polish and Lithuanian Jews who were issued transit visas (in many cases, even if they did not have an immigrant visa for their next destination) by the sympathetic Japanese consul in Lithuania, Chiune Sugihara; they reached Japan via the Trans-Siberian Railroad through the Soviet

Union, and then by boat from Vladivostok. Many of the refugees in transit through Japan needed financial help, housing, etc.

Ernesto's work with the Jewish refugees apparently began in 1933, when the flow was only a trickle. Another German-Jewish businessman in Tokyo, Hans Straus (a cousin-in-law of Paul's who worked for the Columbia Records subsidiary), wrote that he, Ernesto, and a third such resident formed an informal aid committee at this time.[97] But his work picked up astronomically with the arrival of increased numbers from Germany in the late 1930s and those from Lithuania in 1940. In a personal letter to Paul in 1939, he refers to an enclosed report on the activities of the local committees, for which he requested funding from JDC. (He also referred, in a confidential aside, to considerable work done on behalf of a relative of James Speyer.) A JDC memo from September 1940, about German, Austrian, Bohemian, and Slovakian refugees in transit via the Japanese route, says that "contact had to be maintained continuously with Yokohama, where Mr. Ernst Baerwald volunteered at a moment's notice to help the refugees on their arrival in Japan. His services have been invaluable in arranging for transportation of those who miss their boats [for the Pacific crossing], in helping them with their baggage, and in arranging for maintenance while waiting for the departure of steamers." Many other letters and memos detail his involvement and advice as to the elaborate intricacies of payment for train and ship tickets, money transfers, etc. – and also the considerable feuding and misunderstanding among the different groups of German, Lithuanian, and Polish Jews, and the committees in various Japanese cities with representation from these feuding populations.

Despite the German-Japanese alliance, Ernesto apparently felt able to continue this work in Japan until late 1940. However, Ann came to Mills College in Oakland in 1938, and Hans in 1939 to Berkeley High School. An entry in Paul's daybook for August 29, 1940, says "Ernesto cables get visa September, may sail December 1; another, from September17, says "Cable from Ernesto, sail Nov 29." In fact he left slightly earlier, landed in San Francisco on November 27, and went directly to New York for two months where he reported to the JDC executive committee and staff about the situation in Japan. Frequent correspondence back and forth shows that he continued to serve JDC as an expert on Japan until Pearl Harbor and the declaration of war.

During the war he worked for the Office of Strategic Services as a specialist on Japan (his grandson David says he supplied information used to decide what industrial areas might be bombed) and gave occasional speeches about Japan's industrial situation as he saw it. He lived in Berkeley with Otti until his death in 1952. The transition from being a well-connected figure in Japanese society to an unknown in California made his twelve years in the U.S. difficult for him. After the war, he worked for some time selling insurance, a job that Paul led him to, in which he took no pleasure.

Thus, by early 1941, Paul's three youngest siblings (Selma, Ernesto, and Lore) and their children were coping with their dislocation and acculturation, as a tight-knit group in California. Edu's wife and children and Emil and Jen were in New York. Paul followed them all closely with advice and financial support as needed.

His three older siblings, Arnold, Elise, and Meta had died by 1933. but their children got out of Germany:

Arnold was born in Berlin in 1866 and went to medical school in Heidelberg, graduating in 1893 with a thesis entitled *Untersuchungen über die Absonderung des Cervicalsecretes*.[98]. A year later he married his first wife, Therese "Resi" Reichenberger, and their son Hans was born in 1895, followed a month later by Resi's death. Arnold served as a doctor in the military before going into practice as a gynecologist and a gynecological surgeon in Frankfurt. To judge by the speeches at his funeral (1920), he was well-respected by medical colleagues, patients, and Jewish community leaders. During World War I he again served in the German army, as did his son Hans, who died on the second day of the battle of Verdun (1916).

With his second wife Charlotte Lewino (1870-1966), Arnold had a son, Friedrich Jacob (b. 1900), and a daughter, Therese Caroline (b. 1906). Charlotte's posthumously published memoir, *Wohin der Wind Wehte* [Where the Wind Blew], provides what is in many ways the most interesting description of how Paul handled support and planning for his relatives. There is a wealth of detail in her memoir about her correspondence with and material support from her American brothers-in-law, Emil and Paul, in the immediate post-WWI period and later in the Nazi era. Paul, especially, appears as "my good brother-in-law" and her children's

"good uncle." She gives glimpses of negotiations, what Paul could and couldn't, or would or wouldn't supply, and the advice that he gave.

Her son Friedrich had graduated from the University of Frankfurt with a law degree, writing his dissertation on the comparative politics of the Weimar Republic and the U.S., particularly impeachment procedures. At some point he had become a Catholic and was active in the Weimar-era German Catholic political party called Zentrum, but after Hitler's rise he began to consider emigrating to the U.S. His – and Paul's – first plan was for a temporary visit to New York and Elberon in 1933, perhaps to test the waters, but the German authorities would only give him an emigration permit, not one to leave for the U.S. and return. So Friedrich made a sudden trip to Switzerland to meet with Paul, who happened to be in Bern at a family gathering after he had been doing JDC work in London, and Paul agreed to see the U.S. consul to find out how an immigrant visa via Switzerland could be arranged. On his return to the U.S., Paul prepared and sent an affidavit, and in January, 1934, Friedrich arrived in New York, staying in the room of his cousin Herman, who was away at college. Thereafter, Charlotte reports:

> In his uncle's house, Friedrich had been living the life of a member of a well-off family circle. However, the half-year's waiting time that he had set for himself soon became too drawn out for his active temperament. His uncle, who had undertaken to advance his nephew in the best way, did not really know how to proceed. He owed his own advancement to holding fast to his father's [i.e., Hermann Baerwald's] tradition of attention to minor tasks, dutiful fulfilment, putting aside one's own interests in the service of others. He couldn't think in any other way than that anyone must adapt to a new land and acquiesce. But Friedrich knew that he couldn't operate this way. He felt sure of his own abilities and talents, which gave him great inner certainty. Everything he proposed to his uncle was rejected by him [PB] as "too far reaching" [*sic*, in English] and, basically, as presumptuous and arrogant. In addition, the German-Jewish professors of the "university in exile," among whose patrons my brother-in-law was, had little in common with Friedrich . . . As soon as he saw that he was not the man to go along with his uncle's recommendations, he resolved to rely on his own efforts. Economics had always interested him more than law [and] he believed it would be worthwhile to get a Ph.D. in order to possess an American degree . . . In one of the big U.S. Catholic universities, Fordham University in New York, such doctoral courses were offered. Friedrich had not been there long when the dean of the economics faculty spoke to him about an article that had appeared under his

> name in *Commonweal*. It seemed that this article had attracted attention for being very current and progressive, and the dean asked Friedrich whether he wouldn't like to write a book on this subject that he apparently knew very well. "If you can finish this book in three months and then submit it to the faculty, then you can, if the university approves, work for us in the next winter semester. And you can get a degree in another university nearby." This distinctly American proposal was immediately accepted by Friedrich. By the time he wrote me about this, he was already in the middle of writing the book. . . . By this point he was no longer living in his uncle's house, but in a hotel.[99]

Friedrich was hired as a professor in the Department of Political Philosophy and the Social Sciences at Fordham; he bought a house in the Bronx, close by to Fordham, for which Paul helped with the down payment. During World War II he was active in the Council for a Democratic Germany, formed by anti-Nazi exiles including Thomas Mann and Paul Tillich. He continued to teach at Fordham until his retirement in 1970, after which he and his wife Franziska Schwartz returned to Germany, where he died in 1981.[100]

Therese, meanwhile, had trained as an actress and singer and performed in a leading Weimar-era cabaret until it was shut down by the Nazis on express orders from Goebbels because of its anti-fascist material. She left for Paris in 1934, found some work with a touring cabaret company in France, then emigrated to England in 1935 where she eventually became a stage and radio actress under the name of Therese Carroll. However, before this success she and her husband Herbert Woznianski went through some hard times in both Paris and London, and appealed to Paul for loans they could use to start various businesses including a film studio, a restaurant catering to German refugees, and a boardinghouse. Paul funded some of these (or allowed previous loans to be applied to them rather than paid back) but cautioned that others were too ambitious and needed to be scaled down. While in England, the couple apparently appealed to Paul for help in getting to the U.S., but there were difficulties in getting a visa for Herbert, and so Paul counseled that they should go to Palestine, where Herbert's mother already was, with some money she had managed to get out of Germany. They declined. A file among Paul's financial papers shows that he continued to send money to Therese in London from 1937 through 1953.

As for Charlotte herself, in 1934 she wrote Paul to propose that she should go to Paris to help Therese, taking with her what money she had left. Paul said that from a financial standpoint he did not object, but he was worried about the effect on her health (she was going

through some kind of medical problem at the time). Finally, she left for Italy in 1937, intending to stay there, but like Lore she had to leave because of Mussolini expelling the Jews; she fled to Switzerland in 1938, and came to the U.S. in April, 1941 to live with Friedrich. (She arrived on a Pan American Airways "Atlantic Clipper," from Lisbon, which offered the only transatlantic air service from the European continent after the outbreak of World War II.) She socialized in overlapping circles of the classical music world (she was an accomplished pianist, having studied with Clara Schumann before her marriage, and was the aunt of the exiled German-Jewish concert pianist Grete Sultan), other German refugees, and members of the Baerwald and Jacobi families (Fred Jacobi was a composer, and Irene Jacobi also a pianist). But by July, 1952, at the latest, she had returned to Switzerland, where Paul continued to support her, sending monthly transfers totaling an average of about $2200 per year. Paul's children continued these payments after his death, until Charlotte herself died in 1966 at the age of 95. At that point she was living with a niece from her parents' side of the family.

Paul's sister **Elise Baerwald Behrendt** died in 1904. Her third child, Franz Guenther Behrendt, born in 1901, was a lawyer in Germany and emigrated to the U.S. though I have no information on how and when. He studied for the priesthood and at age 50 became a Benedictine monk at St. John's Abbey in Collegeville, MN**.** He was little known by the family except by Albert Frenkel's family, whom he would sometimes visit in Minneapolis.

A namesake granddaughter of Elise, Elise Stamm Wolff, moved with her husband to Argentina in the late 1930s, where they took up farming. In a 1941 letter to her husband, Paul explained that through a contact of his, the Argentinean branch of the Jewish Colonization Organization (ICA) would "put at your disposal credit for the purchase of three good cows" for their farm. In a previous letter to this contact, Paul referred to "my people" working hard on the land who had previously turned down his own offer of support, because they did not need it then. Elise Stamm Wolff had a brother who came to the U.S. (John Stamm, also aided by Paul, see below), and two sisters who went to Palestine.

III. More distant relatives

Beyond his siblings and their offspring, Paul also helped to get many cousins and their children out of Germany. Perhaps the most prominent was Leo Baerwald, rabbi of the main synagogue of Munich. After the destruction of the synagogue and his arrest and confinement at Dachau in 1938, he was released and pressured to emigrate. Paul's correspondence with Leo about arranging his entry into the U.S. covers four months, December, 1939, to March 1940. Leo Baerwald was given "a non-quota visa as minister of religion" to be assistant Rabbi at the Central Synagogue of New York on the invitation of JDC member Rabbi Jonah Wise. The visa came fairly quickly with the help of Paul's connection to Raymond Geist at the State Department, and Paul paid for two third-class tickets from Genoa to New York for $400, according to a letter dated Feb. 23, 1940. Eventually Leo founded Congregation Beth Hillel in Washington Heights, made up of refugees from Munich and Nuremberg.[101]

One of the others for whom I have evidence of Paul's role in their departures for the U.S. is Ernst Fabian, the son of a first cousin; Fabian was able to get entry visas into England for himself and his wife Otti Radbil because Paul guaranteed their full financial support to the German Jewish Aid Committee of London. Paul's first cousin Fannie Pinn Fabisch came to New York with his help after spending some years in Manila during the war and finally reaching San Francisco in 1946. In New York, at the age of 68, she went to work as a freelance seamstress, with Paul and other relatives supplementing her income through one of her nephews, New Yorker Otto Long, who fundraised on her behalf. There are, among Paul's papers, twenty letters back and forth with Long between 1946 and 1950, which indicate how much of Paul's time went into such affairs and how many decisions he was making about his generosity and its limits.

A narrow escape in which Paul, via JDC, most likely played a role was that of his twin first cousins, the scientists Anna and Clara Hamburger. Both graduates of the University of Heidelberg, Anna had been a chemistry teacher in a girls' school and Clara a professor of zoology, jobs they were forced out of by the Nazis. In October, 1940, at the age of 63, they were deported to France where they were interned in the Gurs concentration camp. Because the camp was in Vichy France, rather than the part directly occupied by the Germans, outside aid groups were allowed to help the prisoners and, in many cases, secure their release. According to one source, an old friend from their home town of Mannheim succeeded in "buying them out" of the camp and bringing them to Berkeley in 1941, possibly with the

participation of a former university colleague already in Berkeley. JDC participated in the aid work at the camp through intermediary groups including the American Friends Service Committee, so it's likely that Paul followed this case closely and may have helped as well. In Berkeley, Paul's sister Lore and her children saw Anna and Clara on a regular basis, and Lore sometimes paid them for sewing work, altering clothes.

The Hamburger sisters' case was a lucky one because some 4000 Gurs prisoners who were not released by 1943 were turned over to the Germans and deported to Auschwitz. However, not all of Paul's relatives escaped the Holocaust. Some of his first cousins, their spouses and some of their children died in concentration camps in Europe, or died in Manila or Shanghai during the war (or after) before they could get to the U.S.

All told, at least fifteen descendants or in-laws of Paul's uncles Aron, Lesser and Max and his aunt Henrietta perished. Paul lost six first cousins (three women and three men), the husband of one of these, and two of their children and one of their grandchildren. He also lost three nieces and two of their husbands. These fifteen were his first cousin Willy Baerwald (Theriesenstadt, 1942); Willy's wife and Paul's first cousin Martha Pinn (Theriesenstadt); their child Charlotte Baerwald and her husband Hans Meyer (both at Auschwitz, 1944); Martha Pinn's sister Anna Pinn, her husband Carl Plessner, and their daughter Caroline Plessner (Theriesenstadt); Martha's brother Alfred Pinn (Manila, 1944), his daughter Marianne Pinn and her husband Kurt Gruenwald (both Manila, 1946); Hans Jacobsohn (Poland, 1943, son of Paul's first cousin Doris Baerwald Jacobsohn), Paul's first cousin Martin Baerwald (Manila, 1945), and first cousin Else Wiesenthal (probably Theriesenstadt, possibly a different camp). Justina Horowitz, the daughter of Paul's first cousin Laura Horowitz, was a doctor in Berlin whom the Nazis assigned to care for other Jews until the deportations concluded in mid-1943, at which time she was also sent to Auschwitz and killed; her son Ernst Bischofswerder, who was learning-disabled, was taken from her and died in the Warsaw Ghetto in 1942.

In some cases, Paul was able to help save one generation but not another. Heinz Lesser, about 20 years old, got to Shanghai, where he spent the war, and then to San Francisco, but his grandparents and mother (Carl Plessner, Anna Pinn, and Caroline Plessner) are in the list of those who died in the camps.

IV. Conclusion

In retrospect, in a letter to his four children written in August, 1953, Paul wrote:

> In looking through this latter correspondence there were constant reminders of financial help extended in the past (and also present and future) to many nearby and further away relatives, and this brings me to a situation which has preoccupied me for some time and that is, the inroads which are still continuing and which constitute a constant drain on the very modest remainder of my fast crumbling fortune. This situation has now come to a point where I can foresee with regret that at the end I will not be able to leave you much. At any rate, I have every hope that mother's little fortune will remain intact. At the moment I am living way beyond my means and we are enjoying luxurious comforts and, incidentally, all my dependents are living way beyond my means and they seem to enjoy it.
>
> I have given away a great deal of money during my life for lots of good purposes. My contact with the J.D.C. and affiliates over the years has absorbed in cash many times six figures[;] beyond that, the utter neglect of my financial affairs during my active work with the J.D.C. is responsible for at least some of the deterioration that took place and if none of you ever made another cash contribution to philanthropy you could all consider that because of reduction in your patrimony you have done your share through me.

In fact, I would argue, Paul's retirement from his banking career at 57, his choice to work pro bono for JDC and support it financially, and his taking responsibility for his European family were not in the end financially harmful to his descendants. Paul must have been relieved that many of the refugees made it financially on their own in the U.S. He spent money grandly and carefully and worried about it constantly. That too was part of who he was.

In terms of his feelings about Uncle Hermann and Arthur Frenkel, what goes around comes around. Uncle Hermann helped give Paul a lift into business that set the stage for Paul's banking career, luckily for him in a historical period when industry was thriving in the U.S. and Europe, and he became very wealthy, through his own work and the connections – mostly men whose roots were in Frankfurt. He was always meticulous about financial details, but he could not budget his spending on supporting family in Europe, getting them out, and helping them once they were in the U.S.

Some family repaid their costs, while others needed helping hands for the rest of their lives, whether in the U.S., Europe (some migrated back), or elsewhere. With at least two

nephews he made agreements that they would repay their school or living expenses, and then when they showed good faith in repayments or renegotiating schedules, he forgave the loan.

He did, also, try to turn whatever resources the European families had into cash to finance their rescue and support, and he sometimes tried to micro-manage the lives of the younger generation once they arrived.

One example of the cashing out of family resources was Emil's collection of Chinese porcelains, which was auctioned at John Sparks, London in 1937. Some or all of these had to be smuggled out of Germany. Albert Frenkel, many years later, told his daughter that Paul was hesitant about bringing him to the U.S. at that point, because he felt that Albert's brother Paul (Frenkel), already in San Francisco, had not made sufficient use of family contacts there in looking for a job; he worried that Albert would be a similar financial drain. According to the story, Paul said that, in exchange for his bringing Albert as soon as possible, Doro (then 22) should smuggle some of the porcelains, which she did.[102] A micro-management story is told by John Stamm, grandson of Paul's sister Elise. Stamm came to the U.S. in 1935 at the age of 16 as arranged by a paternal uncle, but Paul agreed to pay for his upkeep and education (refusing, in fact, to share the expenses with the uncle, according to what Stamm was later told by another family member). Paul urged Stamm to get work immediately, rather than finishing high school, just as he had done fifty years before. However, Paul's own children convinced him otherwise, and he agreed to send John to the same private school they went to. The same thing occurred when Stamm finished high school: Paul said that his own idea was that John should go to work, but "others had persuaded him" that the young man deserved to go to college, and Paul agreed to pay his tuition at MIT. Stamm further recounted:

> I recall only two instances when Paul wrote about his financial support. As a freshman at MIT I was rushed by a Jewish fraternity and, when I wrote him about the entrance fee, he replied that I need not join this group. In the spring of 1938 he wrote that the MIT tuition fee, which had been raised to $600, was too high and that I should transfer to a less expensive university.

Stamm transferred to the University of Michigan, which also proved to be a useful move. After becoming an engineer, John gradually repaid Paul's contributions for his education, at varying rates according to his circumstance, until in 1955 "Paul told me that he was satisfied."

9. Judaism and Zionism, non-Zionism, anti-Zionism

Two questions that I have had about Paul are his relationship to the Jewish religion and his attitudes toward the issue of resettling displaced or vulnerable European Jews in Palestine and the creation of a Jewish state. The best contribution I can make is to assemble the pieces of his private writing on these topics that I found in his papers and correspondence. These need to be interspersed with some necessary historical context.

The 19th century Reform Jewish current to which Paul belonged was anti-Zionist for both religious and practical/political reasons. This was particularly true of the political and religious leadership, drawn from or allied with the wealthiest German Jews. As historian Thomas Kolsky puts it, these American Jews

> . . . no longer considered themselves a nation or nationality. Comfortable in the United States, they felt integrated into America and defined themselves as a religious community. The theology of Reform Judaism accurately reflected their thinking. They believed that Judaism was a religion with a universal message. Their faith was founded on optimism . . . and on an almost religious love of America as the promised land. Confident about their future in the U.S., they objected to efforts to revive Jewish nationalism.[103]

In 1897, the (Reform) Central Conference of American Rabbis "declared its total disapproval of any attempts to establish a Jewish state,"[104] and the following year the Union of American Hebrew Congregations did the same.

Paul's circle opposed Zionism as a departure from their vision of promoting and assimilating into non-discriminatory societies in the West, and their strategy of mostly quiet, behind-the-scenes political activity. This paralleled their fears of Jews who become involved in socialist and other radical politics, both because their own vision was pro-capitalist and because they worried that both Zionism and radicalism could provoke anti-Semitic reactions. Zionism as an ideology was much more popular among the newer Eastern European immigrant Jews and their rabbis than among German Jews.

Most of these generalizations about 19th century German-American Jews apply to Paul in his first years in the U.S. – as a result of his experiences not just in New York but also in Frankfurt and London. He was not involved in the Zionist cause. There is not much evidence to tell me whether or how he practiced his religion once he left Germany, but his written, retrospective musings much later in life conform to the "universal message" idea. In his letter

to his children of 1953, in which he regrets that they "have missed something in life for not having more of a religious education, whether by example [referring to himself], by practice, or by study," he makes no specific reference to Judaism, but says:

> God created the world and man--and man must do what he can to make the best of his existence and must strive for betterment. . . . All World Religions aim at helping man and as you cannot maintain friendships without loyalty and effort, so religion means more to man if he endeavors to become friends with her.

He then goes on to quote Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas (the son of a Presbyterian minister, as Paul presumably knew) on "the faith in a power greater than man" expressed "in dozens of different creeds."

In another reflection, written on his stationery and dated September 18, 1950, he began:

> Born into a religion & into a name and into a group Stay with it--if you find it is the right basis & surrounding--Some men do find or get strong convictions & leanings away from such origin. They are more pleased with themselves--It requires energy and often a more difficult life.[105]

Similar thinking seems to have guided him when his great-nephew John Stamm converted to Quakerism in 1941. Stamm wrote that Paul "wrote to me that he was disappointed by my leaving the Jewish faith and that he wanted me to consult with the only Quaker whom he knew," Clarence Pickett, the long-time Executive Secretary of the American Friends Service Committee with whom Paul worked on refugee issues. Pickett and Stamm then met face-to-face for "a long friendly conversation about the Quaker religion." Soon afterward, Stamm recounted, "Paul wrote me that Clarence had given him a favorable report about my conviction and that he, Paul, felt satisfied about my change of religion."[106]

I know from Paul's daybooks from the mid-1930s to 1960 that he regularly attended High Holy Day services at Temple Emanu-El in New York or the Beth Miriam temple in Elberon, on both Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur, often in the evening and the day. On the other hand, no one fasted in the home for Yom Kippur. In his daybooks, he sometimes noted the content of the rabbi's sermon, but not on religious matters; e.g., Rosh Hashanah, 1941, "Fischoff speaks poetically about the Aurora Borealis." The daybooks from the '30s and early '40s show only occasional attendance at Passover seder at the temple, and no seders at home. After the war, when his children and their families had reassembled in New York, there were annual seders at Paul and Edith's home, at which Paul attempted to keep the

family's attention while he presided over the ceremony. We followed the Haggadah, blessed and drank the wine, hid the afikoman, but by the third or fourth cup it became a noisy group. The other major celebration at their house was Christmas Eve, devoid of religion but replete with Christmas tree, presents, and the singing of "We Wish You a Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year."

In terms of his feelings about anti-Semitism in the U.S., and Jews' place in American society, there is one fascinating letter to his good friend and relative Edward Greenbaum, written in 1939 while "traveling through Kansas en route to Arizona" by train:

> Has it ever occurred to anybody to take a practical measure in counteracting adverse feeling in various particularly affected parts of the country such as this?
>
> Have people who know their business, like R.M. Macy & Co., May Department Stores, Hutzlers start moderate sized shops . . . and take out of their own employees a number of decent Jewish families and one or two non-Jewish and transplant them, bag and baggage, into those particularly affected cities – employees who know how to handle themselves, who would have to agree to stay in those places for a number of years, who could demonstrate an asset value to the community, who could sell good merchandise at proper prices. Macys, Mays, Hutzlers should not expect not big, if any, profits; the losses could be limited. Macys, Hutzlers, Mays could be made to see that this is a contribution to the general Jewish and American situation and not an injustice to shareholders. After all, these people are bound to make new experiments all the time. The main question is to find willing personnel who will plant themselves in somewhat unused surroundings for a few years; they must be high-grade people who will understand. If only two or three of these men or women make an impression and make friends with a few important people in those towns, much would be gained.

Meanwhile, as described in the explanation in Chapter 6 of how Paul joined JDC, German Jews came to play a greater role in defending the rights of immigrants and of Jews overseas. Bankers, lawyers, and scholars in Paul's circle formed the American Jewish Committee in 1906 to defend the rights of Jews in the U.S. and abroad, and then in 1914 they played a key role in founding JDC.

Over these decades, the stark separation among German and Russian Jews began to break down as upwardly mobile Eastern European Jews gravitated to Reform congregations and entered the Reform rabbinate. This trend plus the plight of European Jews led to a

loosening of German Jewish opposition to Zionism. Most of the prominent lay Reform Jewish converts to Zionism during this period, however, tended to support settlement of European Jews in Palestine without prioritizing the creation of a Jewish state.

How did Paul, once involved in the leadership of JDC, feel about Jewish settlement in Palestine and how did he negotiate the contending forces around him in the Jewish communities? For many years he can best be classified as a "non-Zionist" – neither a proponent of the creation of Jewish state nor a supporter of Palestinian settlement as the main solution for the world's Jews, but not an outspoken opponent either.

The earliest reference to Zionism that I can find in Paul's papers is the draft of a 1929 letter to the scholar Cyrus Adler, JDC board member and newly appointed co-chair of the Jewish Agency for Palestine (JAP). The JAP was created to advise the British government on the issue of Jewish settlement in Palestine, then under British control, and to support the Jewish population there. In a compromise between Zionist and non-Zionist organizations, its governing council was supposed to be equally divided between the two factions, though the Zionists always tended to have the upper hand. Adler, representing the non-Zionists, requested Paul to take one of these slots. Paul's draft reply says:

> Refusal very reluctant based on combination of personal reasons and reasons connected with the subject itself. Know what am fitted for and must restrict my activities and those places where I feel I can be useful - more useful than someone else - and there is plenty of work in those activities which occupy me now- I haven't the training - the experience - the inclination - the calmness - the parliamentary ability - the quickness of retort in debate - the forcefulness of expression which will be required in that particular situation and my usefulness therefore for the demonstration of the purposes of our group and the establishing of our principles would be negligible.
>
> From a more personal standpoint: I am anxious in the near future to relieve myself of responsibilities. I consider it important for myself not to name new ones. I am not ready to shoulder this particular mental burden.
>
> I have one other fear [space] you have, many of you, become enthusiasts about Palestine. [Written but then crossed out: "{illegible} in his exuberance has bought a property there."]
>
> While I am nearly all of the time willing and happy to follow leadership of [illegible names and words] I feel that in this situation there will be little possibility of choice - whether one wants to follow their leadership or not it must be accepted and followed. While one may and naturally will hear independent thoughts it will be most difficult to draw conclusions from these. I may overrate the importance of this possibility but I can't help thinking that it is there.

> I fully realize the honor of all of you wanting me in the situation and am therefore doubly reluctant to disappoint you. My conclusion has not been easy but I also feel that you will not want to object to my following my own personal preference. {crossed out but readable} even tho my name and whatever it stands for is considered by you as an important addition to the group and its general aspect.

However, Paul's attempt to stay out of the fray was further complicated by the creation and dissolution of a series of joint fundraising campaigns that involved both JDC raising funds for its work in Europe and elsewhere, and Zionists raising funds for settlement in Palestine. Both sides tended to feel that more total funds could be raised by avoiding competing campaigns, and there was continued jockeying over the division of the spoils. On January 26, 1930, Paul wrote to his daughter Pauline at college:

> We had for quite some time--May 1929-- expected that a Jewish - I mean combined - drive would be the result of the JDC and "agency" [JAP] requirements and at that time already Felix W. wished one of the most responsible positions on me, which for many reasons I could not refuse. The agency is composed of ½ Zionists and ½ non Z.[107] It will be a difficult job and I dislike it, particularly all the miserable publicity that has to go with it but it cannot be helped.

By April 24, 1930, he was writing Pauline, about family matters, on stationery from this "Allied Jewish Campaign," of which he was one of four national chairmen.

Ten years later, Paul came under fire from anti-Zionists in JDC for allowing Zionists to use the money raised in another such joint campaign to advance their political agenda. This was the United Jewish Appeal (UJA) of 1939-41, linking JDC and the Zionists' United Palestinian Appeal (UPA). Menahem Kaufman's *An Ambiguous Partnership: Non-Zionists and Zionists in America* describes the centrist position of JDC leaders who on the one hand feared being accused by Zionists of "disrupting Jewish unity," and who on the other hand were accused by anti-Zionists of knuckling under to the Zionists: "The anti-Zionists in the JDC . . . blamed their colleagues Jacob Blaustein and Paul Baerwald, for their appeasement of the Zionists who had taken funds allocated for economic aid and applied them to political and propaganda aims." Later in the book, Kaufman refers to "Paul Baerwald, who in the past had fought the UPA for every percentage point in the division of funds."

Another example of conflict over the destination of aid money is provided by a letter from Paul to Pauline in 1934 criticizing the raising of money in the U.S. for a hospital in

Palestine, when money was needed for refugees elsewhere and there were wealthy people migrating to Palestine who could well afford to fund that project.

All in all, Paul's position seems to have involved a preference for aiding Jewish communities where they were, or, after the Nazi onslaught made this impossible, resettling refugees wherever a place could be found, including Palestine but not prioritizing it.

But how were his private thoughts evolving about Zionism as a political project, about the creation of a Jewish state? In a letter to IBM president Robert Watson in 1938, apparently following up on a face-to-face conversation, he offered a "personal view" that diplomatically stated both sides but implicitly included himself among the "other Jewish people" in the third paragraph:

> My dear Mr. Watson:
>
> On one rather definite question which you put to me I did not give you a full answer. I won't attempt it now, but may I say this as my own personal view for you only:
>
> The Zionist people believe in Palestine as the only solution of the troubles of the Jewish people in many lands. The English Mandate talks of a "Jewish Homeland." Many Zionists go further and want a full Jewish State such as is now indicated by the plan of the English Royal Commission for a partition of Palestine and which plan, as you know, was so severely criticized in the House of Commons and also at a Jewish conference in Zurich last summer, particularly by our late friend, Felix Warburg. On this question a new English Commission is now working in Palestine.
>
> Other Jewish people who, while they share in the desire to build up Palestine economically and industrially so as to make the future secure for those who have in the past and will in the future emigrate to Palestine, have strong and definite objections to a Jewish State in Palestine or anywhere else, and a universal Jewish support for such a scheme is hardly to be expected. A Jewish settlement in another State or another country, however, is something which many would welcome, even though it would always meet with the opposition of the Zionists who want no competition to Palestine as a Jewish Homeland or Jewish State which they hope for in that country.
>
> In spite of these and many other difficulties, I can well see that new and courageous thinking has to be done if any progress is to be made on the important question we have discussed, but with every desire not to delay I do feel that one can make haste only slowly. . .
>
> With best wishes for a good trip. Faithfully yours,[108]

In the 1930s, as more American Jews of Eastern European background joined Reform congregations, and with the rise of Hitler, Zionism was making gains among both Reform rabbis and their congregants. By 1935, the Central Conference of American Rabbis voted to "take no official stand on the subject of Zionism," and in 1937 it passed new "Guiding Principles of Reform Judaism," which, while not calling for statehood, affirmed, "the obligation of all Jewry to aid in [Palestine's] upbuilding as a Jewish Homeland by endeavoring to make it not only a haven of refuge for the oppressed but also a center of Jewish culture and spiritual life." By the time of the outbreak of WWII and then U.S. entry into the war, there was fierce debate within both the Reform rabbinate and American Jewish organizations among Zionists, non-Zionists, and anti-Zionists.

In a 1941 memo (audience unknown), Paul set forth some private thoughts after attending a meeting at the Harmonie Club about an unnamed "Committee" that had been created to counter pro-fascist and anti-Semitic movements in the U.S. A main point of the meeting was the need for new recruits to this committee because the existing ones were wearing out. Paul's reflection takes aim at factional struggles with the Zionists as one of the reasons for the burnout, and it shows his worry about the increasing dominance of Zionist views among American Jews:

> Much was said about leadership being tired but it was not stated that what has tired these leaders is not the work itself which they had to perform, but rather that they have been wearing from the fights with other factions which were forced on them. Perhaps also in all their [the Committee's] activities there has been, compared with the attitude of the other factions, the lack of the one stimulating personal motive which exists in the other factions, namely, political ambition and the desire for power and the definite reward which they are looking for. It has been stated without being contradicted, that in the whole of New England nobody can attempt to get a political appointment unless he is a Zionist . . .
>
> The statement was made that religion should be the main denominator. If one can talk of religion as a practical issue, it is today a practical issue because in all the churches of the world there is a renaissance of faith and an attempt to spread that renaissance further. From the practical point of view, incidentally, this is one of the things in which the Zionists as Zionists are particularly vulnerable and in their political ambitions it may be generally agreed they are practically free of any religion. At the next meeting it is important that Dr. Finkelstein, Jonah Wise, and Lazaron at least should be present . . . Other

> factions listen to false prophets who have selfish interest and the time will come when their listeners and their followers will regret having listened to them and followed them.[109]

The names Paul proposed as a possible countervailing influence are significant. Lewis Finkelstein, head of the Jewish Theological Seminary, was a Conservative rabbi opposed to the creation of states based on ethnic or religious identity, including a Jewish one. Rabbis Jonah Wise of New York and Morris Lazaron of Baltimore would soon play a role in founding a group to counter Zionism within the American Jewish community, with which Paul would at least briefly be involved.

The American Council for Judaism (ACJ) was founded by a minority of Reform rabbis; some prominent laymen later joined the group. One of the catalysts for the ACJ's formation was a proposal from Zionist circles to support the formation of a Jewish military force in Palestine. On November 16, 1942, Jonah Wise and the rabbi of Temple Emanu-El (Samuel Goldenson), conferred in New York with some influential Jewish lay leaders including Paul, William Rosenwald (son of the Agro-Joint funder Julius), and Edward Warburg, about their plan to form an anti-Zionist group. According to Wise's account, as reported in Thomas Kolsky's history of the ACJ, "These men commended the rabbinical group for its initiative and good sense."[110]

The organization was formally constituted three weeks later at a meeting of thirty rabbis at the New Yorker Hotel, to which Paul, JDC official James N. Rosenberg, and other interested laymen were also invited. While some other speakers urged the new group to take immediate action and issue strong public statements, Paul spoke of the need to develop a broader base of support for the organization, while Rosenberg urged care in the drafting of any formal statement of the its positions.[111] A few weeks later, Paul wrote to advise one of the rabbinical leaders, Rabbi Louis Wolsey of Philadelphia, to be cautious in matters of publicity, in view of 'the present state of tension' because of revelations about Nazi mass murders.[112]

Paul's daybook for 1942 confirms his presence at both of these meetings: "November 16: "5 pm Jonah 35 E 62" and December 7: "3:45 Hotel New Yorker Confce / Rabbis."

Soon after, in early January of '43, there was a split within the organization, with some members including Jonah Wise favoring disbanding the organization and seeking compromise with Zionist organizations over Palestine, and others, including Wolsey,

rejecting that idea. The issue was debated in a January 18 meeting in New York that went on for the entire day and most of the evening. Paul's day book page for that date includes: "4 pm Dr Wolsey JDC" and "5 - Dr Wolsey of Phila JDC Jonah." It appears that both Wolsey and Wise took time out from the meeting to come present their views to Paul and others at JDC.

Wise left the ACJ within the next few weeks. There is no further mention of Paul in the Kolsky book, but Paul's daybooks and notebooks make it clear that he continued to worry about the effects of Zionist plans for a Jewish state after the end of the war.

Paul continued to meet privately with ACJ members and to follow their work—and that of their opponents—closely. On March 1, the ACJ wrote to all the members of the Central Conference of American Rabbis to defend itself against calls for it to disband, and it repudiated the "totalitarian tactics of the Zionists." It argued that giving practical help to Jews in Palestine and elsewhere did not require "nationalist emphasis." Paul's daybook for that date says "12:00 JDC Sunstine Peiser" and on the next line "discuss Wolsey Fineshriber." Rabbi William H. Fineshriber of Philadelphia was an ally of Wolsey's in the ACJ; Rabbi Walter Peiser of Baton Rouge was also a member of the group. Other meetings at JDC with Morris Lazaron and with Peiser also appear in the daybook around this time.

On August 30, 1943, the ACJ issued a public statement that included such statements as:

> We oppose the efforts to establish a National Jewish State in Palestine or anywhere else . . . [and] dissent from all those related doctrines that stress the racialism, the nationalism, and the theoretical homelessness of Jews. We oppose such doctrines as inimical to the welfare of Jews in Palestine, in America, or wherever Jews dwell. . . We look forward to the ultimate establishment of a democratic, autonomous government in Palestine, wherein Jews, Moslems and Christians shall be justly represented; every man enjoying equal rights and sharing equal responsibilities; a democratic government in which our fellow Jews shall be free Palestinians whose religion is Judaism, even as we are Americans whose religion is Judaism.

On the same day, the Zionist forces assembled at the founding meeting of the American Jewish Conference, conceived as a broad-based pro-Zionist coalition, at which the reform rabbi Abba Hillel Silver of Cincinnati called for a Jewish state in Palestine to overcome "national homelessness," a statement adopted by the conference the next day.

Both of these events are reflected Paul's 1943 daybook. On August 30: "Am J Conf strong statement Silver." On August 31 (when the ACJ anti-Zionist statement appeared in the

NY Times): "Council for Am Judaism pronuncamiento with signatures makes headline along with report Am J Conference."[113] My conclusion is that Paul, ever the centrist and conciliator, followed the controversy closely but stayed out of it in public. However, his private writings during the war and almost up to the founding of the state of Israel show that he continued to be of seriously mixed mind about the idea of a Jewish state in Palestine.

On October 3, 1943, in one of the private journals he kept in a spiral notebook, he wrote:

> Amir Faisal son of King of Iraq, his foreign minister arrived on a visit to our govt. in Washington. Why was he asked to come? The Arab world has been given to understand German propaganda- that the US govt supports the maximum demands of Zionists. Perhaps Faisal came here to find out for himself. The Arabs don't want to have any land taken away from them, certainly not by force. Do they make proper use of the land on which they live? Even tho they cannot answer that question in a manner satisfactory to the world, they insist on holding what they have. Do they pretend that they make any contribution to the well being of the rest of the world? Would their answers be - why should we be singled out for such demand? Historians might well ask, what in modern times have the Arabs contributed to the progress of mankind, but the Arabs will say, what progress has mankind made? If there has been progress, has it been conducive to happiness? At any rate progress can not be halted, and the time may come that land must be made more productive. But whatever Arab civilization has meant & can or could mean - it has not spread- why?
>
> Will the beneficial influence of Jewish religion & thought & ethical attitudes lose its value when a Jewish <u>State</u> in Palestine were to become the <u>main</u> & <u>absorbing</u> interest of the rest of the Jews in the world? The Jews in modern times have benefitted from their abode in the Western world more than they have given or can give in return but it is recognized that they have made valuable contributions to Western life. Largely they are individual lists.[114]

By the end of the war, he seems to have concluded that Palestine was to be, by default, the destination for the hundreds of thousands of displaced Jews who could not or would not stay in Europe and were not being accepted in the Americas. But, in the following reflections from August, 1946, and June, 1947, he was still worried about the imposition of this project by Western military force and about the activities of Zionist paramilitaries fighting for a Jewish state. He also worried about what he saw as extremist Zionist voices and opportunism within American Jewry, and he wondered whether history could have turned out differently:

Elberon Aug. 10 . 46.
One of the most unfortunate aspects of the Palestine situation is that at the most critical time when frank discussion and cooperation is so badly needed the Agency cannot sit down for discussion with the British. The British maintain that there is a strong connection between Agency executives [JAP] and Haganah underground. There is nobody in the Agency except Weizmann [Chaim Weizmann, whom Paul apparently regarded as more thoughtful and reasonable than other Zionist leaders whom he characterized as more militarist or radical] who has remained on terms with the British and to what extent his voice is listened to by the Agency executives, is doubtful. And are the Zionist voices Jewish voices or only just rabid Zionist voices? And there are very many -- perhaps not too many – non-Zionist Jewish voices, who are not articulate and whose influence perhaps because they do not represent the "masses" is not strong. And now, today, there seems a likelihood that the Jewish refugees will come into Palestine, not exactly at the point of the bayonet, but anyhow protected in their security by the military measures and precautions which the British are now taking and which are probably as much intended as a warning to the Arabs as to the Jews, and yet today there is no assurance that the terrorists won't again breakout with a second King David Hotel demonstration! [The reference is to the July 22 bombing of British headquarters in Palestine by the Irgun, an underground Zionist militia, killing 91.][115]

June 29 . 47

. . . It is useless to speculate what would have happened if Herzl - whose motives are by some people not considered clear - had not started this Palestine dream. To be sure the prayers repeat "Next year in Jerusalem" and we all repeated it in our prayers but it had lost its meaning for us who grew up in Frankfurt and the rest of Germany. Gradually the dream got hold again by the masses particularly in E. Europe possibly the great impetus was given by some who saw the impact of possible political power in fostering the desires of the masses. Yet the immigration into Palestine was slow. Even though it was a gradual movement and it only became important in volume when Hitler came to power. That was the beginning of the opportunity and of the danger and the strife. People around the Zionist movement made agreements with German Govt' to enable German Jews to emigrate and go to Palestine and take their money along. German exports of merchandise and manufacture into Palestine were thus made possible. They helped to build up Palestine economy and the German Jews paid their saving and other money they had to the German exporter and helped also the German economy. Economic values and

> also money in large amounts went into Palestine. The Palestine banks were bursting with deposit.[116] It was this influx and the constant reiteration that the Jews must have a majority in Palestine which frightened the Arabs or at least their leaders told them to get frightened. It was not a Jewish movement no religious question was involved. It was a Zionist movement. One can hardly separate the two because it was largely on account of their religion that the Jews were to be driven out of Germany and Weizmann the great genius and idealist who obtained the Balfour Declaration surely had great dreams and hoped no doubt for orderly immigration over a period. The others who took up the cry and men of much lesser human value became extremist and gradually were snowed under by the great extremist attitude of their following. It is they who created strife in Jewish life in the greatest existing Jewish community in the world. The advent of Hitler changed everything in the world, whether lesser activity on the part of the hot heads would have changed today's picture who knows. It is a degrading situation to see so called leaders call each other names and maneuvering for positions of power.[117]

On March 1, 1947, PB reflected in one of his notebooks on a lunchtime conversation with Dr. Joseph Schwartz, JDC's director of overseas relations during and after the war, who argued for more rapid immigration including cooperation with the underground Zionist Haganah using "illegal ships" (i.e., not authorized by British authorities) to smuggle them in, in part to isolate still more militant factions:

> Perhaps he's right. . . Overnight [migration] instead of slowly doubly expensive but it keeps young people busy who otherwise would join the terrorists. The Agency is frightened about losing control. Such fright leads to dangerous practices and meanwhile the world turns more and more against all the Jews because this important segment of the Jews commits these acts in a world which wants peace and has fought for peace and which does not stop to realize that the world position of the British is one if not the most fundamental reason for refusing the demands of the Jewish agency and of too many well meaning hundreds of thousands if not millions of Jews, thinking or not thinking.[118]

On November 29, 1947, the U.N. General Assembly approved the resolution for a partition of Palestine, setting the stage for the creation of a separate Israeli state. Two days later, Paul reflected on a piece of stationery:

> There are those who feel there could have been an alternative–that is there could have been, as this impasse was known and because it could have been foreseen that there was a vacuum because no police force was available. A

police force– interim if necessary–could have been formed a federal state could have been created with the Arabs–thereafter Jews and Arabs could and I believe would have been able to evolve something of their own creation–not superimposed and with a better outlook for the future.[119]

On May 14, 1948, David Ben-Gurion, then head of the JAP, proclaimed the *establishment* of the State of *Israel*. Paul wrote a lengthy reflection that suggests that, by this time, he had accepted the Zionist political project of a fundamentally Jewish state as a fait accompli (though not without its dangers) that should not be publically second-guessed or criticized:

> May 14 '48 7:30am. 2 new self governing units are coming into being today in a peace loving and war fearing world. The smaller entity of the 2 is composed of Jews most of whom have lived in Palestine for only a few years in terms of never ending history but who speak the Hebrew language who have tilled the soil which provides a living for them and which they love and which they want to preserve for their children and the comparatively few years of their existence there have seem to them long in terms of their own life. Most of them have lived difficult lives except for the fact that they were untouched by WWII during which many of their sons enlisted on the side of the fight against oppression.
>
> The country itself was protected by the world power of England and now when this new entity is being left to its own administration and future this protection not only disappears but the population is being faced with threats and worse from hostile surroundings and larger difficulties are being feared by the whole world. History may consider that such development is the result of what it may call a historic crime on the part of a great power or it may develop that the pains and bloodshed which is in the offing may prove the background for even a greater development (wider basis) of self reliance of those who cross the threshold of the era of their greater responsibility towards their own within their own border and toward and their neighbors and toward in the world at large.
>
> For many of these Jewish inhabitants it is the stimulating power of an idea and an ideal which has carried them to this point of self government, circumstances that had been unforseen became the originators of pressure for haste, stimulated on one hand by what seemed political expedients by Jewish groups in other parts of the world particularly U.S.A. and by threats to their existence on the part of surrounding Arab countries. Thus this new national authority entity comes into being with bloodshed and strife; where one would have hoped for joy at accomplishment there is fear within the ranks of those most directly concerned. Fear however which increases their courage and

determination and on the part of those on the outside there should be set an example by humility and by patience and by absence of expressions of bitterness and by restraint and by watchfulness and by that kind of sincere sympathy which will do nothing except if can be helpful and what will be understood by the outside world.[120]

On May 17, 1948 he wrote Chaim Weizmann, who had just been named the ceremonial head of state (with Ben-Gurion as Prime Minister):

"Lazman Hazzeh".

As I count my blessings in my advanced age, it is a new privilege to have lived to experience this historic development and to be able today to send you personal greetings and best wishes on your election to your high dignity of the Presidency of Israel.

May strength be given you in peace and prosperity to exercise your wisdom for the benefit of Israel as such on behalf of her place in the United Nations.

Sincerely yours, Paul Baerwald

Weizmann, on letterhead from the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York, answered him five days later, on May 23:

Dear Mr. Baerwald:

Your very charming note gives me particular pleasure, and believe me I appreciate it most deeply. I am happy that you have lived to see the consummation of a great problem, and may it be given to you to see its further development

I consider it my duty to say that the role which American Jewry has played in the last few years, in part under your leadership, has weighed very heavily on the scale, and this achievement would not be possible without it. I am only regretting that neither Mr. Marshall nor Mr. Felix Warburg are with us today. I am sure they would have been happy.

Well, let me wish you all the best luck in the world, good health and thank you once more for your continued interest and kindness. The sympathy of friends like yourself makes one's task somewhat easier. I have no illusion about the difficulties with which I shall have to cope.

I remain, as ever. Yours very sincerely,

Chaim Weizmann

If Paul ever made any criticism of Israel or Zionism after the country's formal establishment, I have not found it. His daybook for the next few weeks is full of brief headlines from the ensuing Israeli-Arab war, with evident concern for the safety of the

Jewish population, until these entries are superseded by the Berlin crisis in June. However, at least in '48, he still questioned how much money JDC should give to Israel, and he worried about alienating donors who remained opposed to the new state. In a memorandum to JDC officials dictated sometime that year he wrote:

> The J.D.C. never had occasion – and it was not its purpose – to agitate for or advocate a Jewish State. The world has now decided on it. There are some of our Jewish friends who denounce the decision. This, I am sure, many of us consider a mistake. However, we here are not called upon to take a stand on this question. We are concerned with the recognition of the fact that because of that feeling, as expressed by important members of the Jewish community, the success of the 1948 campaign will be more hard to predict.
>
> In view of this fact, it is necessary to husband our resources . . . The Agency people ask for our financial help. We are not able to base our decision on a knowledge of the facts.[121]

He goes on to say that the Agency people are "fully entitled to make that request" and "we are all anxious to give it the best thought we can," but he asks, "why does the Agency only come to the J.D.C.?" and lists a series of other organizations that "should share in the responsibility." He closes with an open question, which is whether "we suggest that these questions be discussed," or "compromise and strain ourselves to the utmost and give the Agency a moderate amount of money" or "simply say 'No" to the Agency and let them perhaps come to conclusions such as are indicated above."

Paul never visited Palestine in the pre-Israel period or Israel after its creation. In 1949, JDC founded a school of social work in Versailles to train Jewish social workers from North Africa, Europe, and Israel for the postwar world, and named it after him. The Paul Baerwald School of Social Work relocated to Israel about 1960, becoming part of the University of Jerusalem. There are two stone markers near the university's soccer field for Paul and Edith.

Postscript

I've chosen to make the last full chapter of this biography show Paul's mixed thoughts on the questions of Jewish identity, Jews' place in the world, and the creation of a Jewish nation-state. Could the fate of his co-religionists have come out differently if the U.S. had accepted large numbers of refugees before the war, if Western Europe had done so after the war, if the question of a Jewish homeland were not tied up with that of British colonialism, or if there had been another viable solution, in his view, to the desperate need to save (to find safe haven for) the remnants of European Jews? As things played out, the Zionist program led, as he seems to have feared, to a problematic situation in what had historically been Palestine, where three religious groups all laid reasonable claims to the territory or its parts. The years from 1945 to 1961 were intense ones in terms of the needs of the survivors and the actions of the Israelis. His thoughts about this conflictual situation must have been among the many swirling through the mind of the quiet man I wondered about in the 1950s.

Throughout his life in JDC, Paul had argued and often warned, cajoled, educated, mediated, negotiated for places of refuge, for visas, for money , taking some risks – with U.S. government agencies and commissions, with foreign leaders, with U.S. organizations, within the complexity of JDC. He served on the Roosevelt administration's Advisory Committee on Political Refugees from 1938 on. He worked towards compromises as situations in Europe changed. The immense efforts and issues for Paul in JDC and in the German family brought on by the Nazi years and the war made him take the wins and losses and compromises, then move on to the next effort, while continuing to ruminate on the what-ifs. Histories of JDC say he was not the visionary, but he was a steady administrator, networker, and conciliator.

At the end of 1945, Edward Warburg succeeded Paul as JDC chairman, while Paul continued on the executive committee for the rest of his life. The last JDC meeting noted in his day book was May 25, 1961, five weeks before he died. The last JDC-related activity was a private United Jewish Appeal fundraiser at the Waldorf-Astoria, a week later, with David Ben-Gurion as the featured guest.

His involvement with refugee issues continued – both the refugee members of his own family and Jews entering the United States from camps around Europe or Asia. He

continued to serve on the boards of a number of social service and refugee aid organizations in the five boroughs of New York and beyond. The last affidavit securing a visa for a relative was for one who had been in a camp in Manila until 1949.

About the question of my grandfather as an immigrant, what I've learned is that his life story was very far from the typical up-by-the-bootstraps narrative, but, interestingly, that is much less true for my other family members who came, with his help, as refugees from Nazi Germany. They (some arriving as adults and some as teenagers) were the ones with much more typical stories of re-rooting and surviving to pursue the American dream either for themselves or for their children.

After the defeat of the Nazis, Paul returned to Europe only once – in 1950 by ship – for the first graduation at the school of social work in France named after him. He did not go to Germany. Of his thoughts about his former country, I have one reflection from the day the main Nuremberg Trial verdicts were announced, October 1, 1946:

> Today the curtain dropped on the Nuremberg Trial. Nuremberg the home of Hans Sachs [a medieval poet and singer] & German artisans who took justifiable pride in their work, one wrought iron bell in Elberon looks as it was produced 'con amore', but I also remember seeing the Eiserne Jungfrau and other torture instruments in Nuremberg.
>
> At any rate there are the "Leaders" who the schoolchildren were told and taught to look up to, none of them will be left. Those who did not do away with themselves will be sent to the gallows, none of them died on the battlefield with honor. Is not this the best proof to the German people that their "leaders" were false leaders? Nobody left but the discredited v. Papen and glib Schacht and there is nothing but physical ruin all around them. And today it does not seem as if the world in general had learnt a lesson, and meanwhile suffering continues in the greater part of the world while here we still live in greatest abundance even tho "meat is scarce"!!![122]

During his post-retirement years, Paul continued, as he always had done, to think things through by writing. He wrote short and long fragmentary reminiscences and ruminations, in notebooks and letters, many of which I have quoted in other chapters. One that I haven't quoted, which testifies to the sweep of history during his life and how he was handling his old age, says:

> April 4.47 Good Friday. It was on good Friday April 4, 1896 that I arrived from London on SS Lucania (many years later she burnt down at her dock in Liverpool) . . . In those days one did not think much about the future. I did my

> work and kept my eyes open. It was not all "beer and skittles." If I had tried to think ahead 50 years, for which I would not have had time or courage, I certainly could not have thought that 51 years after I would attend a "Seder" evening at Temple Emanuel on 5th Avenue with wife and daughter and grandchildren, after 2 long wars, after world upheavals, after the destruction of Germany and in the age of an atomic bomb! [123]

Another was a list of sixteen men under the heading, "Walked together part of the way with:" The names include many of his German-Jewish banking contacts, JDC coworkers, and friends (James Speyer, George Blumenthal, Cyrus Adler, Jonah Wise, Arthur and Herbert Lehman, Julius Rosenwald, Eddie Greenbaum, Martin Erdman . . .). But also on the list are Myron C. Taylor (industrialist and diplomat who served as U.S. representative to the Evian Conference and the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees), the American Friends Service Committee leaders Rufus M. Jones and Clarence Picket, the banker A.H. Wiggin, and the insurance executive Henry Evans. Somehow, this combination of worlds in which he had worked and walked was important to him.

Also important were the two honorary doctoral degrees he received, large rolled-up diplomas that he preserved. One was from Hebrew Union College, the leading Reform Jewish rabbinical school, presented to him on his seventieth birthday in 1941. The other was from the Jewish Theological Seminary (the Conservative equivalent, of which Cyrus Adler was a past president), in 1948. In the corner of the letter telling him of the plan to confer the latter degree, Paul noted where he was at the time, "Mar 2/48, at Santa Barbara Biltmore"; in his daybook he wrote, "Letter from Dr. Finkelstein with surprising news." Paul's pride in these degrees is evident in a draft of a speech for the HUC ceremony, which includes:

> It is a most unusual occurrence that the highest honor in the power of an institution of learning should come to a man whose formal education stopped when he was not yet fifteen years old, and who, when he was twenty, went into a foreign country and had to learn a new language and become acquainted as well as he could with new literature, and whose life ever since that time was too busy to enable him to catch up with what he had not learned before . . . Now I find myself as an official member of a group of men of high learning who greet me as one of their colleagues and it fills me with deep pride." [124]

Endnotes

Where not otherwise specified, family papers cited within the text and in the following notes are in the boxes I collected over the years as described in the Introduction. The notes on papers I consulted in archival collections specify collections and, when possible, other cataloguing information. Most of what is in my personal collection will eventually go to the Paul Baerwald Papers in the Columbia University Libraries, Archival Collections, Rare Book & Manuscript Library.

Introduction:

1. The family tree is based on a genealogy of "The descendants of Lewin and Frommet Baerwald" compiled by Paul's brother Eduard Baerwald, later maintained by his children, and then translated and digitized by Jane Vogel-Kohai, and expanded by Jane to include all the descendants of Leyser Levin Baerwald (that is, to include Lewin's sibling and their descendants as well). The tree in Appendix 1 is, like Eduard's original, limited to the descendants of Lewin and Frommet (Paul's grandparents). I have done additional research so as to add dates, places, and some corrections.

Chapter 1: Three Baerwald Generations before Paul

2. Private State Archive, Potsdam, record of granting of petition of Leyser Levin Baerwald for a marriage license. Mindel's father Juda Abraham is described as a "Schutzjuden," or "protected Jew," meaning a Jew with better legal status than most, generally because of ability to pay for this privilege, or possibly a skill seen as useful to the authorities.

3. Foreword, Edward David Luft, *The Naturalized Jews of the Grand Duchy of Posen in 1934 and 1935*, compiled from the German publication by Isidor Hirschberg in Bromberg in 1836.

4. Also called Barwice in Polish. The suggestion comes from Alexander Beider, *A Dictionary of Jewish Surnames from the Kingdom of Poland*. I am not totally convinced that the surname Baerwald comes from the name of this town.

5. Luft.

6. Luft.

7. Lowenstein, Steven M., from *Jewish Daily Life in Germany, 1616-1945*. Edited by Marion A. Kaplan, Oxford Univ. Press 2005, page 144.

8. Lesser Baerwald, *Geschichte des Hauses Baerwald: Festschrift zur goldenen Hochzeit von Lesser u. Pauline Baerwald. Nakel, den 17 Marz, 1913*. ("History of The House of Baerwald: Publication in honor of the golden anniversary of the marriage of Lesser and Pauline Baerwald, Nakel, 17th March 1913." Published in German, Nakel, 1913. Translated by Ernest Schott in a bilingual volume, privately printed, Seattle WA 1998.)

9. Hermann Baerwald, "Early Memoirs of Hermann Baerwald," 1850, translated by the Leo Baeck Institute. pg. 4. Hermann Baerwald Collection, Leo Baeck Institute.
https://archive.org/stream/hermannbaerwaldc02baer#page/n269/mode/1up

10. ditto, pg. 2. Lesser's *History* shows that all the children went to schools of one kind or another, though in the case of the daughter Henriette the village school in Sossnow was considered good enough, though her brothers were sent to Nakel even while the family did not live there.

11. Letter of July 21, 1870, translated by Ernest Schott, 2001.

12. Lewin would never know that of those 46 grandchildren: 3 died in Theriesenstadt concentration camp, 1 in Poland (1943, probably in a concentration camp), 2 in Manila, at least 10 came to the U.S. and died here (8 in SF Bay area and 2 in New York). The Baerwald genealogy does not have complete birth and death information, but a best estimate is that most died in Germany, a few of them as infants or young children (1 before age of 1, another at age of 6).

13. Lesser Baerwald, *History of The House of Baerwald*, English translation section, p. 27.

14. He uses the German phrase "der 7 Trauertage" (seven days of mourning), not the Hebrew

"shiva" (which also means seven). Letter from Hermann to Paul and Emil, September 1, 1893.

There are 174 Baerwald family letters and postcards written between 1889 and 1906, plus one from 1912 and one from 1919, in the Hermann Baerwald collection at the Leo Baeck Institute, handwritten in an old, nineteenth-century style of German script. (LBI Archives AR 25545, available at https://archives.cjh.org/repositories/5/archival_objects/486785.) How all these letters were collected and most of them bound in a single volume is a mystery; the bound volume was among the papers of H. Fred (Butz) Baerwald. Paul was the recipient of about 10 of these letters, written during both his London and his New York years, mostly in Hermann's hand, though other family members added their own notes. I had thirty of these (all written to Paul and/or Emil by Hermann, Emma Baerwald, or Edu Baerwald) transcribed into modern type and then translated into English by Susan Ray, a professor of German from Fordham University, and have given them to the LBI along with translations of a few others. From here on I cite all these as "1889-1919 letters compilation, LBI."

15. "Early Memoirs of Hermann Baerwald," pp.4-5.

16. ditto, pg. 3

17. ditto, pg. 5.

18. ditto, pg. 7

19. His mentor von Ranke "was probably the most important historian to shape [the] historical profession as it emerged in Europe and the United States in the late 19th century," says historian Caroline Hoefferle in *The Essential Historiography Reader* (Pearson, 2011), with contributions including implementation of the seminar teaching method and a focus on archival research and analysis of historical documents.

20. *De electione Rudolfi I regis; adiecta sunt rerum inter Rudolfum I et Ottocarum Bohemiae regem actarum capita aliquot* . . . Berolini, Schade, 1855.

21. *Das Baumgartener Formelbuch: Eine Quelle zur Geschichte des XIII Jahrhunderts, vornehmlich der Zeiten Rudolfs von Hapsburg. Zum ersten Male herausgegeben und erlaütert*. Vienna, 1866. Available at: https://archive.org/stream/bub_gb_GqwUAAAAQAAJ/bub_gb_GqwUAAAAQAAJ_djvu.txt

Judging by the title, this appears to be an annotated first print edition of a medieval collection of legal forms and documents.

22. Much of this information, plus some in the following paragraph, comes from Ernest Schott's biographical description of his grandfather, Hermann, based in part on a compilation of writings in German about Hermann Baerwald and the Philanthropin.

23. Selma Frenkel was the niece of Aron Baerwald's wife Berthe Meyer. Selma's father was the Berlin banker, while her mother, like Aron's wife, came from a family who had made money in women's fashions and banking in the Posen area. Such "dynastic" marriages solidifying family-business alliances were common.

24. Box 1, folder C-15 PB22a (spiral notebook, 9/24/49), Columbia University Libraries, Archival Collections, Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Paul Baerwald Papers.

25. See the German Wikipedia article on Hermann: https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hermann_B%C3%A4rwald, which appears to be based on well-founded primary sources.

26. Rhonda F. Levine, *Class, Networks, and Identity: Replanting Jewish Lives from Nazi Germany to Rural New York* (Rowman and Littlefield, 2001), p. 18. *Jonathan* Friedman, *The Lion and the Star* (Univ. of Kentucky Press, 2015), p. 25, confirms the 10,000 figure but says it was 11% of the total.

27. Hermann Baerwald, "Early Memoirs," p. 12.

28. "Written by father in bed on the evening of December 11, 1906"

29. Many of Hermann's published writings and personal papers – including the bound book of letters -- are digitized and available through the Leo Baeck Institute, NY, online catalog.

Chapter 2: Paul's Life in Frankfurt

30. C-15 PB22a (spiral notebook, p. 7, 12/21/45), Columbia University Libraries, Archival Collections, Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Paul Baerwald Papers.

31. "Handwritten account by Leonore Schott of her Birth" [and preceding events]. Lore herself was born in 1893, when Paul had already been working in London for two years.

32. "For March 26, 1954," letter to read to his children on Pauline's birthday.

33. 1889-1919 letters compilation, LBI.

34. ditto.

Chapter 3: Young Man in London

35. 1941 reminiscence by PB about his work at Speyer in Frankfurt, London, and New York.

36. 1889-1919 letters compilation, LBI, October 31, 1891.

37. 1889-1919 letters compilation, LBI, October 12, 1894.

Chapter 4: Paul and Agnes and Jack

38. Ads in *Dun's Review,* May 9 and May 23, 1896. The ads are announcements of B&O Railroad bonds being sold by Speyer. In the first ad, Speyer is still at 11 Broad (Mills Bldg), and in the second, it is at 30 Broad (Johnston Bldg). (The ads are identical except for the address, and both announcements are dated April 21.) The ad also appeared in the *NY Herald*, April 22, with the 11 Broad Address. The *NY World,* June 8, 1896 has a different ad from Speyer, with the address at 30 Broad. Also, an August 29, 1941, letter from Paul to James Speyer corroborates these dates by recalling his working in NY first "for a few weeks in the Mills Building, later on at 30 Broad St., and then at 24 Pine St." Agnes also has three P.B. entries for 30 Broad (some of which also say "Johnston Bldg"). One of these (p. 4 of book) appears to be a replacement for the "Mills Buildings" address, though there's so much crossing out in the book over the years that it's hard to be sure.

39. Confirmed not just by histories of Consolidated Steel & Wire, but also by New York City directories, which show this company name and address only though 1897**,** after which it became part of American Steel & Wire at 71 Broadway.

40. The type font and wording of the ad seem to match similar 1890s ones in the London *Morning Post*, but this particular ad does not show up via the British Library digital index "19th Century UK newspapers" -- which includes the *Morning Post* but runs only through 1900. The ad asks interested parties to contact the prospective employer through a stationer in Putney -- just across the Thames from Fulham where Agnes lived., Ads requesting "ladies" to be "companions" to young people or old ones where distinct from those seeking "girls" or "servants"; they tended, among other things, to expect more education.

41. Since Haas became a British citizen and stayed there for the rest of his life, he left much more of a paper trail than Paul. The information in this paragraph comes from London and Surbiton directories, Haas's naturalization papers, and his marriage certificate.

42. I did find Dorothy Gurling's birth and death certificates, and telephone book listings. Born Feb 1, 1894, at 103 Sherbrooke Rd., which is about 2 blocks from 12 Letterstone; her father was James John Gurling, a coachman, and her mother was Edith Clara Gurling. I couldn't find her in the 1901 census, but by 1911 (summary), "Mr. Gurling" was living at 12 Letterstone with 3 females. Dorothy appears in a 1937 phonebook at same address, and Pauline and Mary knew her. She died in 1986.

43. Box 2/Folder 40, PB papers in NF possession, instruction dated 7/13/39. This folder contains many other payments from the Lazard account to relatives that I reference in other chapters..

44. Emil's employment info from Trow's General Directory of the Boroughs and Manhattan and Brooklyn, various years, and ads in various periodicals and directories found through Google and Google Books searches. Info on Henry T. Long is from searches in British periodicals databases in

the British Library. Info from Butz is in his memoir mss, chapters "1933 – The Year of Decision" and "London Years -- 1933-37." See Appendix 4.

Chapter 5: Starting Out in New York

45. Personal communication from Albert Goltz based on interpreting Paul's recollections of his work life.

46. 1889-1919 letters compilation, LBI, April 3, 1901.

47. Ship manifest, S.S. Rotterdam, arriving New York on September 13, 1895, for "Emil Baerwald, merchant."

48. 1889-1919 letters compilation, LBI. The key letters about this are from July 20, 1897, and September 11, 1901, and they refer both to conversations during Emil's visits home in '94, '95, and '97 and to correspondence from Emil. The reference to receiving news by way of New York (in 1901) probably means "by way of Paul," though there are also suggestions that Emil's employers sometimes sent reports and accountings (good and bad) directly to Hermann.

49. Box 2, folder PB-39, September 18, 1950. Columbia University Libraries, Archival Collections, Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Paul Baerwald Papers.

51. *The New Yorker*, February 27, 1932, p. 20.

51. See Appendix 2, Jacobi family tree.

52. College Settlement was established in 1889 by graduates of the nation's elite colleges for women. In 1903-04, Eleanor Roosevelt worked there. Maybe she and Edith crossed paths.

https://www.gothamcenter.org/blog/settlement-houses-in-new-york-from-past-to-present; https://www2.gwu.edu/~erpapers/teachinger/glossary/college-settlement.cfm.

Chapter 6: New and Old Family

53. 1989 Pauline Oral history with NF.

54. 1889-1919 letters compilation, LBI, September 7, 1900; September 14, 1900; April 9, 1901; and September 9, 1903.

55. The Harmonie Club papers are at the New York Historical Society. These minutes are in the volume covering April 8,1917-Mar.20, 1919.

56. "For March 26, 1954," letter to read to his children on Pauline's birthday.

57. October 24, 1940 reminiscence about Felix Warburg.

58. Box 1, folder C-15 PB40. Letter of May 25, 1942, "For H.H.L." Columbia University Libraries, Archival Collections, Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Paul Baerwald Papers.

59. Letter on stationery of H.B. Lowenstein, June 14, 1917.

60. "Letter from Albert Lucas to the Members of the Joint Distribution Committee," JDC Archives, Item ID: 228; Reference Code: NY AR191418 / 1 / 1 / 2 / 5; In Folder: JDC Administration, Committees, Committee of Eight, 1917-1918.

From here on, I'm citing some reports specifically. Others, in general, can be found in the Records of the New York Office, 1919-21 and 1921-32, especially those catalogued in the range of "NY AR2132-034…" to "NY AR2132-036…"

61. JDC archive, NY AR2132-03559

62. JDC archive, NY AR2132-03537

63. JDC archive, NY AR2132-03619 misc. incomplete

64. JDC archive, NYAR2132-03496

65. JDC archive, NY AR2132-03591

66. 1889-1919 letters compilation, LBI.

67. Butz's whole memoir is transcribed as Appendix 4.

68. Arnold's second wife, Charlotte Lewino Baerwald, who will be discussed in Chapter 8, left a manuscript memoir in German which has recently been published as *Woher der Wind Wehte*, edited by Moritz von Bredow (Hentrich & Hentrich Verlag, Berlin, 2017). For her description of the Vitznau

gathering, see pp. 298-304.

Chapter 7: Agro-Joint

69. The main published sources I consulted for background on JDC history were: Herbert Agar, *The Saving Remnant* (Viking, 1960, a book for which Paul contributed comments on a preliminary draft); Yehuda Bauer, *My Brother's Keeper: A History of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee 1929-1939* (Jewish Publication Society of America, 1974); Yehuda Bauer, *American Jewry and the Holocaust: The American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, 1939-1945* (Wayne State University, 1981); and *The Jewish Communal Register of New York City, 1917*-1918 (Kehillah {Jewish Community} of New York City, 1918). A bibliographic search will turn up more recent books and articles.

70. "Full Text of Agreement Between Soviet Government and Joint Distribution Committee Regarding Colonization Work in Russia," Jewish Telegraphic Agency Mail Service, *Jewish Daily Bulletin*, 1/6/25

71. Bernhard Kahn to James N. Rosenberg, May 25, 1925, in JDC archives.

72. Quoted in Mikhail Mitsel, "Documents on the History of Ukrainian Jews in the JDC Archive in New York," *Information and Analytical Edition of the Euro Asian Jewish* Congress, September 2004.

73. Jonathan Dekel-Chen, *Farming the Red Land: Jewish Agricultural Colonization and Local Soviet Power, 1924–1941* (Yale University Press, 2005), p. 142. Dekel-Chen's extensively researched book, based not only on JDC archives and similar sources but also on newly opened Soviet-era archives in Russia, is my major source for this chapter, though I have cross checked it against a variety of other sources, including my own research in the JDC archives. As with most of Paul's other JDC work, I did not find much in his surviving personal papers. When not otherwise footnoted, most of what I say in this chapter is primarily based on Dekel-Chen's findings.

74. For more on this point, see Dekel-Chen. He also argues that the Jewish settlements had few colonists who could be accused of being *kulaks* (rich peasants, exploiters), had more surpluses to sell to the state. They were also somewhat protected by the foreign donors and by the extensive Soviet propaganda campaigns, hyping the Jewish settlements as antidotes to traditional Russian anti-semitism and depicting the settlers as model Soviet citizens, in Yiddish and Russian publications

75. Dekel-Chen, p. 198.

76. The quote is from Yehuda Bauer, *My Brother's Keeper: A History of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee 1929-1939* (Jewish Publication Society of America, 1974).

77. Mikhail Mitsel, *The Final Chapter: Agro-Joint Workers — Victims of the Great Terror in the USSR, 1937-1940*. (Dukh i Litera, 2012), English summary chapter translated by Mikhail Mitsel and Rita Mitsel; pdf copy supplied by M. Mitsel.

78. All my summaries, statistics, and quotes of Mitsel's findings are derived from Mitsel, *The Final Chapter*.

79. My parents joined Evelyn Morrissey on her 1935 visit to see the project's growth. The month of travel (though S. Ukraine and Crimea) was a profound experience for them. Pauline, who was 25 at the time, often talked about her travels in Ukraine and Crimea. In the summer of 1989, then almost 80 years old, Pauline and I were looking through her summer blouses to remove ones she no longer wore. One was a plaid short sleeved shirt I'd never seen, nor looked like anything I'd seen her wear. She emphatically said to keep it because it was very special to her, but she didn't say more. Twenty plus years later I saw the digitized version of the footage from this trip, sponsored by Agro-Joint, filmed mostly by my father. There was Pauline wearing the plaid shirt talking to Samuel Lubarsky in the fields of Ukraine, smiling at the camera, talking to other workers. The footage made the trip and the project come alive. The cotton shirt was 54 years old. Pauline had guessed the worst about the fate of the staff that she met, but always hoped that someone might appear. The film includes images of a number of agronomists and colonists who died in the Stalin purges of 1937-1938

or the invasion of the Nazis in 1941.

The film, 15 minutes long, can be viewed on the website of the U.S. Holocaust Museum. Special Collection: Steven Spielberg Film & Video Archive, Record Group RG-60.4678 and RG-60.4678, Film IDs 2846 and 2847. Excerpts can also be seen in a Holocaust Museum compilation called "Jewish life before WWII : highlights from private film collections in the Steven Spielberg Film and Video Archive," available on YouTube directly or via the Museum's catalog; the Agro-Joint footage runs from minutes 13:07 to 14:50.

Some still photos of the Agro-Joint colonies can be viewed at:
https://ukrainianjewishencounter.org/en/jews-on-the-land-agro-joint-in-the-1920s-1930s/
Many other still photos are in Michael Beizer & Mikhail Mitsel, *The American Brother: The "Joint" in Russian, the USSR, and the CIS* (American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, 2004).

80. Dekel-Chen, p. 195.

Chapter 8: Getting the German Family to Safety

81. Summary by Mike Odenheimer of "The Bankers Jacquier & Securius, 1933-45," by Henning Kahmann's, 2002 (in German).

82. This is what Mike and Leslie Odenheimer were told in 2008 by a resident on the land near where the Schloss (which was destroyed by Allied bombing during the war) had been.

83. This discussion of Arthur Frenkel is one for which there is a partial paper trail as well as oral histories on DVD with 2 of his children, Susanna and Dorothea. Other sources are my personal interviews with his son Albert Frenkel and many emails and conversations with Arthur's grandchildren about what their parents told them.

84. Again, my sources are the oral histories and interviews cited in Note #83.

85. Gertrude's children, all of whom came to the U.S., were Albert Kappel, Hubert Kappel, and Waldemar Peter Kappel. Erich's two children Herbert Frenkel and Gunther Frenkel came to the U.S. as well.

86. The only sibling missing from this account is Meta, who died in 1933 in Danzig. I found little about her life, her husband Felix or her two children, Elise and Marianne.

87. See Sparks 1937 catalog, *"An exhibition of the Paul Baerwald collection of Chinese Porcelain*," https://hollis.harvard.edu.

88. "Jüdische Heimspeisungen," January 1934. No author, poorly translated from German, covering 1923-1934, 3pgs. In files of JDC NYAR3344-00041-00213

89. Letter on letterhead of Frau Emil Baerwald at Tirpitzufer 90, Berlin, dated Sept 1, 1934, from Jen to American Joint Distribution Committee, New York, "Dear Sirs . . ." JDC Archives NY AR3344_00041_00202. For later years, other correspondence from Jen: JDC archives, NYAR3344_00041_00202, NYAR3344_00041_00199, NYAR3344_00041_00191, NYAR3344_00041_00177, NYAR3344_00041_00162, NYAR3344_00016_00040.

90. "Report of the Zentralausschuss der Deutschen Juden Fuer Hilfe und Aufbau (Central Committee for Relief and Reconstruction) July 1st to December 31st, 1934. JDC archives NYAR3344-00040-00691.

91. The Berlin Central and Regional Library (ZLB) had posted a list of names of past owners of books in its collection that were thought to have been confiscated from Jews, and invited inquiries from relatives. This book was included in the list due to the owner's bookplate with the probable Jewish name Baerwald and the initials of the title of the leading female Nazi official ("RFF" for *Reichsfrauenführerin* Gertrud Scholz-Klink) on the flyleaf. Googling "Emil Baerwald" as part of my research happened to turn up a 2015 version of this list:
https://pdfslide.net/documents/central-and-regional-library-berlin-nazi-looted-books-in-the-2015-03-31.html, which led to Dick's and my meeting with the head of the looted book office.
A copy of the bookplate and the research into the book's provenance may be seen at:
https://www.zlb.de/en/subject-information/special-area/provenienzforschung/restitutions/emil-and-

jenny-baerwald.html.

92. In George S. Messersmith's papers: www.lib.udel.edu/ud/spec/findaids/messersmith/, searchable on line.

93. A folder in PB's papers devoted to Emil contains various letters in German from Emil to metals firms and banks in England and Germany, attempting to arrange transfer of funds formally belonging to or owed to Emil, into Jen's Berlin bank account. See 1938-39 correspondence with or pertaining to ASTRA Metals, Zinnwerke Wilhelmsburg, N. Levy Stern, and A.E. Wassermann bank94. Ibid.

95. His thesis was entitled, *In welchem umfange sind civilprozessuale vorschriften bei der vollstreckung der geldstrafen anzuwenden? Ein beitrag zur erläuterung des §495 St. P.O.* Published Eberhard-Karls-Universitat zu Tubungen 1902. 37 pg.

96. Hans Baerwald & Ann Baerwald Lenway, "Ernst (Ernest) David Baerwald." Typewritten manuscript, 1995. Hans Baerwald, untitled two-page mini-biography, 2000.

97. Hans Straus, quoted in Ulrich Straus, *Anguish of Surrender*: *Japanese POWs of World War II*, chapter entitled "The 'Jewish Consulate,'" pp 74-98.

98. A copy is in the rare books section of Countway Library at Harvard Medical School.

99. *Woher der Wind Wehte*, edited by Moritz von Bredow (Hentrich & Hentrich Verlag, Berlin, 2017), p. 429-30 (selection translated by Dick Cluster).

100. He published at least ten books in German or English on political science and economic history topics. His doctoral thesis was entitled, "Die Staatsanklage in der Weimarer Reichsverfassung; Unter vergleichender Berücksichtungen des Staatsrechts der deutschen Länder und der Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika." Fordham's Swanstrom-Baerwald award, named in part for him, is given yearly "to recognize outstanding individuals who have made significant contributions to the service of faith through the promotion of international peace and development."

101. Herman B's collection and also the Leo Baerwald collection (AR 3677 / MF 699), LBI.

102. Presumably, this would have been in February, 1937, when she brought a group of Jewish children from Germany to England. The sale was held in June, and Albert, as noted above, traveled from Germany to New York in April, by way of England.

Chapter 9: Judaism and Zionism

103. Thomas A. Kolsky, *Jews Against Zionism: The American Council for Judaism, 1942-48* (Temple University Press, 1990). While Kolsky's book focuses on the ACJ, to be discussed below in relation to Paul and his circle, it also does a good job describing the larger terrain of American Jewish society and views.

104. Kolsky, p. 29.

105. Box 2, folder PB-39, September 18, 1950. Columbia University Libraries, Archival Collections, Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Paul Baerwald Papers.

106. This description and quotations are drawn from a letter from John Stamm, dated "January, 2001," and headed, "I remember Paul Baerwald."

107. The Jewish Agency for Palestine was created in 1929 by the World Zionist Congress to try to enlist non-Zionists in providing economic support for Jewish settlers in Palestine. As explained in the article on this organization in encyclopedia.com: "When the sixteenth congress of the WZO created the Jewish Agency, it accepted the principle of parity in membership between Zionists and non-Zionists on its three governing bodies—the 224-member council, the administrative committee, and the executive. The president of the WZO was to serve as Jewish Agency head unless opposed by 75 percent of the council. Of the non-Zionists on the council, 40 percent were Americans, and many had international reputations. The nature of the agency's economic and social mission allowed both non-Zionists and Zionists to participate without compromising or altering their divergent principles: Economic aid could be provided to Palestinian Jewry either on the grounds that it was a community in distress or as a means to building the infrastructure of a Jewish state. Parity in the agency was not

sustained."

108. Box 3, folder 60, "Watson, Thomas," April 10, 1938. Columbia University Libraries, Archival Collections, Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Paul Baerwald Papers.

109. Box 1, folder C-15 PB-22a, May 26, 1941, typewritten memo dictated by Paul. Columbia University Libraries, Archival Collections, Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Paul Baerwald Papers.

110. Kolsky, p. 58.

111. Kolsky, p. 61.

112. Baerwald to Rabbi Louis Wolsey, 23 December 1942, D-2, Archives of Reform Congregation Keneseth Israel, Rabbi William H. Fineshriber Records (WHFR), Elkins Park, PA.

113. "Council for American Judaism" had been the original proposed name for what became the American Council for Judaism; so Paul is presumably continuing to use the name he would have heard in the first discussions.

114. Box 1, folder C-15 PB-22a, October 3, 1943. Columbia University Libraries, Archival Collections, Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Paul Baerwald Papers.

115. Box 1, folder C-15 PB-22a, August 10, 1946,.Columbia University Libraries, Archival Collections, Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Paul Baerwald Papers

116. The reference is to the Haavara (Transfer) Agreement between Germany and the Jewish authorities in Palestine, under which some 60,000 German Jews emigrated to Palestine during the 1930s, when the policy of the Reich was to aggressively push Jews to emigrate. See for instance the description on the website of the Holocaust Museum, https://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10005139.

117. Box 1, folder C-15 PB-22a, June 29, 1947. Columbia University Libraries, Archival Collections, Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Paul Baerwald Papers.

118. Box 1, folder 15 PB-22a, (spiral notebook, March 1, 1947). Columbia University Libraries, Archival Collections, Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Paul Baerwald Papers.

119. Box 1, folder 15 PB-22a, December 2, 1947. Columbia University Libraries, Archival Collections, Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Paul Baerwald Papers.

120. Box 1, folder 15 PB-22a, May 14, 1948. Columbia University Libraries, Archival Collections, Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Paul Baerwald Papers

Postscript

121. Box 2, folder PB-38, undated, "Memorandum from Mr. Paul Baerwald." Columbia University Libraries, Archival Collections, Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Paul Baerwald Papers.

122. Box 1, folder C-15 PB22a (spiral notebook, 10/1/46). Columbia University Libraries, Archival Collections, Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Paul Baerwald Papers.

123. Box 1, folder C-15 PB22a (spiral notebook, 4/4/47), Columbia University Libraries, Archival Collections, Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Paul Baerwald Papers.

124. Box 1, folder C-15 PB-23, October 28, 1951, "a speech I never made." Columbia University Libraries, Archival Collections, Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Paul Baerwald Papers.

Appendix 1

Family Tree of Lewin Baerwald and Frommet Herrmann

A modification of "The descendants of Lewin and Frommet Baerwald "
highlighting the geographical movement of family members in the 20th century

The children and grandchildren of **Hermann Baerwald and his siblings** lived in tumultuous times. I wanted to trace each family, generation by generation, to understand their relationship with Paul Baerwald and their geographical movements.

I researched places of birth and death as best I could. Borders and place names in Eastern and Central Europe changed often during the 19th and 20th centuries. I indicated the names of towns and cities when known. If possible I wrote out the full name, but most had to be abbreviated. Below is the key.

ARG = Argentina Ber = Berlin Brsl = Breslau Brom = Bromberg Bru = Brussels Col = Cologne Camb = Cambridge

Danz = Danzig DEN = Denmark ENG = England Fft= Frankfurt GER = Germany Grün = Grünberg ISR = Israel

Jeru = Jerusalem Koen = Koenigsberg Lon = London Mag = Magdeburg Mil = Milan Mont = Montreal

Nak = Nakel Oxf = Oxford PAL = Palestine POL = Poland Sam = Samotschin Soss = Sossnow

SAF = South Africa Stt = Stuttgart Tok = Tokyo Thrsdt = Theresienstadt SWZ = Switzerland Won = Wongrowitz

Lewin Baerwald and Frommet Herrmann Baerwald

1.

Aron
1826 - 1868
Nak/Thorn

Bertha Meyer
1830 - 1893
Thorn/Thorn

Hermann
1828 - 1907
Nak/Fft
Selma Frenkel
Danz/Fft
1845 - 1878
Emma Sandberg
1854 - 1926
Szkudla/Ber

Lesser
1830 - 1916
Nak/ Nak

Pauline Seligsohn
1840 - 1939
Sam/Ber

Henriette
"Jettchen"
1833 - 1914
Nak/Ber
Isidor Pinn
1829 - 1889
Grün/Nak

Max
1836 - 1878
Soss/Brom

Rosa Hamburger
1846 - 1913
Brsl/Brsl

Minna
1839 - 1898
Soss/
Abraham Brasch
1823 - 1868
Jacob Pinn
1835 - 1880

David
1843 - 1883
Nak/Thorn

Bertha Neumann
1858 - 1929

Flora
1845 - 1896
Nak/Brsl

Heinrich Hamburger
1842 - 1908

2.

Arnold
1866 - 1920
Ber/Fft
Therese "Resi"
Reichenberger
1869 - 1896
Ber/Fft
Charlotte Lewino
1870 - 1966
Ber/NY/SWZ

Elise
"Liese"
1867 - 1904
Ber/Danz
Johannes
Behrendt
1859 - 1910
/Danz

Emil
1869 - 1948
Fft/NY/Ber/NY

Jenny Dreyfus
1880 - 1965
SWZ/NY/Ber/NY

Meta
1870 -1933
Fft/Danz

Felix Fabian
1862 - 1934
Danz/Danz

Paul
1871 - 1961
Fft/NY/NJ

Edith Jacobi
1879 - 1965
CA/NY/NJ

Eduard
"Edu"
1875 - 1934
Fft/Ber
Paula
Friedheim
1885-1983
Fft/NY

Selma
1881 - 1945
Fft/Ber/CA

Arthur Frenkel
1880 - 1939
Ber/SWZ/NY

Ernst
1884 - 1952
Fft/Tok/CA

Ottilie Forell
"Otti"
1893 - 1971
Brsl/Tok/CA

Leonore
"Lore"
1893 - 1973
Fft/Mil/CA

Edward Schott
1887 - 1967
Stt/Mil/CA

3.

Hans
1895 - 1916
Fft/Verdun

Friedrich
1900 - 1981
Fft/NY/Munster
Franzeska
Schwartz
1902 - c.1992
GER/NY/Munster

Therese
"Therese Carroll"
1906 - 1996
Fft/Paris/Lon
Herbert Woznianski
1906 -
/Lon

Selma
Behrendt
1890 - 1961
Danz/

Albert Stamm
1884 - 1956

Susanna
Behrendt
1893 - 1918
Danz/Danz

Franz Guenther
1901 - 1984
Danz/MN

(Benedictine Monk)

Cecilie
Behrendt
1908 - 1993
Danz/NY
Helmut Sieverts
1906 - 1979
Liepzig/NY

Daughter of
Johannes
Behrendt
and 2nd wife
Liese Hochstader

4.

Hanna
Stamm
1914 -
Fft/PAL
Hans Herzberg
1909 -

Elise
Stamm
1917 -
/ARG
Ernst Wolff
1914 -

Johannes "Johnny"
Stamm
1919 - 2015
Furth/CT
Beverly Jenness
1918 -

Susanne
Stamm
1922 - 1978
/ISR
Tzvi Shachori
1913 - 1982

5 Children
No Info

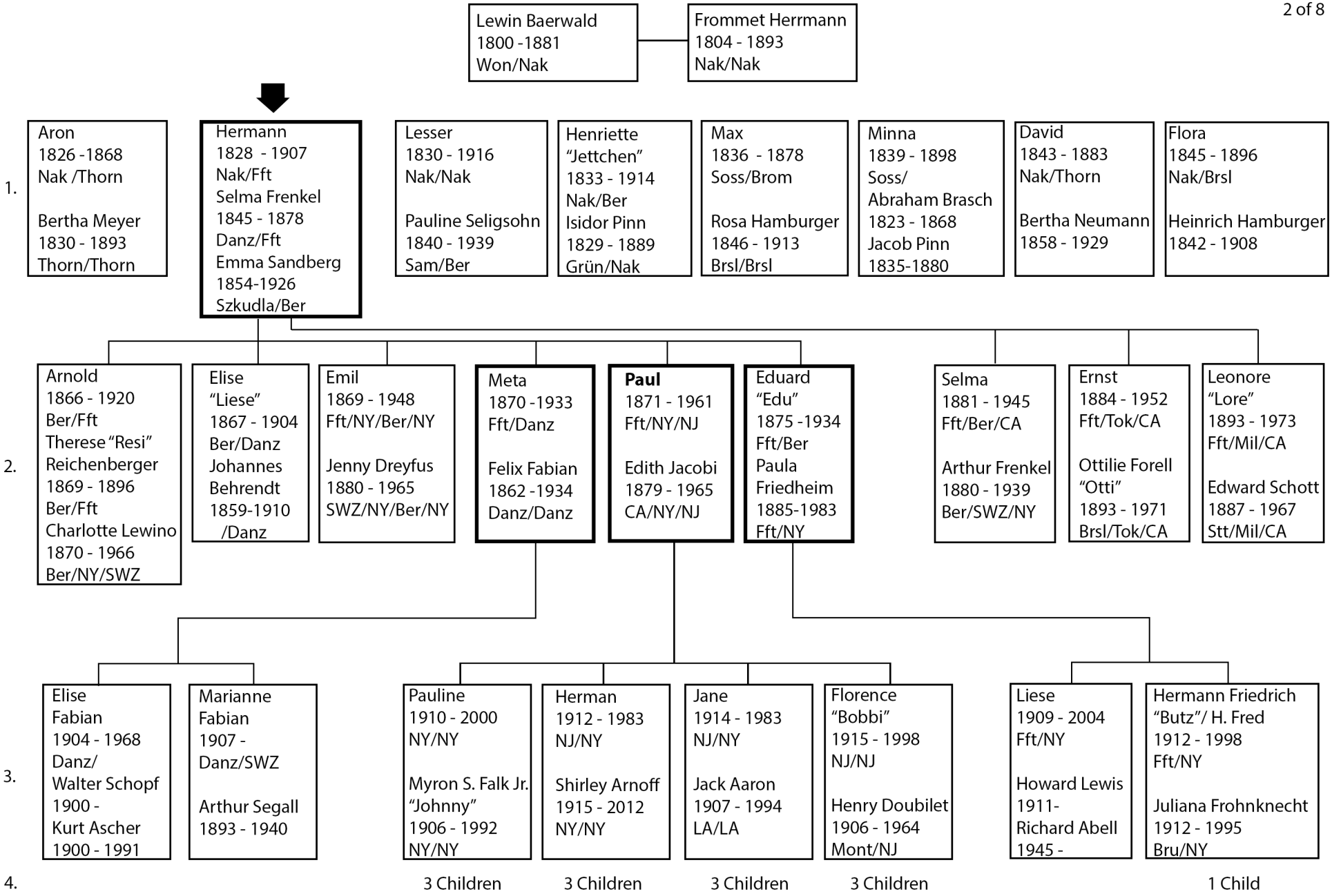
5.

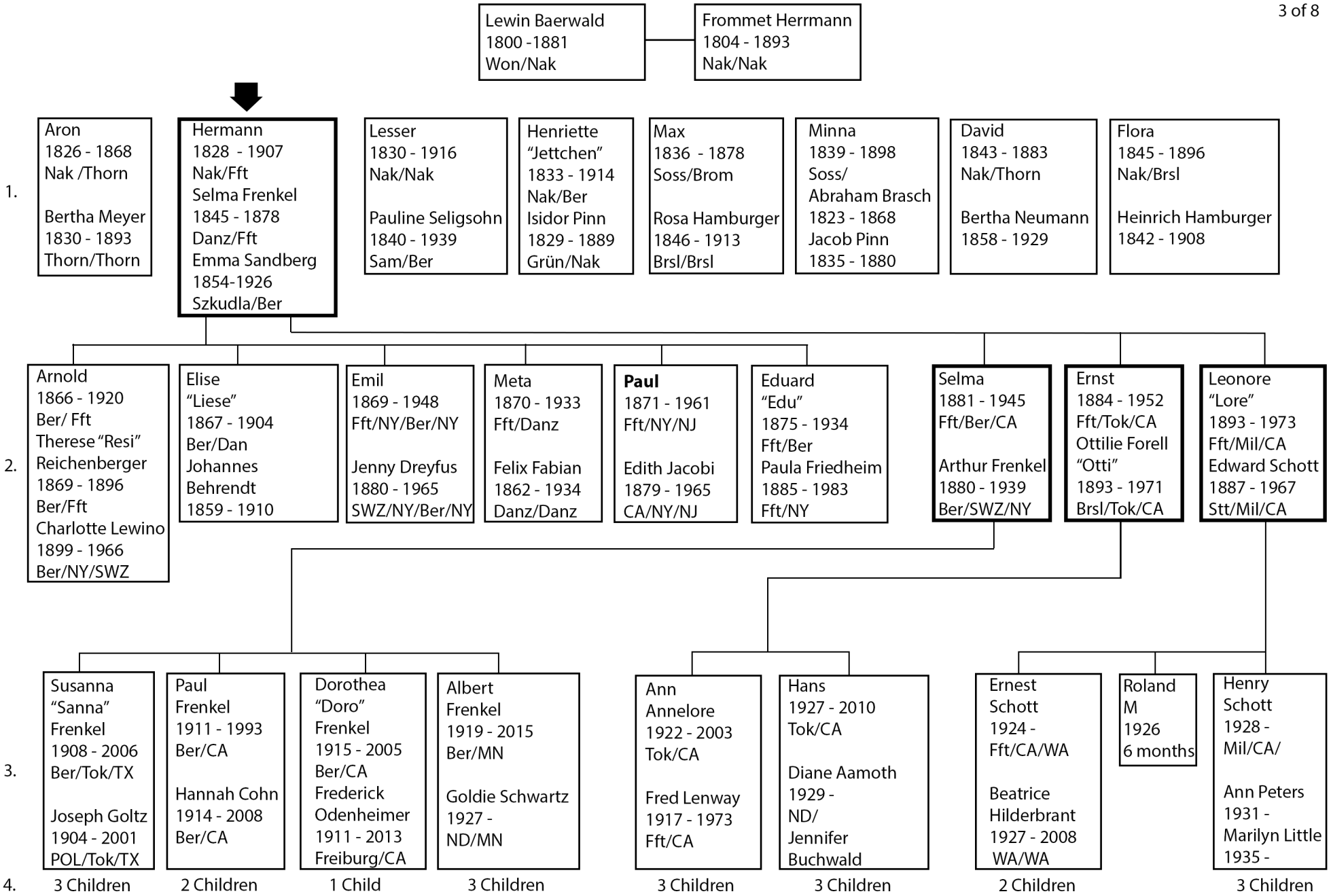
2 Children

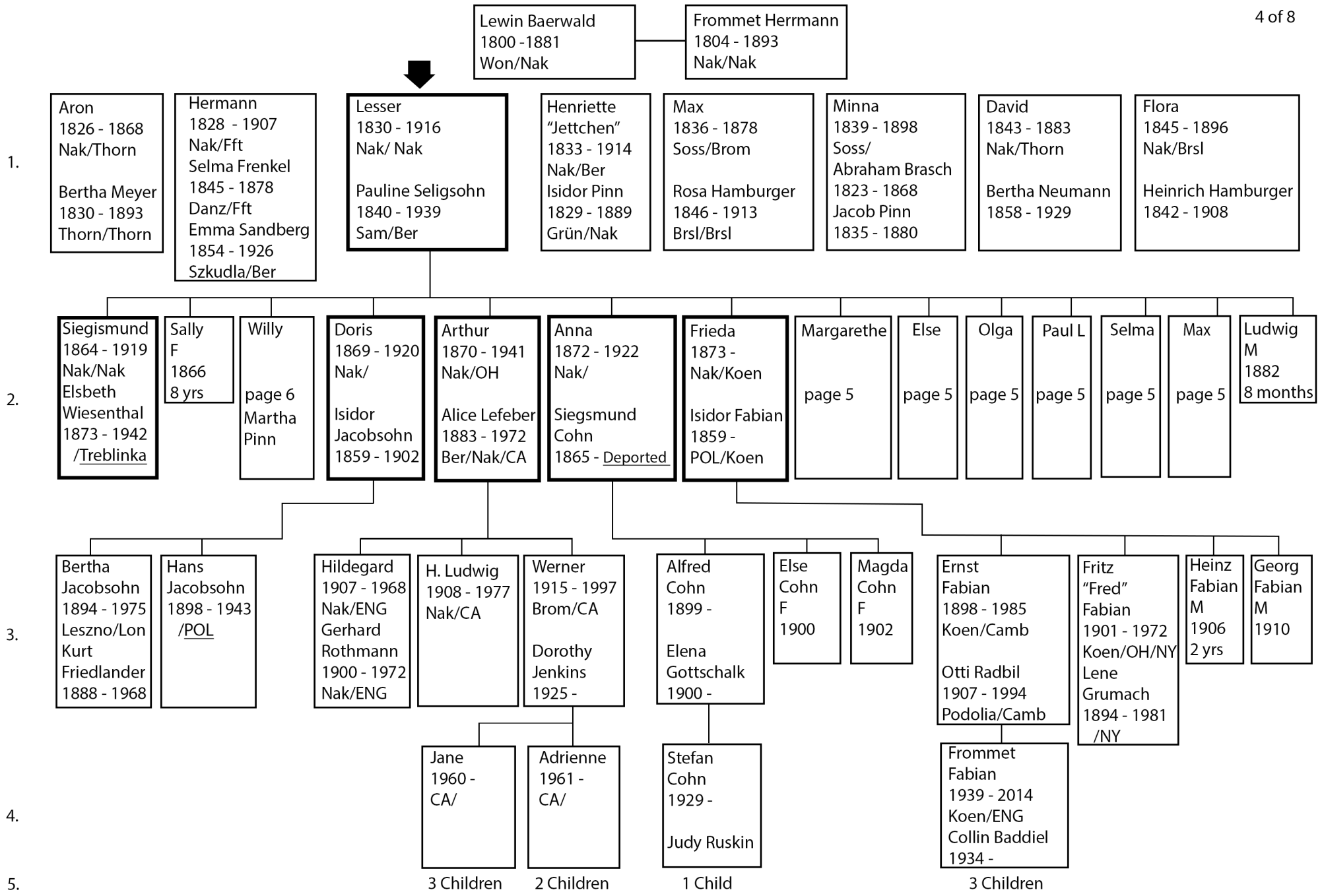
2 Children

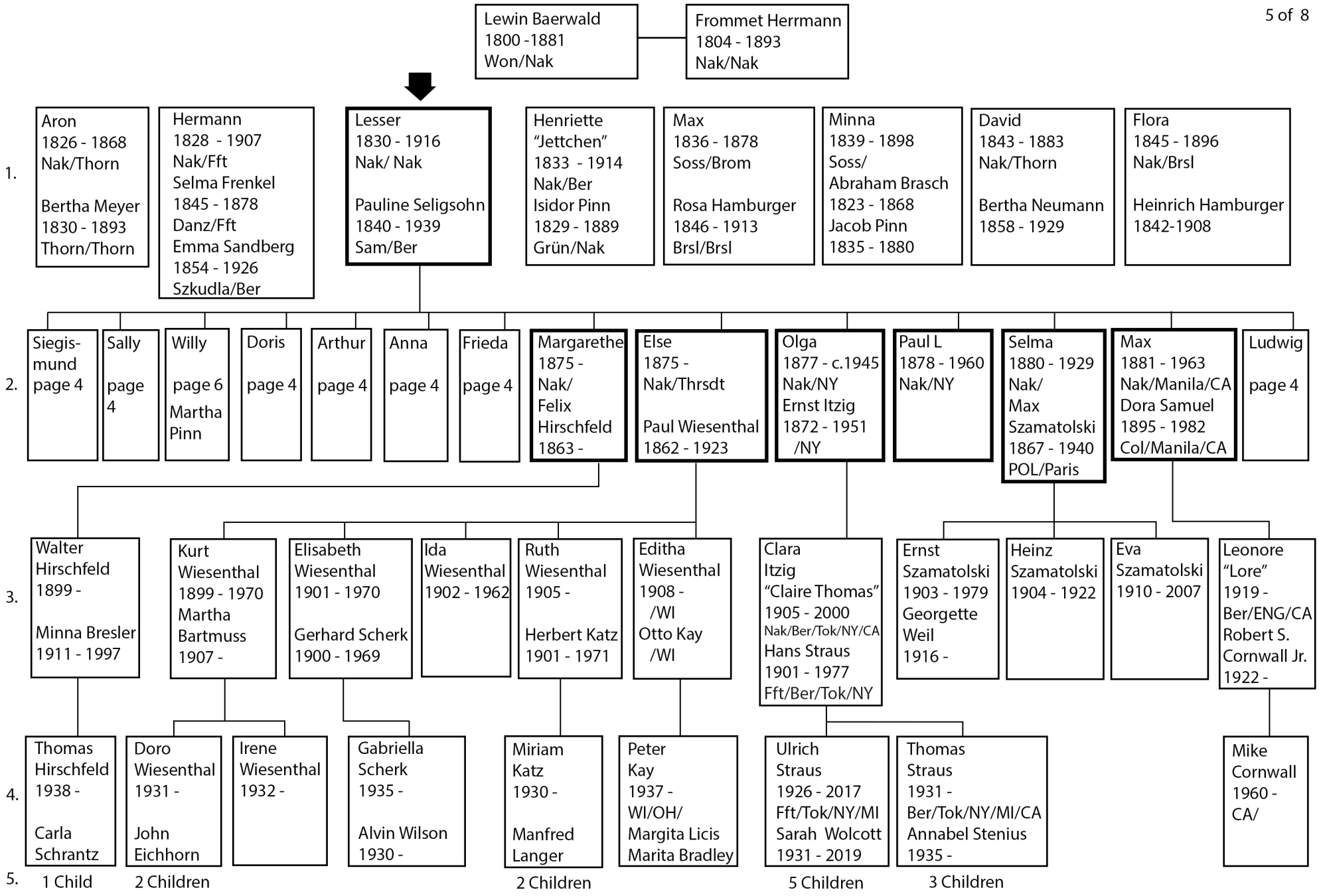
3 Children

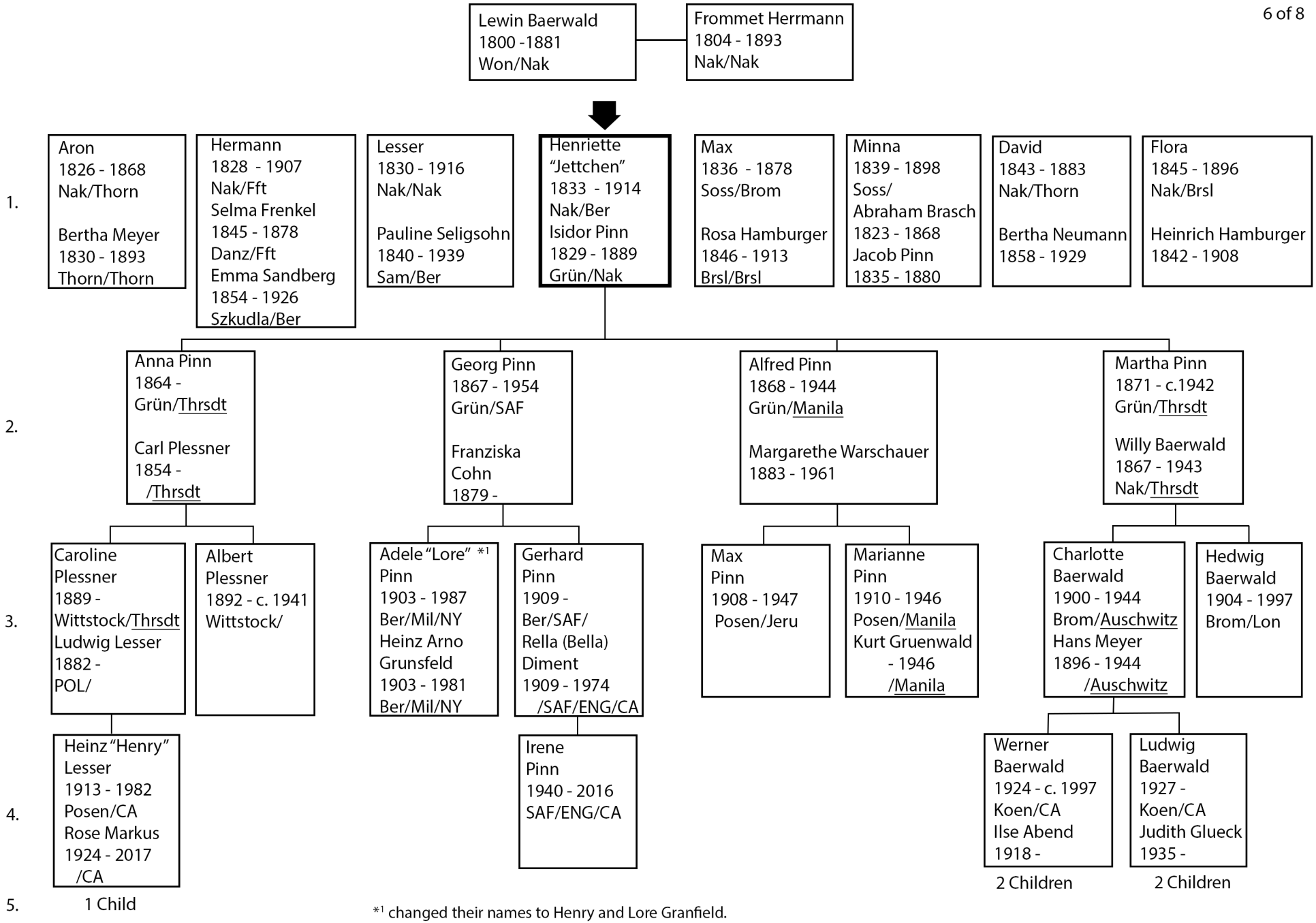
3 Children


Lewin Baerwald
1800 -1881
Won/Nak
Frommet Herrmann
1804 - 1893
Nak/Nak
1.
Aron
1826 -1868
Nak /Thorn
Bertha Meyer
1830 - 1893
Thorn/Thorn
Hermann
1828 - 1907
Nak/Fft
Selma Frenkel
1845 - 1878
Danz/Fft
Emma Sandberg
1854-1926
Szkudla/Ber
Lesser
1830 - 1916
Nak/Nak
Pauline Seligsohn
1840 - 1939
Sam/Ber
Henriette
"Jettchen"
1833 - 1914
Nak/Ber
Isidor Pinn
1829 - 1889
Grün/Nak
Max
1836 - 1878
Soss/Brom
Rosa Hamburger
1846 - 1913
Brsl/Brsl
Minna
1839 - 1898
Soss/
Abraham Brasch
1823 - 1868
Jacob Pinn
1835-1880
David
1843 - 1883
Nak/Thorn
Bertha Neumann
1858 - 1929
Flora
1845 - 1896
Nak/Brsl
Heinrich Hamburger
1842 - 1908
2.
Arnold
1866 - 1920
Ber/Fft
Therese "Resi"
Reichenberger
1869 - 1896
Ber/Fft
Charlotte Lewino
1870 - 1966
Ber/NY/SWZ
Elise
"Liese"
1867 - 1904
Ber/Danz
Johannes
Behrendt
1859-1910
/Danz
Emil
1869 - 1948
Fft/NY/Ber/NY
Jenny Dreyfus
1880 - 1965
SWZ/NY/Ber/NY
Meta
1870 -1933
Fft/Danz
Felix Fabian
1862 -1934
Danz/Danz
Paul
1871 - 1961
Fft/NY/NJ
Edith Jacobi
1879 - 1965
CA/NY/NJ
Eduard
"Edu"
1875 -1934
Fft/Ber
Paula
Friedheim
1885-1983
Fft/NY
Selma
1881 - 1945
Fft/Ber/CA
Arthur Frenkel
1880 - 1939
Ber/SWZ/NY
Ernst
1884 - 1952
Fft/Tok/CA
Ottilie Forell
"Otti"
1893 - 1971
Brsl/Tok/CA
Leonore
"Lore"
1893 - 1973
Fft/Mil/CA
Edward Schott
1887 - 1967
Stt/Mil/CA
3.
Elise
Fabian
1904 - 1968
Danz/
Walter Schopf
1900 -
Kurt Ascher
1900 - 1991
Marianne
Fabian
1907 -
Danz/SWZ
Arthur Segall
1893 - 1940
Pauline
1910 - 2000
NY/NY
Myron S. Falk Jr.
"Johnny"
1906 - 1992
NY/NY
Herman
1912 - 1983
NJ/NY
Shirley Arnoff
1915 - 2012
NY/NY
Jane
1914 - 1983
NJ/NY
Jack Aaron
1907 - 1994
LA/LA
Florence
"Bobbi"
1915 - 1998
NJ/NJ
Henry Doubilet
1906 - 1964
Mont/NJ
Liese
1909 - 2004
Fft/NY
Howard Lewis
1911-
Richard Abell
1945 -
Hermann Friedrich
"Butz"/ H. Fred
1912 - 1998
Fft/NY
Juliana Frohnknecht
1912 - 1995
Bru/NY
4.
3 Children
3 Children
3 Children
3 Children
1 Child

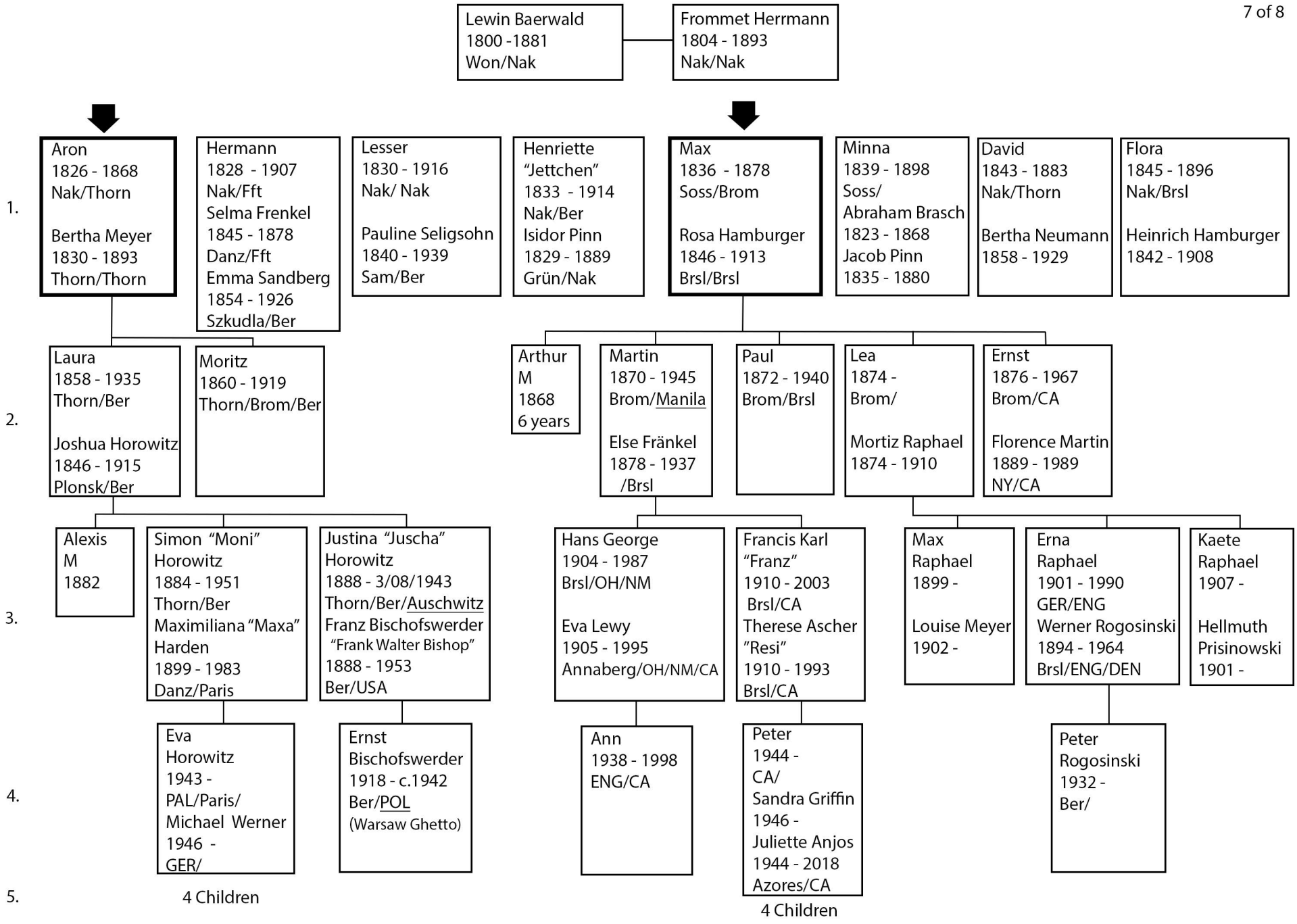

Lewin Baerwald
1800 -1881
Won/Nak
Frommet Herrmann
1804 - 1893
Nak/Nak
1.
Aron
1826 - 1868
Nak /Thorn
Bertha Meyer
1830 - 1893
Thorn/Thorn
Hermann
1828 - 1907
Nak/Fft
Selma Frenkel
1845 - 1878
Danz/Fft
Emma Sandberg
1854-1926
Szkudla/Ber
Lesser
1830 - 1916
Nak/Nak
Pauline Seligsohn
1840 - 1939
Sam/Ber
Henriette
"Jettchen"
1833 - 1914
Nak/Ber
Isidor Pinn
1829 - 1889
Grün/Nak
Max
1836 - 1878
Soss/Brom
Rosa Hamburger
1846 - 1913
Brsl/Brsl
Minna
1839 - 1898
Soss/
Abraham Brasch
1823 - 1868
Jacob Pinn
1835 - 1880
David
1843 - 1883
Nak/Thorn
Bertha Neumann
1858 - 1929
Flora
1845 - 1896
Nak/Brsl
Heinrich Hamburger
1842 - 1908
2.
Arnold
1866 - 1920
Ber/ Fft
Therese "Resi"
Reichenberger
1869 - 1896
Ber/Fft
Charlotte Lewino
1899 - 1966
Ber/NY/SWZ
Elise
"Liese"
1867 - 1904
Ber/Dan
Johannes
Behrendt
1859 - 1910
Emil
1869 - 1948
Fft/NY/Ber/NY
Jenny Dreyfus
1880 - 1965
SWZ/NY/Ber/NY
Meta
1870 - 1933
Fft/Danz
Felix Fabian
1862 - 1934
Danz/Danz
Paul
1871 - 1961
Fft/NY/NJ
Edith Jacobi
1879 - 1965
CA/NY/NJ
Eduard
"Edu"
1875 - 1934
Fft/Ber
Paula Friedheim
1885 - 1983
Fft/NY
Selma
1881 - 1945
Fft/Ber/CA
Arthur Frenkel
1880 - 1939
Ber/SWZ/NY
Ernst
1884 - 1952
Fft/Tok/CA
Ottilie Forell
"Otti"
1893 - 1971
Brsl/Tok/CA
Leonore
"Lore"
1893 - 1973
Fft/Mil/CA
Edward Schott
1887 - 1967
Stt/Mil/CA
3.
Susanna
"Sanna"
Frenkel
1908 - 2006
Ber/Tok/TX
Joseph Goltz
1904 - 2001
POL/Tok/TX
Paul
Frenkel
1911 - 1993
Ber/CA
Hannah Cohn
1914 - 2008
Ber/CA
Dorothea
"Doro"
Frenkel
1915 - 2005
Ber/CA
Frederick
Odenheimer
1911 - 2013
Freiburg/CA
Albert
Frenkel
1919 - 2015
Ber/MN
Goldie Schwartz
1927 -
ND/MN
Ann
Annelore
1922 - 2003
Tok/CA
Fred Lenway
1917 - 1973
Fft/CA
Hans
1927 - 2010
Tok/CA
Diane Aamoth
1929 -
ND/
Jennifer
Buchwald
Ernest
Schott
1924 -
Fft/CA/WA
Beatrice
Hilderbrant
1927 - 2008
WA/WA
Roland
M
1926
6 months
Henry
Schott
1928 -
Mil/CA/
Ann Peters
1931 -
Marilyn Little
1935 -
4.
3 Children
2 Children
1 Child
3 Children
3 Children
3 Children
2 Children
3 Children

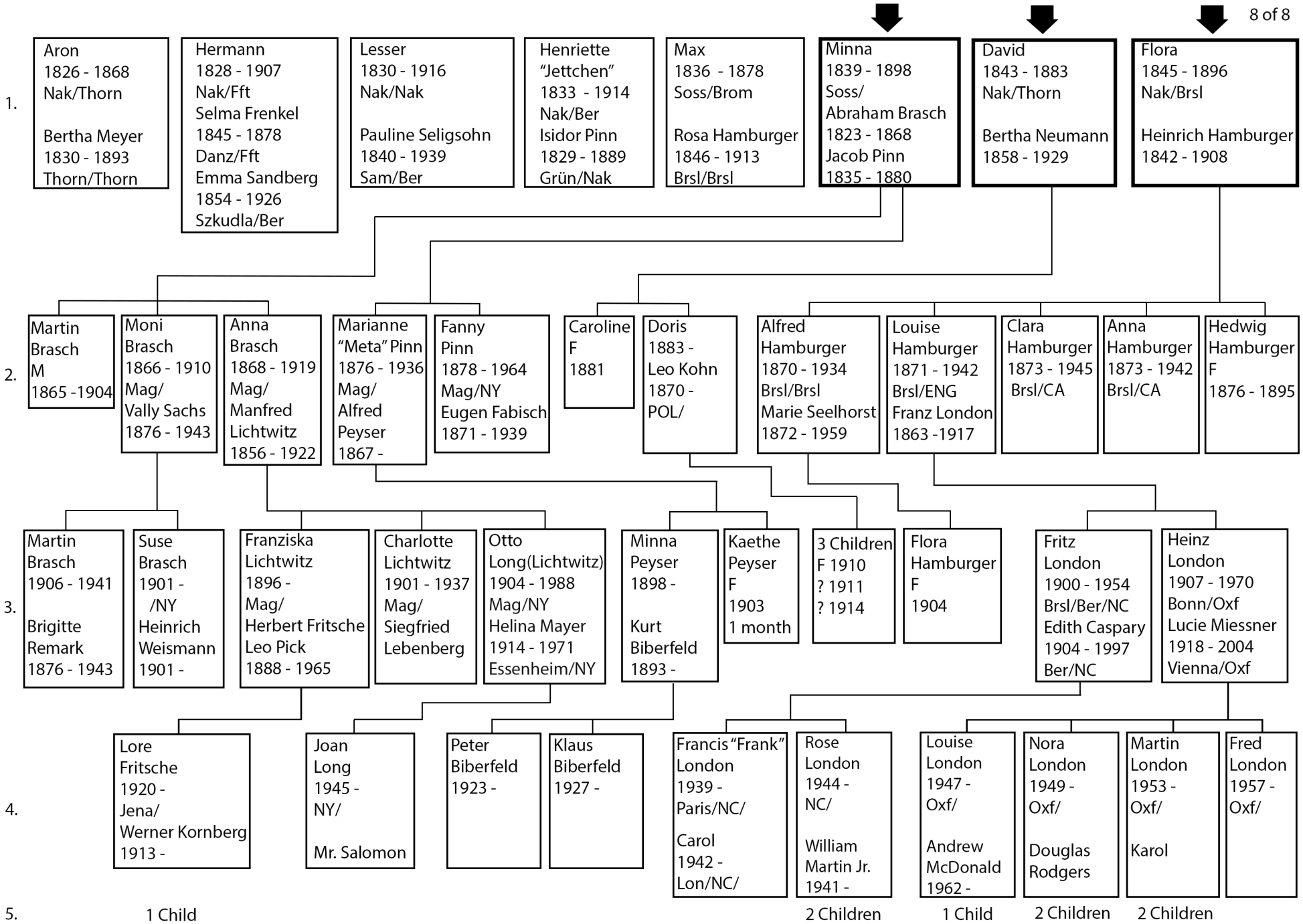

Lewin Baerwald
1800 -1881
Won/Nak
Frommet Herrmann
1804 - 1893
Nak/Nak
1.
Aron
1826 - 1868
Nak/Thorn
Bertha Meyer
1830 - 1893
Thorn/Thorn
Hermann
1828 - 1907
Nak/Fft
Selma Frenkel
1845 - 1878
Danz/Fft
Emma Sandberg
1854 - 1926
Szkudla/Ber
Lesser
1830 - 1916
Nak/ Nak
Pauline Seligsohn
1840 - 1939
Sam/Ber
Henriette
"Jettchen"
1833 - 1914
Nak/Ber
Isidor Pinn
1829 - 1889
Grün/Nak
Max
1836 - 1878
Soss/Brom
Rosa Hamburger
1846 - 1913
Brsl/Brsl
Minna
1839 - 1898
Soss/
Abraham Brasch
1823 - 1868
Jacob Pinn
1835 - 1880
David
1843 - 1883
Nak/Thorn
Bertha Neumann
1858 - 1929
Flora
1845 - 1896
Nak/Brsl
Heinrich Hamburger
1842 - 1908
2.
Siegismund
1864 - 1919
Nak/Nak
Elsbeth
Wiesenthal
1873 - 1942
/Treblinka
Sally
F
1866
8 yrs
Willy
page 6
Martha
Pinn
Doris
1869 - 1920
Nak/
Isidor
Jacobsohn
1859 - 1902
Arthur
1870 - 1941
Nak/OH
Alice Lefeber
1883 - 1972
Ber/Nak/CA
Anna
1872 - 1922
Nak/
Siegsmund
Cohn
1865 - Deported
Frieda
1873 -
Nak/Koen
Isidor Fabian
1859 -
POL/Koen
Margarethe
page 5
Else
page 5
Olga
page 5
Paul L
page 5
Selma
page 5
Max
page 5
Ludwig
M
1882
8 months
3.
Bertha
Jacobsohn
1894 - 1975
Leszno/Lon
Kurt
Friedlander
1888 - 1968
Hans
Jacobsohn
1898 - 1943
/POL
Hildegard
1907 - 1968
Nak/ENG
Gerhard
Rothmann
1900 - 1972
Nak/ENG
H. Ludwig
1908 - 1977
Nak/CA
Werner
1915 - 1997
Brom/CA
Dorothy
Jenkins
1925 -
Alfred
Cohn
1899 -
Elena
Gottschalk
1900 -
Else
Cohn
F
1900
Magda
Cohn
F
1902
Ernst
Fabian
1898 - 1985
Koen/Camb
Otti Radbil
1907 - 1994
Podolia/Camb
Fritz
"Fred"
Fabian
1901 - 1972
Koen/OH/NY
Lene
Grumach
1894 - 1981
/NY
Heinz
Fabian
M
1906
2 yrs
Georg
Fabian
M
1910
4.
Jane
1960 -
CA/
Adrienne
1961 -
CA/
Stefan
Cohn
1929 -
Judy Ruskin
Frommet
Fabian
1939 - 2014
Koen/ENG
Collin Baddiel
1934 -
5.
3 Children
2 Children
1 Child
3 Children


Lewin Baerwald
1800 -1881
Won/Nak
Frommet Herrmann
1804 - 1893
Nak/Nak
1.
Aron
1826 - 1868
Nak/Thorn
Bertha Meyer
1830 - 1893
Thorn/Thorn
Hermann
1828 - 1907
Nak/Fft
Selma Frenkel
1845 - 1878
Danz/Fft
Emma Sandberg
1854 - 1926
Szkudla/Ber
Lesser
1830 - 1916
Nak/ Nak
Pauline Seligsohn
1840 - 1939
Sam/Ber
Henriette
"Jettchen"
1833 - 1914
Nak/Ber
Isidor Pinn
1829 - 1889
Grün/Nak
Max
1836 - 1878
Soss/Brom
Rosa Hamburger
1846 - 1913
Brsl/Brsl
Minna
1839 - 1898
Soss/
Abraham Brasch
1823 - 1868
Jacob Pinn
1835 - 1880
David
1843 - 1883
Nak/Thorn
Bertha Neumann
1858 - 1929
Flora
1845 - 1896
Nak/Brsl
Heinrich Hamburger
1842-1908
2.
Siegis-
mund
page 4
Sally
page
4
Willy
page 6
Martha
Pinn
Doris
page 4
Arthur
page 4
Anna
page 4
Frieda
page 4
Margarethe
1875 -
Nak/
Felix
Hirschfeld
1863 -
Else
1875 -
Nak/Thrsdt
Paul Wiesenthal
1862 - 1923
Olga
1877 - c.1945
Nak/NY
Ernst Itzig
1872 - 1951
/NY
Paul L
1878 - 1960
Nak/NY
Selma
1880 - 1929
Nak/
Max
Szamatolski
1867 - 1940
POL/Paris
Max
1881 - 1963
Nak/Manila/CA
Dora Samuel
1895 - 1982
Col/Manila/CA
Ludwig
page 4
3.
Walter
Hirschfeld
1899 -
Minna Bresler
1911 - 1997
Kurt
Wiesenthal
1899 - 1970
Martha
Bartmuss
1907 -
Elisabeth
Wiesenthal
1901 - 1970
Gerhard Scherk
1900 - 1969
Ida
Wiesenthal
1902 - 1962
Ruth
Wiesenthal
1905 -
Herbert Katz
1901 - 1971
Editha
Wiesenthal
1908 -
/WI
Otto Kay
/WI
Clara
Itzig
"Claire Thomas"
1905 - 2000
Nak/Ber/Tok/NY/CA
Hans Straus
1901 - 1977
Fft/Ber/Tok/NY
Ernst
Szamatolski
1903 - 1979
Georgette
Weil
1916 -
Heinz
Szamatolski
1904 - 1922
Eva
Szamatolski
1910 - 2007
Leonore
"Lore"
1919 -
Ber/ENG/CA
Robert S.
Cornwall Jr.
1922 -
4.
Thomas
Hirschfeld
1938 -
Carla
Schrantz
Doro
Wiesenthal
1931 -
John
Eichhorn
Irene
Wiesenthal
1932 -
Gabriella
Scherk
1935 -
Alvin Wilson
1930 -
Miriam
Katz
1930 -
Manfred
Langer
Peter
Kay
1937 -
WI/OH/
Margita Licis
Marita Bradley
Ulrich
Straus
1926 - 2017
Fft/Tok/NY/MI
Sarah Wolcott
1931 - 2019
Thomas
Straus
1931 -
Ber/Tok/NY/MI/CA
Annabel Stenius
1935 -
Mike
Cornwall
1960 -
CA/
5.
1 Child
2 Children
2 Children
5 Children
3 Children



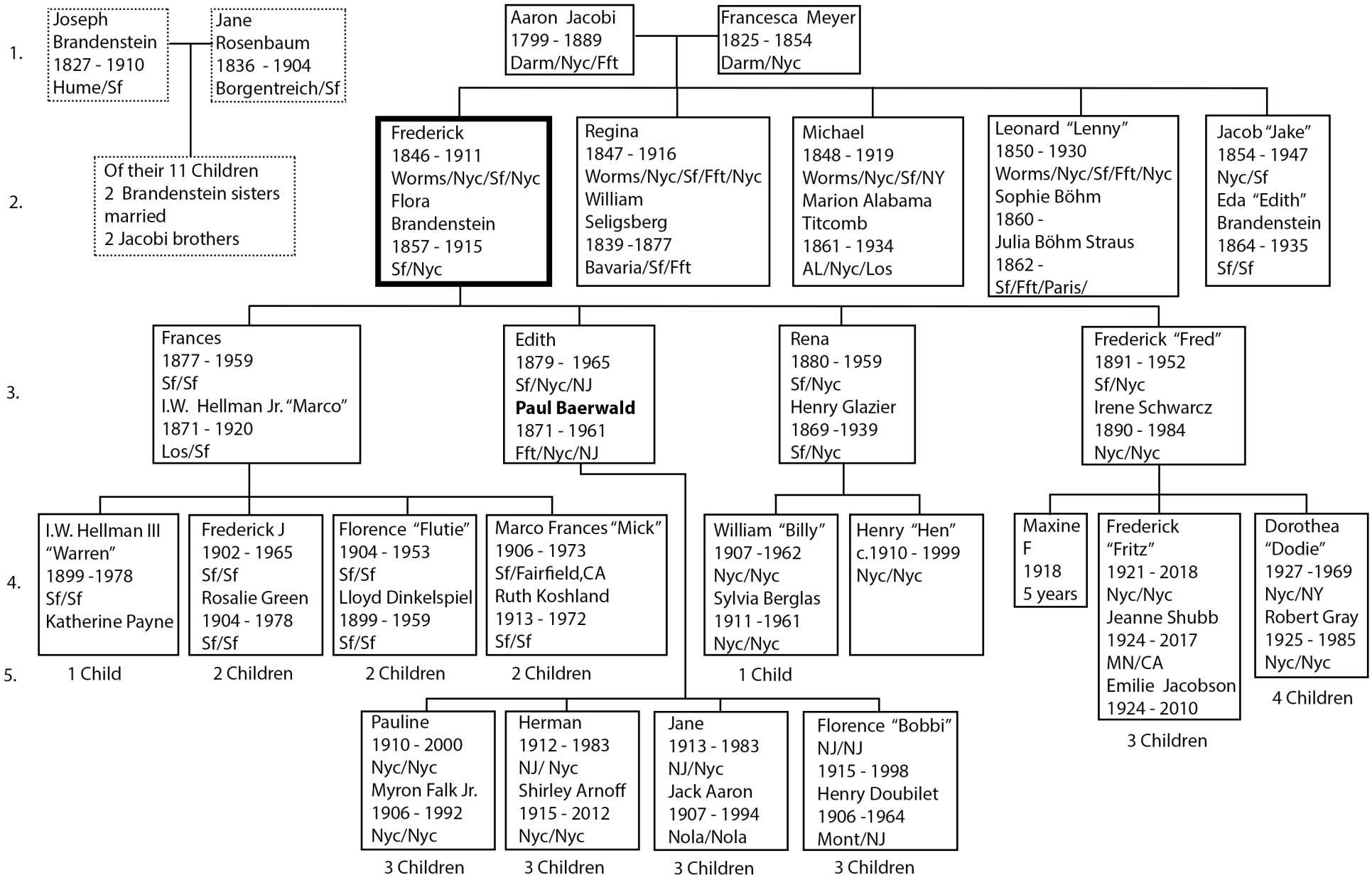
*1 changed their names to Henry and Lore Granfield.


Lewin Baerwald
1800 -1881
Won/Nak
Frommet Herrmann
1804 - 1893
Nak/Nak
1.
Aron
1826 - 1868
Nak/Thorn
Bertha Meyer
1830 - 1893
Thorn/Thorn
Hermann
1828 - 1907
Nak/Fft
Selma Frenkel
1845 - 1878
Danz/Fft
Emma Sandberg
1854 - 1926
Szkudla/Ber
Lesser
1830 - 1916
Nak/ Nak
Pauline Seligsohn
1840 - 1939
Sam/Ber
Henriette
"Jettchen"
1833 - 1914
Nak/Ber
Isidor Pinn
1829 - 1889
Grün/Nak
Max
1836 - 1878
Soss/Brom
Rosa Hamburger
1846 - 1913
Brsl/Brsl
Minna
1839 - 1898
Soss/
Abraham Brasch
1823 - 1868
Jacob Pinn
1835 - 1880
David
1843 - 1883
Nak/Thorn
Bertha Neumann
1858 - 1929
Flora
1845 - 1896
Nak/Brsl
Heinrich Hamburger
1842 - 1908
2.
Laura
1858 - 1935
Thorn/Ber
Joshua Horowitz
1846 - 1915
Plonsk/Ber
Moritz
1860 - 1919
Thorn/Brom/Ber
Arthur
M
1868
6 years
Martin
1870 - 1945
Brom/Manila
Else Fränkel
1878 - 1937
/Brsl
Paul
1872 - 1940
Brom/Brsl
Lea
1874 -
Brom/
Mortiz Raphael
1874 - 1910
Ernst
1876 - 1967
Brom/CA
Florence Martin
1889 - 1989
NY/CA
3.
Alexis
M
1882
Simon "Moni"
Horowitz
1884 - 1951
Thorn/Ber
Maximiliana "Maxa"
Harden
1899 - 1983
Danz/Paris
Justina "Juscha"
Horowitz
1888 - 3/08/1943
Thorn/Ber/Auschwitz
Franz Bischofswerder
"Frank Walter Bishop"
1888 - 1953
Ber/USA
Hans George
1904 - 1987
Brsl/OH/NM
Eva Lewy
1905 - 1995
Annaberg/OH/NM/CA
Francis Karl
"Franz"
1910 - 2003
Brsl/CA
Therese Ascher
"Resi"
1910 - 1993
Brsl/CA
Max
Raphael
1899 -
Louise Meyer
1902 -
Erna
Raphael
1901 - 1990
GER/ENG
Werner Rogosinski
1894 - 1964
Brsl/ENG/DEN
Kaete
Raphael
1907 -
Hellmuth
Prisinowski
1901 -
4.
Eva
Horowitz
1943 -
PAL/Paris/
Michael Werner
1946 -
GER/
Ernst
Bischofswerder
1918 - c.1942
Ber/POL
(Warsaw Ghetto)
Ann
1938 - 1998
ENG/CA
Peter
1944 -
CA/
Sandra Griffin
1946 -
Juliette Anjos
1944 - 2018
Azores/CA
Peter
Rogosinski
1932 -
Ber/
5.
4 Children
4 Children

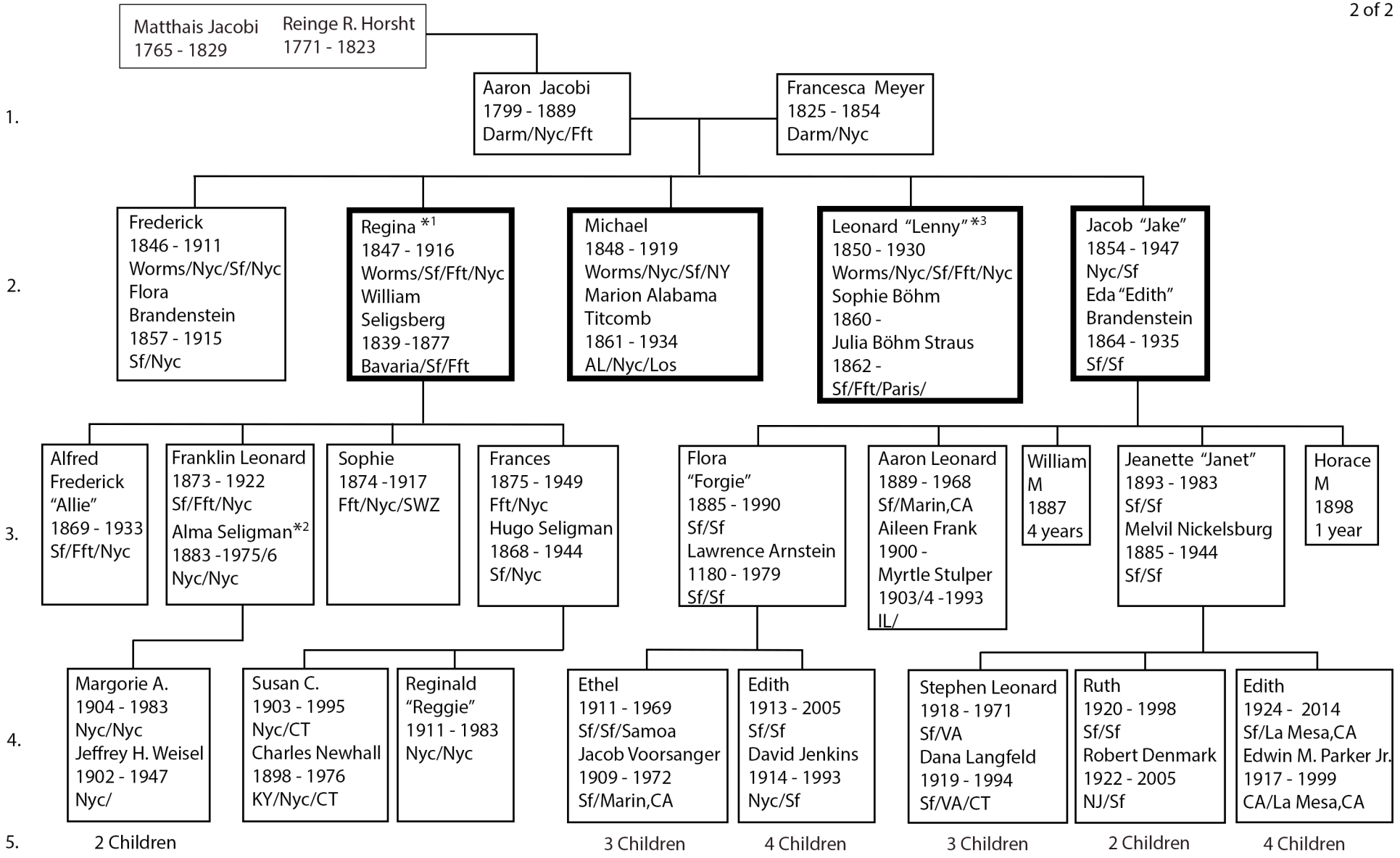

1.
Aron
1826 - 1868
Nak/Thorn
Bertha Meyer
1830 - 1893
Thorn/Thorn
Hermann
1828 - 1907
Nak/Fft
Selma Frenkel
1845 - 1878
Danz/Fft
Emma Sandberg
1854 - 1926
Szkudla/Ber
Lesser
1830 - 1916
Nak/Nak
Pauline Seligsohn
1840 - 1939
Sam/Ber
Henriette
"Jettchen"
1833 - 1914
Nak/Ber
Isidor Pinn
1829 - 1889
Grün/Nak
Max
1836 - 1878
Soss/Brom
Rosa Hamburger
1846 - 1913
Brsl/Brsl
Minna
1839 - 1898
Soss/
Abraham Brasch
1823 - 1868
Jacob Pinn
1835 - 1880
David
1843 - 1883
Nak/Thorn
Bertha Neumann
1858 - 1929
Flora
1845 - 1896
Nak/Brsl
Heinrich Hamburger
1842 - 1908
2.
Martin
Brasch
M
1865 -1904
Moni
Brasch
1866 - 1910
Mag/
Vally Sachs
1876 - 1943
Anna
Brasch
1868 - 1919
Mag/
Manfred
Lichtwitz
1856 - 1922
Marianne
"Meta" Pinn
1876 - 1936
Mag/
Alfred
Peyser
1867 -
Fanny
Pinn
1878 - 1964
Mag/NY
Eugen Fabisch
1871 - 1939
Caroline
F
1881
Doris
1883 -
Leo Kohn
1870 -
POL/
Alfred
Hamburger
1870 - 1934
Brsl/Brsl
Marie Seelhorst
1872 - 1959
Louise
Hamburger
1871 - 1942
Brsl/ENG
Franz London
1863 -1917
Clara
Hamburger
1873 - 1945
Brsl/CA
Anna
Hamburger
1873 - 1942
Brsl/CA
Hedwig
Hamburger
F
1876 - 1895
3.
Martin
Brasch
1906 - 1941
Brigitte
Remark
1876 - 1943
Suse
Brasch
1901 -
/NY
Heinrich
Weismann
1901 -
Franziska
Lichtwitz
1896 -
Mag/
Herbert Fritsche
Leo Pick
1888 - 1965
Charlotte
Lichtwitz
1901 - 1937
Mag/
Siegfried
Lebenberg
Otto
Long(Lichtwitz)
1904 - 1988
Mag/NY
Helina Mayer
1914 - 1971
Essenheim/NY
Minna
Peyser
1898 -
Kurt
Biberfeld
1893 -
Kaethe
Peyser
F
1903
1 month
3 Children
F 1910
? 1911
? 1914
Flora
Hamburger
F
1904
Fritz
London
1900 - 1954
Brsl/Ber/NC
Edith Caspary
1904 - 1997
Ber/NC
Heinz
London
1907 - 1970
Bonn/Oxf
Lucie Miessner
1918 - 2004
Vienna/Oxf
4.
Lore
Fritsche
1920 -
Jena/
Werner Kornberg
1913 -
Joan
Long
1945 -
NY/
Mr. Salomon
Peter
Biberfeld
1923 -
Klaus
Biberfeld
1927 -
Francis "Frank"
London
1939 -
Paris/NC/
Carol
1942 -
Lon/NC/
Rose
London
1944 -
NC/
William
Martin Jr.
1941 -
Louise
London
1947 -
Oxf/
Andrew
McDonald
1962 -
Nora
London
1949 -
Oxf/
Douglas
Rodgers
Martin
London
1953 -
Oxf/
Karol
Fred
London
1957 -
Oxf/
5.
1 Child
2 Children
1 Child
2 Children
2 Children

Appendix 2

Aaron Jacobi and Francesca Meyer Jacobi



Darm = Darmstadt Fft = Frankfurt Los = Los Angeles Mont = Montreal Nola = New Orleans Nyc = New York City Sf = San Francisco SWZ = Switzerland



*1. Pronounced *Reshiena*. *2. Alma and 2nd husband Walter Hochstader had 2 daughters Susan & Janet.

*3. Leonard m. Sophie 1879. They divorce (n.d). Leonard m. Julia 1899. Julia had 2 daughters from 1st marriage; Emily & Frances name changed to Jacobi.

Appendix 3

1919 Letter from Edu to Paul and Emil

Liebenzell, August 12, 1919

Dear Emil and dear Paul! Since the delivery of mail is once again permitted, I want to write to you constantly. Your kind and detailed letters of July 19th are a great joy, and the prospect of seeing you, dear Emil, and Jen here with us in a few weeks is absolutely wonderful. So much so that one hardly dares to believe in it's coming true.

I'll take this opportunity to repeat that we're all well. It's difficult to give you an idea of the life we lead and of the conditions as they exist here. It's a stroke of good luck that I have a lot of work to do. Brooding over the events of the outside world is too disagreeable. What would Father have said if he had had to see his highest ideal – the establishment of the German Empire – end so deplorably, if he – as a loyal, patriotic Prussian – had experienced the end of the constitutional monarchy! There's no use in standing aside and dreaming about the past, but for the present I don't feel I can happily cooperate in the creation of what is to come next, and so I hold back and don't participate in the innumerable convocations, societies and discussions from which practically nothing emerges. Moreover, I do have a double dose of work to do and could not manage it all if Paula were not always at my side as stenographer whenever I had the time and the desire to dictate during the evening hours. Although at the moment I'm not a member of the [Jewish] community board of directors, there is a lot to do with regard to legal matters, primarily with the revision of our outdated community constitution, and the struggle against antisemitism, which is entering a very sad chapter right now, for the Alldeutschen [German Nationalists] are trying every means at their disposal to deflect guilt to a familiar scapegoat. We frequently spend the evenings together with friends who have invited us to dine with them – a unheard of thing for years now – and enjoy a glass of wine, if one should happen to have such from the old days in one's cellar; today a relatively drinkable bottle costs close to double what a bottle of the best champagne used to cost in the old days. The women are running what many times amounts to a type of barter exchange, trading used children's stockings or boots, information about secret sources of food and clothing; if someone can relate that somewhere in the vicinity there is real coffee with a bit of milk and a piece of sugar, or that one has brought home a piece of cake made of

white flour or that one has found an egg at a farm somewhere, that person is looked upon as a Wunderkind. Even in the best hotels one can't get a piece of butter or an egg, not even here in our just now lush Swabia. I'm assuming that – apart from eggs, butter and fresh meat, as well as sugar – the food supply will improve soon, but in any case maintaining the household has been a difficult task for the women and we men have had to pitch in in providing provisions since it was impossible to get by on the rationed amounts alone. In the morning, and in light of the lack of milk and butter, the children get a bowl of soup and a piece of military bread with artificial honey and marmalade. Ever since I returned from the field and managed to discover sources, Paula and the children look much better than the enclosed photograph shows, and they no longer complain about being hungry, and I too have gained some weight after I lost so much due to the deprivations of life in the field. Our standard of living has become very expensive. Up until now Mama's household subsidies have been coming in regularly, she was living well without having to cut back and without asking Arthur for help or cashing in her papers. From the money that I had left – although the five years for which promissory notes were granted expired on April 1, 1918 – I continued to give Selma Stamm, who is once again expecting, an annual sum of 1000 M, especially since her husband, who returned unharmed in (illegible) in 1918, has only been able to find temporary work for short periods of time because of the wretched state of the building trade. Better times will probably come for Felix, given the economic upswing generally expected for Danzig; he has had a hard time in his practice, but was able to realize good dividends during the war from his mining investments with Jacquier; whether the mining industry will manage to retain its recent profitability given the new wage demands is doubtful. On the other hand, Felix has large expenses: in the spring of 1918 Lieschen was very sick or along time with a heart ailment, which caused him great concern; she has returned to school after Easter 1918 but still needs a great deal of care. Felix was also under the weather for a long time with his stomach nerves and spent weeks in a sanatorium near Berlin in the autumn of 1918; now he's working assiduously with the constitutional commissions. – Lies has managed to get rid of her old house in Brodbackengasse for a fairly good price; her situation improved through the death of her mother when she inherited, among other things, Russian, Austrian and Hungarian papers that bear no interest. Her expenses have lessened through Sigi's death – a consequence of the war influenza. Franz, who is working in a commercial position in the

Mayer and Schmidt Engineering Works in Offenbach – it was impossible to find him a place in the overfilled Frankfurt businesses with which I have closer ties – and in the evenings attends political economy courses at the university, is a charming, handsome, skilled bloke who resembles his father in many respects. I've cut back considerably on Lies' allowance. – Arnold is very productive. Given the unreliable transportation situation right now (the tram has curtailed its services greatly because of the lack of coal), looking after the far distant hospital and overseeing his practice has become very difficult; however, during the war the former profited by the influx of many physicians, during that same time Arnold also enjoyed his considerable income as surgeon major and, in light of the housing shortage, his house has proven to be a secure, highly profitable capital investment. The result of all this is that Arnold did not have to borrow money from Jacquier until only a few weeks ago, and that for the first time. My financial situation is worse. Having lost all international connections, and with the cancellation of previous suits, the introduction of numerous settlement offices, etc., my practice suffered greatly and the steeply rising expenses currently absorb a much greater percentage of income than usual; right now a guest worker is better off than the majority of white collar workers. To make matters worse, I'm also not earning any interest from American, Austrian, Russian and Hungarian papers. As a result, I fell a few thousand marks in debt early on during the course of the years, and had to take from the money that Paul had transferred here in order not to borrow from the bank. The debt would have been greater if I were not now earning more than 12 000 M a year as Director of the Coaling Station; just how long I can continue to hold this double position without suffering from too much work and without damaging the practice remains to be seen. My position is safe for the time being, and I don't think I'll give it up before spring of 1920 – unless something unforeseen occurs. In the meantime it makes no sense to make plans so far in advance and it remains equally unclear how the financial situation of the individual person will look after the introduction of the huge tax plans. In any case we have to reckon with the fact that people in the so-called free trades will be hit the hardest by the entire situation, independent of the intrinsic worsening of one's fortune as far as it is based in German funds. Given all my other cares, I'm not adding this one to the burden since I have every reason to be thankful when I see how fresh, how glowing, and how efficient Paula has remained despite everything she has had to go through, and how healthy and happy the children are, and how well they have

developed. The years of separation from them and the worry, whether one would return to them in a healthy state, were bad. I've seen and done bad things in the field, but have always been favorably watched over and have escaped even terrible dangers. I was always lucky with my comrades – from the broad mass of the people – as well as with my officers, was on excellent terms with all of them, and even if, being old and awkward, I wasn't eligible for promotion – a goal to which I had no ambition whatsoever – when I did leave the army they honored me by awarding me the Iron Cross, which remains a fond memory for me and the children. A field examination in early August 1918 found me totally unfit for duty and so – especially since I could no longer harbor any doubt about the coming defeat, given my experiences and impressions – I took pains during my last leave last year to look for a position in the homeland; then, after I went yet again to the front at the end of August, I was reassigned by the city to work with the coal supply, which I have continued to do ever since the middle of September 1918. In this way I managed to miss the last stages of retreat; what I did experience from the 18th of July on near Soissons was more than enough for me. As far as my health is concerned, the highly primitive, hardship-laden life in the field did me no harm; one can bear a great deal when faced with bad shelter and miserable, insufficient nourishment exacerbated by the complete lack of comfort and cleanliness.

You'll be getting some news directly from Selma, her children are in the state. [?] Arthur's financial position has actually improved through the death of his Uncle Albert, who by all accounts is a very clever [illegible]. In the meantime, people of his caliber will have to reckon with high tax burdens which will be levied much more heavily against investment fortunes than against income from work.

Mama is fabulously efficient, untiring in activity and good deeds. Lies is working primarily as secretary with the Philantropin. I doubt very much if the school can be kept up after Adler's death; it lacks an appropriate leader; with the cessation of the One Year Privilege [a scheme whereby young men could leave school one year earlier than usual to join the army] the public will turn increasingly to less expensive schools, and in light of the wage raises the community will not be able to afford the enormous subsidy for any length of time

Now you have a better idea of how things look externally for me. Emotionally we've become impoverished; a great many ideals have vanished and how many people, with whom

one was close, have been sacrificed needlessly, including Paula's and my dearest friend Alfred Geiger, the younger brother of my associate. It will be very difficult to overcome all of that.

With my warmest regards for you, Jen, Edith and your charming children,

Your faithful E[du]

Appendix 4

Life Story

H. Fred (Hermann Frederich) ("Butz") Baerwald 1912-1998

Home – Part 1

To write about my life requires a description of my background. I am convinced that my life was not just shaped by "happenings" after I was born and grew up, but also to a considerable extent by "family".

The commanding person of our family was my grandfather, born in 1828 in the small town of Nakel in the Province of Posen in Germany. He died in 1907 a few years before I was born. For 33 years he was the Headmaster of a large liberal progressive Jewish school in Frankfurt. He was what we now call a professor of History, published a great deal and for one of his books received in 1867 a gold medal from Kaiser Franz Joseph. At heart he was a teacher and educator. He was a student of Leopold von Ranke (1795-1886), the German historian and founder of the modern school of history. In 1857 when my grandfather was 29 years old he received from Ranke the following commendation:

> It is with complete conviction that I can give Hermann Baerwald the highest commendation. During the years he studied here two of his qualities have particularly endeared him to me: An unfailing diligence supported by a fine talent and an unusual firmness of character. Rarely have I known a young man better equipped to teach successfully in an institution of higher learning that Hermann Baerwald because he possesses a vast and profound knowledge. The modesty and firmness of his character will serve as an example to his students.

For years he tried to enter the Prussian school system, however his applications were continuously denied on account of his being Jewish. His Jewish belief was firm and uncompromising, inherited from his father who started out with rabbinical studies and later became a merchant in Nakel.

Innumerable times particularly during my youth I ran into some of my grandfather's old students who gratefully talked about this warm and strong personality, included among them was Juliana's father who attended the school until his graduation.

My father, who was born in 1875, was his 6th child, 3 years after my father was born his mother died at the age of 33. His attachment to his father was enormous. After his law

studies and having joined an old Frankfurt law firm Fuld and Ploke he kept on living at home until he married in 1908. My mother frequently said there was no way of their getting married until my grandfather had died.

My youth was filled – on walks, on holidays – with descriptions of my grandfather's strong ethics, knowledge and kindness. He was educated in the classical Gymnasium where more stress was given to Latin and Greek then to sciences. He used his university years to attend Art and History courses besides his law studies. Undoubtedly influenced by his father and helped by a sharp intelligence and memory he was extraordinarily knowledgeable in all fields of liberal art. I will later in these notes come back to some of his other characteristics.

My mother's family on her mother's side traced her family in the Frankfurt Jewish community back to the early 17th century. Her father was a grain dealer born in Rötha.(S. of Leipzig)

As was quite typical for the later part of the 19th century my mother's parents wanted to discontinue their Jewish affiliation, my mother was baptized when she was born in 1885, - simultaneously my grandparents were baptized. This was so common in those days that there was a description in Frankfurt for Baptized Jews; they were either "liegend" (lying down) "getauft" (baptized) or "stehend" (standing up)

When my mother married my father in 1908 she was again formally admitted into the original religion of her parents after having been cleansed in a ritual bath. Into this family I was born on December 21, 1912, about three years after the birth of my sister Liese. It was a German-Jewish family; so German that a xmas tree stood in the apartment, - so Jewish that the circumcision was scheduled for December 26, even for liberal Frankfurt rabbis this was not the right combination, and my father always told the story how the tree had to be hastily removed.

My first hard memories start with the 1st World War. I remember my father being drafted at the age of 42, in late spring 1917, being sent later in the year to "the front" in France and reappearing exhausted on leave. Visual in my mind is sitting in the basement of our apartment building at night during occasional air-raids, and so are fallen balconies from bomb damage a few blocks down the street and my mother rushing off to pick up my sister after an air alarm. Few realize now that this was part of our youth.

When the defeated troops marched through Frankfurt I saw the gray lines from a balcony on the Opernplatz. During the first election in 1919 we stood in front of a neighborhood voting place proudly distributing literature – until friends of my parents who knew me, stopped me from handing out reactionary literature. French occupying troops took over our school building for barracks. Then came the murder of Rathenau, the devastating inflation, when I excitedly but un-understanding ran for the newspaper to see the latest dollar quotation. The Hitler Putsch followed; and then at long last slowly things looked up and we listened on the radio with earphones. Most people could not afford strong sets with loudspeakers – and Germany being admitted to the League of Nations – Briand and Stresemann became our heroes, and then Stresemann died and the right took over more and more and the Nazi time arrived.

The Frankfurt Zeitung had three editions a day; before breakfast, before the midday meal and again before the evening meal and was always dropped in the letterbox. Parents and children read every edition discussed all the news and then it is no wonder that the daily reading of the newspaper became and still is for me a compulsory habit.

Parallel to the memories of the political developments are the memories connected with the family. They are just as strong but much more pleasant. Two of my father's elder brothers Emil and Paul had been living in New York since before the turn of the Century. When they came to Europe after the war Emil to live in Germany, Paul coming to visit, they let their German family members participate in a most generous way in their good fortunes.

As a 7 1/2 year old in the summer of 1920 my parents Liese and I together with 15 other family members spent about 6 weeks at the Park Hotel in Vitnau in Switzerland invited by my uncle Emil. It was my first experience with luxury, white bread, ice cream, and whipped cream, my first visit to Switzerland, the beautiful Vierwald-Statter Lake, mountains and boats on the lake. It was the first of many, many trips to that country with my parents and later with Juliana. Already in Vitznau I collected hotel pamphlets from the rack in the lobby and I am sure that my interest in traveling and everything connected with it started at that time.

The country of Wilhelm Tell made us read the Schiller drama- my cousin Paul [Frenkel] who was a year older and I read it together. I don't know what I understood at that

early age but it lead to later reading of the rest of the Schiller plays, and when I nowadays walk in Switzerland I still recite Wilhelm Tell to the annoyance of Juliana.

Two years later in 1922 Uncle Paul invited my sister and me to stay for two months with his children in Territet in the French speaking part of Switzerland (and on Lake Geneva). Together with my cousin Herman, we attended as day students a boarding school. All teaching was in French. With my cousin speaking only a few words of German, with me really speaking no English and neither one of us speaking any French it is still a mystery how we managed, but it was a good start to learn language and to get the confidence to get by in foreign lands.

The warm family relationships created in Vitznau and Territet, which were also always fostered by my father stayed with me through my life. Again two years later uncle Paul invited us four to spend two months with his family in New York and his country house in New Jersey. The ten day voyage across the ocean, the visit to the 'big' new world and the utter comfort and luxury of the family life were tremendous impressions and the desire to some day attain a commensurate life for myself came very much out of that trip. To this day I remember a lunch with my uncle Paul who was a partner at Lazard-Freres at the Bankers Club in the Equitable Building. Subsequently we visited a stock broker, a friend of his, who showed me 'the ticker' and gave me some worthless old share certificates. Before going back to New York I bought at Woolworths a little account book and started to play "bank" at home. From then on there was no doubt in my mind that I wanted a career in that direction. Even a rude awakening by a school teacher in Frankfurt a few years later, who had asked around the class what each of us wanted to do in later life and I stated: "I want to become a banker" to which he countered "Baerwald you want to become a Bank Beamter" (clerk) did not get me off my fate.

There were later more trips with Uncle Paul's family to Switzerland, Austria and the Dolomites, always places in the mountains which were chosen by my father. Walking in the mountains was one of the great relaxations of my parents, reading guide books and timetables went with it and stayed with me.

Summers we did not spend with our cousins we went with my parents to Switzerland, Bernese Oberland, Saas-Fee, Zermatt and Arola (Italian border), preferably to places at high altitude which could only be reached by foot. These vacations were the highlight of the year,

my father was relaxed and we went for long walks, lunch in the rucksack. My mother showed us the beautiful flowers; she had a great feeling for nature. The next time I enjoyed these wild flowers was in 1988 while walking with Juliana. Father talking about his father, about literature, about his school, about art and about religion, his knowledge and memory were tremendous.

A typical experience is still completely in my mind. In the summer of 1928 when I was fifteen and a half years old and we were in Saas-Fee, my father was called to Zurich to meet a client. In those days it was a five and a half hour walk from Saas-Fee to the nearest railroad station. On the day of his scheduled return I walked by myself early in the morning to meet him, so he didn't have to walk home alone. I met him after about four hours, he was thrilled and then we walked four hours back. We talked about Swiss writers and he talked at length about Gottfried Keller whom he greatly admired and his "Grüne Heinrich" – a book way beyond the horizon of a young boy and for us was hard to enjoy. I read it about 50 years later.

The family of us 4, his brothers and sisters and the memory of his father was the center of his life. He kept up a weekly correspondence with some of them, and visits back and forth continued all through the years. They were great events for us. I remember when 2 of his sisters stayed in our house and took me to eat sausage in the Altstadt and when my father became inpatient that "his" red currents in the garden were too slow to ripen they tied the bushes to ones with green ribbon to please – or really mislead their brother.

During all these years my mother was the utter practical efficient person. When in October 1918 my father was called back from the front, through intervention of the Mayor of Frankfurt to run the coal distribution organization of the city, my mother took up shorthand and typing to be available for my father when we has at home during evenings and weekend to take care of his law office correspondence. She continued to help with secretarial work in his office until my father died. She learned Brail typing and transcribed books. She read and knitted incessantly and still had time for weekly meetings with her school friends, 3 of them still got together in person or on the phone in New York until they were all in their nineties. Besides all of this she was always available for her children and organized the household. It was she who kept the household books, paid the bills and kept meticulous records, I

remember so well watching her filing the bills and checking the bank statements, habits which stayed with me from the time I was on my own to this day.

A liberal Jewish tradition was kept at home, the table was Jewish on the holidays with short prayers and talks of the past. Synagogue attire in Germany was formal and so on the eve of the Holidays when my father went to the synagogue it was my task to carry the 'top hat' in its case from home only after changing hats would he sit down in his pew.

Style was part of our upbringing and was the tradition. When in the early radio days my father visited on a Friday afternoon in Berlin his 90 year old aunt Pauline [wife of Lesser B.], she sat in a beautiful silk dress in her chair upon my father asking why she was so formally dressed she answered: "Edu in one hour I will listen on the radio to the service and you know for the service one gets dressed."

Home – Part 2

Interwoven with family life were the school years. My memories of the school days are very pleasant undoubtedly there were also unpleasant days and difficult times, but they seem to have been of secondary and temporary importance. I went to the Musterschule in Frankfurt for the total period from April 1919 to March 1931. The atmosphere was warm and congenial. The year I entered school two of my cousins graduated and since I had many of their teachers I was somehow known. I felt this was "our" school. The curriculum stressed modern languages and included a fair amount of history and geography – sciences except for math were a sideline. The teaching was based on presentation of the facts by the teacher and then repetition of them by the students. Creative and individual thinking was not stressed. As far as I was concerned I acquired a good knowledge of what is now called "liberal arts," and a very good memory training. To this day I still enjoy the results. There were some highlights. French and English were taught in an, at that time, innovative method, hardly any vocabulary and the main teaching consisted of learning stories and dialogue by heart, and thus getting the sound in one's ear and the ability to speak.

When I was eleven and a half years the teacher lectured on his method at a conference in Berlin and took a few of the class, including me, to Berlin to show the results in front of a large audience. The train trip to Berlin was an event and I was well fortified by my father with a detailed schedule of what I would see from the right windows of the train

and what from the left windows and at what time the sights would appear. I still remember looking for the Wartburg Castle and the large factory of I. G. Farben. Another highlight was the annual trip we took during the last three years of school each lasting about two weeks. They meant to be educational and various teachers took different trips. I choose three trips, which were mainly walking tours of the mountains between Germany and Czechoslovakia and between Germany and Austria. The educational part was supposed to be to get to know German speaking parts of the foreign border countries. There was at the time already a large organization "Verein für das Deutschtum in Ausland" [League for Germanness in the Exterior] which then Hitler took over completely.

The teacher who took our group, who like many of the teachers, was a World War I Veteran, instilled in us the outdoor life of a rucksacker, he became later – as I learned – an ardent Nazi, but there was no trace at that time. He and I worked closely together mapping out the trips, figuring out the walks and distances, getting the timetable together etc. etc. – all of which I still love.

Was there any anti-Semitism in school, were there already foreboding of the Nazi movement? This is hard to answer in retrospect. All I can say is I did not suffer. A differentiation between Jews and gentiles was already with me when as a five or six year old played in the yard and the streets, some kids made more of a point of it than others. One heard the word "Judenbub" in the street. At school this was never overt, but there were always groups of "tough boys" and not liking Jews was their pride – and one felt it. Nazi's at that time were for us just the extreme end of a fairly large right wing group. To watch, dislike, and be somewhat afraid of those right oriented classmates who were always the "bullies" was just part of the life of the average Jewish schoolboy.

History was my favorite subject, stimulated by my father and encouraged by an excellent teacher who had strong nationalistic feelings (but no anti Semite whatsoever) and already taught geopolitics by Karl Haushofer. For the oral graduation examination one had to choose one course. I chose history and as subject the struggle between Prussia and Austria in 1848 to 1870 for the control of Germany based on a book by Friedjung "Der Kampf um die Vorherrschaft in Deutschland." There were written exams in Math, English French and German. For the German essay a choice of various titles; literary, nature or historical was

given to us. I chose "Bismarck Aussenpolitikern und der Versailles Vertag – Geist und Ungeist des Geschichte." All of this shows where my interests were at that time.

In English as in French an excerpt of a book was read to us, we were not permitted to take notes and then had to rewrite the story. The English story was out of a biography of Cecil Rhodes; the French out of the Disraeli biography by Andre Maurois. Somehow as I wrote earlier I was at home in that kind of school and teaching. I cannot close the school chapters without mentioning a haunting experience – haunting to this day.

An older cousin Hans graduated from the Musterschule in about 1912 and was killed at Verdun during the War in 1916. Every day when I entered the school I saw his name on a large plaque behind the school war memorial, every time we had an assembly I noticed his name on another list of fallen, on the wall. Hans from everything I had heard had been an outstanding person in the family and among his friends at school. This constant reminder of his death at war and my eyes always turned to these memorials – left a very deep impression of war and death and hit me even deeper when my father, when I was in my teens, showed me Hans's farewell letter to his parents written the night before they went over the top.

Home – Part 3

Jewish knowledge I acquired in three ways; school, synagogue and naturally at home. Old Testament and Jewish History were taught at school twice a week for the entire twelve years. Hebrew lessons were given at the synagogue and I attended until I became Bar mitzvah. I enjoyed going to the services at a liberal synagogue, first with my mother in the women's balcony, even though liberal men and women sat separately, hats were obligatory. My father who was the first vice president of the official Jewish community in Frankfurt sat in the first row close to the [illegible] in the sanctuary; first I watched him proudly from above and later even more proudly – was permitted to squeeze in next to him.

Particularly enjoyable were the Friday night services, we went regularly without our parents and enjoyed the special sermon slanted for the children. The extension of attending service so regularly was that my sister, a friend of ours Herman Geiger who was a little older and I often played synagogue at home. My sister and Herman Geiger alternated between being Rabbi and Vorbeter (cantor). I was relegated to be Synagogendiene (Shamos) and among other duties distributed books – which substituted as prayer books and the

congregation. The “congregation” sitting on a few chairs consisted of soft play animals. Once Herman Geiger’s mother came into “our synagogue” and noticed a pink soft pig among the attendants and her laughter interrupted the solemnities. A desk served as pulpit, the windows and curtains behind the desk represented the Torah shrine, opening and closing the drapes was done with due reverence. I became so familiar with the prayer book in German and Hebrew that to this date I can still recite them.

At various times my father tried to spend time with me and explain the Hebrew prayer to me and translate them, but somehow there was never enough time to continue in depth. When while living in London I wrote my father that I was sorry that my Jewish knowledge was somewhat limited, he wrote me (and I still have the letter) that this was a development of the time. He already knew less than his father and his father in turn less than my father’s grandfather, who had studied for the rabbinate. The important part was – so he wrote - was to remember the “Kern” (the essence). My father who was a proud and secure German was opposed to Zionism he did not think this was the right direction. Resettlement of Jews in agricultural communities in different parts of the world, like Argentina, Africa, Southern Russia, he thought was a possible solution. In later years as a board member of the Jewish Colonization Association (ICA), a well endowed association created by Baron de Hirsch, he spent a great deal of time on this problem. There is no telling how he would have thought had he not died in July 1934.

Just like my school upbringing gave me a base for later learning, my Jewish upbringing at home and synagogue laid the groundwork for further reading and associations with Judaism. Concurrently with home and school ran - particularly after 1925 – activities in a sport club. From early on my parents strongly encouraged typical activities such as swimming lessons and Turnen (gymnastics). In 1925 I joined the “Sportclub Frankfurt 1880” where my sister was already a member and I was known as Liese’s younger brother. I played field hockey and later tennis and became proficient in hockey.

More and more I spent my free time, afternoons and Sundays at the “club,” schoolwork was easy for me and was usually finished with an hour after lunch or the next morning. The time at the club was spent not only in practicing but also spent by watching the older members play cards and later participating myself. The members who played hockey and or “hung around” were quite a cross section from high school through university students,

salesman, and drifters; First World War veterans, right wing adherents, later on Nazis, and a good many Jews. I was one of the youngest of the group thus I became at an early age introduced to drinking and cigar smoking and wanting to mix and be accepted by the older ones grew up fairly fast. On the other hand I was either too shy or afraid to take part in the flirtation and the resulting friendships. I was tremendously ambitious, to be on the first team became more important and when the mail brought a postcard that for the following Sunday I was selected only for the second team (not having played well enough) I was deeply disappointed. Out of town trips for games, staying at the homes of the members of opposing clubs were great experiences. I was popular saw my name at times in the sports page of the newspaper. I was comfortable in the group and extremely busy. What else could a young person want? Luckily my parents were most supportive. My father even came occasionally to an important game and could not help laughing, when he the well known Frankfurt lawyer was asked if he was the father of the hockey player Baerwald.

On April 7, 1931, school graduation had been in March, I started "working" leaving the house without a schoolbag was like suddenly being free and grown up. No more working for the teachers! Little did I realize that working and being in the commercial world would also entail pressure.

1933– The Year of Change

In 1933 I was finishing my two-year apprenticeship at the private banking house of Lincoln Menny Oppenheimer in Frankfurt. On Jan 30 while manning the telephone on the stock exchange I heard that Reich's president Hindenburg had appointed Adolph Hitler to head a new government. I phoned my father who was stunned by this development, later in the day on my way to the office I saw the Swastika raised on the top of the opera house and in the evening returning from a French lesson I ran into a frightening Nazi parade in the city. I was supposed move in April to Berlin to start working and learn more about banking at A.E. Wasserman, also a private bank which was run by Sigmund Wassermann - a good friend of the family.

Unbeknown to me, my father while in Paris in March at a meeting of the Jewish Colonization Association, wrote to his brother Paul who lived in NY, that he was anxious to have me leave Germany. Mail out of Germany was already censored in these days. On April

3 my father showed me the following cable which he received that day from his brother. "There is still good market for paintings in London. Can be shipped immediately to Henry T. Long & Sons, 135 Fenchurch Street London EC3. Love Paul." My father explained to me that I was the painting and that to his recollection Henry Long was an old friend of Uncle Paul and had been for a long time in the metal business.

In discussing the situation with me my father thought it would be a good idea for me to leave Germany for 6 months by that time "it would be all over."

I was enthusiastic, having just witnessed on April 1 the Jewish Boycott Day when Nazi storm troopers walked into the stock exchange. The prospect of leaving Germany seemed a relief. To move to London was a most exciting prospect.

On April 13 I left Frankfurt with a couple of large suitcases. First stop was Paris where the field hockey team of the 'Sportclub 1880' (Frankfurt), of which I had been an active member for many, many years, had 3 scheduled games against Paris teams over the Easter Holidays. Our team consisted of young people in their low twenties, non-Jews and Jews some followers of the right wing parties and at least one Parteigenosse (a registered member of the Nazi party). The club had arranged for exit permits for all of us but insisted that I obtain a second exit permit so that legally I was not leaving Germany to play hockey in Paris but for other purposes. We were given a send-off by older members of the club; Baron Von Bissing, Theo Haag, among many others who said to me "See you back soon," just as my father had implied a few days before. I point this out to give a picture of the present atmosphere.

On April 18 I left Paris for London. Upon arrival I was severely interrogated by immigration officers and kept waiting for a few hours separated from the other travelers. My passport was stamped: "Permitted to land at Dover on April 18, 1933 on condition that the holder register at once with the police and that he does not remain in the UK longer than 1 month. Leave to land granted at Dover this day on condition that the holder does not enter any employment paid or unpaid while in the United Kingdom."

I took a local train into London and checked into an hotel at Victoria Station– recommended by my Father. Not a propitious start.

Next morning with a map of London in my pocket I climbed excitedly on a bus, sat upstairs for the long trip through Oxford Street, Holborn, St. Pauls to the Bank – sightseeing

all the time, and walked to 135 Fenchurch Street. What kind of office, what kind of people would there be?

It turned out to be a 2 room office in an old building. Henry Long and his two sons were in one room, a secretary and 2 employees, Joe Bennett and Jack Harrison in the other small room. I received a very warm reception, nobody spoke a word of German, but my English was fully adequate to cope.

Still on the same morning I visited the law office of Cruseman and Rouse**,** old friends of my father with whom he had worked for many years. A real Dickens kind of office; their old clerk Mr. Puckridge took me to the Bow Street Police office to register, all assured me that they would work on getting the "landing conditions" changed.

Then with newspaper ads before me and addresses supplied by friends in Frankfort I again studied the map of London to find myself a boarding house to live in, the hotel was much too expensive for the very limited funds I had. And so with subway and buses I went to Maida Vale and Hampstead, the neighborhoods recommended to me. By the early afternoon I found myself a place at 31 Belsize Park Garden.

A small room on the top floor really a half room created by the division of a full room. Bed, wardrobe, small table and chair and washstand filled the room---running water was something which did not exist in simple London boarding houses. Then back by tube to the hotel, picking up my luggage and by "cab" (reluctantly) to Hampstead.

In the evening, well supplied with maps, by tube all the way to Earl's Court where Elsie Rowland**,** a distant cousin of my mother served me a warm meal and started to give me some hints of life in London. And then again with maps and tubes back to Hampstead. As of this date I can hardly believe what one can accomplish in about 15 hours!

Victoria Station-Henry Long in Fenchurch Street- Cruesman and Rouse near London Bridge-Bow Street police station near Covent Garden - back to Fenchurch Street - Maida Vale - Hampstead - Victoria Station to get luggage - back to Hampstead - Earl's Court for dinner - back to Hampstead...in a strange town. And so I moved from a protective life in the midst of a close family and many, many friends to a small room and a very strange office and into a completely unknown future.

London Years 1933-1937

My years in London helped me a great deal. They taught me to think alone and make my own decisions. It was a simple life. But I was never poor. I was much alone but not lonely.

The statistics are simple: I lived and worked in London from April 1933 until Mid-December 1937. I worked in a very minor capacity in the city in the small metal brokerage office of Henry T. Long & Sons. They were members of the London Metal Exchange. Including me there were 7 people. My work consisted of record keeping, invoicing and cable traffic, by osmosis I learned a good deal of metal exchange operation. The work was utterly dull but I stayed alive with dreams and hopes of "sometime" "somehow" becoming a member of the London Metal Exchange, really quite unrealistic.

The redeeming feature was that one of the employees, Jack Harrison, who was 12 years older than I, took me under his wings and became a close and most valuable friend. He and his wife introduced me into "English" life and through them the 20 year old Frankfurt boy became slowly a "Londoner." The first year I lived in a boarding house in Hampstead, the next four in a boarding house in Richmond. Walking through London from the City to Hampstead, and later from Richmond to the West End, going to museums, reading the London Times were all excitements. Three letters a week to my parents and sister kept me in the family fold, trips back and forth to Frankfurt were still possible in 1933 and 1934 and I spent xmas there, I still called "at home." Highlights were when my father came to meetings of the Jewish Colonization Association of which he was a board member, and we had breakfast together and walked through the historical parts of London, my Uncle Emil came frequently to London on business showed me museums and taught me how to order good meals in restaurants, Uncle Paul and Aunt Edith and their children came to London and let me partake in their life.

I had visits from my parents, uncles, cousins and the family connections stayed close– and also brought with them luxuries I could not afford on my own. It was a life on 2 different levels. A spartan life in a boarding house when going to a movie was a great expense and 1/2 pint of beer a luxury and on the other hand going by bus from Richmond to the West End in "White tie and tails" to the Savoy to dance with my sister on invitation by Aunt Edith or just

as dressed up to formal large dinners to Kensington Palace Garden in the beautiful mansion of Clara Oppenheimer the widow of Henry Oppenheimer an old friend of Uncle Paul. Apparently the upbringing my parents had given me made me utterly secure in these situations.

In May 1934 I heard from my mother that my father was dying from inoperable stomach cancer and had only a few more months to live. In June my father, with my mother, went once more to Paris for a Board meeting, from every evidence we have, talks between us, letters, behavior he had no inkling of his illness. Seeing the shrunken man walking down the railway platform together with my mother– who at all times showed the greatest strength– was the extreme of sadness. In July I went to Frankfurt for the funeral. Utter emptiness and a feeling of everything is meaningless came over me, this is my recollection. A few days after my father's funeral the newspaper headlines brought the news that the Austrian Chancellor Dollfus was murdered by Nazis. My comment to my sister Liese was: "I am not interested, I have nobody with whom I can discuss it." The following months had lonely periods. I felt compelled to go to various synagogues to say Kaddish and the long walks afterwards when I mulled over the past, are still completely present in my mind. This added to my strong family feeling and the value of tradition.

There were lonely periods and the spare time was spent with reading the newspaper and novels– the reading in English took time but improved rapidly. When the fall came I made contact with a member of one of the suburban field hockey clubs and from then on spent the weekends from September to March not only playing for the Bromley Hockey Club, but what was much more important spent most of the weekend evening after the games with other members drinking beer in the pubs. I felt accepted and felt great. I wanted so much to be English! And there I was together with a bunch of people, some my age, quite a few a little bit older, mainly Oxford and Cambridge graduates. I felt I was part of the country where I lived. When I left London I received a letter from the secretary of the club: "I know that I am expressing the sentiment of the committee when I state that we accept your resignation with great regret. Your keenness and cheerfulness at all times have won their highest regard. May I also convey to you on behalf of the club our sincere wishes for your future happiness and success and should you return to this country and I hope you will, you may be certain a hearty welcome is yours. Let us hope it is only "au revoir" and "gute Reise."

A year later when I was in New York I received from them a menu from their annual dinner with all signatures and a note "Just to show that you are not forgotten." So it was a fact that I really found somewhere a place in England.

Early 1937 Henry T. Long & Sons ran into financial difficulties, and Henry Long started to borrow from the banks against shipping documents for copper and warehouse receipts for copper which belonged to International Minerals and Metals Corporation, New York; he had also asked for and received a loan of £10,000 from my uncle Paul.

When my uncle Emil was in London in March 1937 I told him about the situation. In warm but in no uncertain terms he castigated me strongly that I should have disclosed the situation earlier and that my attitude of trying to be loyal and confidential towards my employer was wrong. He gave me a most valuable lesson which guided me ever since in business: "If things go wrong in business disclose the difficulties early and open up." Emil informed by a long cable, I still remember his writing it in meticulous longhand, my Uncle Paul, and told him to pass it on to Benno Elkan, the head of International Minerals & Metals (who was known to both of them). Elkan took the next steamer from New York to investigate and I during that period went to Henry Long's son to tell him that I "spilled existent beans." A pretty hard task. They had been good to me when they took me in, in 1933. I helped Elkan to disentangle the situation, he gave Long sufficient financing to carry him through for awhile and Elkan was able to receive his copper documents back from the bank. (There was a great deal of complicated stakes involved for Elkan which is not worthwhile to go into here.)

I got on well with Elkan, he had come to New York originally from Frankfurt as the representative of the (in 1937 no more existent) Frankfurt Metal firm of Beer-Sondheimer and he mentioned to me that if I ever wanted to come to New York there would be a job for me in his office. By that time I had at long last found a "home" in England and wanted to see it through, based on what I do not know. Anyhow when the fall came Uncle Paul cabled that he thought it wise to fold my tents and accept Elkan's offer.

I left London on December 16? and arrived in NY on December 22nd went to dinner at my uncle's house who asked me: "When will you see Elkan?" I replied, "right after xmas." "No," he said, "you will be in the office tomorrow morning December 23 at 9:00am." And with this advice a new life started. My first salary slip read: "Your weekly salary is $25.00 per week 12/27-1/1/38 inclusive $25. and 12/23-12/25 $10." Thus at least the firm advice of

my uncle Paul brought me $10.

New York

My early years in New York were frustrating times – interspersed with a few friends and family.

I found myself a simple room with a shared bathroom in a hotel in West 77th Street. These were still depression times. A salary of $25 per week was on the low end of the scale. In the office there really was no "work" for me, for a good many months I did invoicing in various departments. No one explained anything and somehow every clerical employee guarded his turf against the new foreign intruder. I realized that I was really hired for maybe "future use." Benno Elkan who had wanted me to come to his office treated me as a "social equal" and I was invited to his house – he had unmarried daughters – but he gave me no work incentives, his partner Otto Frohnknecht walked, at times though the office, totally disregarded me until one day he started talking to me and advised me to take "shorthand" lessons, pointing out this might someday to be of use to me. Obedient and trying "to please the boss" I went for weeks at night to the Pratt Institute, naturally on my own money. It was seedy and dull. Eventually I was advanced and moved into the room of the sales manager - not as an assistant but to be of assistance to him. I learned by listening to his phone conversations - but there was never a chance for independent activity. The following exemplifies the atmosphere;

After having been for a couple of years in the "position" of assistant to Kurt Weinberg, the sales manager, I took, while he was out at lunch, a phone call from a steel company - an old customer – who needed zinc. I sold 300 tons and when Weinberg returned and asked; "Mr. Baerwald (he had never, and never would call me by my first name) did anything happen" and I answered "I sold 300 tons of zinc to Newport Steel" he noted, "you booked an order, I see."

I lived and worked in this atmosphere for about 4 years – I had no other options. I hoped someday something would happen. These were "depression" and "refugee" years. The little sunshine in the office came through a colleague Ted Gruen.

Army Years

On December 8, 1941, day after Pearl Harbor I went to the Draft board to have my draft number advanced so I would be called promptly. At that time non US citizens could not enlist in the regular army. Then this round about way was the only procedure to join up right away.

I felt strongly that if I don't go to join the fight against the Nazi, who should.

The fact that I felt very stymied at International Minerals and Metals and that my friendship with Juliana got me nowhere undoubtedly also played some part in the decision.

I was inducted on February 4, 1942 at Camp Upton New York. The train ride from Penn Station with the draft contingent introduced me to my first 5-card gin rummy game – thousand followed over the years.

This was the beginning of a close life with a large group of people with whom I never had close contact before and a life under new and unaccustomed conditions. 3 days later – on a Saturday afternoon – Juliana came to visit me at the camp and suggested we should get married. The scenario: A rainy evening on a "company street," a soldier frightened with unknown surroundings – not knowing in what part of the world he would spend the next years, and then the door opening to something he wanted so badly for a long time - and suddenly nothing but worries and uncertainties rushed through my mind. Juliana put an end to them fast.

We were married three weeks later on February 28 on my first weekend pass from the Signal Corps Camp at Fort Monmouth New Jersey to which I had been assigned from Camp Upton.

From then on my life was running on two tracks: the mind of a married man to come home well and alive and the determination of a soldier who wanted to do his duty. Army life was like an extra curricular activity lasting nearly four years my body was there but my thoughts were with Juliana. During the final two years while I was in the US there were occasional passes and furloughs. Juliana also spent quite some weeks outside the camps where I was stationed, during the two years overseas I wrote daily letters. This very strong connection made everything bearable; there was always light at the end of the tunnel. I had to survive and make my life as bearable as possible; This, with luck, I accomplished by being

for much of the year Sergeant Major of the Infantry Regiment in which I was assigned. This gave me some privileges, some freedom, and stature.

The statistics of those four years are fairly simple. After some early moving around I was sent to Camp Shelby. Assigned to the 124th Regiment of the 31st Infantry division, an old National Guard Unit, the nucleus of the regiment consisting of men from Mississippi and Alabama. Only about 18 months later did I find out that apparently the army considered me an "enemy alien" and as such was not permitted to stay in the Signal Corps. That "limit" accompanied me through Camp Shelby where I and my mail were "watched" as the intelligence officer later told me. Through the help of some family friends I eventually received my citizenship.

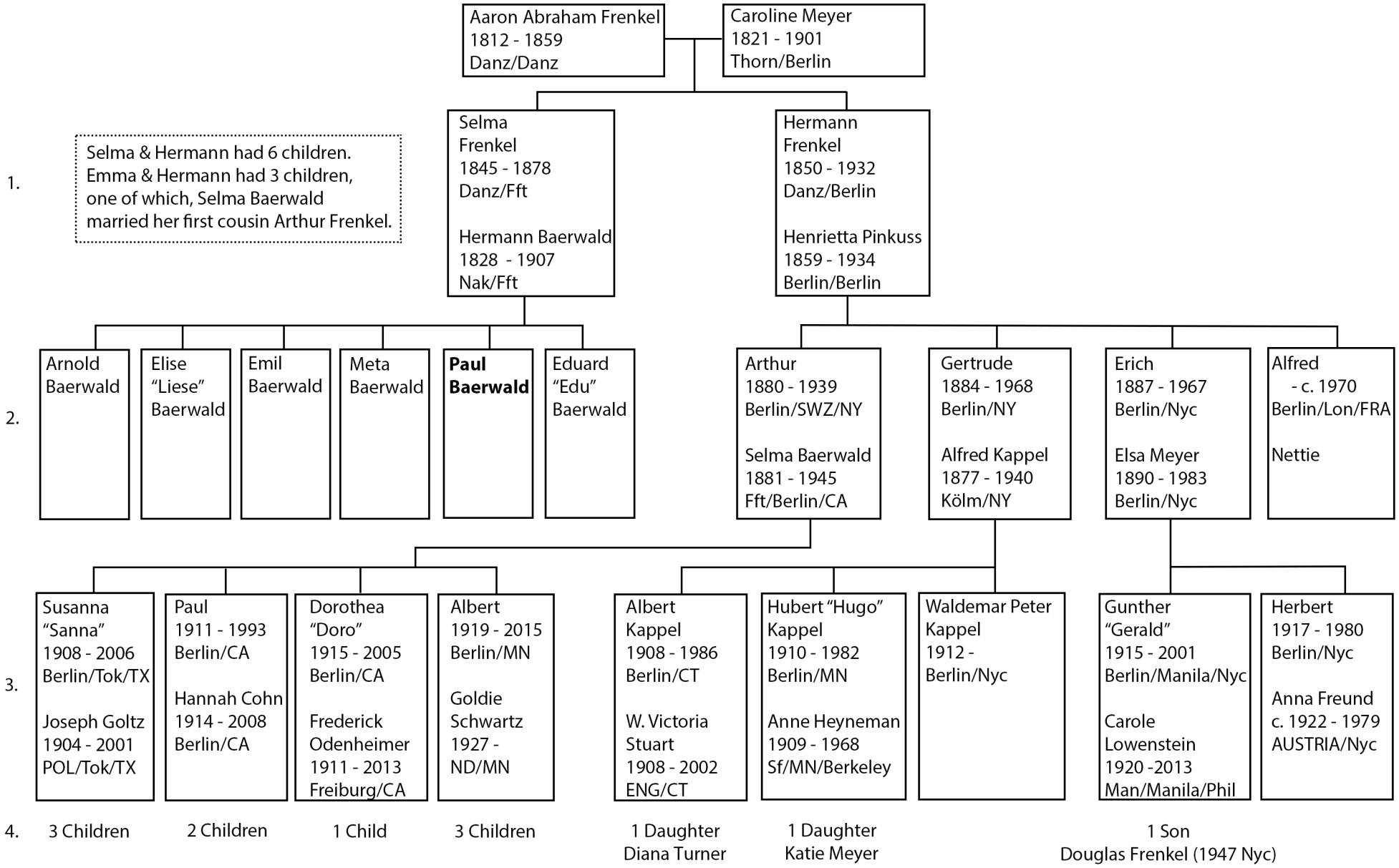
After training, Louisiana Maneuvers, further training in the West Virginia Mountains and amphibious training in the Chesapeake Bay, we left in Jan. for New Guinea where we participated in the Aitapee campaign. On __ Sept we landed and invaded Morotai in the Halmahera, stayed there till April 1945 when we went to Mindanao in the Philippines and saw action.

In September 1945 having accumulated sufficient points through age, length of service, combat participation and wife and child I started the homeward journey via Leyte in the Philippines, arrived back in the US on Dec. ____ and at home on Dec. 24 1945. Nothing had been easy during these years, a thirty five day trip from Norfolk, VA through the canal to New Guinea in a liberty ship six bunks high – endless hot days in the jungle and on the beaches also under fire; is about the summary of 2 years. Also through the years, endless boredom, loneliness and nothing but canned food; the only contact with my own real world was through letter writing. I heard of Jessica's birth while on Louisiana Maneuvers –saw her on furlough 6 weeks after she was born and again four months later. Learned in a letter in August 1944 in Aitapee that our second child died in birth. All of this was part of our disjointed life – and was over on Dec. 24, 1945 when Jessica helped Juliana open the door of our apartment at 7:00 am and said, "Come right in Daddy." I took a month off from work and re-started work at International Minerals & Metals in February 1946.

It had been a long interlude it had been worth while for me I was part of the winning result and I had a learned even more to put up with hardships and keep myself well enough organized both physically and mentally to survive.

Appendix 5

Aaron Abraham Frenkel and Caroline Meyer Frenkel



FRA= France ENG = England POL = Poland SWZ = Switzerland

Danz = Danzig Fft = Frankfurt Lon = London Man = Mannheim Nak = Nakel Nyc = New York City Phil = Philadelphia Sf = San Francisco Tok = Tokyo