

**XIII: SISTER ACT. Pt. 2: GENTILES AND JEWS: 1933-1934**

After the second Dutch *Nationale Revue*, 'Een Geel Bandje, Meneer,' had wrapped up, 21 year old Margot Tyralla would have gladly signed up for the next series installment together with those responsible, René Sleeswijk and Bob Peeters. The trouble was, however, that friction emerged between the pair when the show's leading star, Lou Bandy, demanded a salary beyond what Sleeswijk deemed reasonable. Clamouring for greater artistic control over show content too, Sleeswijk discussed terminating Bandy's contract with Peeters. However, it was the star who pulled the next punch, first acquiring shares in the company before firing Sleeswijk in cahoots with Peeters.<sup>1</sup>



Little wonder the debacle left Sleeswijk feeling sore. To overcome his disappointment, he put together a small revue that he took on a tour of Germany.<sup>2</sup> One entertainer whose promising talent had caught his eye was 28 year old Willy Walden, who up till that point had been the second comic in the *Nationale revues*,<sup>3</sup> including *Een Geel Bandje*.<sup>4</sup> Walden (already well known by Margot's brother-in-law, Cor Ridderhof, having met in 1927 on *Hallo Parijs!* and again more recently on *Lachpillen*)<sup>5</sup> was free and agreed to go along. So too was Margot, probably in no small part thanks to her sister, Nannÿ's friendship with the young Sleeswijks (although I don't doubt her stage and language skills, German theatre experience and effusive company were highly appreciated too)!<sup>6</sup> Accompanied by a Jewish conductor named 'Doctor Friedmann,' the troupe piled into a couple of cars and left for Germany.



Top: René Sleeswijk  
Source: [resources.huygens.knaw.nl](http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl)  
Bottom: Willy Walden in 1933  
Source: Hans Peekel. *Theatre of Ideas*

Mind you, it was hardly the ideal time for Margot to be returning to her *Heimat*, Sleeswijk acknowledging in an interview published almost 50 years later that they "ventured out on a big gamble."<sup>7</sup> Many theatres had in fact closed and "that brown business" was rife. "We had not even departed, but you could see how they beat free persons" he recalled in 1972.

<sup>1</sup> See Henk van Gelder's bio of Sleeswijk at: [resources.huygens.knaw.nl/bwn1880-2000/lemmata/bwn5/sleeswijk](http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/bwn1880-2000/lemmata/bwn5/sleeswijk)

<sup>2</sup> See: [watgebeurde.wordpress.com/2007/10/01](http://watgebeurde.wordpress.com/2007/10/01) (scroll down)

<sup>3</sup> *100 jaar Carré*. Han Peekel, Fridtjof Meerlo en Han Santing. Loeb Uitgevers B.V., Amsterdam. 1987. Pg. 96

<sup>4</sup> Born Herman Jan Jacob Kaldevaaij in Amsterdam's *de Pijp* on March 30<sup>th</sup>, 1905, Willy Walden, had debuted in Frits Stapper's revue *Hallo Parijs!* in 1927 (see *Cor Carré Veertig Jahr. Tussen touwen, doeken en lichten* by Lou Polak. Source unknown. November 1957) and then did *Europa lacht weer* in 1928 (according to *Geschiedenis van de Revue in Nederland* by Dries Krijn. De Walburg Pers, 1980. Pg.118). His role in *Een geel bandje* is confirmed by various reviews through 1932 as well as ads such as that which appeared in the *Schuitmakers Purmerender Courant* on October 11<sup>th</sup>, 1932. See also: [nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Willy\\_Walden](http://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Willy_Walden) and [www.coenverbraak.nl/walden.htm](http://www.coenverbraak.nl/walden.htm)

<sup>5</sup> See for instance the 1932 show poster on Pg. 458

<sup>6</sup> Writes Margot's niece on April 1<sup>st</sup>, 2015: "I do not know if Margot went to Germany that time. I do know that Margot had an affair with Walden and she had something with Sleeswijk. My mother did not like that because she was friends with Marietje, the wife of Sleeswijk. So she found that was not ok. That is what my mother told me. In the years it happened I was not born yet [pre-1939]. Maybe [Margot] broke off with [Walden] because she did go with Sleeswijk." Certainly the absence of any Dutch *Gezinskaart* until 1935 suggests that she remained on the move while the archive material held by the Amsterdam-based *Netherlands Theatre Institute* (TIN) that was extensively searched in autumn 2011, including photographs and online press clippings, left no real evidence as to her whereabouts during those 24 months. What we have are the handful of anecdotes as regards whom she worked with, such as those above, and alas, little more.

<sup>7</sup> René Sleeswijk. *Leven dat op 1 Oktober 65 jaar duurt*. *Leidsch Dagblad*. September 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1972. Pg. 15

He was not the only one to foresee trouble. The Polish Jewish émigré and cinema/theatre owner, *Abraham Tuschinski*, who was a close family friend of Sleswijks, warned him of the inherent dangers the troupe faced.<sup>8</sup> “*Sleswijkje, things are getting worse there,*” he implored, “*and everyone will hold you responsible.*”<sup>9</sup> The trouble was that he, then 25, and Walden were at the height of their youthful enthusiasm:<sup>10</sup>

*“It was a bunch of free artists, it was a hell of a troupe” Sleswijk reminisced. “We rented the scenery and costumes from Mevrouw Bouwmeester [Een Geel Bandje]...and went to Germany as the ‘Rene Walden Schau.’”*

In June 2015, I ventured to Berlin to browse the 1933 issues of German entertainers’ trade weekly, *Das Programm*, in the hope of finding their show in the country’s theatre listings. The troupers never once, however, advertised themselves nationally as being for hire. Perhaps I was looking in the wrong places, although one can also understand that with Jewish company in tow, they were also keen not to draw too much attention to themselves. Fortunately, Sleswijk does hint at several of the cities they might have had on their itinerary, and it’s those, whether visited or not, that shape the first half of Chapter XIII, Pt. 2.<sup>11</sup>

For Margot Tÿralla, returning to her homeland in early 1933 after what was roughly speaking, another year’s absence, will have been nothing short of an eye opener. Indeed, the change that occurred over the period between the end of 1932 and March 1933 was so great in itself that Jewish émigré, *Heinz Liepmann*, authored ‘*Murder – Made in Germany.*’ It was a ‘novel’ that retold the experiences of a fishing boat’s crew that had left Germany at the start of that period, only to return three months later to find their *Heimat* irrevocably transformed. Former friends, acquaintances, civil servants and partners had all grown unrecognisable in their respective roles.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> *Abraham Icek Tuschinski* (1898-1942) was a Polish tailor who was on his way to America before he got sidetracked in Rotterdam and built up something of a cinema empire there. In 1917, he moved with his brother-in-laws, *Gerschtanowitz* and *Ehrlich* to Amsterdam, and a year later began the construction of the Tuschinski Theater, which subsequently opened in 1921. See: [www.amsterdam.info/cinema/tuschinski/](http://www.amsterdam.info/cinema/tuschinski/)

<sup>9</sup> *René Sleswijk. Leven dat op 1 Oktober 65 jaar duurt. Leidsch Dagblad. September 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1972. Pg. 15*

<sup>10</sup> Sleswijk was then 25 years old, about two and a half years younger than Walden.

<sup>11</sup> Travelling by a 1930s vehicle in pre-Autobahn Germany will have limited the troupe’s options as regards the more popular revue destinations in Berlin, Breslau, Hamburg or Leipzig, notwithstanding the political climate too. Köln is confirmed as one city the troupe did reach. However, that lay a merely 60km beyond the Dutch border. Furthermore, the surrounding Rhineland was a zone that German troops had been forbidden to occupy under the treaty of Versailles (and did not do so until 1936) whilst according to the 1933 election was also the least pro-Nazi. Given that the zone shared much of its border with the Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg, it is most likely the troupers concentrated their shows in the vicinity of their motherland, which was certainly more practical in case a fast exit was needed, considering also the warnings they’d received. I’d probably have had more success then in exploring the regional Rhineland newspapers for photos and reviews than *Das Programm*. However, Sleswijk’s referencing of Berlin and a show that enjoyed a continuous run in Dresden allowed me to imagine a route across central Germany (whilst there’s nothing that says they didn’t get there - after all, who wouldn’t have relished a visit to 1930s Berlin)? In doing so, it has enabled me to accommodate various other elements of our family story into the chapter more readily than if I had not.

<sup>12</sup> Within his introduction, Liepmann declares his book “*is meant to be not a novel but rather a human document*” since “*all the incidents in this book have actually happened.*” *Murder – Made in Germany: A True Story of Present-Day Germany.* Heinz Liepmann. Translated by Emile Burns. Harper and Brothers. 1934. Pg. vii

But “Not even Adolf Hitler could have guessed how quickly and easily...victory would come,” wrote Otto Friedrich in the final ‘1933’ chapter of his retrospective, *Before the Deluge*.<sup>13</sup> From the Nazis’ begging on streetcorners, new life was quickly breathed into the party and its members, thanks to a generous Köln-based banker who bought out its debts. The new Chancellor, *Schleicher*, however, was conscious of the threat they posed and in a bid to stabilize Germany, sought to divide the Nazis by offering its party secretary, *Gregor Strasser*, the vice chancellorship and Prussian premier’s office alone. Hitler was outraged. Strasser quit.

The victim of intrigues and rumours that bitterly cold winter,<sup>14</sup> *Schleicher* was removed from office by Hindenburg on January 28<sup>th</sup>, 1933, a Saturday, and replaced by the President’s favourite, *Papen* (barely two months after he himself had been dismissed). Von Papen, by now cavorting with Hitler over the formation of a coalition, planned himself to give the demagogue the chancellorship but with the intent of ‘managing’ him from the position of vice chancellor, in collaboration with a cabinet filled with non-Nazis. Hitler was having nothing of it, however, and insisted that he alone must be leader and empowered to restore order.<sup>15</sup> Ultimately his voice won through and by the following Monday, January 30<sup>th</sup>, 1933, he’d been appointed Chancellor. The Austrian corporal immediately announced his wish to call a new election, but with the Nazis now in full control of the machinery. And so began “one of the most striking episodes of world history in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.”<sup>16</sup> For the ‘*Rene Walden Schau*,’ one might say the stage was most certainly set!

That evening, however, a great victory parade took place, with thousands becoming tens of thousands, marching from *Tiergarten* east to the *Brandenburg Gate*, on to the *Pariser Platz* and beyond, to where the French Embassy was situated. There the column paused to break into the war-song, ‘*Siegreich wollen wir Frankreich schlagen*’ – ‘we mean to defeat France.’ From there the crowd thronged south down *Wilhelmstrasse* and onto the Chancellery and the *Kaiserhof* (see the map on pg. 490).<sup>17</sup> In historian, Peter Gay,’s words; “*The republic was born in defeat, lived in turmoil and died in disaster.*”<sup>18</sup>

Berlin was swamped by Nazi supporters following Hitler’s appointment (across Leipzig’s suburbs by contrast, in *Gohlis*, *Lindenau*, *Stötteritz* and elsewhere, crowds demonstrated against the appointment over the coming days).<sup>19</sup> Although democratic Germans tried to reassure themselves that Hitler couldn’t last, he moved too quickly to be contained. In the month following his accession to power, over 50,000 Berliners joined the Nazi Party,<sup>20</sup> which collectively responded with increasing terror nationwide over the coming days and weeks.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> *Before the Deluge: A Portrait of Berlin in the 1920s* from 1972. Otto Friedrich. Pg. 378

<sup>14</sup> From January 11<sup>th</sup>-31<sup>st</sup> it fell below zero, the coldest was -17.7°c on January 25<sup>th</sup>. See: [luise-berlin.de](http://luise-berlin.de)

<sup>15</sup> Including the expulsion of all Socialists, Communists and Jews from German public affairs.

*Before the Deluge: A Portrait of Berlin in the 1920s* from 1972. Otto Friedrich. Pg. 379

<sup>16</sup> *A Brief History of The Third Reich: The Rise and Fall of the Nazis*. Martyn Whittock. Constable&Robinson, 2011. Pg. 1

<sup>17</sup> *Before the Deluge: A Portrait of Berlin in the 1920s* from 1972. Otto Friedrich. Pg. 383

<sup>18</sup> *What I Saw: Reports from Berlin. 1920-1933*. Joseph Roth. Translator’s Introduction. Granta, 2013. Pg. 12. NB: Fellow historian, Peter Stachura, adds; “*The Republic collapsed in 1933 for many reasons, but among the most important was arguably the failure of the Sozialstaat, earlier a powerful symbol of democratic, progressive achievement, and then also of its demise.*” *Germany since 1800: A New Social and Economic History* edited by Ogilvie & Overy. Pg. 238

<sup>19</sup> *Das war das 20. Jahrhundert*. Martina Güldemann. 1999. Pg. 39

<sup>20</sup> *Faust’s Metropolis: A History of Berlin*. Alexandra Richie. Harper Press. London, 1998. Pg. 406

<sup>21</sup> *Leipzig: Geschichte der Stadt in Wort und Bild*. VEB, Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, Berlin, 1978. Pg. 80



There it goes! The Reichstag.  
February 27<sup>th</sup>, 1933

Less than a month after the takeover, on February 27<sup>th</sup>, the populace watched on as Germany's parliament, the *Reichstag*, went up in flames. Goebbels (later alleged to have organized a stormtroopers' conspiracy<sup>22</sup>) blamed the arson on the Communists and the following day, Hitler introduced a decree<sup>23</sup> imposing "restrictions on personal liberty, on the right of free expression and opinion, including freedom of the press; on the rights of assembly and of association."

Remarked *Hans Gisevius*, a young lawyer, who shared in the national illusion; "Seldom has a nation so readily surrendered all its rights and liberties," but "the glorious sensation of a new fraternity overwhelmed all groups and classes."<sup>24</sup> The trouble was, that from that point on, people could be arrested without charge. The much

coveted Prussian police was turned over to the head of the Berlin *Schutzstaffel*<sup>25</sup> (♣♣) and the Berlin police was put into the hands of *Göring's* men. Passports were routinely confiscated so that even if prisoners were released from custody, they could not escape abroad. Not only anarchists but social democrats, trade union officials, radio station heads, newspaper columnists, even members of the German Workers' Theatre League simply disappeared. Anyone who spoke out or questioned policy, even *Stahlhelm* members (nationalist World War One veterans, among them Margot's *Onkel Fritz*, who had aided the Nazis rise to power), now ran the risk of losing their lives.<sup>26</sup>

Yet despite the brutality, the violence, the purges and the murder which would soon stain the streets of Berlin, Hitler's popularity continued to rise,<sup>27</sup> the plight of the thousands of prisoners generally being ignored by a people who believed in the propaganda about 're-education' and in the urgent need for order. They rotted in the basements and stinking deserted factories of Berlin whilst many 'committed suicide' or were 'shot trying to escape.' An estimated 5-6,000 communist and social democratic party members were imprisoned in the two months following Hitler's coming to power. The initial attacks would soon spread to the Jews, members of the Roman Catholic and Protestant Churches, and then to anyone who dared voice dissent against the regime.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>22</sup> The SA, short for *Sturmabteilung*, meaning Assault Division or more literally Storm Detachment, functioned as the original paramilitary wing of the Nazi Party. Its stormtroopers (or "Brownshirts" from the color of their uniform shirts), played a significant key role in Adolf Hitler's rise to power in the 1920s and 1930s. See:

[en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sturmabteilung](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sturmabteilung)

<sup>23</sup> See: [en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Reichstag\\_Fire\\_Decree](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Reichstag_Fire_Decree)

<sup>24</sup> *Before the Deluge: A Portrait of Berlin in the 1920s* from 1972. Otto Friedrich. Pg. 383, 390

<sup>25</sup> Nazi Party "defence corps" led by Heinrich Himmler. See: [en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Schutzstaffel](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Schutzstaffel)

<sup>26</sup> *Faust's Metropolis: A History of Berlin*. Alexandra Richie. Harper Press. London, 1998. Pg. 411, 412, 414

<sup>27</sup> *Faust's Metropolis: A History of Berlin*. Alexandra Richie. Harper Press. London, 1998. Pg. 406

<sup>28</sup> *Faust's Metropolis: A History of Berlin*. Alexandra Richie. Harper Press. London, 1998. Pg. 415-416

When Margot, René and Willy reached the capital, upon her suggestion they headed for "the most famous Vaudeville stage in Germany," Berlin's *Scala Variety Theatre*.<sup>29</sup> They were astonished to learn, however, that the Jewish-owned cabaret club, which lay just a few blocks away from *Mama Tjyralla's* boyfriend's home in *Neue Winterfeldstrasse 35*, had closed<sup>30</sup> within a few weeks of the Nazis' seizure of power.<sup>31</sup> Even more disappointing was the fact that the *Eldorado*, which stood opposite the *Scala*, was now the local *Sturmabteilung's* (SA) headquarters. Considered since 1922 the "Meeting Place For The International World," the *Eldorado* had been a huge hangout, especially amongst the homosexual community. It had been forced to close its doors in late 1932.<sup>32</sup>



A fine time to drop by:  
The *Rene Walden Schau's* Berlin welcome.  
Source: [www.cabaret-berlin.com/?p=11](http://www.cabaret-berlin.com/?p=11)

After visiting the central office of the *Internationale Artisten-Loge* over in *Mitte's* theatre district, north of the boulevard, *Unter den Linden*, at *Friedrichstrasse 94a* to identify some alternate venues to rehearse and gig at, Margot hopped the *Friedrichstrasse S-bahn* (a block or so away) to pay her mother a visit in *Charlottenburg*. After reliving the troupe's adventures and disappointment over *Schöneberg's* dives being closed (*Mama* admirably refraining from saying "I told you so"), Margot explained how she relished the company of the Dutch. *Sleeswijk* was a born leader while diminutive *Willy* was "cute as a button." *Frau Tjyralla*, already fearing her second daughter was intent on following her elder sister's lead out of the country, was non-plussed by her enthusiasm and reminded her that as soon things had settled in Germany, she awaited her daughter's return. She was no fan of the Nazis, but she had no love for the communists either.

Over coffee and currant bread, *Mama* described the scenes in Berlin during Margot's absence, what with the elections, strikes, marches and street violence. She asked to hear all about *Nannj's* wedding, and was clearly upset not to have been there. *Mama* brought Margot up to date on family news. Her grandmother's funeral hadn't been easy, especially since it took place just before Christmas. But she'd been laid to rest and it was time to move on. Compensation for the *Hinsch Villa*, which lay beyond Leipzig, was next on the agenda. Margot knew her mother and uncle had been made joint owners alongside her grandmother, shortly after *Opa Hinsch* had died in March 1928,<sup>33</sup> although it was news to her that the local authorities had already begun to

<sup>29</sup> [www.cabaret-berlin.com/?p=41](http://www.cabaret-berlin.com/?p=41)

<sup>30</sup> René Sleeswijk. *Leven dat op 1 Oktober 65 jaar duurt*. *Leidsch Dagblad*. September 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1972. Pg. 15.

NB: 'Reaching the capital' is a very liberal interpretation of its *Scala* 'having closed.'

<sup>31</sup> Although I cannot determine a precise date, according to the author of [www.cabaret-berlin.com/?p=11](http://www.cabaret-berlin.com/?p=11), "Within a month of the Nazi's coming to power in January 1933, Hermann Goering ordered the closure of a raft of premises" which included those entertainment venues in the vicinity of the *Scala*. It is also recorded that after the Nazi seizure of power in 1933, the lender, the *Dresdner Bank*, colluded in the *Scala's* takeover by "Aryan" businessmen. See: [www.morgenpost.de/nachrichten/article122405023/Und-abends-in-die-Scala.html](http://www.morgenpost.de/nachrichten/article122405023/Und-abends-in-die-Scala.html)

<sup>32</sup> [www.cabaret-berlin.com/?p=11](http://www.cabaret-berlin.com/?p=11). Cf. Pg. 475 in part 1.

<sup>33</sup> On March 1<sup>st</sup>, 1928 Marie Hinsch declared within the first page of Friedrich Hinsch's *Nachlassakte* (H 11/28 Hinsch), that: "The sole legal heirs to the inheritance besides me are my two children: a) Der Kaufmann Paul Friedrich Hinsch in Leipzig, *Bethovenstr.* 19 p.; b) *Frau Nannj verw. Tjyralla, geb. Hinsch in Charlottenburg, Niebuhrstr. 1,*" text undersigned by the *Oberjustizsekretär Kohlmann als Rechtspfleger* and the *Direktor* of the *Sächsisches Amtsgericht*.

transfer the ownership from *Oma Hinsch* in late 1930.<sup>34</sup> *Mama* explained she had an agreement with her brother, *Fritz* (an *Antiquitätenhandler* in *Leipzig*)<sup>35</sup> that he would move into the house with a share of its value being promised to her. Paperwork needed completing, so for now it was a question of time – probably plenty given all that was going on – although *Mama* was also beginning to wonder whether her mother’s death would signal a watershed in her relationship with *Fritz*.

Margot was also surprised (as her mother had been) to learn that her Silesia-based grandmother, *Maria Týralla*, had just passed away on February 15<sup>th</sup>, aged 91. “Uff, if ever I live that long” Margot replied. “And after bearing nine kids...” her mother chipped in. “November 1841 she’d been born. I bet she could have told some tales” Margot reflected. “She was even born nine years before *Opa Hinsch*,” added her mother. Margot’s eyes glazed over, recalling the trials rather than tribulations she’d experienced as a young girl at the Hinsch Villa, and wondered conversely what sort of a relationship she’d have had with *Oma Týralla*, had she grown up in Radstein, where her father had been born. The textbox below tries to put her 91 years into context.

#### 13.4 Imaginary Obituary for a Nonagenarian

Maria Týralla nee Hupka, had been born in 1841 in a village called *Simsdorf*, which formally speaking was Prussia, although as with most Silesians, I suspect that probably meant little when it came to identity. She’d wedded at 19 to nine years elder Martin, whose family had lived for generations in the neighbouring village of *Radstein*. She went on to bear him nine kids but after almost 23 years of marriage, was unexpectedly widowed, just prior to her 42<sup>nd</sup> birthday. A resolute 50 years followed surrounded by four of her surviving children,<sup>1</sup> after which her eldest, *Johann*, together with sisters; *Josefa* (in *Neudorf*), *Franziska* (*Pogosch*) and *Marianna* (*Radstein*), laid her to rest that long cold winter.<sup>2</sup>



I was curious to see if I could find out anything more about this ‘nonagenarian’ and so figuring I ‘only’ need identify those locals born around 1920, I looked to garner a character reference for Margot’s less well known grandmother. After all, in a village of a little over five hundred inhabitants, who as youngsters in 1933 wouldn’t have recalled one of the oldest (and hopefully revered) among its residents? Their home after all was bang in the heart of the village.

Thanks to distant relative Gerald, during spring 2015 we quickly identified two candidates. First up was a nursemaid hired by Johann’s son, Joseph, following the birth of his daughters several years later. Anna Rak was born around 1922 and today lives in a convalescent home in *Grabine*, some 50 kilometers east of Radstein as the crow flies. Regrettably, however, she suffers from dementia. The second person was in fact Gerard’s aunt, Marta Týralla, who is the daughter of Maria’s cousin-in-law. Marta was born in 1921 and would have been about 11 years old when Maria reached her 91<sup>st</sup>. Alas, Gerard writes;

*“My 94 year old aunt...does not remember the Týralla Family living in Radstein Nr. 23. By the...1930s, she was already a young girl and used to work outside...Radstein (mostly in Zülz) earning to support her family. She spent most of her teenage time out of [the] village – supporting farmwork – because she was the oldest.”<sup>3</sup>*

That left me with one last option. Namely, that person who must have carried the above photo of Maria to the town where it was eventually published; *Lörrach* in *Baden-Württemberg*, southwest Germany.<sup>4</sup> But who that was, is a question still perplexing me today...

Footnotes: please see Annex 1

<sup>34</sup> *Dögnitz Grundbuch Aktenzeichen. 31 Blatt. 115b* in which the entry of December 29<sup>th</sup>, 1930 states: “*Eleonore Therese Karoline Marie verwitwete Hinsch geb. Lieberoth in Mark Wenigmachern zufolge Abtrennung vom eigenen Grundbesitz.*“ (i.e. separation from one’s own land).

<sup>35</sup> *Leipzig Adressbucher. 1932: [adressbuecher.sachsendigital.de/tour/ergebnisse/adressbuch/Book/list/leipzig/1932](http://adressbuecher.sachsendigital.de/tour/ergebnisse/adressbuch/Book/list/leipzig/1932)*

In the meantime, Maria's eldest son, *Johann*, (who was therefore Margot's uncle) had added in his letter to her mother that after managing the Tjyralla farmstead for almost 50 years, he himself was preparing to retire. He'd been at the helm since his father Martin had died in 1883, right after little brother Paul (*Mama's* late husband) had been born. The home was still known as '*Morcina's House*,' even if Johann himself was now over 70 (his wife Bertha was 17 years younger, at 63). Nevertheless, agriculture continued to play a key role in all the family's lives and so he was preparing to pass the property and business on to his second eldest, 27 year old *Joseph*.

Joseph cared more for the farm than his 31 year old elder brother, the former 'freedom-fighter' *August*<sup>36</sup> (a *Kaufmann/Händler in Radstein*), 25 year old *Karl* (who worked for them at home) and 19 year old Peter Paul (a furrier in Lower Silesian *Frankenstein*). 'Paul' was named after *Mama's* late furrier-husband, whom Johann had always been fond.

All this was by now beginning to go over Margot's head (and even *Mama* had wondered why this distant relative was telling her all this, unless they were about to be written into his parting testament...). So *Frau* and *Fräulein Tjyralla* signed and sent a card of condolences to their namesakes and let that be that.

Margot said she ought to be going. All this family news was numbing her brain, not to mention her muscles. But *Mama* wasn't finished (and that was tantamount to a Prussian decree to stay put). Heinz Hinsch, her cousin, she ought to know, was back from Italy and had gotten involved with a Dresden-based girl named *Ingeborg Kurtz-Reissner*, the daughter of a rather successful and well-known line of Prussian publishers, *Verlag Carl Reissner*.<sup>37</sup> They'd been introduced at a ball and 25 year old Ingeborg was mad for him and already hinting that they ought to get married.

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<sup>36</sup> The discovery of Johann Tjyralla's *Nachlassakte (Aktenzeichen 5 Ehr. Radstein 19)* in early 2015, courtesy of Gerard Tjyralla's own research, revealed two personal letters written by August, Margot's cousin, in which he disclosed that he had been a volunteer member of the *Oberschlesischen Selbstschutz*, a paramilitary organisation (rather like the Irish Republican Army of 1917-1922) that fought from late 1920 in at least the second armed Silesian uprising of August 1920 against Poles and Polish Silesians for the freedom of Upper Silesia. Characteristic of their struggle was to agitate unrest, undertake thefts and burglaries, liberate prisoners, undertake bomb attacks and liquidate political opponents. That struggle, which drafted in members of the right-wing *Freikorps* movement, went on until April 1921, once the plebiscite had been concluded. See: [de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Spezialpolizei\\_des\\_Oberschlesischen\\_Selbstschutz](https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Spezialpolizei_des_Oberschlesischen_Selbstschutz) and Textbox 9.2 in which the events of that period are speculatively linked to the Tjyrallas. Even more curiously, on account of August's commitment to Silesia, in May 1934 he sought to bargain, as the eldest, the right to inherit his father's farm over his younger brother, Joseph. At the same time he also declared himself a Nazi party member, which in light of the above will come as no surprise. As early as the July 1932 elections, many Silesian Catholics had voted for the Nazis, writes Martyn Whittock, since there was a strong nationalist resentment against neighbouring Poland. The average Nazi voter, however, was Protestant, he adds. *A Brief History of The Third Reich: The Rise and Fall of the Nazis*. Martyn Whittock. Constable&Robinson, 2011. Pg. 31.

<sup>37</sup> Ingeborg's maternal forebears were from *Königsberg*, in East Prussia. They had been so successful they'd effectively built the Baltic Sea spa resort, *Zoppot*, Heinz daughter Irene told me in September 2012. Ingeborg's maternal grandparents, however, were then attracted to Leipzig because of its book fairs, but decided to make Dresden their home. Her father, Erwin Kurtz, who hailed from Stuttgart, was also involved in the book trade and that's how he'd come together with Ingeborg's mother. Suffering from injury and trauma after serving as a soldier in world war one, however, Erwin subsequently lost his sense for business and died in 1926 of liver cirrhosis, despite never being a serious drinker. She was relieved of the business, forcing his wife to sell their home, a villa at *Pohlandtstr. 1*, in *Blasewitz* close to the Elbe, as well as her jewellery to make ends meet, Irene told me in July 2015. Ingeborg and sister, Addi, moved to Loschwitz across the river and the *Pillnitzer Landstr.*, working for peanuts in bookshops such as the "*Hofbuchhandlung Burdach*" in Dresden's *Prager Straße*, where also the Saxon royals who hadn't fled came in to shop and Ingeborg recalled still being obliged to curtsy. Not long afterwards Ingeborg was discharged and remained without work.

"Heinz though is in doubt," so Tante Hedwig, his mother had written. He didn't like to be pitied for being a poor art student. His view was rather like that of *Erich Kästner's* 'Fabian':

*"If a man's having a rotten time, he'd better have it alone, instead of sharing it with a wife and child. And if he draws others into it, he is guilty at least of negligence."*<sup>38</sup>

Margot was then reminded that cousin Martin and his new wife Anna-Marie, who had been living with Hans, their little brother since spring 1932 had both moved on to new homes in the autumn. They'd first returned to their mother and step-father, Hedwig and *Walther Martin* in *Wintergartenstrasse* when Walther was travelling.<sup>39</sup> But come the new year, the newlyweds' had moved on to an apartment in northeast Leipzig.<sup>40</sup> Eighteen year old Hans was on the road to for Jewish concern *Bamberger und Hertz*.<sup>41</sup> He was hoping for big things in the coming years. Eldest cousin Frits and his family remained ,at home' in *Eutritzsch*.

So that covered all the Hinsch's. But before she left, Margot (never one to shy away from candour) enquired in regards to her mother's relationship with 'Onkel Albert.' "He still lives in *Schöneberg*, ja? When are you going to move in with him? Why don't you share an apartment somewhere quieter?" Mama muttered something, ummed and ahhed, and looked out of the window. Not satisfied, her younger daughter picked up the 1933 *Berlin Adressbuch* and was surprised to see her mother no longer listed a *Frau Direktor*. That she felt belied a cooling of her relationship with *Herr Petzold*, although the absence of those ranks could just as easily have implied an end to his manufacturing activities. So Margot looked up Albert too.

'Export' it said. Mama explained to her daughter that one of Albert's last utility models (until then he'd been listed in the *Adressbuch* as *Patente* or inventor) had garnered market interest and thanks to an anonymous investor he was putting the drawing board aside and his *Armbandspiegel* (a reflective armband for cyclists) into production. "But I'm not likely to become a *Frau Direktor* ever again," said Mama with tears in her eyes, "because Albert no longer needs a woman on his arm."

Suddenly Margot found herself consoling her mother. "Oh I often wake up in the night when it's cold, longing for him to be there. You never seem to get really warm, sleeping alone," she told her.<sup>42</sup> For a moment Margot felt sorry for her mother in her loneliness. Mama and Albert had been 'together' eleven years and had very nearly gotten married until all that child abuse business involving her and her grandparents came to light and Albert had backed off. But then again, Mama had always struggled to settle with one man, she thought, wondering if she herself might ever turn out the same way.

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<sup>38</sup> *Going to the Dogs: The Story of a Moralist*. Erich Kästner. New York Review Books, 1990. Pg. 55. NB: The Nazis despised the novel because it presented a Germany not in line with their ideals.

<sup>39</sup> Walther was granted a *Reisepaß* on September 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1932 (not likely related to step-niece Nanny's new arrival)!

<sup>40</sup> Martin and Anna-Marie moved to *Tauchaer Str.28 II. bei Pallmann* from January 14th, 1933

<sup>41</sup> This is a loose interpretation of the text: (*Mutter umgem(eldet)* 1.f.1.33, whilst no further address was noted

<sup>42</sup> Loosely quoting an exchange between Isherwood and *Frl. Schroeder* in the second part of *Goodbye to Berlin* entitled; 'A Berlin Diary (Autumn 1930).' C. Isherwood. 1935. In 'The Berlin Novels.' Vintage Classics, 1999. Pg. 249

Mama's phone rang. It was 'darling' René. They had a rehearsal booked over at an obscure 'tingeltangel' bar<sup>43</sup> which had thus far escaped the Nazis' attention, somewhere between Mama's and Albert's apartments. "I've to be off," she said with a twinkle in her eye.

For a moment *Mama* regarded her daughter, and wondered whether she wasn't growing too close to this chap, Sleeswijk, whose name curiously was that of the province where Margot's father was born (Silesia). "I hope you're not playing games *Fräulein*" said her mother. "Didn't you say he has a family?" she queried? "Aech Nein," said Margot. "René is married." Mama gave her a shrewd look and in what sounded like a warning, added: "You've your father in you, I can see. But just keep in mind what happened to him and I once we got too close."

The troupers kept themselves in business across Berlin the coming weeks, performing at *The Jockey Bar*, *The Blue Stocking* and various other after-hours 'Dielen' - cellar bars and clubs<sup>44</sup> - whilst living off '10-Pfennig meals' of boiled buckwheat mixed with animal fat. Not long after they turned south towards Leipzig.

After that, Hitler's 'staged' elections went ahead on March 5<sup>th</sup>, 1933. After bullying the populace and locking up those whom he disliked, nationwide he won 44 percent of the vote, the most he ever got, though that *still* did not bring him a parliamentary majority. For that he needed the votes of their coalition partner, the Nationals or the German National People's Party (DNVP).<sup>45</sup> The next day therefore he banned the Communist delegates and arrested most of their leaders, and because the Nazis had only increased their share of the Berlin votes to 34.6 percent, on March 7<sup>th</sup> he dissolved the Prussian state government so as to rule by direct control, with his fellow crony, *Hermann Göring*, soon put in place as Minister-President.<sup>46</sup> The SA were then ordered to beat up the Jews and anti-nazis, leading Dresden-based diarist, *Victor Klemperer* to note on the evening of March 10<sup>th</sup>; "What, up to election Sunday on March 5<sup>th</sup>, I called terror, was a mild prelude."<sup>47</sup>

Two weeks later, on March 23<sup>rd</sup>, with gangs of stormtroopers bellowing threats outside the legislature, Hitler demanded of the cowed delegates<sup>48</sup> an 'Enabling Act' that would empower him to rule by decree. Only the leader of the social democrats dared take the floor in opposition, risking his life to condemn the Nazis openly. But his objection fell on deaf ears.<sup>49</sup> The provisions of the bill turned the Hitler

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<sup>43</sup> *Tingeltangel* was the opposite of revue theatre, where "often no more than a raised platform in a bar or restaurant... featured both those at the very start and those at the very end of their cabaret careers. The material would be suggestive and risqué and the female performers would often act as 'hostesses' mingling with the audience encouraging them to buy drinks and other services on offer. The name *Tingeltangel* is thought to be derived from the sound of the coins landing on a plate as it is passed around the audience." Text: Brendan Nash. For more, see: [www.cabaret-berlin.com/?p=126](http://www.cabaret-berlin.com/?p=126)

<sup>44</sup> Place names pulled from [www.cabaret-berlin.com/?p=824](http://www.cabaret-berlin.com/?p=824) and [www.cabaret-berlin.com/?p=670](http://www.cabaret-berlin.com/?p=670)

<sup>45</sup> See: [en.wikipedia.org/wiki/German\\_federal\\_election,\\_March\\_1933](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/German_federal_election,_March_1933)

<sup>46</sup> Göring had been appointed in January 1933 as minister without portfolio, Minister of the Interior for Prussia, and Reich Commissioner of Aviation. See: [en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hermann\\_Göring](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hermann_Göring). See also Textbox. 13.2

<sup>47</sup> *I Will Bear Witness 1933-1941: A Diary of the Nazi Years*. Victor Klemperer. Modern Library Inc. 1999. Pg. 5

<sup>48</sup> The *Krolloper* served as the assembly hall of the German *Reichstag* parliament from 1933 until 1942. It was located in the central *Tiergarten* district on the western edge of the *Königsplatz* square (today *Platz der Republik*) and faced the former *Reichstag*. NB: In the March 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1936 entry of his diary, Victor Klemperer joked of the parliament: "Those elected are the chorus, extras, the *claque*." *I Will Bear Witness 1933-1941: A Diary of the Nazi Years*. Victor Klemperer. Modern Library Inc. 1999. Pg. 136

<sup>49</sup> *Faust's Metropolis: A History of Berlin*. Alexandra Richie. Harper Press. London, 1998. Pg. 417

government into a *de facto* legal dictatorship,<sup>50</sup> and anyone who stood in his way could now be legally removed.<sup>51</sup> With that there was no need for any more vote-casting.<sup>52</sup> The Third Reich became a one-party state.

The flag of the German Empire returned on March 12<sup>th</sup>, 1933 wiping away the Weimar Republic, implying the 'old' Germany and the new 'Nazi' Germany were one and the same.

A Brief History of The Third Reich: The Rise and Fall of the Nazis. Martyn Whittock. Pg. 53

After the elections it turned suddenly mild and warm.<sup>53</sup> 'Hitler's weather' was how one of Isherwood's characters described it. Another went so far as to joke that the Berliners ought to be grateful because the burning of the Reichstag had melted the snow. "Streets looked quite gay when you turned into them and saw the black-white-red flags hanging from the windows against the blue spring sky."

On Nollendorfpplatz, nearby Onkel Albert's home;

"people were sitting out of doors before the café in their overcoats... Göring spoke from the radio horn at the corner. 'Germany is awake,' he said... Uniformed Nazis strode hither and thither, with serious set faces, as though on weighty errands. The newspaper readers by the café turned their heads to watch them pass and smiled and seemed pleased."<sup>54</sup>

Berliners over in *Mitte*, however, were less impressed by the Nazis and their propaganda:

"One morning, when we were driving along the Unter den Linden, we passed a group of self-important SA men, chatting to each other and blocking the whole pavement. Passers-by were obliged to walk in the gutter. Herr N. smiled faintly and sadly: "One sees some queer sights in the streets nowadays."<sup>55</sup> Frau Tjyralla was neither impressed.

The only way Hitler could ultimately control the capital was to flush out the independent and quick-witted Berliners, turning his attention initially to the city's 160,000 Jews<sup>56</sup> and the anti-nazis who controlled the media and arts.<sup>57</sup> For generations, the Jews had played an important role in the intellectual, cultural, and economic life of the city.<sup>58</sup> And yet in parallel, years of anti-semitic propaganda had encouraged Berliners to resent those contributions.<sup>59</sup>

Suddenly "The town was full of whispers," writes Isherwood in his Berlin Diaries. "They told of illegal arrests, of prisoners tortured in the SA barracks, made to spit on Lenin's picture, swallow castor oil, eat old socks."<sup>60</sup> Lots of old scores were being paid off with

<sup>50</sup> See: [en.wikipedia.org/wiki/German\\_federal\\_election,\\_March\\_1933](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/German_federal_election,_March_1933)

<sup>51</sup> *Faust's Metropolis: A History of Berlin*. Alexandra Richie. Harper Press. London, 1998. Pg. 417

<sup>52</sup> *Before the Deluge: A Portrait of Berlin in the 1920s* from 1972. Otto Friedrich. Pg. 383

<sup>53</sup> By March 11<sup>th</sup> Victor Klemperer too reported that it was springlike in Dresden. *I Will Bear Witness 1933-1941: A Diary of the Nazi Years*. Victor Klemperer. Modern Library Inc. 1999. Pg. 6

<sup>54</sup> *Mr. Norris Changes Trains*. Christopher Isherwood. 1935. In 'The Berlin Novels.' Vintage Classics, 1999. Pg. 222

<sup>55</sup> Extracted from the second part of *Goodbye to Berlin* entitled; 'A Berlin Diary. Winter 1932-3.'

Christopher Isherwood. 1935. In 'The Berlin Novels.' Vintage Classics, 1999. Pg. 488

<sup>56</sup> According to Wikipedia and other sources, Berlin's Jews represented about one-third of all those across the country. See: [en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Berlin](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Berlin)

<sup>57</sup> *Faust's Metropolis: A History of Berlin*. Alexandra Richie. Harper Press. London, 1998. Pg. 424

<sup>58</sup> *Charlottenburg, where Mama, lived* hosted the greatest density of Jewish residents in Berlin in 1933 and was home to 27,013. *Wilmerdorf* followed, then *Mitte*, after which *Prenzlauer Berg* (bounding *Mitte*), *Schöneberg* (where Albert lived) and *Tiergarten*, according to Marlene Otte's research in *Jewish Identities in German Popular Entertainment, 1890-1933*. 2006. Pg. 208, referencing Reinhard Rürup, *Jüdische Geschichte in Berlin* (Berlin, 1995), Pg. 308.

<sup>59</sup> *Faust's Metropolis: A History of Berlin*. Alexandra Richie. Harper Press. London, 1998. Pg. 424

<sup>60</sup> *Mr. Norris Changes Trains*. Christopher Isherwood. 1935. In 'The Berlin Novels.' Vintage Classics, 1999. Pg. 222

enemies of the state eliminated or consigned to concentration camps, one sixth of which in 1933 were on Saxon soil.<sup>61</sup> By mid-March, more than 10,000 people had been arrested by the SA and SS in Prussia alone,<sup>62</sup> while according to Martyn Whittock in his *Brief History of The Third Reich*, at least 100,000 were arrested nationwide throughout 1933 with 600 murdered. On March 22<sup>nd</sup>, the first concentration camp at *Dachau*, near Munich, was opened.<sup>63</sup> Sadism was rife.

Saxony's second city, Leipzig, tried in vain to fight the Nazi infiltration. On February 13<sup>th</sup>, Hitler had already been the guest of honour at its *Gewandhaus* and the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Richard Wagner's death.<sup>64</sup> Two days later, the brownshirts marched on the city, completing its first wave of arrests there. The Nazis' takeover occurred on March 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup>, but even after banning the communists (KPD) across the state on February 22<sup>nd</sup>,<sup>65</sup> it still could not win a majority there when the federal elections took place.<sup>66</sup>

And in the Saxon *Landtag* elections of March 5<sup>th</sup>, the National Socialists could only parallel the federal results, winning 45 percent of the vote against an unprecedented turnout of 92 percent. The Social Democrats picked up 26 percent, the Communists 16 percent, the National Liberals (*Deutschnationale Volkspartei, DNVP*) 7 percent, and minor parties 6 percent of seats, in what turned out to be the final free election in Saxony until 1990.<sup>67</sup>

Nevertheless, all that didn't stop the the *Hakenkreuzfahne* (swastika) being hoisted over *Augustusplatz* on March 8<sup>th</sup>,<sup>68</sup> whilst it even found its way onto toothpaste tubes.<sup>69</sup> A day later, the office of the left wing *Leipziger Volkszeitung* was occupied and the paper shut down.<sup>70</sup> On March 10<sup>th</sup>, Klemperer recorded in his Dresden diary: "No one dares say anything any more, everyone is afraid."<sup>71</sup>

Following their departure from Berlin, some days later the *Rene Walden Schau* arrived in Margot's homeland; Saxony. In Leipzig, the *Drei Linden Varieté* was still closed although they managed to get a booking at the *Resi Kasino* alongside a handful of other vaudevillians.<sup>72</sup> There the troupers learned that the famous *Radow-revue*, 'Die Grosse Parade,' which typically ran at the *Central-Theater Dresden*,<sup>73</sup> had closed.

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<sup>61</sup> L. Jones: *Saxony, 1924-1930 in Saxony in German History: Culture, Society, and Politics, 1830-1933*. Retallack. Pg. 369

<sup>62</sup> *Questions on German History. Paths to Parliamentary Democracy*. German Bundestag. 1998. Pg. 264

<sup>63</sup> *A Brief History of The Third Reich: The Rise and Fall of the Nazis*. Martyn Whittock. Constable&Robinson, 2011. Pg. 53

<sup>64</sup> See: [www.hitlerpages.com/pagina65.html](http://www.hitlerpages.com/pagina65.html)

<sup>65</sup> *Leipzig: Geschichte der Stadt in Wort und Bild*. VEB, Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, Berlin, 1978. Pg. 80

<sup>66</sup> See: [en.wikipedia.org/wiki/German\\_federal\\_election,\\_March\\_1933#mediaviewer/File:NSDAP\\_Wahl\\_1933.png](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/German_federal_election,_March_1933#mediaviewer/File:NSDAP_Wahl_1933.png) for details as to how each state across Germany voted, ranging from above 55% in East Prussia to between 30 and 35% in Westfalen, Köln and Berlin

<sup>67</sup> See: [en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Landtag\\_of\\_the\\_Free\\_State\\_of\\_Saxony](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Landtag_of_the_Free_State_of_Saxony)

<sup>68</sup> Between March 6<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup>, it was raised on all official buildings across Germany by Nazis in the police and auxiliary units of the SA and the SS. Ministers who objected were forced to resign or were put under house arrest. *A Brief History of The Third Reich: The Rise and Fall of the Nazis*. Martyn Whittock. Constable&Robinson, 2011. Pg. 53

<sup>69</sup> *I Will Bear Witness 1933-1941: A Diary of the Nazi Years*. Victor Klemperer. Modern Library Inc. 1999. March 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1933. Pg. 9

<sup>70</sup> *Das war das 20. Jahrhundert in LEIPZIG*. Martina Güldemann. 1999. Pg. 39

<sup>71</sup> *I Will Bear Witness 1933-1941: A Diary of the Nazi Years*. Victor Klemperer. Modern Library Inc. 1999. March 10<sup>th</sup>, 1933. Pg. 6

<sup>72</sup> The name of a bar referenced in the theatre listings of Feb. 12<sup>th</sup>, 1933 in *Das Programm*, Nr. 1610 on Pg. 12.

<sup>73</sup> To be clear, the article doesn't say the troupe actually visited Dresden but rather reflected upon the theatre scene there, from which I've generously inferred they passed through.

With that it began to dawn on the troupe that there was a real entertainment vacuum in Germany. In Berlin alone, 23 of the city's 45 theatres had actually closed during the depression.<sup>74</sup> Worse was to follow, when *Das Programm* announced on March 5<sup>th</sup> that new or existing laws were about to be enforced that would limit their freedom to sustain the act in Germany.<sup>75</sup> It almost seemed tit-for-tat, recalling how Dutch theatres had begun to snub German acts.

The first was a new law which had been introduced on January 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1933 (pre-dating Hitler's takeover of power), but was due to come into effect on May 1<sup>st</sup> and required employers of foreign artists (i.e. host venues) to procure an *Arbeitserlaubnis* (work permit) and corresponding authorisation (*Beschäftigungsgenehmigung*). That meant theatre managers would have to visit their local police station in order to engage non-native acts.<sup>76</sup> Then a week later on March 12<sup>th</sup>, *Das Programm* reminded foreigners that like locals, they too were liable to taxation,<sup>77</sup> meaning that all artists had to present themselves to a designated office in the respective district.

The regulations were intended to address the growing unemployment problem in Germany by protecting domestic jobs. In practice though it discouraged foreign acts from making extended visits to the country because of all the attendant headaches – unless of course they were booked for longer residences, rather like in the days of US 'Big Time,' or when they had the financial means to complete the necessary administration.

Despite *Das Programm's* bravado and its declaration on March 5<sup>th</sup>, "*We want to see big artists from all around the world playing here,*"<sup>78</sup> within the same issue it advised foreign acts to only travel to Prussia with pre-bookings and permits in hand.<sup>79</sup>

Taking no chances in light of this newfangled protectionism, Margot submitted a bid to perform at the *Monbijou Cabaret* bar in Berlin's *Friedrichstraße*. They had had fun in Berlin, despite the dangers, and were keen to return. So having come across an ad in an old capital newspaper that promoted an "*experimental stage*" for which "*young talents*" were sought who would be given "*the opportunity of performing before the metropolitan public,*" Margot mused to herself, "*that sounds right up our street.*" *Kabarett der Namenlosen*" (Cabaret of the Nameless) was its name.<sup>80</sup> "*Nothing would suit us better,*" she told René, "*as long as the laws don't cripple us first.*"

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<sup>74</sup> *Faust's Metropolis: A History of Berlin*. Alexandra Richie. Harper Press. London, 1998. Pg. 452

<sup>75</sup> Up until that point, foreign artists, at least those visiting Prussia, did not require a written permit (*schriftlichen Erlaubnis*) or residence permit (*Aufenthalts-erlaubnis*) from the police authorities (*Polizeibehörde*) when they worked in any one place for no more than a 'passing visit' and for a total period of less than six months, according to an April 27<sup>th</sup>, 1932 regulation (*Verordnung*), in force since July 1<sup>st</sup>, 1932. See: *Die Behandlung der ausländischen Artisten nach dem neuen preußischen Ausländerrecht*. Dr. Richard Treitel. *Das Programm*. March 5<sup>th</sup>, 1933. Vol. 32. Nr. 1613. Pg 1-3

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>77</sup> In the context of a law adopted on December 8<sup>th</sup>, 1931 and the corresponding implementing regulation of December 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1932. *Steuerpflicht ausländischer Artisten in Deutschland*. Alfred Fossil. *Das Programm*. March 12<sup>th</sup>, 1933. Vol. 32. Nr. 1614. Pg 1-2

<sup>78</sup> "*Wir wollen große Künstler aus aller Welt bei uns sehen, wie wir das umgekehrt auch von den übrigen Völkern erwarten und annehmen.*" *Die Behandlung der ausländischen Artisten nach dem neuen preußischen Ausländerrecht*. Dr. Richard Treitel. *Das Programm*. March 5<sup>th</sup>, 1933. Vol. 32. Nr. 1613. Pg 1-3

<sup>79</sup> "*Der vorsichtige Artist wird also, auch wenn er einen Vertrag in Händen hat, nach Preußen nur einreisen, wenn er Weiß das der Arbeitgeber eine Arbeitsbewilligung für ihn bezw. Für seine Truppe in Händen hat, wenn er für dieses Etablissement die Arbeitserlaubnis hat und wenn ihm ein polizeiliche Aufenthaltserlaubnis erteilt ist.*" (*ibid*)

<sup>80</sup> See: [www.cabaret-berlin.com/?p=63](http://www.cabaret-berlin.com/?p=63) and [www.cabaret-berlin.com/?p=455](http://www.cabaret-berlin.com/?p=455)

New legislation was not only affecting travelling artists but the *Länder* too. Immediately after the *Reichstag* elections in March, the process of 'coordinating' the constituent states of the *Reich* began through the so-called '*Gleichshaltung*.' Two laws were enacted on March 31<sup>st</sup> and April 7<sup>th</sup>, which brought this process to a close. This meant that each *Land* was to be headed by a *Reichstatthalter*, or governor, appointed by the central government."<sup>81</sup> In Saxony (*Gau Sachsen*), that responsibility fell to *Martin Mutschmann*<sup>82</sup> who had been nominated as early as 1925, but was not formally appointed *Gauleiter* until January 30<sup>th</sup>, 1933.<sup>83</sup>

On June 22<sup>nd</sup>,<sup>84</sup> it was the SPD's turn to officially cease to exist across Germany and the following day the Nazi's banned it in Saxony.<sup>85</sup> A July 1933 law then banned all remaining political parties nationwide, including the once venerated *Stahlhelm*,<sup>86</sup> furthermore prohibiting the reestablishment of any. The end of May 1933 had already witnessed 2,344 anti-fascist Leipzigers' arrests,<sup>87</sup> while from June to December between 5,125 and 6,300 Communists and Social Democrats were further rounded up in Leipzig and imprisoned. "*No one breathes freely anymore,*" wrote Klemperer from his home in Dresden on March 27<sup>th</sup>.<sup>88</sup> With no word from Berlin, the troupers headed west. Opponents in Leipzig meanwhile went underground to organise the illegal printing of town, company and apartment block circulars, at least until the autumn, when they had to relocate their activities to the Czechoslovak/German border.<sup>89</sup>

Step by step, all the organs of state and institutions of civil society were subjugated to the will of the regime across Germany.<sup>90</sup> Hitler, however, was nonchalant: "*I am not a dictator. I have only simplified democracy,*" he would later claim.<sup>91</sup>

One of the many reasons as to why the Nazis made headway in Saxony in the early 1930s in what was traditionally a left wing state (recalling the earlier successes of the socialists and even communists there), was its role as a transit station for emigrants and cheap labour from the east (particularly Czechs). Large numbers of natives, however, were being affected by long-term economic decline, while cottage industries faced bankruptcy, which led to a Saxon society that grew "*increasingly fragmented and polarized.*"<sup>92</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> *Questions on German History. Paths to Parliamentary Democracy.* German Bundestag. 1998. Pg. 267

<sup>82</sup> A prominent Saxon Nazi leader and high-ranking Storm Trooper. L. Jones: *Saxony, 1924-1930 in Saxony in German History: Culture, Society, and Politics, 1830-1933.* Retallack. Pg. 369

<sup>83</sup> See: [en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Martin\\_Mutschmann](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Martin_Mutschmann)

<sup>84</sup> *Faust's Metropolis: A History of Berlin.* Alexandra Richie. Harper Press. London, 1998. Pg. 411

<sup>85</sup> *Leipzig: Geschichte der Stadt in Wort und Bild.* VEB, Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, Berlin, 1978. Pg. 81

<sup>86</sup> *Faust's Metropolis: A History of Berlin.* Alexandra Richie. Harper Press. London, 1998. Pg. 418

<sup>87</sup> *Leipzig: Geschichte der Stadt in Wort und Bild.* VEB, Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, Berlin, 1978. Pg. 82

<sup>88</sup> *I Will Bear Witness 1933-1941: A Diary of the Nazi Years.* Victor Klemperer. Modern Library Inc. 1999. Pg. 9

<sup>89</sup> *Leipzig: Geschichte der Stadt in Wort und Bild.* VEB, Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, Berlin, 1978. Pg. 82

<sup>90</sup> *Questions on German History. Paths to Parliamentary Democracy.* German Bundestag. 1998. Pg. 266

<sup>91</sup> *I Will Bear Witness 1933-1941: A Diary of the Nazi Years.* Victor Klemperer. Modern Library Inc. 1999. March 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1936, during his 'election campaign that year. Pg. 156

<sup>92</sup> L. Jones: *Saxony, 1924-1930 in Saxony in German History: Culture, Society, and Politics, 1830-1933.* Retallack. Pg. 362

Yet when the Nazis came in, they promised its citizens a 'Volksgemeinschaft,' an exclusivist 'ethnic community' of Aryan Germans "to replace traditional divisions with harmony and unity,"<sup>93</sup> social equality and solidarity. And so like the Utopian Marxist vision of a classless society, it intended to bring together the most disparate expectations and aspirations,<sup>94</sup> according to which the subordination of the individual to the collective, enhances and empowers both. Where self-sacrifice is superior to self-interest, unity brings harmony and where strength and pluralism brings discord and weakness.<sup>95</sup>

In the end though, note observers, Nazism "abandoned the idea of German nationalism and propagated a racialist ideology" that "destroyed all traditional social bonds, thereby making it easier for the regime to tighten its all-encompassing ideological hold on the population." Although racism had been a central element since the early 1920s, following the Nazis' seizure of power, it went on to become an "aggressive programme of action against what they claimed to be a Jewish-Bolshevist 'world conspiracy.'"<sup>96</sup> Which meant Saxony's 23,000 Jews, like all those outside Berlin, were subjected to increasing isolation, dehumanization, and eventual deportation to concentration camps in the east too.<sup>97</sup>

What then could the small tradesmen; the shopkeepers and craft producers, like Fritz Hinsch and Albert Petzold expect? They counted among the core constituencies of the party at the time, and were assured Hitler's protection, mused British-author, Isherwood.<sup>98</sup> Legislation already existed to curb the expansion of chain stores<sup>99</sup> and this was followed by the Nazis regulating advertising too, in an effort to make the consumer marketplace more 'honest' and less competitive.<sup>100</sup>

Germans!  
Defend  
Yourselves!  
Don't buy  
from Jews!  
Berlin,  
April 1<sup>st</sup>,  
1933  
Source:  
[historyplace.com](http://historyplace.com)



The countless Jewish-owned shops, however, were Hitler's next physical targets. On Saturday April 1<sup>st</sup>, 1933, Margot and her fellow troupers witnessed first hand the Jewish boycott, a spectacle that affected more than just the store owners and their property but their customers and city residents everywhere.

<sup>93</sup> L. Jones: *Saxony, 1924-1930 in Saxony in German History: Culture, Society, and Politics, 1830-1933*. Retallack. Pg. 370

<sup>94</sup> *Questions on German History. Paths to Parliamentary Democracy*. German Bundestag. 1998. Pg. 280

<sup>95</sup> *A German Generation*, Yale University Press. 2012. T.A. Kohut. Pg. 159

<sup>96</sup> *Questions on German History. Paths to Parliamentary Democracy*. German Bundestag. 1998. Pg. 253, 281, 290

<sup>97</sup> L. Jones: *Saxony, 1924-1930 in Saxony in German History: Culture, Society, and Politics, 1830-1933*. Retallack. Pg. 369

<sup>98</sup> *Mr. Norris Changes Trains*. Christopher Isherwood. 1935. In 'The Berlin Novels.' Vintage Classics, 1999. Pg. 222

<sup>99</sup> The Law for the Protection of Individual Trade was introduced in May 1933. *A Brief History of The Third Reich: The Rise and Fall of the Nazis*. Martyn Whittock. Constable&Robinson, 2011. Pg. 104

<sup>100</sup> *Trams or Tailfins? Public and Private Prosperity in Postwar West Germany and the United States*. Jan Logeman. University of Chicago Press, 2013. Pg. 17

Back in Berlin, most of the shops along the *Kurfürstendamm* were daubed with the word *JUDE* in white paint while others simply had their windows smeared or covered with large Stars of David. Jewish surgeries and legal offices saw: "ACHTUNG JUDEN! BESUCH VERBOTEN" (Attention Jews! Visits Forbidden) posted outside.<sup>101</sup>

In Hamburg, yellow posters went up all over town accompanied by Hitler's stormtroopers, some of whom marched up and down the streets shouting: "Germans! Don't buy from Jews! The Jews are your misfortune!"<sup>102</sup> In Leipzig, "SS officers were stationed in front of Jewish stores, urging Germans not to purchase from the Jews. Each Jewish store on...Brühl was effectively blocked by the SS, who permitted no one to enter." Amazingly, only "Minor incidents of violence against individual Jews" occurred.<sup>103</sup>

Now in *Köln*, just across the border from the Netherlands, Margot and the troupe were dismayed to read the next day in *Das Programm* the following announcement, printed in English too:

"...the news published in some foreign papers, reporting alleged horrors and terror acts to Jews and Foreigners in Germany are absolutely untrue and illintentioned. You may ask all foreign artistes now playing in Germany, whether they are troubled in any way or kept from work. They will tell you that nobody has troubled them and that all is quiet in Germany."<sup>104</sup>

"Those two-faced hypocrits!" she thought to herself from their hostel. "Who are they trying to deceive?" Certainly not the star of the *Rene Walden Schau*, who decided there and then he'd seen enough and returned to Holland. Sleeswijk had no choice but to hand the leading role to Walden, who saved the troupe because he "spoke German like a German and in two weeks he was second only to the best." What'smore, the reviews were fantastic.<sup>105</sup> It was an important step forward in the young Dutchman's career. And as she aided Walden's pronunciation, Margot grew enamoured. The troupe meanwhile dared to return to Berlin, having received word that they'd been granted a gig in the capital.

Ultimately the boycott didn't last more than 14 hours and the overt action on the streets was dropped.<sup>106</sup> The discrimination, however, continued.<sup>107</sup> Two days later for instance, the office of *Das Programm* was stormed by the SA and its editor dismissed. And just a few days after that, on April 7<sup>th</sup>, the first anti-semitic decree concerning the civil service and the educational system followed, the so-called 'Aryan Clause,' which sought to retire officials of non-Aryan origin.<sup>108</sup> It was a significant step toward excluding Jews from an increasing number of professions and from virtually all spheres of public life.<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>101</sup> *Faust's Metropolis: A History of Berlin*. Alexandra Richie. Harper Press. London, 1998. Pg. 424-425

<sup>102</sup> *Murder - Made in Germany: A True Story of Present-Day Germany*. Heinz Liepmann. Translated by Emile Burns. Harper and Brothers. 1934. Pg. 132

<sup>103</sup> *Lest We Forget: Growing up in Nazi Leipzig, 1933-1939*. Rabbi Shlomo Wahrman. Mesorah Pub's Ltd. 1991. Pg. 57

<sup>104</sup> *Gegen die Greuel-Propaganda*. Alfred Fossil, Editor. *Das Programm*, April 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1933. Vol. 32. Nr. 1617. Pg.5

<sup>105</sup> Despite reviewing the January - June 1933 issues of *Das Programm* I could only learn of a 'Henny Walden' and a 'Rudi Walden' who played theatres in Silesia and Baden Wurttemberg. Both were bonafide variety artists.

<sup>106</sup> Thanks in no small part to the negative coverage it received in the international press which caused the stock market to fall and New Yorkers to gather in Madison Square Gardens demanding a counter-boycott of all German-made goods were Hitler's measures not abandoned.

<sup>107</sup> *Faust's Metropolis: A History of Berlin*. Alexandra Richie. Harper Press. London, 1998. Pg. 426

<sup>108</sup> *Before the Deluge: A Portrait of Berlin in the 1920s* from 1972. Otto Friedrich. Pg. 384

<sup>109</sup> *Questions on German History. Paths to Parliamentary Democracy*. German Bundestag. 1998. Pg. 290

Mitteilung  
an alle  
Mitglieder  
der  
Internationalen  
Artisten-  
Loge. Das  
Programm  
April 9<sup>th</sup>,  
1933.



Little wonder the next issue of *Das Programm* bore front page news of its editor's dismissal.<sup>110</sup> After that the paper grew into a shadow of its former self. Its 'colour' faded, the typeface grew laconic, news one-dimensional and its pages were fraught with orders. Hitler grew omnipresent from cover to cover as did the swastika, while increased membership fees sought to compensate for lost revenue as performers and advertisers deserted the weekly. *Das Programm* grew lighter and lighter as a result. So much for the "IAL Gleichshaltung."<sup>111</sup>

Margot began to grow less and less interested in her 'old world.' She loved Germany, but this was not the *Heimat* she'd grown up in. Foreign trade papers such as *L'Artiste*<sup>112</sup> went as far as to report that it was forbidden for Jews and foreigners to work in Germany, something *Das Programm*, now at the mercy of an arbitrary power, was forced to respond to, printing: "In Germany foreigners will be treated in no way differently to Germans abroad." The statement was even 'penned' by the paper's original editor.<sup>113</sup> A declaration of war, then, against those who refused to employ Germans abroad?

The Nazis' discrimination heralded the decline of Berlin as a great European centre of culture. In his diary, Christopher Isherwood wrote:

*"Every evening I sit in the big half-empty artists' café by the Memorial Church,<sup>114</sup> where the Jews and left-wing intellectuals bend their heads together over the marble tables, speaking in low, scared voices. Many of them know that they will certainly be arrested – if not today, then tomorrow, or next week."<sup>115</sup>*

It wasn't long before foreign newspapers were next forbidden; the *Haagsche Post* alongside 24 English newspapers, 25 French, three Swiss, eight Czechoslovak, five Russian, 18 Polish, 12 Scandinavian and 28 American.<sup>116</sup> "Germany's ears were sopped and Germany's eyes were glued shut," recorded Liepmann, while a despondent Isherwood observed that the domestic newspapers grew;

*"more and more like copies of a school magazine. There is nothing in them but new rules, new punishments, and lists of people who have been 'kept in.' This morning Göring has invented three fresh varieties of high treason."<sup>117</sup>*

<sup>110</sup> Mitteilung an alle Mitglieder der Internationalen Artisten-Loge. Bernhard Croé. *Das Programm*. April 9<sup>th</sup>, 1933. Nr. 1618. Vol.32. Pg. 1

<sup>111</sup> IAL Gleichshaltung. Bernhard Croé. *Das Programm*, June 4<sup>th</sup>, 1933. Nr. 1626. Vol.32. Pg. 3-4

<sup>112</sup> Issue 266

<sup>113</sup> *Das Ausland und wir*. Alfred Fossil. *Das Programm*. April 30<sup>th</sup>, 1933. Nr. 1621. Vol. 32. Pg. 1

<sup>114</sup> The Memorial Church, more formally known as the Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gedächtniskirche lies on the Auguste-Viktoria Platz on the Kudamm, mid-way between the apartments of Mama Tjyralla and Onkel Albert

<sup>115</sup> Extracted from the second part of *Goodbye to Berlin* entitled; 'A Berlin Diary. Winter 1932-3.'

Christopher Isherwood. 1935. In 'The Berlin Novels.' Vintage Classics, 1999. Pg. 484

<sup>116</sup> *Murder – Made in Germany: A True Story of Present-Day Germany*. Heinz Liepmann. Translated by Emile Burns. Harper and Brothers. 1934. Pg. 168. See also: [nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Haagse\\_Post](https://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Haagse_Post), which indicates June 1933

<sup>117</sup> Extracted from the second part of *Goodbye to Berlin* entitled; 'A Berlin Diary. Winter 1932-3.'

Christopher Isherwood. 1935. In 'The Berlin Novels.' Vintage Classics, 1999. Pg. 484

Not surprisingly, an emigrant mentality began to emerge, just as Hitler and Goebbels had intended, with 1933 seeing the first flows of refugees: liberals, socialists, communists, homosexuals - and especially Jews, in short, those who were in opposition.<sup>118</sup> And while there were plenty who were not at all sorry to see them take flight, there were those who felt embarrassed by the Nazis' behaviour ("*although there is a yawning chasm between embarrassment and action,*" adds Alexandra Richie).<sup>119</sup>

Berlin could no longer pride itself on being the *Zeitung-stadt*, Germany's 'newspaper city.' During the 1920s it had had over 2,000 dailies and had published more newspapers than all of France and Britain together. But by 1940, there were only ten left in Berlin.<sup>120</sup> Jewish publishers were responsible for the most important dailies, but as their freedom grew curtailed, the loss of their newspapers and the media's independence further contributed to the mass exodus of creative minds and intellectuals.<sup>121</sup>

France was a popular destination for many. That June, Count Harry Kessler observed: "*The whole of the Kurfürstendamm is descending on Paris.*"<sup>122</sup> That included the likes of Georg Bernhard,<sup>123</sup> the once celebrated editor of the *Vossische Zeitung*<sup>124</sup> who speaking "*with the uttermost bitterness...said he never wants to return to 'that country' (Germany) and no longer regards himself as a German.*"<sup>125</sup> Jewish social commentator, Joseph Roth, oft-quoted in Chapter XI, directly fled to Paris too after Hitler took over of the chancellor.<sup>126</sup>

'De-Jewification' devastated Berlin musical life too. Dozens of the most eminent composers and musicians emigrated along with three of Berlin's great conductors. Eventually bans on degenerate music were extended to Debussy, Chopin, Tchaikovsky and others. Wagner on the other hand remained the epitome of Nazi musical taste.<sup>127</sup>

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<sup>118</sup> *Achter het doek: Duitse immigranten in de Nederlandse speelfilm in de jaren dertig* (Behind the Curtain: German Immigrants in the Dutch Movies in the Thirties). *Inleiding* (Introduction). K. Dittrich van Weeringh, K. van Weeringh. 1987. Pg. 11

<sup>119</sup> *Faust's Metropolis: A History of Berlin*. Alexandra Richie. Harper Press. London, 1998. Pg. 424

<sup>120</sup> *Faust's Metropolis: A History of Berlin*. Alexandra Richie. Harper Press. London, 1998. Pg. 427-8

<sup>121</sup> Around 2,000 people working in the arts left the country after 1933, including some of the most internationally famous German artists and writers of the time. However, the government's removal of their German citizenship caused them considerable hardship and problems abroad. *A Brief History of The Third Reich: The Rise and Fall of the Nazis*. Martyn Whittock. Constable&Robinson, 2011. Pg. 184

<sup>122</sup> *Berlin in Lights. The Diaries of Count Harry Kessler (1918-1937)*. Transl. by C. Kessler. Grove Press. 1999. Pg. 460. June 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1933

<sup>123</sup> See: [de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Georg\\_Bernhard](https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Georg_Bernhard)

<sup>124</sup> A well-known liberal German newspaper published in Berlin until 1934.

See: [en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vossische\\_Zeitung](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vossische_Zeitung)

<sup>125</sup> Bernhard arrived around mid-April following a "*fairly hazardous escape via the Franciscan Hospital, a Mecklenburg forester's house, Warnemünde and Copenhagen.*" *Berlin in Lights. The Diaries of Count Harry Kessler (1918-1937)*. April 16<sup>th</sup>, 1933. Transl. by C. Kessler. Grove Press. 1999. Pg. 453. Isherwood too wrote of his own departure on May 13<sup>th</sup>, 1933: "*On this very train there must be at least a few people in danger of their lives, travelling with false papers and in fear of being caught and sent to a concentration camp or simply killed outright. It is only in the past few weeks that I have fully grasped the fact that such a situation really exists - not in a newspaper or a novel - but here where I have been living.*" *Down There On A Visit*. C. Isherwood, Pg. 61. Quoted at: [www.cabaret-berlin.com/?p=645](http://www.cabaret-berlin.com/?p=645)

<sup>126</sup> See: [en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Joseph\\_Roth](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Joseph_Roth)

<sup>127</sup> *Faust's Metropolis: A History of Berlin*. Alexandra Richie. Harper Press. London, 1998. Pg. 451

But it was not only the Jews and intellectuals who fled the *Gleichshaltung*, the ‘Aryan Clause,’ and the Reichstag Fire Decree. Scientists and politicians too found safety abroad from the persecution, from where they “remained focused on Germany.” There they “tried to continue the struggle against National Socialism...or at least laid claim to representing “the other Germany.””<sup>128</sup>

Many great actors were forced to leave too. UFA, for instance, the major German film producer was headed primarily by Jews,<sup>129</sup> whilst 70 percent of Germany’s screenwriters, 45 percent of its film music composers and 47 percent of its film directors were of Jewish origin in the year before Hitler claimed power.<sup>130</sup> The likes of Billie Wilder, the film producer who in 1931 wrote the screenplay for the film adaptation of Kästner’s novel, *Emil and the Detectives*, left in 1933.<sup>131</sup>

Others who’d left several years before, like Marlene Dietrich, ventured a return (and that after snubbing the Nazis’ for refusing to welcome her Jewish director, *von Sternberg*).<sup>132</sup> She went back to her native Berlin briefly in that summer’s exhausting heat,<sup>133</sup> “took a look around, and went back to USA.”<sup>134</sup> Mind you, Jewish film people, had long been packing their bags and setting out on the great diaspora of the 1930s enriching the Hollywood and the British film industries with talented refugees, writes Alexander Walker.<sup>135</sup> But Berlin was bleeding and Margot was dismayed.

“The Berliners who left early were the lucky ones, or the wise ones, or simply the accidental survivors” remarked Otto Friedrich.<sup>136</sup> He may well have added that, “It took courage to flee,” but it took courage to stay too. Victor Klemperer, a Jewish Romanistik professor remarked on August 19<sup>th</sup> that year; “No letter, no telephone conversation, no word on the street is safe anymore. Everyone fears the next person may be an informer.”<sup>137</sup>



Kabarett der Komiker  
Source:  
zeitreisen.de

Given the climate Sleeswijk’s troupe was operating in, it eventually ran into difficulties. When they reached Berlin, they heard that the *Monbijou Cabaret* had been closed since the end of 1932.<sup>138</sup> The owner, however, had picked up their mail and by chance seen *Rene Walden Schau’s* application and forwarded it together with the troupe’s press clippings to a couple of other venues, including the *Kabarett der Komiker* or *Kadeko* (Cabaret of Comedians), a 950 seat venue in *Lehminer Platz*, just off the *Ku’damm* and about a kilometer from her mother’s flat. That offered them a couple of nights, during which they played to far from full houses.<sup>139</sup>

<sup>128</sup> *Questions on German History. Paths to Parliamentary Democracy.* German Bundestag. 1998. Pg. 279

<sup>129</sup> *My Life.* Marlene Dietrich. Translated by Salvator Attanasio. Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1987. Pg. 78

<sup>130</sup> *Achter het doek: Duitse immigranten in de Nederlandse speelfilm in de jaren dertig* (Behind the Curtain: German Immigrants in the Dutch Movies in the Thirties). *Inleiding* (Introduction). K. Dittrich van Weeringh, K. van Weeringh. 1987. Pg. 7

<sup>131</sup> See: [de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Billy\\_Wilder](https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Billy_Wilder)

<sup>132</sup> *My Life.* Marlene Dietrich. Translated by Salvator Attanasio. Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1987. Pg. 80

<sup>133</sup> “Exhausting heat for days.” July 28<sup>th</sup>, 1933. In: *I Will Bear Witness 1933-1941: A Diary of the Nazi Years.* Victor Klemperer. Modern Library Inc. 1999. Pg. 26

<sup>134</sup> *Before the Deluge: A Portrait of Berlin in the 1920s* from 1972. Otto Friedrich. Pg. 372

<sup>135</sup> *Dietrich.* Alexander Walker, Harper & Row, 1984. Pg. 115

<sup>136</sup> *Before the Deluge: A Portrait of Berlin in the 1920s* from 1972. Otto Friedrich. Pg. 387, 391

<sup>137</sup> *I Will Bear Witness 1933-1941: A Diary of the Nazi Years.* Aug. 19<sup>th</sup>, 1933. Klemperer. Modern Lib. Inc. 1999. Pg 31

<sup>138</sup> See: [de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kabarett\\_der\\_Namenlosen](https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kabarett_der_Namenlosen)

A second venue was the much more upmarket *Renaissance Theater* in Charlottenburg's *Knesebeckstraße*, an intimate 250-seat auditorium about a kilometer in the opposite direction from Mama's flat on *Savigny-Platz* (today it is the only fully-preserved Art Deco theatre in Europe).<sup>140</sup> Although the latter traditionally offered legitimate theatre, the *Rene Walden Schau* was being invited as a replacement for a revue act that had cancelled at the last minute. Who were they to turn down the opportunity?

But poor Dr. Friedmann. Back when they were in *Köln*, the conductor had already been told: "*You are a Jew. You can't work here.*" So in order to avoid detection he'd doubled over in the orchestra pit, Sleswijk later admitting: "*That was stressful.*"<sup>141</sup> On that basis, however, the troupe decided it was their last gig. It was time to head home. It was the end of April.

Before leaving, Margot went to wish her mother goodbye. To her surprise she learned *Mama* was preparing to move to new lodgings in *Mitte*, NW6,<sup>142</sup> across the city. She was after a new start following the 'break-up' with Albert, and figured *Friedrich-Wilhelm Stadt*<sup>143</sup> in the heart of old Berlin would be more ideal. She'd grown fond of the area along *Friedrichstrasse* between *Unter den Linden*, a boulevard she'd always loved, and the nearby *Spree* where the boats continuously chugged up and down the waterway. Beyond lay the *revue* theatre, the *Friedrichstadt Palast*, and nearby of course, the *Friedrichstrasse Stadtbahn* and *U-bahn* stations.<sup>144</sup>

Home for now would be flat #4 on the first floor<sup>145</sup> at *Albrechtstrasse 5* (see '1' on the map overleaf),<sup>146</sup> which according to the city's *Adressbuch*, offered private lodging (*Privatlogis*).<sup>147</sup> The location was ideal: ten minutes walk away was the *Lehrter Bahnhof* (today's *Hauptbahnhof*), which put Hamburg and Amsterdam within easy reach too. 'Alex' (*Alexanderplatz*) lay one stop east while her old haunts in Charlottenburg to the west were only a handful of stops away too.

*"It's only temporary as I'll look for something else, once all matters concerning the Hinsch villa are settled. But the change will do me good,"* she noted.

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<sup>139</sup> See: [www.cabaret-berlin.com/?p=87](http://www.cabaret-berlin.com/?p=87)

<sup>140</sup> See: [www.cabaret-berlin.com/?p=630](http://www.cabaret-berlin.com/?p=630) and [de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Renaissance-Theater\\_\(Berlin\)](https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Renaissance-Theater_(Berlin))

<sup>141</sup> René Sleswijk. *Leven dat op 1 Oktober 65 jaar duurt*. *Leidsch Dagblad*. September 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1972. Pg. 15

<sup>142</sup> See: [de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Berliner\\_Postbezirke\\_\(ab\\_1862\)](https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Berliner_Postbezirke_(ab_1862)). NW7 according to her *Einwohnermeldekarte* in 1942.

<sup>143</sup> See: [de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Friedrich-Wilhelm-Stadt](https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Friedrich-Wilhelm-Stadt)

<sup>144</sup> In full: *Berliner Stadt-, Ring- und Vorortbahnen*. See: [en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Berlin\\_S-Bahn](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Berlin_S-Bahn)

<sup>145</sup> She arrived no later than June 8<sup>th</sup>, 1933, according to Marie Hinsch's *Nachlassakte*. NB; Curiously, this address does not appear in her *Einwohnermeldekarte*, although it should be added that residential data wasn't in fact logged until 1937.

<sup>146</sup> *Mitte* was Berlin's first city district following the introduction of the Greater Berlin Act in 1920.

See: [en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mitte\\_\(locality\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mitte_(locality))

<sup>147</sup> The building was erected in 1837, according to [de.wikipedia.org/wiki/AlbrechtstraÙe\\_\(Berlin-Mitte\)](https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Albrechtstra%C3%9Fe_(Berlin-Mitte))

Guide to  
Annotations:  
1: Frau Týralla's  
Berlin environs  
between 1933 and  
1937  
2: Frau Týralla's  
shortlived lodgings in  
1937 in *Tieckstrasse* 35;  
3: The last of her  
homes in Berlin,  
*Dresdener Strasse* 77,  
from 1938-1939  
(For more on 2 and 3,  
see Chapter XIV)

Map Source:  
*Pharus-Plan Berlin*  
1936



It's true that the district was chock-full of entertainment venues. Besides the *Palast* (formerly *Zirkus Schumann*), it hosted the *Deutsches*, *Lessing*, and *Neues* theatres too as well as the *Wintergarten*. She didn't realise it yet, but *Albrechtstrasse* would go on to become *Mama's* home for the next four and a half years.

As regards her daughter's visit, however, *Frau Týralla* expected more than just coffee and a chit-chat. She wanted a hand with packing, but *Margot* had no time to stay:

*"Dr. Friedman's life is at risk and we don't have much time to spare, since I still need to go and pick up my exit visa."*<sup>148</sup>

It was at that point she noticed a startling change had come over *Mama*. Although she had never been a huge fan of the Nazis, she'd begun to see positives:

*"Their successes are already visible,"* she argued. *"The unemployed are no longer on the streets. They would always hang out in front of the bars, drunk or not drunk. And then Hitler came along and gave them work."*<sup>149</sup> And because of that, a certain calmness prevails. You can walk along in completely deserted areas without anxiety. Now I can walk past the zoo and through the park. I can return home around midnight without any trouble. I'm no longer frightened. One feels proud to be German again," she said.<sup>150</sup>

<sup>148</sup> According to a Prussian regulation of April 10<sup>th</sup>, 1933, for frequent exits and entries a six-month exit visa was readily available. See *Neuregelung des Ausreise-Sichtoermerks. Das Programm*. April 9<sup>th</sup>, 1933. Vol.32, Nr. 1618. Pg. 4

<sup>149</sup> Wikipedia notes, however: "The various public works projects – which were to give 2,000,000 unemployed Germans jobs by July 1933 and are often wrongly attributed to Hitler – were the work of the Schleicher government, which had passed the necessary legislation in January." See: [en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kurt\\_von\\_Schleicher](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kurt_von_Schleicher)

<sup>150</sup> Paraphrased from interview statements made within: *A German Generation*, Yale University Press. 2012. T.A. Kohut. Pg. 106/7

Margot couldn't believe her ears. With the tears welling she bade a prompt farewell, wondering if and when she'd ever return to Germany. But *Mama* was not finished: "And you young lady ought to think about returning and settling down here and finding a good German husband," she reminded Margot, accommodating Hitler's view, that the German woman's "world is her husband, her family, her children, and her home"<sup>151</sup> (although truthfully she was more worried about losing Margot's income support now that Nannÿ had departed and was a housewife to a Dutchman).

By now Margot couldn't leave quickly enough. Climbing into the troupe's transport, she explained what she'd just heard to her friends:

*"This morning I...heard her talking reverently about 'Der Führer'... If anybody were to remind her that, at the elections last November she voted communist, she would probably deny it hotly, and in perfect good faith."*<sup>152</sup>

But by now, many Germans were finding his whole style of speaking and presenting his message in a highly staged and theatrical style, deeply moving, creating an almost religious atmosphere of worship and hope. According to Whittock, "Nazism became a kind of secular religion, in which Hitler was presented as a German messiah."<sup>153</sup>

Dr. Friedmann, their conductor, responded to Margot first:

*"She is merely acclimatizing herself, in accordance with natural law, like an animal which changes its coat for winter. Thousands of people are acclimatizing themselves. After all, whatever government is in power, they are doomed to live in this town."*<sup>154</sup> Klemperer wrote along similar lines: "The fact is, that the Nazi doctrine is in part not really alien to the people, in part is gradually polluting the healthy section of the population. Neither Christian nor Jew is safe from infection."<sup>155</sup>

Everyone was falling under Hitler's spell and by accommodating oneself to the regime, one could have a comfortable life.<sup>156</sup> Sadly for their conductor, that meant the troupe, "ended up returning to the Netherlands with Dr. Friedman concealed in the trunk of the car."<sup>157</sup>

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<sup>151</sup> *A Brief History of The Third Reich: The Rise and Fall of the Nazis*. M. Whittock. Constable&Robinson, 2011. Pg. 156

<sup>152</sup> This text is largely based on a statement made by Isherwood's landlady, Fräulein Schroeder. However, I doubt *Mama* voted communist. Extracted from the second part of *Goodbye to Berlin* entitled; 'A Berlin Diary. Winter 1932-3.' Christopher Isherwood. 1935. In 'The Berlin Novels.' Vintage Classics, 1999. Pg. 489

<sup>153</sup> *A Brief History of The Third Reich: The Rise and Fall of the Nazis*. M. Whittock. Constable&Robinson, 2011. Pg. 42

<sup>154</sup> Extracted from the second part of *Goodbye to Berlin* entitled; 'A Berlin Diary. Winter 1932-3.' Christopher Isherwood. 1935. In 'The Berlin Novels.' Vintage Classics, 1999. Pg. 489

<sup>155</sup> *I Will Bear Witness 1933-1941: A Diary of the Nazi Years*. Oct. 18<sup>th</sup>, 1936. V. Klemperer. Modern Library Inc. 1999. Pg. 199

<sup>156</sup> *A German Generation*, Yale University Press. 2012. T.A. Kohut. Pg. 125. NB. A rhyme repeated more than once in Liepmann's novel, *Murder in Germany*, went: "Dear God, keep me dumb. Or to Wittmoor I'll come." *Murder - Made in Germany: A True Story of Present-Day Germany*. Heinz Liepmann. Translated by Emile Burns. Harper and Brothers. 1934. Pg. 119. NB: Wittmoor was a concentration camp outside Hamburg.

<sup>157</sup> René Sleswijk. *Leven dat op 1 Oktober 65 jaar duurt*. *Leidsch Dagblad*. September 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1972. Pg.

Some ten days after they arrived home, the radio broadcast details of Goebbels latest stunt – the burning of ‘un-German’ books on May 10<sup>th</sup>, 1933. Students had been encouraged, led by the German Student Union, to march through the city to the Brandenburg Gate and up *Unter den Linden* to *Opernplatz*, where 160 authors and 20,000 works were subsequently consumed by flames.<sup>158</sup> Erich Kästner and Thomas Mann (known for the pro-Prussian, Hanseatic family saga, *Buddenbrooks*) were among those authors singled out ‘because of their affront to discipline and morality in the family and the state.’<sup>159</sup> The same occurred in Leipzig at its *Volkshaus* (after it had been occupied) and in other university towns across Germany.

“We couldn’t have timed our departure better,” Margot told sister Nannj, with whom she discussed at length affairs and her experiences in Germany, besides *Mama’s* surprising change of heart. Along with René, Willy and Dr. Friedman, they were safely home. However, they still feared for those they loved that they’d left behind.

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The emigration of so many of Germany’s Jews represented “a huge loss for German Society...since they often occupied leading positions in the economy, legal life, scholarship, and literature.”<sup>160</sup> Alongside the cast and crew of the ‘*Rene Walden Schau*,’ many performers streamed into the Netherlands. Between 1933 and 1940, 50-60,000 inhabitants of the Third Reich fled over the Dutch kingdom’s frontier.<sup>161</sup> For a large number, the Netherlands was a waystation.<sup>162</sup> But for many writers, theater people, comedians, musicians, visual artists and filmmakers, they made the Netherlands, especially Amsterdam, their permanent residence.<sup>163</sup> And that was by no means by chance.

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<sup>158</sup> *Faust’s Metropolis: A History of Berlin*. Alexandra Richie. Harper Press. London, 1998. Pg. 447

<sup>159</sup> NB: “Kästner was in Zurich in 1933 when Hitler came to power. [Yet] to the amazement of his artistic friends, who were streaming off the train from Berlin in vast numbers, he returned to Germany,” writes R.W.Last in his reflections on the work of Kästner, “from where he was allowed to continue publishing abroad...” although he was twice arrested by the Gestapo in connection with his publishing activities. After the war, Kästner was questioned over his reasons for staying. His arguments for staying were sincere: “A writer wants to and must experience how the nation to which he belongs endures its fate in hard times...It is his professional duty to...remain as a witness and to be able to one day to testify to what he has seen.” *Erich Kästner*. Modern German Authors. New Series. Volume Three. R.W.Last. Oswald Wolff, 1974. Pg. 17-18.

<sup>160</sup> *Social Structure in the Twentieth Century*. Benninghaus, Haupt and Requate in *Germany since 1800: A New Social and Economic History* edited by Ogilvie and Overly. Pg. 285

<sup>161</sup> Source missing, but [en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_the\\_Jews\\_in\\_the\\_Netherlands](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_the_Jews_in_the_Netherlands) reports around half of this number were Jewish.

<sup>162</sup> “They came from Nazi Germany to the Netherlands, some also as exiles from other countries such as Austria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, England and France. They found work and initially hoped for better times in Germany, better jobs in the host country and for the possibility to emigrate to America.” *Achter het doek: Duitse immigranten in de Nederlandse speelfilm in de jaren dertig* (Behind the Curtain: German Immigrants in the Dutch Movies in the Thirties). *De Nederlandse speelfilm en de emigranten* (Dutch film and the emigrants). K. Dittrich van Weeringh, K. van Weeringh. 1987. Pg. 33

<sup>163</sup> *Achter het doek: Duitse immigranten in de Nederlandse speelfilm in de jaren dertig* (Behind the Curtain: German Immigrants in the Dutch Movies in the Thirties). *Inleiding* (Introduction). K. Dittrich van Weeringh, K. van Weeringh. 1987. Pg. 12

Heinz Wielek, a publicist and critic who himself fled Germany that April of 1933,<sup>164</sup> explains why one of the most attractive countries for those fleeing Germany was its low lying neighbour;

*"For many they fled to the Netherlands simply because they ... could not separate from Germany. The Dutch language was not dislike German, while the Netherlands was spiritually and cultural related to Germany."*<sup>165</sup>

Indeed, during the Weimar and Nazi period, its so-called 'Westforschung,' (the study of the history and culture of lands adjoining Germany's western and southern borders) deemed the Dutch "a people who 'should have been' Germans and whose alienation was unfortunate."<sup>166</sup> The map to the right illustrates the affinity between the two nations in regards to language.<sup>167</sup> Those from northern Germany who spoke *Plattdeutsch* (or Low German) will particularly have found it easier to grasp Dutch (such as the late Friedrich Hinsch, Nannj and Margot's grandfather), compared to those who grew up in middle Germany for instance (like the young Tjyrallas themselves). *Niederdeutsch* is descended from Old Saxon and during the era of the Hanseatic League<sup>168</sup> was its *lingua franca*.<sup>169</sup>



Approximate area in which Low German/  
Low Saxon dialects are today spoken in Europe  
Source: [wiki/Low\\_German](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Low_German) (User: Rex\_Germanus)

One can easily see the similarities between Low German and Dutch too: The High German word for day, 'Tag,' is 'Dag' in Low German, which is the same in Dutch. 'Essen' (to eat), is 'eten' in both Low German and Dutch. 'Weib' (wife) becomes 'Wief' in Low German and 'wif' in Dutch. 'Sitzen' is 'sitten' in Low German or 'zitten' in Dutch – to sit.<sup>170</sup> Those speaking Lower German therefore usually lost their accents when speaking in another language, while my *Hoch Deutsch*-speaking grandmother never really shook off her accent nor key German phrases according to memory. "Na ja" she would say, or "un(d)" instead of 'en,' and "sicher" instead of 'sikker.' Nevertheless, fluency was not beyond reach, Wielek himself grasping Dutch so quickly that in a short space of time he was writing for the Dutch daily, *Het Volk*.

<sup>164</sup> Wielek (real name: *Wilhelm Kweksilber*) was a stateless Jew whose origins were Polish but who, having been born in Köln, narrowly escaped after Hitler seized power, arriving in the Netherlands as a political refugee, although he had never intended to settle there permanently. See: [resources.huygens.knaw.nl/bwn1880-2000/lemmata/b/bwn5/kweksilber](https://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/bwn1880-2000/lemmata/b/bwn5/kweksilber)

<sup>165</sup> *Nederland en het Duitse exil 1933-1940*. Kathinka Dittrich van Weringh & Hans M. Wurzner (eds). Van Genneep, 1982. Pg. 94. Thought to be sourced from *De D-trein uit Duitsland in Voor de oorlog. Herinneringen aan de jaren '30*. Martin Schouten. Bezige Bij, 1982. Pg. 162-165

<sup>166</sup> *The Close 'Other': Medieval and Modern Perspectives on Hollanders and the Hanse*.

Justyna Wubs-Mrozewicz. *Journal of the German History Society*, Vol. 31, No. 4. December 2014. Pg. 453

<sup>167</sup> The 1880 map included in Chapter III (see pg. 39) reveals the Low German *sprachraum* extended deep into Belgium and south of Brussels in 1880 according to German view.

<sup>168</sup> A 14<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> century maritime trading confederation of merchant guilds and their market towns which stretched from St. Petersburg to Zeeland. See: [en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hanseatic\\_League](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hanseatic_League)

<sup>169</sup> See: [en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Low\\_German](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Low_German)

<sup>170</sup> [en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Low\\_German](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Low_German)

First issue of  
*Die Sammlung*,  
Sept. 1933 by  
Querido  
Verlag  
Amsterdam  
Source: [wiki/Die\\_Sammlung](#)



Jewish refugees also began to arrive in their thousands from Austria and together with their German brethren, established themselves in Amsterdam South (*Amsterdam Zuid*, beyond *De Pijp*). According to Geert Mak in *Amsterdam: A Brief Life of the City*, their presence, which included many writers and artists, re-awakened the Amsterdammers, who were especially taken by their cabaret and literature.<sup>171</sup> Émigré literature included a monthly literary magazine first published in September 1933,<sup>172</sup> called *Die Sammlung*, and “for a brief period, the city became a kind of sanctuary.”<sup>173</sup>

The immigrants arrived in a country whose policy of neutrality was more than a century old. Domestic politics prevailed over foreign, although in regards to the latter, the population demonstrated a greater aversion to communist Russia<sup>174</sup> than Nazi Germany.<sup>175</sup> Holland was already home to approximately 112,000 Jews in 1930,<sup>176</sup> making up approximately 1.4 percent of the population. That number grew to 140,000 by 1939, since between 25,000 German Jewish refugees and 34,000 from Germany and Austria arrived during those years.<sup>177</sup>

Dutch society at the time is said to have been composed of four ‘pillars,’ namely; Calvinists, Roman Catholics, social democrats and a weaker, more liberal or neutral pillar, although it was also observed that these groups cut across class lines at a political and social level.<sup>178</sup> According to Bob Moore (he being a professor of history in Sheffield and who made the above observation), the Dutch were typically bound together by “bourgeois precepts and beliefs; namely capitalist production, parliamentary democracy, order and authority, national interests, and a set of rules for civility and proper conduct.”<sup>179</sup>

To the new arrivals then, The Netherlands will have rather felt like an extension of 1920s Weimar Germany I imagine, especially since Dutch Jews too associated with the more socialist and liberal pillars of Dutch society in their social and political activities.<sup>180</sup>

<sup>171</sup> *Amsterdam: A Brief Life of the City*. Geert Mak. Vintage, 2001. Pg. 244

<sup>172</sup> See: [en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Die\\_Sammlung](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Die_Sammlung)

<sup>173</sup> *Amsterdam: A Brief Life of the City*. Geert Mak. Vintage, 2001. Pg. 245

<sup>174</sup> Recall how in the *Townsville Daily Bulletin* featured in part 1 of Chapter XIII, the communists were refused entry to the Netherlands on the occasion of the *World Anti-War Congress* barely a year earlier.

<sup>175</sup> *Achter het doek: Duitse immigranten in de Nederlandse speelfilm in de jaren dertig* (Behind the Curtain: German Immigrants in the Dutch Movies in the Thirties). Inleiding. K. Dittrich van Weeringh, K. van Weeringh. 1987. Pg. 21 and *Nederland en het Duitse exil 1933-1940*. K. Dittrich van Weeringh, H. M. Wurznier (eds). Van Gennep, 1982. Pg. 26

<sup>176</sup> See: [en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_the\\_Jews\\_in\\_the\\_Netherlands](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_the_Jews_in_the_Netherlands)

<sup>177</sup> *Ibid*. Further reading: *Refugees from Nazi Germany in the Netherlands 1933–1940*. Bob Moore. International Institute of Social History of Amsterdam. Dordrecht, 1986. Previewed [here](#).

<sup>178</sup> *Beyond Anne Frank: Hidden Children and Postwar Families in Holland*. Diane L. Wolf. University of California Press, 2007. Pg. 63-64. Online [here](#).

<sup>179</sup> *Victims and Survivors: The Nazi Persecution of the Jews in the Netherlands, 1940–1945*. Bob Moore. Arnold, 1997.

<sup>180</sup> *Beyond Anne Frank: Hidden Children and Postwar Families in Holland*. Diane L. Wolf. University of California Press, 2007. Pg. 64. Online [here](#).

In the literary world, the first publisher of exiled German literature was Amsterdam-based *Querido*,<sup>181</sup> which operated in friendly competition with *Allert de Lange*.<sup>182</sup> These stood quite apart from the more than fifty other Dutch publishers who published German *Exil* literature too,<sup>183</sup> including *Van Kampen & Zoon*, who at the end of 1933 published *Heinz Liepmann's* aforementioned novel as *Das Vaterland: Ein Tatsachen Roman aus dem heutigen Deutschland*.<sup>184</sup>

Liepmann, a Jewish communist whose books had been banned by the Nazis on April 26<sup>th</sup>, arrived in Amsterdam that summer after escaping from the *KZ Wittmoor* concentration camp just outside his hometown of Hamburg.<sup>185</sup> He spent around six months in the Dutch capital and whilst there reflected:

"And now I'm in a wonderful city, whose landscape and people are glamorous, but it's a foreign country. You, my Germany, have burned my books, killed my friends and disguised me under a strange name so that the press does not find out I've been deported and tortured. You've forced me to flee from you. Germany! I call out every night: Germany, where are you?"<sup>186</sup>

Rather to Margot's detriment, she arrived back in the Netherlands at a time when unemployment was beginning to cause great concern, climbing steadily until the end of 1936, thus heralding the worst years of its 'Great Depression' (*De Grote Depressie, de Crisisjaren, de Crisistijd*).<sup>187</sup> Analysts link its persistence to the government's policy of tying the Dutch currency to the 'Gold Standard'.<sup>188</sup>

The NSB or the *Nationaal-Socialistische Beweging in Nederland*, the Dutch fascist and later national socialist political party<sup>189</sup> naturally benefited from the political instability which accompanied the economic decline and the ensuing riots.<sup>190</sup> It drew considerable support during this period from the city's petit bourgeoisie and upper middle classes,<sup>191</sup> although its members could also be seen marching through the streets in uniform whilst running battles would regularly arise between them and the young socialists and communists.



Emblem of the National Socialist Movement in the Netherlands 1931-1936  
Source: wiki (NikNaks93)

<sup>181</sup> *Querido Verlag* was set up as a separate publishing house for German political exiles who could no longer publish in Germany. It was directed by German publisher, Fritz Landshoff, who from 1933 to 1940 published 110 works of so-called German exile-literature. Part of the authors' campaign was to convince their host countries and the whole world that the Nazi regime was at the point of starting a war to rule the world. As can be seen from *Die Sammlung's* cover, its famous roster of writers included Alfred Döblin (renowned for *Berlin Alexanderplatz* which as a movie had just premiered in Berlin on Oct. 8<sup>th</sup>, 1931), Heinrich Mann (brother of Thomas, author of *Buddenbrooks* and a native of Hanseatic Lübeck), as well as Klaus Mann (Thomas' son). See: [en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Emanuel\\_Querido](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Emanuel_Querido)

<sup>182</sup> Another publisher of exile literature was *Allert de Lange*, whose writers included Bertolt Brecht and Joseph Roth. See: [de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Allert\\_de\\_Lange\\_Verlag](https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Allert_de_Lange_Verlag)

<sup>183</sup> *Achter het doek: Duitse immigranten in de Nederlandse speelfilm in de jaren dertig* (Behind the Curtain: German Immigrants in the Dutch Movies in the Thirties). *De Nederlandse speelfilm en de emigranten* (Dutch film and the emigrants). K. Dittrich van Weeringh, K. van Weeringh. 1987. Pg. 33

<sup>184</sup> Later published in Dutch as well as English in 1934. See: [its.berkeley.edu/library/cruel/summaries/leipmann.html](https://its.berkeley.edu/library/cruel/summaries/leipmann.html)

<sup>185</sup> Liepmann was born in Osnabrück in Lower Saxony. Before he moved to the Netherlands, he had worked since 1927 as a dramaturge at the *Hamburg Kammerspiele* before becoming a prize winning novelist in 1929. See: [de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Heinz\\_Liepman](https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Heinz_Liepman)

<sup>186</sup> *Nederland en het Duitse exil 1933-1940*. K. Dittrich van Weeringh, H. M. Wurzner (eds). Van Gennepe, 1982. Pg. 94

<sup>187</sup> See: [en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Great\\_Depression\\_in\\_the\\_Netherlands](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Great_Depression_in_the_Netherlands)

<sup>188</sup> i.e. where a standard economic unit of account is based on a fixed quantity of reserve gold.

<sup>189</sup> See: [en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National\\_Socialist\\_Movement\\_in\\_the\\_Netherlands](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National_Socialist_Movement_in_the_Netherlands)

<sup>190</sup> See: [en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Great\\_Depression#Netherlands](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Great_Depression#Netherlands)

<sup>191</sup> *Amsterdam: A Brief Life of the City*. Geert Mak. Vintage, 2001. Pg. 245

But that was hardly grounds for concern, one Jewish local to Amsterdam noting; “I simply laughed at the first marches of the NSB.”<sup>192</sup> Nevertheless, anti-fascist youths did take affront, especially after the showing of the first German film with an overtly Nazi message, *Morgenrood* (Dawn).<sup>193</sup> That was shortly after Hitler’s takeover of power, and they responded by hosting a demonstration on the *Rembrandtplein*, nearby to where Nanny and her then husband-to-be, Cor had lived barely six months earlier.<sup>194</sup>

While the Netherlands initially served as a safe haven for its in-migrants, the economic situation brought concern to the extent that *Das Programm’s* Holland-based correspondent began to discourage Germans from heading there to work, reporting; “it’s no better in Holland than anywhere else and whoever wishes to work in Holland is in for bitter disappointment.” Writing from *Den Haag* on January 16<sup>th</sup> that year, Adolf Lorch underlined that the number of unemployed was continuing to rise; “in the three big towns, Amsterdam, Rotterdam and Den Haag, there are around 120,000 unemployed”, while the salaries of civil servants and private wages are further reduced and taxes increased throughout many cities.<sup>195</sup>

Fortunately for Margot and her fellow troupers, not every sector of the economy suffered the same way. While shipping and trading were hit especially hard,<sup>196</sup> Dutch *revue*, thanks to its glitter and glamour (which offered the unemployed occasional opportunity to escape their woes too),<sup>197</sup> weathered the storm. “Despite purchasing power having fallen to a minimum, dance, cinema and sports still attract patrons,” reported Lorch, “and although all establishments still invariably complain, almost all have adapted.”<sup>198</sup>



Stars of Carré: Nannÿ Tjzalla returns to the stage with those who contributed to its success (husband Cor hides off camera) - undated Source: 90 jaar Carré. Han Peekel. Bussum 1977. Pg. 107



Throughout 1933, Carré remained close to fully booked offering entertainment to match all tastes, from Italian opera (*The Barber of Seville*) to revue operetta (*In 't Witte Paard*, in which Simon Dickson led 12 Dickson Girls across the boards during February), the *Bouwmeester revue* (*Dat's goed Bekeken* during April), plus

*Stapper's* (in early October) and *Meyer Hamel* in December (whilst another interesting programme item is described in the textbox overleaf).<sup>199</sup> Throughout the period Nannÿ continued to rub shoulders with Carré’s stars, as the photo left reveals.

<sup>192</sup> *Herinnering aan Joods Amsterdam (Remembering the Jews of Amsterdam)* referenced in *Amsterdam: A Brief Life of the City*. Geert Mak. Vintage, 2001. Pg. 248

<sup>193</sup> See: [www.imdb.com/title/tt0024352](http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0024352)

<sup>194</sup> *Amsterdam: A Brief Life of the City*. Geert Mak. Vintage, 2001. Pg. 244-245

<sup>195</sup> *Holland von Heute*. Adolf Lorch. *Das Programm*. January 29<sup>th</sup>, 1933. Nr. 1608. Vol. 32. Pg 6-7

<sup>196</sup> See: [en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Great\\_Depression\\_in\\_the\\_Netherlands](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Great_Depression_in_the_Netherlands)

<sup>197</sup> *This Way Please! Popular Theatre in the Netherlands 1839-1939. Hallo Hierheen! Theater voor het grote publiek 1839-1939*. Paul Blom et al. Amsterdam, TIN.

<sup>198</sup> *Holland von Heute*. Adolf Lorch. *Das Programm*. January 29<sup>th</sup>, 1933. Nr. 1608. Vol. 32. Pg 6-7

<sup>199</sup> *100 jaar Carré*. Han Peekel, Fridtjof Meerlo en Han Santing. Loeb Uitgevers B.V., Amsterdam. 1987. Pg. 93, 95

### 13.5: Die Stadt ohne Juden

An interesting addition to the Carré's repertoire was the mid-summer (July 11-16<sup>th</sup>, 1933) showing of a 1924 Austrian Expressionist film called: 'Stadt ohne Juden' (*The City Without Jews*) which screened as a protest against Hitler's Germany. It caused a stir, not least because it was a relatively accurate allegorical vision of the near future, although in the film, the antisemitic Parliamentary representative Bernard regains consciousness from his drunken stupor with the words: "Thank God that stupid dream is over - we are all just people and we don't want hate - we want life - we want to live together in peace."

The Nazis' inevitably derided the film because in the original book, the antisemite comes to the realisation that the Jews are a "necessary evil." Nevertheless, it was a forerunner of what was to come until the end of World War II.

Sources: [en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The\\_City\\_Without\\_Jews](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_City_Without_Jews) and 100 jaar Carré. Han Peekel, Fridtjof Meerlo en Han Santing. Loeb Uitgevers B.V., Amsterdam. 1987. Pg. 96



Obviously thanks to her past performances on the Dutch stage not to mention acquaintances (but perhaps Willy Walden in particular), Margot went straight back to work upon her arrival in Holland. Come the summer of 1933,<sup>200</sup> she and Walden found themselves playing in the 'third'<sup>201</sup> *Nationale Revue*, "O...Bedoel je Dat" ("Oh...that's what you mean"), alongside Lou Bandy, Wiesje Bouwmeester and Clairette Hammé.<sup>202</sup> She is thought to have enjoyed the run of the stage as one of '12 National Whirlwind Girls.' The premier was in *den Haag's Scala Theater* on August 17<sup>th</sup>, 1933, after which it went on an impressive run across the country.



The Third Nationale Revue: 'O...Bedoel je Dat'  
Source: Carré: *Het theater van iedereen*. Han Peekel

With the ongoing crisis, she was perhaps fortunate to find employment. Until that point the admission of German nationals looking to work in the Netherlands was based on a 1930 labour agreement between the two countries. At the same time, visitors and tourists could come and go as they please. Border controls were by no means systematic and there was no central registration of aliens. "Thus, at the beginning of 1933, the Dutch borders were still open for most nationals of western European countries... Only those people who intended to stay for any length of time were obliged to report to the police in the locality where they were resident."<sup>203</sup>

<sup>200</sup> After returning from Germany in early May, Walden performed in a 'never seen before' short revue called 'De Fluitketel' at the *Luxor Theatre*, a cinema in *Groningen* close to the German border on May 11<sup>th</sup>, alongside Lou Bandy, Wiesje Bouwmeester plus 8 National Girls (an ad for the show, promoted by Frigge, appeared in the *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden* on May 11<sup>th</sup>, 1933, Pg. 14). Sleswijk meanwhile went on to put together a small revue relying on completely unknown second rate artists that subsequently enjoyed a run at Amsterdam's 'Plantage' *Schouwburg*, according to 'René Sleswijk. *Leven dat op 1 Oktober 65 jaar duurt*.' *Leidsch Dagblad*. September 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1972. Pg. 15

<sup>201</sup> Informally stated by the *Heldersche Courant* on February 10<sup>th</sup>, 1934. Pg. 10 and described as such in 100 jaar Carré. Han Peekel, Fridtjof Meerlo en Han Santing. Loeb Uitgevers B.V., Amsterdam. 1987. Pg. 96

<sup>202</sup> According to bill posters, *Bouwmeester* and *Hammé* performed in 'n *Geel Bandje Meneer*, the latter in *Hallo Hierheen*.

<sup>203</sup> After which they were granted a residence permit. *Refugees from Nazi Germany in the Netherlands 1933-1940*. Bob Moore. International Institute of Social History of Amsterdam. Dordrecht, 1986. Pg. 59. Previewed [here](#).

Unnervingly for Margot, that policy came under review following the first wave of refugees from Germany.<sup>204</sup> From February 10<sup>th</sup>, 1933 an *Arbeidsverklaring* or work permit was formally required of German workers entering the Netherlands,<sup>205</sup> while on February 26<sup>th</sup>, 1933, *Das Programm* reported a commission had been established to survey the number of foreigners working in the Dutch entertainment industry, with a view to limiting artists,' musicians' and actors' freedom in obtaining work permits.

Even though *Das Programm* had only just discouraged Germans from heading to Holland for work, it rounded on the foreseen measures by announcing that it expected the Dutch artists' representation to lobby for the right of Germans to continue working there and argued that if it didn't it would suffer thanks to its lack of homegrown talent!<sup>206</sup>

Margot was no refugee but even those that were, still tended to arrive as 'visitors' after February 10<sup>th</sup> with border controls remaining lax, obviating the real need for an *Arbeidsverklaring*.<sup>207</sup> Nevertheless she was German and probably envied her elder sister, Nannÿ, for the security she now had, having been naturalised. It was all very well frolicking across Germany with René and co but he was married and she wanted someone who was available! Just as Nannÿ had found herself a Dutchman (who 'only' happened to be the stage manager of Amsterdam's Carré theatre) she wished to settle. She could just see herself visiting in-laws like *Kleine Tiny's Ome Dick* and *Tante Rie* in *Badhoevedorp* or great aunts and uncles in *Yerseke*, where the quintessential Dutch scenes left were snapped.

That August 'O...bedoel je dat' was performed at Rotterdam's Grand Theatre, where its cast entertained a staggering 42,000 onlookers in just two weeks.<sup>208</sup> Although they headed to *Heerlen* at the Dutch/German border in early September,<sup>209</sup> I am pretty sure come Friday the 22<sup>nd</sup>, Margot was back in Amsterdam to wish her niece, 'Herzlichen Glückwunsch zum Geburtstag' (*Tiny* recalling Margot often dropped in for weekends). I bet Nannÿ too will have welcomed the opportunity for her firstborn to hear a smidgeon of German from someone else's lips besides her own. Being surrounded by Dutch company all the time, Nannÿ was adapting fast to the language, although photo captions reveal she still used German; "1. Geburtstag," for example written on a photo mailed to *Mama* (who five days' later herself turned fifty) and "Für unsere liebe Oma von de kleine Tiny, Ams. June 1934."



Going Dutch! June 1933

<sup>204</sup> *Achter het doek: Duitse immigranten in de Nederlandse speelfilm in de jaren dertig* (Behind the Curtain: German Immigrants in the Dutch Movies in the Thirties). *Nederland en de emigranten* (Holland and the emigrants). K. Dittrich van Weeringh, K. van Weeringh. 1987. Pg. 22

<sup>205</sup> *Refugees from Nazi Germany in the Netherlands 1933-1940*. Bob Moore. International Institute of Social History of Amsterdam. Dordrecht, 1986. Pg. 68. Previewed [here](#).

<sup>206</sup> *Holland. Das Programm*. February 26<sup>th</sup>, 1933. Nr. 1612, Vol. 32. Pg. 10 or Pg. 13

<sup>207</sup> *Refugees from Nazi Germany in the Netherlands 1933-1940*. Bob Moore. International Institute of Social History of Amsterdam. Dordrecht, 1986. Pg. 68. Previewed [here](#).

<sup>208</sup> *Heldersche Courant*, February 10<sup>th</sup>, 1934, Pg. 10

<sup>209</sup> *Limburger Kourier*, August 26<sup>th</sup>, 1933.

In a thank you note to her daughters, *Mama* updated on her news from Germany. She and her brother were busy resolving matters concerning the Hinsch Villa and shortly after Margot had departed, Fritz declared to Wurzen's *Amtsgericht* (district court) that she was "due half of the estate,"<sup>210</sup> in line their mother's testament of 1928,<sup>211</sup> whilst according to current estimates, its value was worth "some 20,000 RM."<sup>212</sup> Naturally she was excited at the prospect of a share of that sum coming her way and was even dreaming about purchasing a small flat.<sup>213</sup>

Fritz had explained when they met in Leipzig that the villa would be put up for sale that summer as part of *Zwangsversteigerung* or foreclosure arrangement, and so the pair had agreed Fritz would 'buy' the villa back for a nominal value, after which he would share a portion of its worth with his sister. Wurzen's district property archives had confirmed that procedure was already in place, and so she eagerly awaited news from her brother.<sup>214</sup>

Meanwhile *Mama* was settling well into her temporary lodgings in *Albrechtstrasse 5*, and Albert too had opted to change his address, in as much as he moved around the corner to *Motzstrasse, 24*.<sup>215</sup> Mind you, she found it curious that he chose to remain in *Schöneberg*. From the century's teens to the thirties the area had been a gay-friendly neighborhood.<sup>216</sup> Granted, many of these places had now closed, but without the homosexuals,<sup>217</sup> the area had grown somewhat lifeless.

But at its bottom end, where *Motzstrasse* intersected with *Neue Winterfeldstrasse*, just as one alighted from the *Berliner U-Bahn*, one still met the beautiful hexagonal *Viktoria-Luise-Platz*, part of the street's more upscale neighborhood which even today remains adorned by exclusive apartments in what is now a historically listed area. So she and Albert still kept in touch and it was here that they would meet for coffee and take strolls – albeit as friends.



Mama's Berlin haunts, today. Right: *Albrechtstrasse 5* Source: *Wiki.de* (Beek100) Below: *Viktoria-Luise-Platz, Schöneberg*



<sup>210</sup> Marie Hinsch's *Nachlassakte, H 11/28 Hinsch. Aktenzeichen: N Reg.10.1933. Amtsgericht, 8 Juni, 1933. Pg. 2*

<sup>211</sup> March 1<sup>st</sup>, 1928 declared by Marie Hinsch within the first page of Friedrich Hinsch's *Nachlassakte (H 11/28 Hinsch)*.

<sup>212</sup> Marie Hinsch's *Nachlassakte, H 11/28 Hinsch. Aktenzeichen: N Reg.10.1933. Amtsgericht, 8 Juni, 1933. Pg. 5*

<sup>213</sup> To put the sum into perspective, Victor Klemperer built a small house in a leafy part of Dresden above the city during the second half of 1934 with 12,000 RM. *I Will Bear Witness 1933-1941: A Diary of the Nazi Years*. Victor Klemperer. Modern Library Inc. 1999. Pg. 73, 142

<sup>214</sup> Wurzen's district archives. *Gr. Akt. Bl. 130b. June 28<sup>th</sup>, 1933*. NB: To the best of my knowledge foreclosure should not have been necessary since the Villa was paid outright in 1903 – unless it had been re-mortgaged of course.

<sup>215</sup> Confirmed by his *Einwohnermeldekarte*, and the 1934 Berlin Adressbuch

<sup>216</sup> See: [en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Motzstraße](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Motzstraße)

<sup>217</sup> Isherwood, who had lived on *Nollendorfststraße* left in mid-1933, (see: [www.cabaret-berlin.com/?p=645](http://www.cabaret-berlin.com/?p=645)) while the German theatre director and producer, Erwin Piscator, who until 1931 had managed the *Art Nouveau Piscator-Bühne* at the top of the road on *Nollendorfpplatz*, was now in Moscow ([en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Erwin\\_Piscator](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Erwin_Piscator))

During their most recent meetings she'd heard that Albert's business was picking up. Next year's *Berlin Adressbuch* would finally see a return in his being listed as a 'Fabrkt.' "It's all thanks to the Nazis," she wrote her daughters, "that he's moving back into manufacturing."<sup>218</sup>

Engineers were indeed experiencing a rapid expansion of projects during this period, which called for their expertise<sup>219</sup> ("and that despite Hitler campaigning on a bandwagon of *völkisch* Nazism, more credit to him!," she wrote). But after 1933 the *Führer* openly praised selected aspects of the modern city, promoting everything from technological innovation to industrial might. In the early years he championed inventors like *Porsche*, increased the production of modern consumer goods such as hair-driers and washing machines and encouraged the purchase of new gadgets, for example, cameras.<sup>220</sup>

"National Socialism was transforming Weimar's 'asphalt' Berlin" writes Alexandra Richie in *Faust's Metropolis*, and "life was becoming immeasurably better."<sup>221</sup> Mama couldn't agree more:

*"The beer gardens, cafes and restaurants flourished and even expensive luxuries like coffee were becoming affordable to those with money.<sup>222</sup> Hitler has created a mood of such optimism and hope," she wrote. "People like Petzold are willingly investing in the future. Industrialists like him are no longer worried about troublesome trade unions as they had been ten years ago."<sup>223</sup>*

Of course that well-timed economic success was another of the reasons for Hitler's popularity among the middle and lower classes. Although inevitably there were those, such as Joseph Roth, who poured scorn on the 'big business people' that produced the cheap junk labeled 'Made in Germany' or '*Rein deutsches Erzeugnis*' ('pure German goods').<sup>224</sup> (*Ersatz* products too had been Albert's forte once, and he was already eyeing opportunity, having heard they'd be in demand again. Substitute coffee, for instance, was already popular in the concentration camps).

Onlookers though were appalled by other aspects of the regime too. There was the return of old-school authoritarianism, particularly in regards to women.<sup>225</sup> The use of jewellery, lipstick, powder, perfume and high-heeled shoes was being frowned upon,<sup>226</sup> while all the moves towards gender equality that had been achieved under the Weimar Republic were gradually being undone by the Nazis who expected their women to stay at home and raise children.

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<sup>218</sup> Perhaps Albert's desire to stay in *Schöneberg* was not only due to his fondness for the district? *Liselotte Petzold*, who had lived at her mother's home (formerly his) in Bernburg between 1927 until 1932, vanished from the city's adressbooks that year. Did she join her father in Berlin? Had Albert renewed his relationship with Liselotte's mother? Does that explain why he and Frau Tjralla went their separate ways?

<sup>219</sup> *A Brief History of The Third Reich: The Rise and Fall of the Nazis*. M. Whittock. Constable&Robinson, 2011. Pg. 106

<sup>220</sup> *Faust's Metropolis: A History of Berlin*. Alexandra Richie. Harper Press. London, 1998. Pg. 439, 461

<sup>221</sup> *Faust's Metropolis: A History of Berlin*. Alexandra Richie. Harper Press. London, 1998. Pg. 434

<sup>222</sup> *Ibid*. NB; Coffee sales rose by a fifth between 1933 and 1937, and even while some restaurants still allowed Berliners to boil their own water for coffee, most customers could now afford the full service.

<sup>223</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>224</sup> *What I Saw: Reports from Berlin. 1920-1933*. Sept./Nov., 1933 (in *Cahiers Juifs*). Joseph Roth. Granta, 2013. Pg. 212

<sup>225</sup> See for instance University of New Brunswick's Lisa M. Todd's review of Helen Boak's '*Women in the Weimar Republic*' in the *Journal of the German History Society*, Vol. 32, No. 4. December 2014. Pg. 656

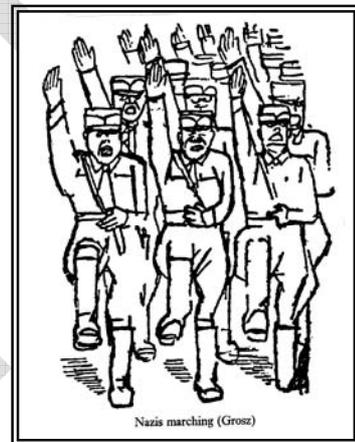
<sup>226</sup> *A Brief History of The Third Reich: The Rise and Fall of the Nazis*. M. Whittock. Constable&Robinson, 2011. Pg. 157

But with the political shift to the right; *"'Modernity' had changed from a keyword for democracy and equality to a notion of opportunistic complicity with a reactionary concept of femininity"* writes Jochen Hung in a recent issue of the Journal of the German History Society.<sup>227</sup> Lucy von Jacobi, a columnist for the woman's paper, *'Tempo'* lamented as early as January 30<sup>th</sup>, 1933 (the day Hitler seized power) how:

*"It is the wish of every very modern woman today to look like an old portrait. Feminine, humble and helpless...A small cape, a cap and a muff made from fur...That is the latest fashion in fashion!"*<sup>228</sup>

Germans in exile vented their frustration at the foreign powers for allowing the situation to continue, between September and November, 1933 in the French journal, *Cahiers Juifs*, Roth publishing:

*"The European mind is capitulating" amidst "the terrible march of the mechanized orangutans," adding "It's only the feeblest dilettantes who flourish in the swastika's shadow, in the bloody glow cast by the ash heaps in which we are consumed."*<sup>229</sup>



He extended his vitriol towards the Prussians too:

*"Hitler's Third Reich is only so alarming to the rest of Europe because it sets itself to put into action what was always the Prussian project anyway: to burn the books, to murder the Jews and to revise Christianity."*

And while he was at it he slammed President Hindenburg as well; *"one of their representatives"* for openly admitting to having *"never read a book in his life."* His prognosis: *"This Third Reich is only the beginning of the end."*

But few of Europe's powers wished to interfere with Germany's domestic matters, especially after it withdrew from the League of Nations in October 1933.<sup>230</sup> They too meanwhile were grappling with economic woes and the aftermath of the Wall Street Crash. Granted, in France, Roth could publish without fear of extradition. But elsewhere others learned they had to be more cautious, Heinz Liepmann for instance being arrested in the Netherlands early the following year for *"insulting the head of a friendly state"* in his just-published novel. He was sentenced to one month imprisonment although international protests succeeded in preventing his extradition to Germany, after which he was deported to Belgium from whence he too traveled to Paris.<sup>231</sup>

<sup>227</sup> *The Modernised Gretchen: Transformations of the 'New Woman' in the late Weimar Republic.* Jochen Hung. Journal of the German History Society, Vol. 33, No.1, March 2015. Pg. 78

<sup>228</sup> *Tempo der Mode: Ganz wie ein altes Bild.* *Tempo.* January 30<sup>th</sup>, 1933. Pg. 7, referred to in *The Modernised Gretchen: Transformations of the 'New Woman' in the late Weimar Republic.* Jochen Hung. Journal of the German History Society, Vol. 33, No.1, March 2015. Pg. 78

<sup>229</sup> *What I Saw: Reports from Berlin. 1920-1933.* Sept./Nov., 1933 (in *Cahiers Juifs*). Joseph Roth. Granta, 2013. Pg. 207-212, 214

<sup>230</sup> See: [en.wikipedia.org/wiki/German\\_referendum,\\_1933](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/German_referendum,_1933)

<sup>231</sup> See: [de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Heinz\\_Liepman](https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Heinz_Liepman)

For Amsterdammers too, writes Mak, “*The rise of National Socialism in Germany had not passed unnoticed*” but for many it remained difficult to grasp the full scale of the persecution. Even the Dutch Jews could hardly believe the situation was really all that bad,<sup>232</sup> whilst their government failed to recognise its racial nature. As a result, the majority of German Jews were not acknowledged as refugees.<sup>233</sup>

But with their influx having slowed to a trickle come the end of the year, the cabinet resolved to simply continue granting residence permits to foreigners on a temporary basis, rather than impose work permits or quotas on all foreign labour (despite the Prussian government’s own 1932 legislation which had introduced work permit requirements).<sup>234</sup> Ultimately only refugees of other than German nationality (i.e. Eastern Jews) were asked to leave the Netherlands, either back to their country of origin, or elsewhere.<sup>235</sup>

Margot breathed a sigh of relief. She was living life and intended to do so for as long as she possibly could, especially as she was now picking up the Dutch language too. ‘*O, Bedoel je dat*’ reached Carré by mid-October and was a resounding success, completing 150 performances and wrapping amidst a fanfare on November 29<sup>th</sup>.<sup>236</sup> The revue was reprised at Amsterdam’s *Residentie* between December 1<sup>st</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup>.<sup>237</sup>

### 13.6: ‘*O, Bedoel je dat.*’ The View Inside Carré

“Eighteen hundred people sit there in the evening, from the first row of chairs to the very top, far away, somewhere at the ridge of the high roof, within the canopy of the former circus building on the Amstel. Eighteen hundred! Sometimes they burst out in laughter, which silences the performers for a second, because they don’t understand; at other times they join in with the chorus; hesitant at first, then growing in strength, roaring finally, especially if there are a pair of stout and pure voiced visitors in the hall, which lends to the tone.”



DE REVUE „O, BEDOEL JE DAT!“ is gisteravond voor de 150ste maal gedaan in Carré te Amsterdam. Na afloop verscheen directeur Wunnink ten toensale om de medespelers en in het bijzonder den compère Lou Bandy te huldigen. Links Lou Bandy, rechts Alex Wunnink.

Where are you Margot?

October 1933.

Left, top, or behind Baas Wunnink and Lou Bandy?

Source: *Algemeen Handelsblad*, November 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1933

Source: *100 jaar Carré*. Han Peekel, Fridtjof Meerlo en Han Santing. Loeb Uitgevers B.V., Amsterdam. 1987. Pg. 96

<sup>232</sup> *Amsterdam: A Brief Life of the City*. Geert Mak. Vintage, 2001. Pg. 244, 248

<sup>233</sup> *Refugees from Nazi Germany in the Netherlands 1933–1940*. Bob Moore. International Institute of Social History of Amsterdam. Dordrecht, 1986. Pg. 64, 68. Previewed [here](#). NB: It must also be said the Dutch government hardly wished to antagonize the new government of its giant neighbor by recognizing the immigrants as refugees, and therefore making a point about the problematic state of affairs in Germany.

<sup>234</sup> Cf footnote 75

<sup>235</sup> *Ibid.* Pg. 69, 71, 72.

<sup>236</sup> *100 jaar Carré*. Han Peekel, Fridtjof Meerlo en Han Santing. Loeb Uitgevers B.V., Amsterdam. 1987. Pg. 95 and the *Algemeen Handelsblad* of November 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1933.

<sup>237</sup> *Heldersche Courant*, February 10<sup>th</sup>, 1934, Pg. 10

Afterwards Margot enjoyed a well-deserved rest. She'd certainly foresaw no return to Germany for the Christmas break and since a relationship had blossomed with none other than Willy Walden, she preferred to spend Christmas 1933 nearby.

A good thing too since the weather was neither fit for long distance travelling. On December 6<sup>th</sup>, the temperature hit a daily record of -12.2°c in *Bilt*, just down the road in the province of *Utrecht*,<sup>238</sup> whilst over in Berlin the mercury remained below zero from November 29<sup>th</sup> until December 20<sup>th</sup>, falling as far as -18°c on the 16<sup>th</sup>. Over in Saxony too folks were frostbitten, Victor Klemperer noting in his diary that same date: "Only the water supply in the kitchen is working... The nights dropped below 20 degrees. We are heating the bedroom, which never happens. We are constantly freezing."<sup>239</sup>

I suspect not even Josephine Baker's furs could have insulated her against what turned out to be the coldest ever December on record in the Netherlands.<sup>240</sup> The diva was back in Amsterdam on December 14<sup>th</sup>,<sup>241</sup> Tiny distinctly recalling (via her parents' anecdotes obviously) that she "wore boa feathers and was friends with Ma and Pa." It didn't finally get above freezing in *Bilt* until December 18<sup>th</sup>, but it wasn't for long either, since from Christmas Day peak temperatures fell below freezing once more.<sup>242</sup> In Berlin too, thermometers remained below zero for another 12 days until January 5<sup>th</sup>.<sup>243</sup> But Margot didn't care. She had Willy to keep her warm.

Over the holidays Margot and Nannÿ returned to *Carré* to watch a blooming '1900s' *Rido/Meyer Hamel* revue that took to the stage after *O, Bedoel je dat* had finished. It premiered on December 16<sup>th</sup> and ran until the end of the month. It was called "*Dat Doet De Deur Dicht*" (*That shuts the door*) and starred Henriette Davids, Sylvain Poons and 30 Ludowsky Girls.<sup>244</sup> Cor suggested the sisters go and see it because it included a scene called 'Saxonia.' The show, however, was spoilt by hecklers.<sup>245</sup> For the first time Margot and Nannÿ felt really ashamed for being German.

Notwithstanding Saxony's beauty, I wonder whether the scene was intended as a requiem to Saxony, since on January 30<sup>th</sup>, 1934, the Free State constitutionally ceased to exist. All of course connected with Germany's reorganization into *Gau*'s or administrative units.<sup>246</sup> On that date, Saxony lost its quasi-autonomous status and parliamentary democracy,<sup>247</sup> drawing lucid remark from Klemperer two days later: "*Absolute centralization.*"<sup>248</sup>

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<sup>238</sup> See: [www.meteolink.nl/weerhistorie-2/weerextremen-per-maand/december-historie](http://www.meteolink.nl/weerhistorie-2/weerextremen-per-maand/december-historie)

<sup>239</sup> *I Will Bear Witness 1933-1941: A Diary of the Nazi Years*. Victor Klemperer. Modern Library Inc. 1999. Pg. 44-45

<sup>240</sup> See: [nieuws.weeronline.nl/overzichten/jaar-2011/winter/december](http://nieuws.weeronline.nl/overzichten/jaar-2011/winter/december)

<sup>241</sup> Source missing

<sup>242</sup> See: [www.knmi.nl/klimatologie/daggegevens/index.cgi](http://www.knmi.nl/klimatologie/daggegevens/index.cgi)

<sup>243</sup> See: [www.luise-berlin.de/bms/bmstxt00/0009gesd.htm](http://www.luise-berlin.de/bms/bmstxt00/0009gesd.htm)

<sup>244</sup> *Algemeen Handelsblad*, December 15<sup>th</sup>, 1933

<sup>245</sup> Source missing

<sup>246</sup> According to the *Gesetz über den Neuaufbau des Reichs* (Law on the Reorganization of the Empire. See:

[de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gesetz\\_über\\_den\\_Neuaufbau\\_des\\_Reichs](http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gesetz_über_den_Neuaufbau_des_Reichs);

[en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Administrative\\_division\\_of\\_Nazi\\_Germany](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Administrative_division_of_Nazi_Germany) and

[de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Geschichte\\_Sachsens#Nationalsozialismus\\_.281933\\_bis\\_1945.29](http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Geschichte_Sachsens#Nationalsozialismus_.281933_bis_1945.29)

<sup>247</sup> See: [en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Saxony](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Saxony)

<sup>248</sup> *I Will Bear Witness 1933-1941: A Diary of the Nazi Years*. February 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1934. V. Klemperer. Modern Library Inc. 1999. Pg. 53

Perhaps the most telling evidence of this change though was when the *Reichsbahn* did away with the Prussian and Saxon reception halls within Leipzig's *Hauptbahnhof*. Until 1934, no Prussian train had entered the Saxon part of the station (platforms 14-26), as no Saxon train had utilised the Prussian part (platforms 1-13).<sup>249</sup> From that point on, the station operated as a single station. Neither of the Tjyralla sisters, however, would ever return and see that change.

Following the Christmas break, Margot and Willy went back on the road with 'O, bedoel je dat.' Having "surpassed all expectations" in the cities, it toured the provinces until the summer. On February 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> for instance, it could be seen at Leiden's *Stads Gehoorzal* and a week later it was on stage at *Den Helder's Casino* theatre in North Holland.<sup>250</sup>

Come springtime matters were drawing to a close with respect to the Hinsch villa. On April 11<sup>th</sup> the property returned into Fritz Hinsch's ownership, contents and all. *Mama* had eagerly awaited word from her brother, however, little if any of the 'promised' inheritance eventually made it into her hands.

Truthfully speaking, the Hinsch soil and hearth had only ever been his (and *Frau Tjyralla* knew that better than most). Fritz had bought the property back in 1903 (an event elaborated towards the end of Chapter V), after which it was passed on to his and his sister's parents when he sought to safeguard it against his ex-wife's interests, were he to perish at the frontline during the war (a tale retold in itself in Chapter VIII). After their father died in 1928, their mother took possession and quite simply now he was due its return. And who could argue? Except *Frau Tjyralla*, who told all whom she knew; "I was cheated out of my inheritance by my brother!"



After a clean up, a handful of 'heirlooms' nevertheless reached his sister's family, among them a set of red quilts and feather bedding and some jewellery that included a necklace and earrings (but no diamonds). The bedding afforded *Tiny* peaceful slumber through her infant years and I imagine Margot perhaps scored a 'treasure' or two. But that was all as far as we are aware, bar whatever *Frau Tjyralla* benefitted in Berlin

(which must have amounted to at least some of her late mother's possessions). The affair, however, only appears to have widened the gap between *Fritz* and his sister (and indirectly that between *Nannj* and her cousins). And so with the villa formally back in his hands, *Onkel Fritz* 'retired' in late June of 1934 to *WenigMachern*, accompanied by his second wife, *Martha*.<sup>251</sup> He was 55, the same age as his father when he and *Oma Hinsch* had moved there.

Taking it easy  
in the mid-  
1930s.  
Source: *Leben in  
Leipzig 1900-  
1970*, Foerster

<sup>249</sup> See: [www.leipzig-info.net/Info/Hauptbahnhof.html](http://www.leipzig-info.net/Info/Hauptbahnhof.html)

<sup>250</sup> *Leidsch Dagblad* February 8<sup>th</sup>, 1934 Pg. 4 and *Heldersche Courant*, February 10<sup>th</sup>, 1934, Pg. 10

<sup>251</sup> "Am 25.06.34 nach WenigMachern Bez.(irk) Leipzig, Nr. 17d (mit Ehefrau). Wohnsitz aufgegeben" (abandoned residence), according to Leipzig's residential records.

Somewhat curiously, however, the abovementioned 1933 documents indicate Fritz's occupation was that of a *Juweiler* (jeweler) – even if the *Leipzig Adressbücher* report him an *Antiquitätenhändler* up to his final entry of 1934. Granddaughter *Veronika*, confirmed he sold '*Schmuck*' (as she put it), while his grandsons, *Frits Lothar* and *Rüdiger* recalled well a store under the eaves of the old town hall (as opposed to *Beethovenstrasse* from where his business operated, according to the address books).

Checking the occupiers of the units at the town hall I learned there had indeed been a jeweler, *Heinrich Schneider* with a business at *Laden 13* since 1888. For a moment I dismayed. Had Fritz picked up the enterprise during the 'aryanisation' of Jewish businesses? That process, however, only really got underway after the municipal government established its '*Office for Racial Certification and Hereditary Health*' during 1934,<sup>252</sup> whilst it took another year before any significant number of Jewish businesses' ownership had been transferred.<sup>253</sup> Furthermore, *Schneider* maintained his store beyond the outbreak of World War II, which appears then to rule out any takeover of his premises. In the meantime, all attempts to procure Fritz Hirsch's own *Nachlassakte*, assuming that might disclose further detail, were unsuccessful.<sup>254</sup>

Were Fritz to have been trading in Leipzig's medieval centre it would have marked a return after almost 20 years and seen him work 'alongside' his sons, *Martin* and *Hans*. In fact, it was just before Margot took to the stage in *Den Helder*, that cousin, *Martin*, and his wife, *Annamaria*, became parents, with *Walter Martin Wolfgang* being born on February 13<sup>th</sup>. Presumably he was named after *Martin's* step-father! Five months later, on July 1<sup>st</sup>, the family settled into a more permanent dwelling in Leipzig's *Querstrasse*, just east of the centre and beyond its medieval ring.<sup>255</sup>

I'm sure the young family will have welcomed the National Socialists' 'marriage' loan which had been introduced the previous August entitling 'racially suitable' couples with non-working mothers interest-free loans of up to 1000 RM<sup>256</sup> for the purchase of furniture and household equipment<sup>257</sup> (although I daresay like *Nannj*, they probably also received some of *Oma Hirsch's* heirlooms and even furniture too).

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<sup>252</sup> *Das war das 20. Jahrhundert in LEIPZIG*. Martina Güldemann. 1999. Pg. 40

<sup>253</sup> *A Brief History of The Third Reich: The Rise and Fall of the Nazis*. M. Whittock. Constable&Robinson, 2011. Pg. 116

<sup>254</sup> Testaments dated between January 30<sup>th</sup>, 1933 and October 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1990 remain the holdings of the courts of the Free State of Saxony according to *Dr. Thoralf Handke, Sachbearbeiter* at the *Sachsen Staatsarchiv* on February 4<sup>th</sup>, 2014. These are only then transferred to the *Staatsarchiv* for public access 100 years later. Since Fritz died in 1952, that conceivably means any clarification should wait until 2052. Despite myself and more significantly, Fritz's granddaughter, *Irene 'Hirsch'*, requesting the files from the courts in spring/summer 2014 (mine under file # 506 VI 01435/14), both enquiries were declined that year (mine, May 16<sup>th</sup>, 2014 and *Irene's* in December 2014). According to *Rechtspflegerin, Frau Doberstein*, this opinion was grounded on the fact that neither of us could demonstrate a right to his estate, according to the *Kammergericht (KG)* rule 1 W 457/10 of 17. März 2011, in full text here: [openjur.de/u/284291.html](http://openjur.de/u/284291.html). One minor additional piece of information gleaned from this enquiry, however, was that Fritz's business was registered under *Geschäftsnummer: S-NR 367/65* and that his late father's had been *Geschäftsnummer* was: 180 IV 20/35. NB: The two digits at the end appear to refer to the year of filing when preceded by '19.'

<sup>255</sup> Prior to this they'd been in and out of his mother and step father's place at *Wintergarten Strasse* and a flat in *Braustrasse (8 III b. Habermann)*, the latter from April 1st until September 1st and then again from October 6th until March 1st, 1934 when they moved on to *Lessingstr. 3 IV b. Jäckel*.

<sup>256</sup> For comparison, an unskilled building worker in 1933 would earn less than 40 RM for a 60 hour week, writes *Timothy Guinnane* in *Germany since 1800: A New Social and Economic History* edited by *Ogilvie & Overy*. Pg. 59

<sup>257</sup> *Lisa Pine* in *Germany since 1800: A New Social and Economic History* edited by *Ogilvie & Overy*. Pg. 369. See also: *A Brief History of The Third Reich: The Rise and Fall of the Nazis*. M. Whittock. Constable&Robinson, 2011. Pg. 36 where he the author adds that 25% of the loan was written off upon the birth of the first child, 50% for the second while upon the birth of the fourth, the loan, issued in the form of vouchers, became a gift. Obviously the loan discouraged women out of work but at the same time ensured they didn't end up on the unemployment registers.

Third Reich government policies at the time most certainly favoured couples with children, reducing their taxes<sup>258</sup> and offering preferences in housing and other markets, as well as promotion to heads of households in army and government positions.<sup>259</sup> They also increased financial allowances for children, introduced programs for expectant mothers, improved welfare facilities, introduced a 'Leave of Absence to Uphold One's Duty to the Family' as well as so-called service-year girls, significantly easing the burden of motherhood.<sup>260</sup>

Martin's line of business was, however, commerce, and rather like his father at the start of his career, he too was listed in the *Adressbücher* as a *Kaufmann*. Younger brother, Hans, meanwhile, now 19, remained on the move whilst in the employ of *Bamberger & Hertz* and on May 12<sup>th</sup> collected his *Reisepass*. At the beginning of June, he, his mother and step-father then left behind their home of fifteen years in *Wintergartenstrasse*, and moved to a second floor flat in *Markgrafenstrasse, 10*, just next door to Leipzig's *Neues Rathaus*. The eldest of the Hinsch sons, Frits, meanwhile nurtured his collective in *Eutritzsch*; Step-son *Konrad* turned 7 at the start of May, *Vera* was coming up to six and the abovementioned *Frits Lothar* was approaching five.



Heinz maps the future for Ingeborg, 1934-1935

The last of Fritz's sons was of course, Heinz. Margot's senior by almost two years, the 25 year old was due to marry Ingeborg in Dresden. They lived to begin with in *Loschwitz*, a villa quarter located at the slopes of the river *Elbe*, about 5km upstream, east of Dresden's centre. They shared a flat in *Veilchenweg 20* together with a rather famous poet and radio play writer named *Martin Raschke* and his wife, he already being widely known in the literary world.<sup>261</sup> His radioplays typically glorified the Nazis' *Volksgemeinschaft* and *Kameradschaft* (camaraderie) but after a time, daughter Irene told me in summer 2015, flat sharing became a strain. So Heinz and Ingeborg left for an apartment in nearby *Calberlastrasse 4*. Together they dreamed of rebuilding the *Kurtz-Riessner* family book trade and so Ingeborg (against Nazi ideals) found herself work in the *RingKaufhaus* or 'REKA,' which allowed Heinz the freedom to continue his painting.

With news reaching Margot that all her cousins, bar young Hans, had settled down, she could hear her mother's words about being a good German 'Gretchen' still echoing in the back of her mind. She could just imagine *Mama* saying: "*The Third Reich has become a very 'children-friendly' state*" or "*now is a good time to bear and raise children. It's time to come home!*" But then peculiarly, a line uttered by Thomas Mann's 'saucy and idle,' *Antonie Buddenbrook*, popped into her head: "*Every day is fishing day, but not every day catching day.*"<sup>262</sup> And so Margot dismissed that sense of guilt in an instant.

<sup>258</sup> Timothy Guinnane in *Germany since 1800: A New Social and Economic History* edited by Ogilvie & Overy. Pg. 59

<sup>259</sup> Lisa Pine in *Germany since 1800: A New Social and Economic History* edited by Ogilvie & Overy. Pg. 369

<sup>260</sup> *A German Generation*, Yale University Press. 2012. T.A. Kohut. Pg. 130

<sup>261</sup> See: [de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Martin\\_Raschke](https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Martin_Raschke)

<sup>262</sup> *Buddenbrooks*. Thomas Mann. Translated by H. T. Lowe-Porter. Vintage Classics. 1999. Pg. 92

Yet she won't have taken much comfort from Willy Walden's surprise departure from 'O, bedoel je dat.' Not long after its performance in *Den Helder's Casino* theatre, Walden left the *Nationale Revue*.<sup>263</sup> In truth, what my grandmother's younger sister had really hoped to have seen by now was a sincere marriage proposal from the Dutchman and they certainly must have talked, if not joked, about it, since niece, Irene, told me once over coffee; "At one point Margot was almost engaged to Walden."<sup>264</sup> But perhaps that notion was a step too far for him and at the end of the winter 1933/1934 season he'd moved on. For Margot it seemed she was back to square one. "Aech," she sighed, "I've met plenty of fine Dutchman, just not the right one!"

Although she could hardly have foreseen it, the Dutchman's departure opened the door to 'Mr.Right' when Walden's shoes were filled by English comic, Johnnie Riscoe.<sup>265</sup> Margot took an immediately liking to him. Born Carl Berkson in 1910, Riscoe was a comedian and dancer who had begun his stage career in the English music halls.<sup>266</sup> He hailed from Leeds in West Yorkshire but had later moved to London. In these respects he was not dissimilar to other entertainers of his era such as Cary Grant (born Archibald Leach in Bristol in 1904) or Charlie Chaplin (who debuted in London's music halls in 1906).



Margot was intrigued and it was towards Riscoe that she focused her attention in between shows. After all, the pair had to perform together, so obviously it made sense to get to know each other properly. Speaking a mix of Dutch and English, she learned he came from Jewish theatrical parents,<sup>267</sup> "to whom stagework was more important than schooling." He'd made his stage debut at the age of 12, appearing in pantomime at *Leeds Capitol Theatre* as part of a travelling troupe of stilt-walkers. His London debut followed in December 1928 at the *Shoreditch Theatre* (not many months, thought Margot, after she and Nanny's acrobat act, *The Six Rockets*, had departed London for America). There he'd tossed aside his stilts for eccentric dancing, at first in a troupe, then as a soloist in touring revues. He admitted his brand of comedy was not an ideal act for the microphone, but he was now making his way as a variety act.<sup>268</sup>

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<sup>263</sup> It's not clear precisely when Walden left nor what he did next. His last known shows with 'O...bedoel je dat' were around mid February according to the *Leidsch Dagblad* February 8<sup>th</sup>, 1934 Pg. 4 and *Heldersche Courant*, February 10<sup>th</sup>, 1934, Pg. 10. Also in 1934, Willy reportedly talked his brother Gerard into quitting his office job and working in revue. Gerard began in a little company with Louis and Heintje Davids. See: [www.nrc.nl/handelsblad/van/2005/februari/24/droogkomische-revue-ster-3414515](http://www.nrc.nl/handelsblad/van/2005/februari/24/droogkomische-revue-ster-3414515) Willy meanwhile linked up from 1935 with the Bouwmeester revue where he met another upcoming Dutch performer, Piet Muyselaar. See: [www.coenverbraak.nl/walden.htm](http://www.coenverbraak.nl/walden.htm) as well as: [filmstarpostcards.blogspot.hu/2009/08/willy-walden-and-piet-muyselaar.html](http://filmstarpostcards.blogspot.hu/2009/08/willy-walden-and-piet-muyselaar.html)

<sup>264</sup> Walden was married twice. His second marriage, to Danish star, Aase Rasmussen arose after the pair met on stage in 1944. Details about his first marriage remain unavailable. [nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aase\\_Rasmussen](http://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aase_Rasmussen)

<sup>265</sup> To be fair, this is a conclusion drawn based on the replacement of Walden's name with Riscoe when comparing the May 8<sup>th</sup>, 1934 advertisement in the *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden* with one from February or even August 1933. In both instances, the performers' names follow that of the lead: Lou Bandy.

<sup>266</sup> Well-known within the family but not widely disclosed in biographical information sources.

<sup>267</sup> Whether his parents were Ashkenazi Jews is not known, although many arrived in Leeds fleeing pogroms in Eastern Europe towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. See: [en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chapeltown,\\_West\\_Yorkshire](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chapeltown,_West_Yorkshire)

<sup>268</sup> *Obituary: Johnnie Riscoe*. Denis Gifford. *The Independent*, April 20<sup>th</sup>, 2000



Margot had certainly caught his attention too. She was not like the other girls he'd come across, perhaps first and foremost because she was German, not to mention she'd toured the US too. But she had a big mouth which came with no shortage of attitude! During rehearsals, Riscoe mentioned he'd sojourned in Holland from March 1933<sup>269</sup> to perform in a new 'crazy'<sup>270</sup> show, moving on to cabaret<sup>271</sup> at the *Gaite* theatre in Amsterdam come June.<sup>272</sup> Margot couldn't help but grin, recalling her arrival in Holland in spring 1931. By mid-November he was "sharing the bill with Marlene Dietrich" he quipped, when he performed as part of an 'eccentric comedy trio' prelude at Amsterdam's newly opened *West End* theatre,<sup>273</sup> prior to her *Song of Songs*.<sup>274</sup> Opening for movies, she told him, was something she knew all about.

Johnnie mentioned how he felt privileged to have taken over Walden's role (leaving Margot momentarily melancholy), and that he was keen to do further *Nationale Revues*. He asked whether she could pull any strings for him since by the end of May 'O, bedoel je dat' would be at the end of its run. It had worked its way across the provinces and one of its last shows was *Groningen's Cinema Palace* on May 8<sup>th</sup>, according to the *Nieuwsblad Van Het Noorden* on the same date.<sup>275</sup>

"Ha" she answered. "I also need folks to pull strings for me here, being German." At the end of May matters worsened for foreigners when the Dutch authorities opted to decree a limit in their admission, in as much as new arrivals were to be given a visa and their passports stamped 'visit for two weeks.' The only way those rules were to be waived were if the individual could prove sufficient means for a longer stay (which fortunately Margot could, thanks to her sister) or if one could prove their life was in danger upon returning to Germany (which obviously she couldn't).<sup>276</sup>

Fortunately, the new legislation was not due to enter into force until 1935, whilst German nationals already in the country were to be exempted. Mind you, most branches of the entertainment industry were being singled out by the regulations, especially with the *creme de la creme* of the German cabaret world performing in Holland (which in turn brought forth loud complaint from Dutch artists who felt

<sup>269</sup> Fourteen months earlier, according to an article entitled 'Johnnie Riscoe' in *The Performer*. June 7<sup>th</sup>, 1934. Pg. 6. This is tentatively confirmed by Dutch newspapers, accessible online at [www.kb.nl](http://www.kb.nl) which reference his shows from June 15<sup>th</sup>, 1933 and Carl Berkson's residential record (*Gezinskaart*) that makes references to 1933.

<sup>270</sup> It's not clear whether the reference to 'crazy' has anything to do with the 'Crazy Gang' shows which George Black (who later hired Riscoe to work for his Moss Empires Group) hosted at 'his' London Palladium from November 1931 until September 1940. See: [en.wikipedia.org/wiki/George\\_Black\\_\(producer\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/George_Black_(producer))

<sup>271</sup> His online bio at the Netherlands film institute, 'EYE,' describes him as a "British cabaret performer." See: [www.filminnederland.nl/persoon/johnny-riscoe](http://www.filminnederland.nl/persoon/johnny-riscoe)

<sup>272</sup> It was a 'Neger-Revue' called *Tempo Tempo*, which ran at Amsterdam's *La Gaieté* free entry cabaret bar. Riscoe was billed as 'the sensational English comic.' Further research reveals its first performance nationwide to have been on May 4<sup>th</sup>, 1933 and it seems to have run until around September, 1933. *Algemeen Handelsblad* on June 15<sup>th</sup>, 1933.

<sup>273</sup> See: [nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/West-End\\_\(Amsterdam\)](http://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/West-End_(Amsterdam))

<sup>274</sup> *Het Vaderland*. November 16<sup>th</sup>, 1933

<sup>275</sup> Nevertheless, 'O, bedoel je dat' continued to tour Belgium later that year under a new guise; 'Hallo...Hallo...' It would be accompanied by a handful of new faces, including Belgian *Jef van Wynsberghe* and Dutch Jewess, *Stella Fontaine* in the leading roles, according to the *Algemeen Handelsblad* from July 18<sup>th</sup>, 1934. Pg. 9

<sup>276</sup> *Refugees from Nazi Germany in the Netherlands 1933-1940*. Bob Moore. International Institute of Social History of Amsterdam. Dordrecht, 1986. Pg. 71, 75. Previewed [here](#).

foreigners were 'stealing the bread from their mouths').<sup>277</sup> Margot couldn't afford to take chances, but in Riscoe she saw security, particularly after he ensured them both roles in the next *Nationale Revue*, '*Dat zou je wel willen.*'

The pair frequently dined late together, occasions where Riscoe continued to impress with his talk of success within the Dutch revues,<sup>278</sup> his path first crossing with *Frans Müriloff*<sup>279</sup> in early 1934, before he linked up with Simon Dickson,<sup>280</sup> whose *Girls* had performed alongside Riscoe in a show called '*'t Is Toch Zeker Zoo.*'<sup>281</sup> "*I was one of the Dickson Girls too, you know,*" she put in, just to check his ego.

The couple's relationship had grown in the three or so months that had passed since Johnnie joined '*O, bedoel je dat,*' but even I was amazed to discover just how serious when I saw the article, right, in the June 7<sup>th</sup> issue of *The Performer*, during summer 2015. Even sister *Nannij* hadn't found herself engaged that rapidly, never mind 'married!'



Clearly the fact they had work lined up gave Margot and Johnnie the confidence to take off to England in early June, but to announce a marriage which we know now never eventually happened, either in Holland or in England, left both myself and Leeds-based registrar, Glynis Maunder, flummoxed.<sup>282</sup>

Thanks to Margot's nieces we managed to piece together what probably happened. Margot and Johnnie lost a number of pregnancies prematurely and at least once, she had one terminated too. Could she therefore have been expecting at the time they had the announcement published with the intention of 'doing the right thing,' (as her mother and grandmother had done in 1907 and 1879), only for the couple to cancel both ceremonies once the news item had already gone to press? That scenario would certainly fit Glynis' view; "*maybe the comment was made...in error or perhaps Johnnie and Margot could not get the date they wanted.*" Either explanation seems plausible.

<sup>277</sup> *Dora Gerson en het eerste emigrantencabaret Ping Pong.* Jacques Klötters in *Nederland en het Duitse exil 1933-1940.* Kathinka Dittrich van Weringh & Hans M. Wurzner (eds). Van Genneep, 1982. Pg. 223

<sup>278</sup> On 2<sup>nd</sup> Jan., 1934, Riscoe was special guest in the so-called "*Cocktail Revue,*" directed by Carl Tobi. It showed throughout January at the Amsterdam *Leidscheplein Theater*, and according to an issue of the *Algemeen Handelsblad* Riscoe was branded 'a new comic.' The show featured the so-called 'Cocktail Girls' as dancers, who were under the direction of Nalda and Frans Müriloff. *Cocktail Revue* did not make it to Carré.

<sup>279</sup> Müriloff by that point was choreographing the 12 Whirlwind Girls in *O, bedoel je dat.* According to Coen Verbraak, it was Müriloff who discovered Willy Walden in 1927. See: [www.coenverbraak.nl/walden.htm](http://www.coenverbraak.nl/walden.htm)

<sup>280</sup> An article celebrating Dickson's many years in the business appeared in the *Algemeen Handelsblad* on Jan. 6<sup>th</sup>, 1934

<sup>281</sup> "*'t Is Toch Zeker Zoo*" had been doing the revue circuit since Nov., 1933 having been performed at Amsterdam's *Grand Theatre* according to the *Algemeen Handelsblad*, before being put on stage at the *Passage Theatre* on February 1<sup>st</sup>, 1934. The spectacle was produced by lyricist *Jacques van Tol* (who worked for the *Nationale Revue* too on '*O, bedoel je dat*' and included ballet performances from the *Dickson Girls* (Margot and Nanny had of course been *Dickson Girls* in *Hallo Hierheen!*) According to the February 25<sup>th</sup>, 1934 issue of the *Algemeen Handelsblad*, the show was performed at the *Olympia Theatre* in Dortmund at the beginning of March, 1934 where it was presented under the title: "*Von Amsterdam nach Deutschland.*" It did not show in Carré. NB: Riscoe had likely left before the Dortmund gigs.

<sup>282</sup> Glynis Maunder wrote on August 11<sup>th</sup>, 2015, "*I have checked our records for you and there is no trace of an earlier ceremony taking place in Leeds*" while a search of the '*WieWasWie.nl*' (Who Was Who) website, which provides access to personal Dutch historical records reveals no evidence either. NB: The Six Rockets last performances in London were actually six years earlier and not four, according to 1930 [research completed in 2015](#).

By early July the couple were back in Amsterdam, with sister, Nanny, none-the-wiser as to 'all' that had gone on.<sup>283</sup> Nevertheless, neither of the Tyrallas could have failed to notice their homeland was back in the headlines. Unbeknown to them, *President von Hindenburg* had ordered Hitler to restrain his SA, amidst constant rumours of a civil war and the imminent collapse of the regime,<sup>284</sup> adding that should he fail, his Government would be dissolved and martial law declared.<sup>285</sup> Having spoken to their mother, their daughters learned she'd been out on the Berlin streets on the last day of June and had sensed something was about to happen, what with members of the SS milling about the *Reichstag* and the atmosphere tense and edgy, "like Paris on the eve of the Great Terror" she had said.<sup>286</sup>

Mama wasn't sure what exactly followed but apparently there was a revolt against the Nazis with Hitler subsequently putting as many as 77 SA men against the wall.<sup>287</sup> In fact, as many as 200 were killed in a move that eventually became known as the 'Night of the Long Knives' in which he tightened his grip over Germany by eliminating those who had helped bring him to power in the first place.<sup>288</sup>

More murders of regime enemies and opponents followed, the next victim being former chancellor *Kurt von Schleicher*, whilst a law passed by the *Reichstag* on July 3<sup>rd</sup> retrospectively legalised the murders as acts of 'National Self-Defense.' With their passing, Hitler now had the allegiance of the leadership of the army.<sup>289</sup>

Margot was astounded to hear from her mother that most Berliners had celebrated, Hitler being "praised for his courage" and his "victory over the 'criminal revolt.'"<sup>290</sup> Instead of foreign dismay, the Dutch foreign office in The Hague appreciated the restoration of stability.<sup>291</sup> Yet the Jews who remained in the capital spoke of "an atmosphere of mute despair."<sup>292</sup>

Although she increasingly despised her homeland, for a moment she asked herself; "What if Germany's victors hadn't taken such a hard line toward her homeland following the First World War? Wasn't today's unemployment and protectionism a result of some bad banking decisions in the late twenties? Surely none of this would be happening were it not for the Wall Street Crash or the Treaty of Versailles? This Austrian is nothing more than a bad loser."

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<sup>283</sup> Around July 10<sup>th</sup>, 1934 according to Carl Berkson's residential record retrieved from the [Noord-Hollands Archief](#).

<sup>284</sup> *I Will Bear Witness 1933-1941: A Diary of the Nazi Years*. May 13 and June 13, 1934. Victor Klemperer. Modern Library Inc. 1999. Pg. 65, 71

<sup>285</sup> See: [en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sturmabteilung](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sturmabteilung)

<sup>286</sup> The Reign of Terror was a period of violence that occurred after the onset of the French Revolution in 1793, incited by conflict between two rival political factions, and marked by mass executions of "enemies of the revolution." See: [en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Reign\\_of\\_Terror](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Reign_of_Terror)

<sup>287</sup> *I Will Bear Witness 1933-1941: A Diary of the Nazi Years*. July 14<sup>th</sup>, 1934. Klemperer. Modern Lib. Inc. 1999. Pg. 74-75

<sup>288</sup> *Faust's Metropolis: A History of Berlin*. Alexandra Richie. Harper Press. London, 1998. Pg. 420

<sup>289</sup> *A German Generation*, Yale University Press. 2012. T.A. Kohut. Pg. 88

<sup>290</sup> *Faust's Metropolis: A History of Berlin*. Alexandra Richie. Harper Press. London, 1998. Pg. 420

<sup>291</sup> *Refugees from Nazi Germany in the Netherlands 1933-1940*. Bob Moore. International Institute of Social History of Amsterdam. Dordrecht, 1986. Pg. 62. Previewed [here](#).

<sup>292</sup> *I Will Bear Witness 1933-1941: A Diary of the Nazi Years*. Referring to mid-July. Victor Klemperer. Modern Library Inc. 1999. Pg. 78

Instead of dwelling on where Europe was going, Margot focused on the here and now. Rehearsals were due to get underway for 'Dat zou je wel willen' in which Johnnie was going to be performing his eccentric dance act, while she would put in 12 different ballet dances once more as one of the Dickson Girls!<sup>293</sup> Perhaps intentionally, Riscoe was being billed in previews as a *Zuid-Afrikaner*, in which he took to the stage alongside revue staples, Lou Bandy, Wiesje Bouwmeester and Claire Hammé.<sup>294</sup> Their shows kicked off at the *Scala Theater* in 's-Gravenhage on July 25<sup>th</sup>.<sup>295</sup>



Nannÿ meanwhile was looking forward to summer holidays where a lull in programming over at *Carré* from June through to August<sup>296</sup> meant the family could take the train down to Cor's home in *Yerseke* on the *Walcheren* peninsula in *Zeeland*.

Myriad guidebooks refer to the sliver of land as an enjoyable place for cycling around its old towns and savouring its beaches although relishing its miles of sand was not the only thing the *Ridderhofs* got up to that summer. Photos reveal the family cruised the *Scheldt* delta's waters by boat – probably one of the best ways to win some respite from the heat that summer as Europe baked.<sup>297</sup> Whatsmore, Cor's cousins were mussel farmers, a tradition which remains key to *Yerseke* today, being the centre of *Zeeland's* oyster and mussel farming industry, as the text box below reveals.

### 13.7: Mussel farming in Yerseke

*Yerseke* is world famous for its *Eastern Scheldt* mussels and oysters. Every year tourists travel here to tour the harbours and visit the oyster beds or one of its mussel processing facilities.

Oyster farming has been popular since the second half of the nineteenth century. Later on oyster beds were built to facilitate the process but after disease broke out, Japanese oysters were introduced since they are less vulnerable to disease. Nowadays the Japanese oyster lives in almost all the waters in the Netherlands although some consider it a pest.

The main source of income for *Yerseke*, however, is mussel farming. Every year between 30 and 50 million kilos of mussels are processed and shipped across the world. The third Saturday in August is particularly special, since it is the annual *Mosseldag*, when visitors are invited to eat mussels at one of the stands in the village or go on a free tour on one of the mussel vessels. Come summer 2015, I simply couldn't wait to join in the fun!

Source: [www.zeelandforbeginners.com/villages-and-cities.htm](http://www.zeelandforbeginners.com/villages-and-cities.htm) and [en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yerseke](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yerseke)

Photo: 'Uncle Lau,' Cor *Ridderhof's* cousin at work in the *Scheldt* estuary



<sup>293</sup> Again, this is unconfirmed, but events which follow assure she joined the show.

<sup>294</sup> *Het Vaderland*, 16<sup>th</sup> July, 1934

<sup>295</sup> *Algemeen Handelsblad*, cca. July 5<sup>th</sup>, 1934

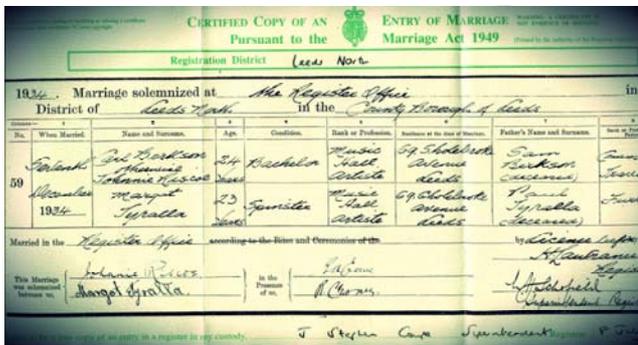
<sup>296</sup> *100 jaar Carré*. Han Peekel, Fridtjof Meerlo en Han Santing. Loeb Uitgevers B.V., Amsterdam. 1987. Pg. 95

<sup>297</sup> Summer 1934 was the ninth sunniest record in the Netherlands since records began, according to [www.meteolink.nl/weer-records-nederland-en-de-wereld](http://www.meteolink.nl/weer-records-nederland-en-de-wereld). In Germany, according to *Das Wetter in Berlin von 1933-1945*, online at: [www.luise-berlin.de/bms/bmstxt00/0009gesd.htm](http://www.luise-berlin.de/bms/bmstxt00/0009gesd.htm), summer 1934 saw temperatures rise above 25 degrees celsius on as many as 59 days. Dresden-based diarist, Victor Klemperer, too lamented the months-long drought, excessive heat and sultriness which threatened the harvest. *I Will Bear Witness 1933-1941: A Diary of the Nazi Years*. June 13<sup>th</sup> and July 29<sup>th</sup>, 1934. Victor Klemperer. Modern Library Inc. 1999. Pg. 67, 77

When the ‘legendary’ Hindenburg died during those summer holidays on on August 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1934, Hitler took full advantage, declaring the president’s office permanently vacant. In effect, he united it with his office, giving it the title, *Der Führer*. To ensure the move’s officiality, he invited the nation’s endorsement by hosting a plebiscite on August 19<sup>th</sup>. The national ‘yes’ vote at 84.6 percent begged belief.<sup>298</sup>

With the arrival of autumn, ‘*Dat zou je wel willen*’ returned to ‘*s-Gravenhage* on September 14<sup>th</sup>. By then it had been seen by over 70,000 onlookers.<sup>299</sup> So much for a recession! It reached *Carré* on October 13<sup>th</sup> and remained the house staple right up until December 2<sup>nd</sup>.<sup>300</sup> Over those autumn months Margot and Johnnie planned their return to England and their marriage. However, Nannÿ was neither blind to what was going on, and when, after the show had concluded its run at *Carré* on December 4<sup>th</sup>, she cast her suspicions out in the open when the pair announced they were taking off for England two days later. “*Aren’t you worried they won’t let you back in?*” she clamoured, considering the new legislation that was about to come into force. Bidding her a fond farewell, she realized why Margot wasn’t worried; “*I know*” she said. “*I bet you’ll come back married.*”

Three days later Margot had her man. Never mind returning to Germany for her papers first like good German girls such as her sister had, even her passport alone might have been sufficient at that time, “*given the political situation at the time in Europe*” noted Glynis Maunder of Leeds Register Office in summer 2015. At any rate, now she had an English husband.



Leeds North Certificate of Marriage:  
Carl Berkson and Margot Tyralla. December 7<sup>th</sup>, 1934

As in Nannÿ’s case, there is no more than a marriage certificate to show they tied the knot that December 7<sup>th</sup> of 1934 in Johnnie’s hometown, Leeds. Both were referenced as Music Hall artists. Uncanny how, just like her mother and sister, Margot too had wed a foreigner, although it’s no surprise that the Tyralla sisters found their husbands in the theatre. Yet if Cor Ridderhof was the man behind the scenes, Johnnie Riscoe was the man before them.

The fact that Riscoe was Jewish, however, the very creed Margot’s fellow countrymen and women were starting to revile, it almost seemed as if she herself was snubbing, no, closing the door, on Germany. And so, as her *Heimat* had lost Dietrich, her sister and countless more, the Third Reich lost another of its ‘stars’ with the second Tyralla’s emigration. Some ‘sister act.’

<sup>298</sup> *A Brief History of The Third Reich: The Rise and Fall of the Nazis*. M. Whittock. Constable & Robinson, 2011. Pg. 71

<sup>299</sup> Source unconfirmed

<sup>300</sup> *100 jaar Carré*. Han Peekel, Fridtjof Meerlo en Han Santing. Loeb Uitgevers B.V., Amsterdam. 1987. Pg. 97

One can only wonder what thoughts ran through Mama's mind. Within a little over two years of one another, both her daughters had married, the second now nothing short of a union between a gentile and a Jew. Never mind ensuring she couldn't be 'sent back' to Germany (presumably before long she would be formally British too), all this meant Margot was hardly likely to return to Germany with her comedian husband in tow, at least while Hitler's regime stood. Still, I wonder if Margot gave a thought as to what *Mama's* neighbours would say, should they find out her daughter had married a Jew...That year *Mama's* seasonal greeting to her daughters was simple:

*"My Dear Nannij/Margot, for your remembrance, Your Mama, Christmas, 1934."*

And when Christmas Day did arrive, there was little else for Frau Týralla to do than mount a few fir branches bought for 20 pfennigs on the umbrella stand, together with electric lights and coloured baubles.<sup>301</sup> She ate carp and stuffed turkey for one, and afterwards pondered why there was little more than the fresh snow outside to enjoy.<sup>302</sup> Then she worried some more about her income support. Margot though was in seventh heaven. She'd found her match, even without a 'matchmaker.'

Five months  
on...  
Margot and  
Johnnie,  
Amsterdam,  
May 1935



Venus in  
Furs: Mama  
Týralla,  
blonde and  
'beshingled'  
Berlin,  
Weihnach.,  
1934

#####

#### Annex 1: Footnotes to Textbox 13.4

##### References:

1. Persons listed in *Johann's Nachlassakte* (Aktenzeichen 5 EhR. Radstein 19) in a letter from Josepha Ernst to the Ehrengericht in Kr. Neustadt on 21.12.1935.
2. Following January 31<sup>st</sup>, the temperature again fell below freezing across central Europe (i.e. Berlin) for 10 days and again from February 14<sup>th</sup> for another 17 consecutive days – the coldest day being -15.3°C on February 21<sup>st</sup>. See: [www.luise-berlin.de/bms/bmstxt00/0009gesd.htm](http://www.luise-berlin.de/bms/bmstxt00/0009gesd.htm)
3. The expectation that daughters should work to support their parents from an early age was endemic to Germany at the time, whether it be on a farmstead in the country or as showgirls and acrobats in the city (never mind abroad). For a fleeting moment, one can almost imagine the life of Gerard's aunt, Marta, being swapped for that of Nannij or Margot – had their father chosen to marry and remain in Radstein.
4. See footnote 157 in Part 1 for more details

DRAFT