

**XVII: LOVE'S GREAT ADVENTURES.
Pt. 1: DREAMS OF LEAVING: 1950-1956**

Following the forced great treks of the post-war period, life settled down for most. Characterised by hard work and dedication, new livelihoods were built up or old ones rebuilt. In West Germany, the economic miracle (*Wirtschaftswunder*) was in the making, with our family's members playing their part, fixing themselves on new horizons in this brave new world. In some cases, marriages failed, while others soldiered on. The next generation of women within our family matured, stepping onto their own stage in the new Europe, encouraged by circumstance and opportunity, while those among the Wilhelminan generation gradually retired from theirs. Again, one trait characterised almost all – mobility. And for some that involved not only travelling abroad but realising dreams overseas. But before final farewells were said, there would be time for reunion too.

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Something was amiss. Nanny, now 42 years old, hadn't menstruated for months. She was well – notwithstanding the fact that husband, Cor, continued to share his free hours with 'girl next door,' Toni.

She booked an appointment with the gynaecologist. He wasn't much help. "*It's your menopause,*" he proffered disconsolately. Nanny returned home, unconvinced. Spring was on its way and before long, her eldest daughter, Tiny, would be UK bound.

Back when she was a child, Tiny (pronounced *Teenee*) had dreamt of marrying an Englishman, in an English church, and of living on a farm filled with animals. Now, at almost 18, she was indeed *en route* to London. Her uncle, the former comedian, Johnnie Riscoe, had offered her a several months-long vacation there, with plane tickets thrown in. With any luck, she would also get the chance to visit her mother's sister – his former and somewhat estranged wife – *Tante Margot*. She lived in Leeds, together with her grandmother, the sojourning *Frau Tyralla*. Between them she was due plenty of language practice. Having learnt English during the war, Tiny had done her best to keet it up through school. German, meanwhile, was in her blood.

It was a good time to visit. Since May 19th, rationing had ended for canned and dried fruit, chocolate biscuits, treacle, syrup, jelly and mincemeat. Eggs too had been off the ration since mid-March 1950.¹ "What this means to us only an English housewife can understand. We have been fobbed off with dried eggs and egg powder and lately not even that ... and at last we could actually beat up two eggs and put them in a cake... THE FIRST TIME FOR TEN YEARS," wrote Vera Hodgson.² "Soap also came off the ration in 1950, but a wide range of foods remained on it, including meat,

¹ See: [news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/july/4/newsid_3818000/3818563.stm](https://www.bbc.com/news/health-1950-07-04)

² *Austerity Britain: 1945-1951*. David Kynaston. Bloomsbury, 2007. Pg. 510, 512

cheese, fats, sugar and sweets ... as well as tea." New types of convenience food began to be advertised in 1950 too, such as Birds Eye 'frosted' foods.³

The Riscoes lived in Highgate, a leafy residential area of north London.⁴ *Harvey Theodor*, Tiny's cousin, was now fifteen.⁵ They had last met during 1936, back when he was a baby. Harvey's father, having retired from performing in 1950,⁶ had finally opened the *Johnny Riscoe Variety Agency Ltd.*⁷ He now managed and produced entertainment industry shows and performers, supplying suitable acts to BBC Television, for instance. His second wife, *Vie Terry*, was for all intents and purposes, Harvey's mother now. *Patsy*, his two year old sister at the time, told me in 2016, "*Margot was never really spoken about. Although it was clear later on that Harvey was my half-brother.*"⁸

"The going was good to begin with," said Tiny. "Vie took me out for lunches which I enjoyed. But as time went on, she began dropping hints about how I could take care of Patsy. I began to figure out that Johnnie and Vie were counting on me to be their au pair."

Tiny took a break, and accompanied by Harvey, travelled by train up to Leeds. They were met at its central railway station by his grandmother, the indomitable, *Rae Crowe*, together with her meek husband, *Teddy*. "*Harvey liked her and Teddy because he was spoilt rotten by them. He could do no wrong by his gran.*" Tiny told me.

Harvey at 17 (left), stands before his grandmother, Rae Crowe, accompanied by her sister-in-law, Milli Tompofski, and nephew, Neville (22 years old). 1952



It was with them that Tiny spent the next week camped out at their 'Embassy Hotel,' which the couple ran together in Roundhay, a neighbouring district to that which Margot lived in.⁹ From family I learnt a little more about their lodgings. For instance, that "*The back room or den of the hotel ... [had] tiny little copper saucepans, hanging in a row,*" according to Patsy. "*Obviously, they*

must have fascinated me. Those and the parrot that she always had which ... I didn't like."¹⁰ "*She [also] had ... two budgerigars, one of which was named Chico,*" Rae's great nephew, *Menachem Vinegrad* (who shared the above photo of Harvey, Rae and family), later added.¹¹

³ See: [news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/july/4/newsid_3818000/3818563.stm](https://www.bbc.com/news/health-3818000/3818563.stm)

⁴ Patsy wrote me on June 7th, 2016: "*Apparently, I was a baby when Mum and Dad lived at 36, Mount Grove, Edgware, London and from there [we] moved to 36, Hillway (Highgate).*"

⁵ Patsy told me (June 6th, 2016) she didn't really 'grow up' with Harvey. With 13 years between them, by the time she was old enough to have much memory of him, 4 or 5, he was already a young man and on his own career path.

⁶ *Obituary: Johnnie Riscoe. The Independent (London, England). April 20, 2000. Denis Gifford*

⁷ Confirmed his old friend, Rocky Mason, in personal correspondence. July 14, 2011

⁸ Patsy, born June 1948, mentioned this during a telephone interview on February 23, 2016

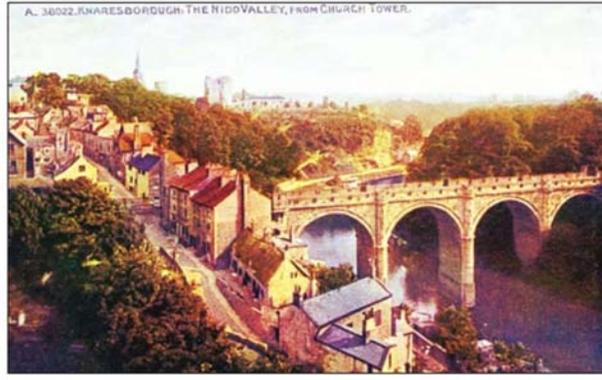
⁹ Its address was 333, Roundhay Road, and lay opposite the [Clock Cinema](#) in Leeds 8.

¹⁰ Personal correspondence with Patsy Martin, November 22, 2016.

¹¹ Personal correspondence with, December 20, 2016.

During her stay, Tiny and Harvey took day trips with the Crowes in their motor car: Blackpool (where Rae and Teddy briefly lived) besides Scarborough.

*"I'll never forget
Knaresborough either,
with its cliffs overlooking
the road. That was
amazing and something
out of this world for me."*



Day tripping:
During her time
in the UK, Tiny
visited
Knaresborough,
Scarborough
and Blackpool
Source: [on-
magazine.co.uk](http://on-magazine.co.uk)

Day trips were a common holiday activity by that time: just over half of the UK's adult population would do this instead of having a holiday away from home, according to a 1949 nationwide social survey.¹² Sadly, while a camera had accompanied Tiny's mother throughout her years touring the US, Tiny had not brought one with herself to Britain.

It seemed odd to me that with her niece now on her doorstep (not to mention her son!), Margot did not spend more time together with them.

"No, she was never invited along – and not because she worked," Tiny recalled, "because she also took time off too."

In between the day trips therefore, Harvey reluctantly escorted Tiny to Margot's, where they sipped coffee with their grandmother.

It had been almost 14 years since Margot and Tiny had met in Amsterdam, and roughly eight since Tiny had last seen Frau Tyralla – when she visited Holland during the Nazi occupation. By now, Margot lived at an artists' lodge,¹³ where she had her own flat. As far as Tiny could remember, her grandmother slept on a bed in the lounge, while Margot had her own room. What were Tiny's impressions of Margot?

"She seemed well, young and happy. She always looked after herself, she used make-up and face creams, lipstick and so on. Her hair was blonde, kept short and tied to the back. She was kind-hearted and far from bossy."

I was also curious what Tiny made of her grandmother? During her pre-war visits Tiny had picked up German from her. They had also corresponded in the ensuing years. But 'Mutti' kept her distance, Tiny said. Harvey was of even less interest to her, even if Frau Tyralla understood the odd word in English. Ultimately this made their time together rather awkward.

¹² Indeed, some 23 percent of adults had neither a holiday nor a day trip during 1949 – despite the 'Holidays with Pay' act of 1948 giving every employed adult a paid fortnight off. See: *Family Britain: 1951-1957*. David Kynaston. Bloomsbury, 2009. Pg. 212

¹³ 69, Sholebroke Avenue, a 'theatrical apartment house'.

Margot's relationship with her mother was neither profound. *"It was cordial but superficial. Conversation was slight. She was non-plussed about the UK. She believed everything was better in Germany and was keen on returning,"* Tiny told me. *"Margot might have been hard-up, but she took good care of her mother."*

Given that the only thing which bound this group together was their bloodline, I supposed Tiny and Margot themselves had to build a relationship from scratch – after all, there's not much a four year old usually remembers, even less so from an aunt who passed through at best. But they hit it off from the get-go.¹⁴

In which language, I asked? *"Margot spoke English. She had a mixed accent. But when that failed us, Margot was happy to revert to Dutch – for she hadn't forgotten it all. Or we would speak in German, which Mutti of course appreciated. Either way, we found a way to communicate. Always over coffee, never tea."*



Then and Now:

The soot-covered parade in the late 30s, when the gown shop was still Phillips, before sandblasting for the new millennium.

Sources: [Google Streetview](#) and [Leodis.net](#)

Margot particularly valued her job at the 'gown' shop where she worked.¹⁵ I believe it stood at 166, Chapeltown Road, where one finds a similar store today.¹⁶ Local girl, Vera Rhodes (born 1948) as good as confirmed this, having lived two streets behind.¹⁷ *"It was a high-class gown shop, too expensive for me to shop in,"* she wrote me.¹⁸ The store was part of a parade of stores that included Cantor's fish and chip shop next door. It lay a brisk five minutes walk down the road from Margot's flat and in front of the tram number 2 route that led to Leeds centre as well as to Roundhay¹⁹ (see the map on pg. 615 in Ch. XV, Pt. 1).

Despite Margot's joy at having a job, her discontent with Leeds was evident. She'd been in the UK since the mid-1930s and had neither an easy time of it, her mother-in-law becoming a particularly difficult adversary who manipulated Harvey (*"He had few good things to say about Margot, both in front of and to her face,"* Tiny recalled).

But I can also imagine the city's buildings, blackened with soot and the mill chimneys that still dotted the landscape blighted their mood.²⁰ Indeed, Britain's rising consumption of coal, the cause of all the smoke pollution, had been inexorable for two centuries.²¹

¹⁴ Tiny told me via telephone, January 2017

¹⁵ In 1951, with 30.8 percent, the female percentage of the workforce population was barely a percentage point up on the 1911 figure. However, women by this time were engaged in significant numbers in a far greater range of occupations even than in 1931. *Austerity Britain: 1945-1951*. David Kynaston. Bloomsbury, 2007. Pg. 406

¹⁶ Since 2007 it has been known as 'Independent Woman' according to [Leodis.net](#), and can be seen today [here](#).

¹⁷ See her remarks recalling the gown shop standing adjacent to Cantor's chip shop at [Leodis.net/display.aspx?resourceIdentifier=200271_83008975&DISPLAY=FULL](#)

¹⁸ Personal correspondence, December 30th, 2016 (via email).

¹⁹ See: [dewi.ca/trains/leeds/index.html](#)

²⁰ See also: *Leeds, in the Fifties, Sixties and Seventies* (2012) by the Yorkshire Evening Post. Available [here](#).

²¹ *Austerity Britain: 1945-1951*. David Kynaston. Bloomsbury, 2007. Pg. 401

German political theorist, Hannah Arendt, wrote of the period "...all of England looks like it's mainly made of coal. Everything black from 150 years of coal dust." And of its people and their homeland: "England: the most civilised country on earth, but also the most boring!" she wrote from Manchester to her husband in New York. "I admire the English, as a people... Everything we like so much about America, the decency, the lack of hypocrisy, no to-do, fairness etc. is Anglo-Saxon. But all of this without the slightest zest and also without vitality."²²

Frau Tyralla probably had a point too. The country as a whole was struggling post-war. In September 1949, there was a humiliating devaluation of sterling.²³ There were several large strikes, mostly unofficial, affecting the newspapers, railways and docks. Nationalisation too had given the rail industry an impossible brief: to combine public service with commercial efficiency. But the fundamental problem was crippling under investment. In telecommunications, the picture was dismal too. By 1948, less than 10 percent of the UK's population had a telephone, while by 1950, the waiting time for installation was reckoned to be anything up to 18 months.²⁴

In November 1949, *Picture Post* published a letter entitled: '*Wanted: A new Britain*'. '*What is Wrong with the British Economy?*' was the title of three radio talks given by the editor of *The Economist* in the early weeks of 1950. Undeniably, there was gloom in the air.²⁵ Even the general election on February 23rd, 1950, registered the decline in Labour's popularity, after nearly five years in power,²⁶ the event being dubbed 'the revolt of the suburbs.'²⁷

Shaking off those doldrums, however, Margot showed Tiny something of Leeds, including a few of her former haunts.²⁸

"Rae wasn't always such a difficult woman," Margot informed Tiny. "Back when I first met her, we played cards all the time. She was big on that, especially poker, you know.²⁹ That's where I get my interest from," she added. "But then Haroey was born, and she took him over. Now he's estranged, disinterested. I put my arm around him, to be a bit closer and he brushes me off or shuns me."

"I've noticed your encounters are impersonal and matter of fact," replied Tiny. "He has scarcely a word for you, and never good."

They hopped off the tram at Briggate, in front of the Odeon.

²² *Family Britain: 1951-1957*. David Kynaston. Bloomsbury, 2009. Pg. 104

²³ *Austerity Britain: 1945-1951*. David Kynaston. Bloomsbury, 2007. Pg. 431

²⁴ *Austerity Britain: 1945-1951*. David Kynaston. Bloomsbury, 2007. Pg. 461

²⁵ *Austerity Britain: 1945-1951*. David Kynaston. Bloomsbury, 2007. Pg. 431

²⁶ *England in the Twentieth Century. 1914-1979*. David Thomson. Second Ed. Penguin Books, 1981. Pg. Pg. 227

²⁷ *Austerity Britain: 1945-1951*. David Kynaston. Bloomsbury, 2007. Pg. 503

²⁸ In fact, Tiny told me in 2019 that they didn't visit Leeds together. Therefore, this content was elaborated after learning in September/October 2020 about Margot's prior occupation. Some of Margot's statements were passed on by Tiny, alongside her own.

²⁹ According to Rae's niece, Stella Fearnley, whose son noted via email that Rae was big on card-playing, Oct. 16, 2020



Above:
Leeds Odeon
(The Paramount
until 1940) with
the No. 2 tram
line stretching
north along New
Briggate at the
intersection with
The Headrow,
1946.
Source: Leodis.net



Right:
Inside the front
doors, the box
office's forecourt!
Source:
Cinema Treasures

"Back before I got divorced from your uncle, I put in hours here, at the cinema's box office.³⁰ Back then it was called The Paramount. It's quite a venue you know. It was fun too. They showed films continuously all day. Plus, they had short stage acts in between films.³¹ You know I was on the stage with your mother? We played in 'palaces' like these, all over the US, Canada, the UK in the twenties and thirties..."

"I know!" said Tiny. "We're wondering whether Irene is going to follow in your footsteps, she being on the stage too!"

They popped their heads inside the front doors.

"The cinema hadn't been open very long when I joined.³² One of the attractions was its organ. It's called a Wurlitzer.³³ The same type one found all across Vaudeville theatres. Here they would play sing-along tunes of the day. The recital lasted about 20 minutes and was usually in the interval between the supporting and 'big' picture."³⁴

"I was as an usherette as well. Boy, I saw a lot of films in those days! During the interval I changed my outfit and sold ice cream. A big tray was strapped around my neck to take the weight.³⁵ Often there'd be a long queue for an ice cream or an ice lolly. When the queue had gone, we would then walk up the aisle and people would buy whatever was left. We looked cute in our dark red dresses and little hats!"³⁶

For a moment Margot was transported to another world.

"Let's go and get a drink," she said.

³⁰ In Chapter XV, Pt. 1 ("Separate Lives"), I asked whether Margot might have been undertaking gainful employment during the war, although I rather reflected on her experience with taking in lodgers.

³¹ Comment by F Jones of August 21st, 2010 posted at:

www.leodis.net/display.aspx?resourceIdentifier=4079&DISPLAY=FULL

³² It opened in 1932. See: www.leodis.net (and search for Paramount Cinema)

³³ The 17 ton organ with 2000 pipes and 160 stops is worth GBP 10,000. It was removed during the mid 1960s and plays today at Thursford Collection in Thursford, Norfolk.

See: www.leodis.net/display.aspx?resourceIdentifier=2004128_53828067&DISPLAY=FULL

³⁴ Undated comment by Ray D at: www.leodis.net/display.aspx?resourceIdentifier=4079&DISPLAY=FULL

³⁵ Tiny told me in the late 1990s that Margot worked as an usherette, while confirmation she had worked at the Paramount's box office came via centenerian, Stella Fearnley, on October 16, 2020. Since the Paramount had a single screen until 1969, Margot's experience was not likely to have been dissimilar to Carole McCulloch (Atkinson), whose April 8, 2016 opinion at www.leodis.net/display.aspx?resourceIdentifier=4079&DISPLAY=FULL is paraphrased.

³⁶ Paraphrasing John Stanier, a north Leeds resident, who reflected on an usherette's work via email. Oct. 29th, 2015

The Swan Inn lay across the road from the Empire Theatre, about a hundred metres down Briggate, and stood next door to the City Palace of Varieties.³⁷

"This is where Johnnie and I celebrated my 30th birthday. It's a classy pub known to all theatricals. Not long after that, we were divorced!"

"When did you finish up at the cinema then?" asked Tiny.

"Oh, not long before I started at the gown shop. Although in between I also worked at the artists' lodge. I needed the money. I got nothing from Johnnie. But let's not talk about him. What I will do though, is introduce you to Francis!"

Francis (the anglicised version of Ferencz) Haris was Margot's new romantic interest and Margot's junior by four years. *"He was the spitting image of Clark Gable,"* Tiny told me. *"He lived nearby and was Hungarian. Yet my grandmother had nothing good to say about him. 'He's in the way,' she'd complain. 'He's interfering.' Which of course meant she was jealous."*

Perhaps unbeknown to all but Margot, a new chapter in her life was about to get underway. Who exactly was this man, whose origins lay in the country I've called 'home' since 1994? Family lore vaguely recalled a connection to Budapest, possibly a son, and all locals know of a famous Budapest passage called *Haris köz*, that used to host a marketplace. Was there a connection?

Curiosity of course got the better of me, and way back in 2012 I engaged a genealogist, József Berkes, to spend several months digging around in the Hungarian National Archives. As a result, I gleaned plenty more on the then 28-year-old, whose own history is reflected in the textbox overleaf.



"Always well dressed and dapper" says niece, Ruth, from Israel. "Very Bohemian, but with a penchant for alcohol too." Ferencz Haris does Clark Gable in either Ujpest or Leeds



According to Lilli Palmer, Clark Gable, could drink a bottle of whiskey an evening while filming their 1959 movie, *But Not For Me*. Source: *Change Lobsters - And Dance*. Lilli Palmer, 1977. Pg. 287



Haris köz: site of the Greek settlers' Haris bazaar between 1866-1910
Source: kozterkep.hu (Nesztűk Béla)

³⁷ It has a rich history of hosting famous acts and theatres goers, thirsty shoppers and hungry workers alike for 150 years. See: whiteswanleeds.co.uk/private-hire

17.1: Whence Cometh the Man?

Ferencz Haris was born on July 12th, 1917 in the ‘Felvidék’ (see map right showing the borders of Hungary today in the context of the surrounding region), in a town known at the time as *Érsekújvár* (see ‘1’).

Until 1921, and more specifically the Treaty of Trianon, Hungary was two-thirds larger than it is today. But after defeat in 1918, *Érsekújvár* found itself part of newly formed Czechoslovakia. Thereafter it was known as *Nove Zámky*.¹

“Almost half of *Érsekújvár*’s population (16,000 in 1910) were Haris,” I was told by one Budapest-based Haris (indeed, when I passed through it en route to Leipzig in early 2019, locals confirmed there still are many today).

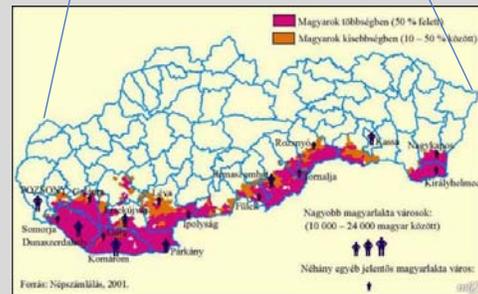
The name is not a particularly common one in Hungary, but it is steeped in history, perhaps even Budapest legend. The Haris family origins stem back to a wealthy merchant family of Greek or Macedonian origin – according to retired archivist and genealogist, József Berkes – that reached Budapest at the end of the 18th century. The Greek version of the name is ‘*Charis*’ which probably stems from the word, *charisma*. ‘*Haris Köz*’ (Haris Passage) in the nation’s capital marks the spot where the Haris bazaar had stood from 1866 to 1910.²

The artistic side of the Haris family migrated further north to the *Felvidék*³ (Upper Country) and to the *Csallóköz*, a river island in what today is southwestern Slovakia, extending from its capital, Bratislava to Komárno in Hungary.⁴

Ferencz’ father, *Sándor* (pronounced Shan-dor)⁵ was one of that community who ventured to Budapest, together with his family, during the First World War.⁶ It is thought he arrived as a soldier, and after a spell in the centre, settled outside the Hungarian capital in *Újpest* (formerly established by a Jewish shoe factory owner in 1835).⁷ *Ferencz* was the second eldest child and had two sisters: *Maria*, who was the eldest of the siblings, and *Erzsébet*, who was the youngest.⁸ He also had two brothers: *István*, the middle child, and *Sándor*, the second youngest.⁹ Their mother (pictured right)¹⁰ died not long after *Erzsébet* was born, while his father, pictured below, a small-time trader, remarried.

After his mother’s death *Ferencz* grew distant from his father. Indeed, none of the children were fond of their step-mother, according to Budapest-based *Irene Geschitz*, the daughter-in-law of *Ferencz*’ eldest sister (*Maria*, typically known as *Mariska*).¹¹ She told me that his younger sister, *Erzsébet*, also left Hungary after the Second World War, for Israel, after marrying his best mate, Jewish *György Lederer*, in March 1946.¹² *István* (‘*Pis(h)ti*’) on the other hand was another who took flight. A former boxer, he was captured by the Germans during the war, although he had no love for the communists either.¹³

In later years, *Irene* would often meet *Ferencz* when he visited his elder sister’s family. I was fortunate to speak to her in 2013, at which time she told me plenty more about his Roman Catholic family – and his first wife, *Maria Magdolna Kocsis*: a char woman from that part of Budapest where the Haris’s first lived.¹⁴ However, although they had tied the knot in *Ujpest* in December 1943,¹⁵ *Berkes* confirmed they had no children. The presumed son was in fact a nephew and godson; *Matyi*, *Maria*’s youngest son – pictured right in the early 1950s right, standing, next to *Sándor Haris*.¹⁶



Above Top: The eastern half of the Austro-Hungarian empire, the northern part of which has constituted Slovakia since 1918. Above: Those areas of Slovakia where Hungarians remain the majority including *Érsekújvár* (lower left north of Komárom), where Francis was born. Sources: Facebook and korkep.sk (respectively)



Footnotes: see ‘Footnotes to textbox 17.1’ at chapter end

Francis left Budapest three years before Margot made his acquaintance, on July 15th, 1947, i.e. three days after his 30th birthday.³⁸ According to more distant relatives, he'd fallen out of love with his wife. And not unlike many other Hungarians, he also saw a better world beyond troubled Budapest (see textbox 17.2 overleaf). He left with just a smattering of English, along with his experience as an electric arc welder.

If unearthing tell-tale documents in the archives wasn't against all odds, I then managed to trace Francis' niece, Ruth, in Israel. In 2013, she told me over the phone that his decision to 'disappear' was not just down to his curiosity with the world around him, but also because he needed to find himself.

"He was a bit like Lord Byron with his Bohemian ways," the English peer, poet and politician. He'd been one of the leading figures of the Romantic movement, travelling extensively across Europe and living in Italy for seven years.³⁹

But quite how, when and why Francis ended up in the UK (never mind Leeds) remains a mystery. Combing through Leeds' Wikipedia page doesn't lend many clues, while that devoted to Chapeltown only tells me that its British African-Caribbean community arrived between the end of World War Two and the early 1960s.⁴⁰

Could there have been a link? Between Francis' departure from Budapest and his meeting Margot in 1950, June 22nd, 1948 had particularly gone down in history as a defining moment in the centuries-old story of immigration to Britain. On that date the *SS Empire Windrush* (a former German troop carrier) arrived at Tilbury Docks from Jamaica, carrying 492 passengers seeking a new start in the UK. In the years that followed, 160,000 more West Indians immigrated.⁴¹ Perhaps Francis had been convinced in east London by Leeds-bound West Indians?

It wasn't long before Francis, the *Magyar*, connected with UK-based Hungarians. Among those was *Sándor Garas*, who also hailed from Budapest. A mechanic by profession, he was five years Francis' senior.⁴² Thanks to a little Internet sleuthing, I was in touch with his daughter after she answered my old-fashioned letter of 2012. California-based Gabriela wrote:

*"My father ...escaped or left Hungary because there was no work. He worked in the coal mines of England."*⁴³

³⁸ From his home at Jókai utca 40 in Budapest's fourth district, according to the missing person's report of Maria Magdolna Kocsis, 1962 (Budapest fourth and fifteenth districts' court. PKIV.22.947). 1962/2

³⁹ See: wiki.en/Lord_Byron

⁴⁰ See: wiki.en/Chapeltown

⁴¹ *Family History on the Move. Where your ancestors went and why.* Roger Kershaw and Mark Pearsall. The National Archives, 2006. Pg. 28

⁴² Born July 18th, 1912, in Hungary.

⁴³ Personal correspondence with Gabriela Trixner on September 4, 2013

17.2: When the illusion of a “rose-coloured democracy” vanished

The exodus from Hungary after the Second World War, when hundreds of thousands left, occurred in three phases. The first was in 1945, when those who had pressing reasons to do so fled the approaching Soviet army and the communists. The second was in the summer of 1948, when the Iron Curtain was still porous, and provided the last opportunity for those who wanted to leave the country to obtain a passport, at which time, writers, artists, scholars, teachers and many of the former owners of nationalised companies traveled abroad. The third followed under dramatic circumstances during and after the revolution of October 1956 (see textbox 17.9). Then, only those who the communists ejected or who fled, could depart.¹

Following the fall of Nazi Germany, Soviet troops occupied all of Hungary until it gradually became a communist satellite state of the Soviet Union. Mátyás Rákosi, the Hungarian soviet puppet and communist leader who saw himself as “Stalin’s best Hungarian disciple,” subsequently implemented policies of militarisation, industrialisation, collectivisation and war compensation, which consequently saw living standards fall. The rule of the Rákosi government was nearly unbearable for Hungary’s war-torn citizens.²

In March 1946, the leaders of the communist party suspended emigration, officially because groups of Nazis were illegally escaping.² Sándor Márai, a well-known Hungarian author, refers to February 1947 as the point when any illusion of a “rose-coloured democracy” vanished. This was when Moscow ordered “after two years of democratic scene-shifting, lying and exploratory preparation ... the complete, absolute Bolshevization of Hungarian society ... By then people had for days been rounded up and hauled off to the prisons of the state police.”¹ Miraculously, a ‘transcript’ of how Francis’ father also fell foul of the authorities came to light.³

In April 1947, Sándor (pictured in the previous textbox), a small-time merchant, went from the villages of *Magyarnándor* (see ‘1’ on the above map) to *Herencsény* (‘2’) in *Nógrád* county (a good 90 kilometers or so away from his Budapest home) to purchase pork. En route, in the village of *Cserhátaláp* (‘3’) his path crossed with a chap called Sándor Magyar, his wife and two other women. After Francis’ father explained where he was from and offered to sell cigarette paper, he was asked:

“What’s new in Rákospalota?”

“Well the communists take. They don’t represent the little people” came his rambunctious reply. *“They wanted to take the bricks we secured for our church. Well, we wouldn’t let them! We built the church, but the communists wouldn’t contribute, and when it was ready, they gave a bell. Rákosi just sat on the throne, steals the good money for himself while the communists don’t want to work.”*

“In other words, the communists, are anti-democratic,” it was claimed in the subsequent report.

“This ‘democracy’ isn’t good and won’t last,” continued Francis’ father.

“But Rakosi and the communists are bringing the prisoners of war home,” objected Sándor Magyar.

“They aren’t” responded Francis’ father. *“We won’t see that until we are grey. Rákosi and Stalin are both pigs and should be hung together,”* came his unbridled reply. *“But what can you expect from the piglet, when the sow welters in the mud?”*

Unfortunately for Sándor, his companions reported their exchange to the authorities. No wonder Francis stole out of Hungary in July 1947! However, it took until November 1949 for Sándor’s tribunal to take place. The result? Some 18 months imprisonment — for stirring unrest.

In February 1950, Sándor’s sentence was diminished to eight months, along with a suspension of his voting rights for ten years — on the grounds that he was “aged and seriously sick.” His release should then have been around June 1950.

Such was the Haris’s Hungary at that time — although worse was to come. Approximately 350,000 officials and intellectuals were purged between 1948 and 1956. Many people, freethinkers and democrats, were secretly arrested and taken to inland or foreign concentration camps without any judicial sentence. Some 600,000 Hungarians were deported to Soviet labour camps and at least 200,000 died in captivity.⁴

I guess Sandor was one of the lucky ones.



Sources: 1: *Memoir of Hungary, 1944-1948*. Sándor Márai. Corvina/CEU Press 1996. Pg. 288, 390-391. 2: *Jewish Budapest – Monuments, rites, history*. Kinga Frojimovics, Géza Komoróczy, Viktoria Pusztai and Andrea Strbik. CEU Press, 1998. Pg. 425.

3: *Budapest Criminal Court*. B.XLII. 1702C/1949/5 and 4: *Wiki/en/Hungary*

I had to wonder whether Francis and Sandor's friendship stretched back to their Budapest days, but Gaby, a typical Hungarian name, didn't think so:

"I would say that my dad and Francis met in England. There were a group ... that always hung out. Alex Kiss (later Kish) and Janchi [spelt Jancsi in Hungarian] Paulik were two others."⁴⁴

That year, Sándor was registered as living on the UK's west coast in Lancaster – about 120 km from Leeds.⁴⁵ Were Francis and Sandor colleagues? I asked Tiny on several occasions whether she recalled Francis' occupation, eventually telling me "He might have been a miner."

Writing in *Austerity Britain: 1945-1951*, David Kynaston tells us that Yorkshire's huge coalfields gave jobs to 150,000 men. There were 130, mainly semi-rural, pits,⁴⁶ while at the height of its coal mining prominence, Leeds had 111 mines, spread across eastern, western and southern areas. The coal industry, however, was overhauled during its nationalisation in January 1947 with the effects being felt in Leeds: 11 mines were taken over by the National Coal Board.⁴⁷ Still, there was demand for miners.

But mining coal was neither part of Francis nor Sándor's longer term plans, both setting their eyes on more rewarding employment in North America. In Sándor's case: Canada, while for Francis it was San Francisco. Why?

"It was more accommodating towards immigrants," Tiny told me. *"What is more, Margot was more than excited at the prospect."*

During its heyday in the 1950s and 1960s, San Francisco was the place to be for anyone who eschewed the conventional American lifestyle. From moody beatniks to political firebrands, the city was a vortex for poets, writers, actors, and a bewildering assortment of free thinkers and activists.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ According to Gabriela Trixner on Sept. 4, 2013, Alex Kish had Alzheimer's while Janchi had already passed away. She added that Gisela, Alex' wife lived nearby her then home in Union City. Online research suggested Gisela lived at 815 Masson Ave, San Bruno, CA 94066-3133 (see SanFrancisco2014_Kish.doc). She had previously worked as a [Mat'l & Supply Delivery Clerk](#) until 2012. According to notices [here](#) and [here](#), Gisela Kish died October 13th, 2015, having been born March 26th, 1935. The funeral was on October 20th, 2015 in Daly City, CA (north of San Bruno). White pages indicates Gisela Kish last lived west of San Bruno at 1262 Park Pacifica Ave. Had this research been completed earlier, there's a slim chance a meeting could have taken place during my 2012 visit. Her San Bruno address [listed](#) an Alexander (owner, retired, probably her widowed husband and in his 70s) as well as Jackie Kish ([54](#)). Furthermore, Gabriela wrote on March 18th, 2018 "I forwarded your email to Jackie Flynn and Gabby Boegher - the daughters of Alex and Gisela Kish. Both are deceased. Maybe Jackie or Gabby have pictures of Margot and Francis. Or maybe there were more discussions from their parents in regards Margot/Francis' history"

⁴⁵ 46, Dale Street in Lancaster, Lancashire, according to his marriage certificate of October 21st, 1950 (No. 152)

⁴⁶ *Austerity Britain: 1945-1951*. David Kynaston. Bloomsbury, 2007. Pg. 474

⁴⁷ Even in 1967, at least seven mines across the city, including Middleton, Rothwell and Savile, still employed nearly 4,000 men. See: [news.bbc.co.uk/local/leeds/low/people_and_places/history/newsid_8318000/8318667.stm](https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-local-leeds-low/people_and_places/history/newsid_8318000/8318667.stm)

⁴⁸ See: [frommers.com/destinations/san-francisco/recommended-books-films-music#ixzz1weV3jj81](https://www.frommers.com/destinations/san-francisco/recommended-books-films-music#ixzz1weV3jj81)

Gabriela had some words to add of her own parents' eventual emigration:

"They left England because the only job for the men was in the coal mines with no hopes of doing better. Foreigners were not too accepted at that time.⁴⁹ Canada offered a brighter future."⁵⁰

Indeed, Canada was especially important to Margot and Francis too because it was key to entering the United States.⁵¹ As many as 27 percent of the emigrant stream of 'Canadians' to the United States in the 1950s were formerly foreign-born immigrants who, in effect had used Canada as a stepping stone.⁵² And fortunately for Margot and Francis, in that post-war period, Canada welcomed the British, offering naturalisation within five years of landing as an immigrant.⁵³ Not surprisingly, many more in the UK planned to move to the British dominion: By March 1951, as many as 1,700 enquiries were made in a single day as to how to emigrate there.⁵⁴ But there was another obstacle: Francis first needed to earn British citizenship, which itself required a residence of five years.⁵⁵

Ultimately, that meant plenty of time to get to know one another!

"What did Margot and Francis typically do together?" I asked Tiny.

"Oh, they loved to head out. Francis would drop by and then he and Margot would go to the cinema, leaving me with my grandmother." He was "a kind, friendly chap, with a good sense of humour. But Mutti hated being left out."

On average, there were about 3.75 million admissions to Great Britain's 4,600 cinemas per day in 1952. That's roughly the equivalent of every person in the country at the time going to the cinema every other week of the year.⁵⁶

Among the movies to be enjoyed during the coming years were the Western, *High Noon* with Gary Cooper (1952), *From Here to Eternity*, an American drama romance war film with many big names (1953) as well as *The Rose Tattoo*, adapted from the play by Tennessee Williams (1955).

⁴⁹ By 1952, the question of non-whites' migration to Britain was starting to be seen as a 'problem.' In June, an American academic, Ruth Landes, argued at the Anthropological Institute that the British were fundamentally 'inhospitable' to everyone who did not speak English and who were not born on the Isles. Indeed, a wall daubed with K.B.W., short for 'Keep Britain White,' was published in *Picture Post. Family Britain: 1951-1957*. David Kynaston. Bloomsbury, 2007. Pg. 100

⁵⁰ Personal correspondence with Gabriela Trixner on September 4th, 2013

⁵¹ The Immigration Act of 1924 limited the number allowed entry into the United States through a national origins quota. Quotas for specific countries were based on two percent of the US population from that country recorded in the 1890 census. As a result, populations poorly represented in 1890 were prevented from immigrating in proportionate numbers. See: wiki.en/Immigration_Act_of_1924. N.b. *The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 later affirmed the national-origins quota system of 1924 and limited total annual immigration to one-sixth of one percent of the population of the continental United States in 1920, or 175,455 (see: wiki.en/History_of_immigration_to_the_United_States#1950s).*

⁵² *Emigration*. Anne-marie Pedersen and Shiva S. Halli. [thecanadianencyclopedia.ca](http://thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/emigration). February 7, 2006: Online at: thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/emigration

⁵³ See: wiki.en/Canadian_Citizenship_Act_1946

⁵⁴ *Austerity Britain: 1945-1951*. David Kynaston. Bloomsbury, 2007. Pg. 580

⁵⁵ See: wiki.en/History_of_British_nationality_law#Requirements_for_Naturalisation_or_Registration

⁵⁶ Citing 'Political and Economic Planning' in 1952. *Family Britain: 1951-1957*. D. Kynaston. Bloomsbury, 2009. Pg. 199. N.b. *The text indicated 27 times per annum.*

Dancing was a favourite pastime of theirs too, later acquaintances told me,⁵⁷ which comes as no surprise because UK dance halls had been heaving with boppers during the immediate post-war months.⁵⁸ Indeed I had to wonder whether the pair's paths might even have crossed in a dance hall, but Tiny couldn't say for sure.

Had Margot not met Francis, would she have stayed in the UK?

"I don't believe so," Tiny answered. "She had ambition, she knew what she was doing and what she wanted. The USA was on her agenda – with or without Francis."

Neither those German nor Austrian refugees who chose to stay in Britain after the war remained there either. But where did they go? Well, during the 1950s and early 1960s most went back to their homelands, of course.⁵⁹ What is more, non-married women of 'the lost generation' (see Chapter IX, Pt. 1) were especially trailblazers of change in West Germany.⁶⁰ While that certainly could have been the Margot I remembered from the 1980s, was that her in the 1950s too? According to Tiny, *"She only really toughened up later on."*

Certainly, one already couldn't ignore American influence in the UK. The country had emerged from World War Two as the world's most powerful economic nation. Its armament programme had ended the Great Depression of the 1930s. American productivity, though reduced by strikes, was phenomenal compared to the rest of the world, both agriculturally and industrially. It was a "country of 140 million inhabitants where vigor and optimism reigned."⁶¹

While the state of the British economy could do better, Geoffrey Crowther, a social commentator, expressed misgivings about the US. "America is a country where to my mind they have too much competition" he told his Home Service listeners earlier in 1950. "It does indeed make them rich... But every time I go there, I am struck again by how much personal instability and unhappiness comes with the heavy competition. It shows up, I think, in the greater incidence of things like suicides, of nervous breakdowns, of alcoholism, very few people there can feel economically secure... They pay too high a price for their wealth."⁶²

But if talk like that didn't put the couple off, a Mass Observation survey that was completed in August 1950 might have encouraged them. It asked of its panel: "What are your present feelings about the Americans?" Among the replies a designer remarked: "The Americans are obviously becoming the Master race, whether we like it or not, so let's all begin to hero-worship them."⁶³

⁵⁷ See also: *Saturday Night Fever in Downtown 1950s Leeds*. Peter W. Wood. Feb. 1, 2018. Online at: eastleedsmemories.wordpress.com/2018/02/01/saturday-night-fever-in-downtown-1950s-leeds

⁵⁸ Cementing the star status of band leaders like Ted Heath and Joe Loss. *Austerity Britain: 1945-1951*. David Kynaston. Bloomsbury, 2007. Pg. 95

⁵⁹ *Exiles Laugh at their Woes: Topical Revue*. Observer. Jan. 3, 1943. Cited in *Politics by Other Means. The Free German League of Culture in London, 1939-1945*. Charmian Brinson and Richard Dove. Vallentine-Mitchell, 2010. Pg. 217, 218

⁶⁰ *Germany from Defeat to Partition. 1945-1963*. D. G. Williamson. Pearson Education Ltd., 2001. Pg. 78

⁶¹ *A Tale of Two Continents. A Physicist's Life in a Turbulent World*. Abraham Pais. OUP, 1997. Pg. 191-2

⁶² *Austerity Britain: 1945-1951*. David Kynaston. Bloomsbury, 2007. Pg. 468

⁶³ *Austerity Britain: 1945-1951*. David Kynaston. Bloomsbury, 2007. Pg. 468

From Margot's perspective, linking up with Francis proffered not just a fresh start but an(other) adventure, while a move to the US spelt opportunity to return to the land she'd worked in for three years as a teenager. And what else would she be doing, if not working?

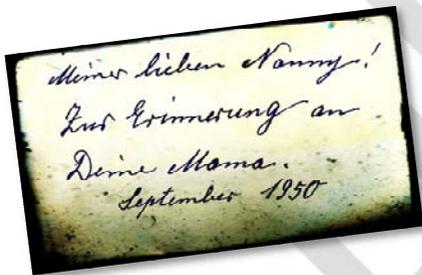
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Tiny meanwhile returned to Highgate with some treasured memories, vowing to stay in contact with Margot. But there were also some that were less positive.

"There was little in the way of affection or emotion on Harvey's behalf towards Margot, when we said farewell," she told me of their departure. "He neither endeared himself to me. I was his elder female cousin and he tried to take advantage of me," Tiny said candidly.⁶⁴ "He had been in and out of reform schools and was, well, reckless."

My aunt didn't have long to reflect on her time in Leeds, however. On Sunday June 25th, 1950, she received news that her mother had given birth prematurely to daughter number three – my mum! Cutting short her visit, she returned to give a helping hand.

Despite my mother announcing her arrival a full 24 hours beforehand, it was to be a home delivery – the norm at the time. Nearly 43, my grandmother was not only now the eldest 'Hinsch' cousin, but her daughter became the youngest great grandchild to the late Friedrich Hinsch. The third generation of 'Nannys', she would more typically be known by her second name, pronounced *Alisa*. I wonder what Frau Tyralla had to say of her namesake.



Because *Alice* was especially small, she was moved into a hospital incubator, where she was kept for the next three months. Nanny was soon exhausted from tending to the housework – cooking, washing, cleaning – while delivering mother's milk to the hospital twice daily. And as time wore on, the family's concerns grew because the state's health insurance only covered six weeks of post-natal care.

Although Tiny had taken up a job when she returned from Holland as an artist at a designers' studio, rather than lose it, she took sick leave and did the 'milk round' on behalf of her mother. Those were tiring months for all involved.

Eventually, the news reached Mutti, who in return sent a lock of hair from Leeds together with the note *"My dear Nanny. To remember your Mama. September 1950"*.

⁶⁴ Personal conversation, February 2016

Upon Alice's arrival home, Nanny continued to devote herself to her girls, while Pa dedicated himself to the theatre. In 1950, Carré, went in search of 'new' acts, with old friends (see textbox 14.5 in chapter XIV), the 'Snip & Snap' duo being brought in on a permanent contract for several months per year.⁶⁵

Cor's social nature meant he would also bring the stage stars home unannounced, it falling to Nanny to put something edible on the table. Money was tight, and despite recording her expenses in a housekeeping diary – to the cent – the girls' father still questioned where the money went. Rather than hang with the stars, Nanny preferred the background.

"Mum had not much fun in her married life," admitted adding that she never saw her parents exchange a kiss. Nevertheless, Cor was idolised by his girls and it was Tiny who return and share the late night table with him over his fry-ups.



From 1950, Snip & Snap took up a residence in Carré's house. Source: [Amsterdam nostalgisch 1880-1985 via Facebook](#).

One of Nanny's pet interests remained the movies and its stars, including Ingrid Bergman and Gloria Swanson, whose 'Sunset Boulevard' of April 1951 was a firm favourite. The movie, a film-noir classic, is of course named after the boulevard that runs through Los Angeles and Beverly Hills, California. The leading lady plays a starlet of cinema yesteryear, slowly moving toward madness as she broods over her vanished fame. In many ways it is a 'biopic,' since it brought Gloria Swanson, a heroin of the silent screen, back into the limelight. Nanny loved it and indeed even looks like Swanson (see her on pg. 918 for instance).



"You're Norma Desmond. You used to be in silent pictures. You used to be big..." "I am big. It's the pictures that got small."
Gloria Swanson in *Sunset Boulevard* with William Holden, 1950

Perhaps the movie also reminded her of her own performing days when she would 'open' for Swanson, back when vaudeville was part of an evening's billing with a movie.

⁶⁵ See: resources.huygens.knaw.nl/bwn1880-2000/lemmata/bwn5/sleeswij

Nanny's interest in the movies rubbed off on Tiny, who became a regular reader of *Picturegoer* and *Picture Show*. Indeed, her interest in these magazines shaped the future course of her life. *Picturegoer*, for instance, included a column in which British lads would typically call for pen friends. Around 1951, one of those was six years older, Walter Robert Tuck, who hailed from Cromer, Norfolk.⁶⁶



Twist of Fate: No. 1 Para, Walter Tuck, whose call in 1951 for a pen-pal in *Picturegoer* caught the eye of Tiny Ridderhof – among 299 others!

Drawing inspiration from her time in the UK, Tiny responded. But maybe it was the Dutch postage stamp that stood out, because among the 300 replies he received, hers found its way into his hands. The photo left is one of several Tiny sent along to Walter. Although he was not the only person she corresponded with, the others fell away while she and Walter exchanged letters on a daily basis.

He explained he was a *Royal Air Force* (RAF) serviceman based in Halton, northwest England. Having been with the RAF since February 1946, he'd already served in Libya at *RAF Station El Adem*, as well as in Palestine, including *Jerusalem* and *Nahariyya* in

the north. He had originally wanted to be a radar technician, but had been invited instead to serve as regiment police. Before joining the RAF, he'd spent three years with the British Army's Parachute Regiment,⁶⁷ which is when the photo above – which obviously fell into Tiny's hands – was taken.⁶⁸

Letter writing was still an important part of Tiny's mother's life too and I was delighted to be shown some of her original hand-penned missives addressed to Irene. Still into her acrobatics, come 1953 Irene was touring and winning competitions with '*de Pibos*' (later *The Krays*). At that age – 14 or so – she was in fact not much younger than her mother, when she took to the US stage in 1923 (see Chapter X).

⁶⁶ Walter was born in what was an old fisherman's cottage on November 4th, 1926, according to his son.

⁶⁷ The regiment was formed on June 22nd, 1940 and served in the disastrous Operation Market Garden campaign in Arnhem, the Netherlands – without him, as he was apparently six weeks late. See: [wiki.en/Parachute_Regiment_\(United_Kingdom\)](http://wiki.en/Parachute_Regiment_(United_Kingdom))

⁶⁸ Before joining the 'paras,' Walter apprenticed as an electrician. His son, Michael wrote on May 13, 2019 that once during the war he was up a ladder fixing wires outdoors, when a German fighter plane flew low down strafing targets. The machine guns hit every 300 yards. The ground was hit 300 yards from Walter up the ladder and he was next in line to be hit. Yet nothing happened. The strafing continued 300 yards again, past him. He left the British Army around May 1945 and returned to being an electrician. But nine months of that (and his step-mother) was more than enough, and so he signed up for the Royal Air Force.

How did Nanny feel about her daughter following in her footsteps?

"My mother was okay with it, although she did not like it when I would be away travelling," said Irene.

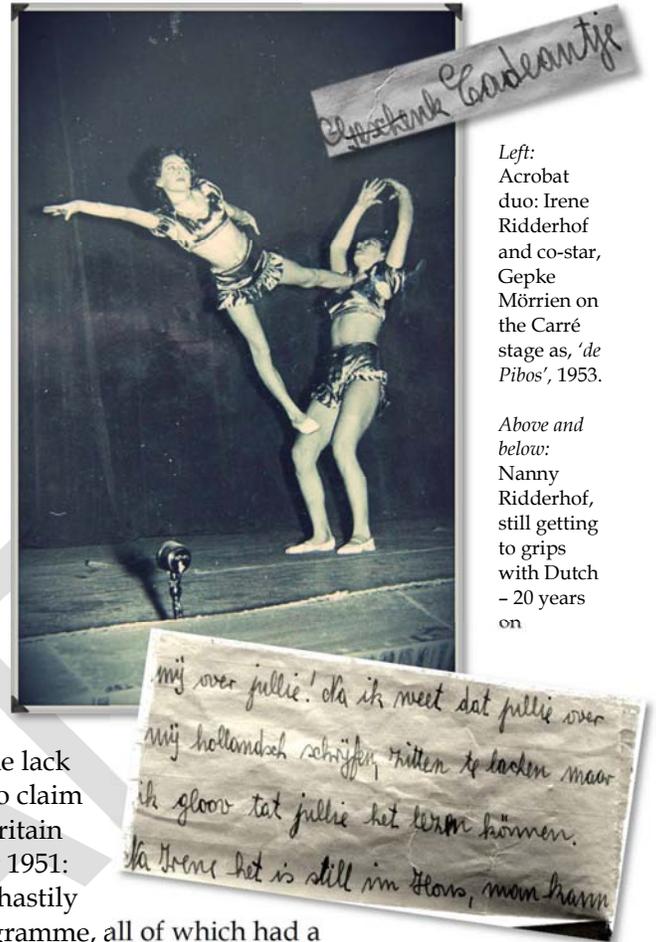
A letter Nanny sent while Irene was on the road gives insight into her command of the Dutch language, a good 20 years or so after her move to the Netherlands.

For example, her first choice of word for 'gift' was the German equivalent, 'Geschenk' and in another example, German words like *können* are retained. In a later sentence, Nanny begs Irene not to ridicule her Dutch (see the second and third lines in the excerpt, right).

Margot, on the other hand, wasn't renowned for writing. When she did, it may have been because her mother was getting on her nerves: she complained a little too often over the lack of attention from her daughter and continued to claim that everything was better in Germany. Well, Britain certainly remained an unhappy picture in early 1951: A meat shortage, a fuel crisis, a flu epidemic, a hastily conceived and overambitious rearmament programme, all of which had a sharp impact on the consumer.⁶⁹

Mutti could neither capture Margot's attention like Francis and his community did. Quite possibly my great aunt was introduced to *Hildegard Garas*, Sándor's bride, when Francis served as witness to their wedding in October 1950, since Gabriela told me, "*My Mom and Margot met in England through Francis and my Dad.*"⁷⁰

Scouring their marriage certificate reveals Hildegard was born in Linz, Austria and that her maiden name was *Kačnik* (which is Slovenian according to my Ljubljana-born wife). It reveals that she was a textile worker and Sándor a tunnel worker.⁷¹ Besides Francis, the Hungarian couple, *Alex Kiss* and his wife, *Gisela (nee Kaps)* also served as witnesses. As their story will go on to show, life-long bonds were formed during those years in which they were all focused on fresh starts and new horizons.



Left:
Acrobat
duo: Irene
Ridderhof
and co-star,
Gepke
Mörrien on
the Carré
stage as, 'de
Pibos', 1953.

Above and
below:
Nanny
Ridderhof,
still getting
to grips
with Dutch
- 20 years
on

⁶⁹ *Austerity Britain: 1945-1951*. David Kynaston. Bloomsbury, 2007. Pg. 580

⁷⁰ Personal correspondence with Gabriela Trixner of September 4, 2013

⁷¹ Marriage certificate No. 152 of 1950 (Lancaster) tells us that Hildegard was born in 1926, and thus 24 when she married on October 21st, 1950, that is, 14 years younger than Sándor. Curiously, however, it was her second marriage, the first having been to Frederick Mayr. Indeed, Gabriela tells me her mother "had a son whom she had left in her mother's care [in Austria] and [afterwards] moved to England in hopes to find a job."

Being ever curious about language, I asked Gabriela how Margot and Hildegard had conversed with one another. “*They spoke German in the beginning. But as time went on, [in subsequent decades] they spoke more English....The men spoke Hungarian to each other.*”⁷²

Of course, I also asked about photographs, to which Gabriela answered: “*I do have some pictures of Margot, Francis and the group in England ... They are really good pictures with a lot of history to them.*”⁷³

Aside from meet-ups and the movies, radio too was still a mass medium of entertainment in the early 1950s, capable of commanding huge loyalty. In late 1950/early 1951, for instance, a staggering 57 percent listened to *Variety Cavalcade*, a star-packed programme broadcast from the London Palladium celebrating a century of British music hall.⁷⁴



Another popular programme was ‘*Two-Way Family Favourites.*’ Every Sunday, after the signature tune ‘*With a Song in my Heart*’ had finished, the show opened with the words “*The time in Britain is twelve noon, in Germany it’s one o’clock, but home and away, it’s time for Two-Way Family Favourites,*” which was spoken by ‘the warm, ladylike, yet subtly sexy tones of Jean Metcalfe, BBC lady par excellence.’ There followed an hour and a quarter of record requests, linking Armed Forces personnel in West Germany with their families at home. Metcalfe’s

husband himself had been a radio presenter in Hamburg in the late 1940s and through her, the programme became a household fixture. In short, the programme was “*the distilled essence of 1950s family bonding.*”⁷⁵ Maybe that too contributed to Frau Tyralla’s *Heimweh* (homesickness). And if other Germans who’d escaped to the UK during the war, were returning, why not she?

Politically speaking, a new European perspective was emerging too. In summer 1950, French foreign minister, Robert Schuman unveiled the so-called *Schuman Declaration*,⁷⁶ a plan for a supranational body under which member states would pool their production of coal and steel. His declaration is now considered the founding text of European integration, which at the time was even billed as ‘a first step in the direction of European federation.’ It led to the European Coal and Steel Community Treaty that was signed on April 18th, 1951 by France, the Benelux countries, West Germany and Italy.

⁷² Frank Fulop, a close Hungarian friend of Francis told me that when they met in 1957, his English wasn’t that great, but in order to converse with Margot he had persevered. Tiny reminded me, however, that she and he got by in English well enough when they met.

⁷³ Personal correspondence with Gabriela Trixner of Sept. 4, 2013 and April 27, 2018

⁷⁴ *Austerity Britain: 1945-1951.* David Kynaston. Bloomsbury, 2007. Pg. 583

⁷⁵ *Family Britain: 1951-1957.* David Kynaston. Bloomsbury, 2009. Pg. 557

⁷⁶ On May 9, 1950. See: wiki.en/Schuman_Declaration.

Conspicuous by its absence, Britain had declined to participate in the start of 'Europe' as an economic-cum-political project. Ernest Bevin's arguments as Foreign Secretary were essentially determined by 'practical arguments such as Western Europe's dependence on American support' and 'the importance to Britain of her position as a world trading power, and as the centre of the Commonwealth.'⁷⁷

It was not a decision which most of the British political class were inclined to quarrel with. Although Edward Heath made a passionate maiden speech arguing that the European cause was one where Britain needed 'to be in the formative stages so that our influence could be brought to bear,' a much more typical Tory attitude was that of Major Harry Legge-Bourke, who claimed the cause required common sympathies and common characteristics: "Whilst those exist in the United Kingdom and in the United States, they do not exist in Europe."⁷⁸

Gut instincts were similar on the labour benches, the party having distrusted the movement for closer European integration which American policy seemed over eager to sponsor. The Coal and Steel Community was criticised as likely to lead to cartels or technocracy, neither attractive to socialism.

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A year after Tiny's visit, in July 1951, Margot bought her mother a ticket to Hamburg. The good news for her was that the golden era of welfare state expansion had been well underway since 1949, with great increases in benefit expenditures (that lasted until 1973). She could now collect a favourable war widow's pension (unlike those her age in Leipzig), together with a second pension for old age. The result was an increase in pensioners' living standards, which along with changes in social attitudes toward old age and retirement, saw a dramatic improvement in their social standing.⁷⁹ Now then seemed like a good time to return to West Germany.

On the other hand, 180,000 Hamburgers still lived in emergency accommodation,⁸⁰ despite 23,372 flats being built, including 5,700 single room apartments (albeit 28 percent lacked necessities) in the twelve months starting March 1951.⁸¹ But by 1953, over 110,000 apartments had been completed, mostly thanks to state aid.⁸²

⁷⁷ *Austerity Britain: 1945-1951*. David Kynaston. Bloomsbury, 2007. Pg. 544. N.b. Quoting his biographer, Alan Bullock

⁷⁸ *Austerity Britain: 1945-1951*. David Kynaston. Bloomsbury, 2007. Pg. 544

⁷⁹ *A History of the German Public Pension System. Continuity amid Change*. Alfred C. Mierzejewski. Lexington Books, 2016. Pg. 175

⁸⁰ *Geo Epoche Panorama Nr. 7. Geschichte in Bildern. Hamburg. Der Geschichte der Stadt in historischen Fotos*. 2016. Pg. 117

⁸¹ It was worse for families, however, as only six percent of the available three roomed flats included necessities.

Hamburg. Bewegte Zeiten - die 50er Jahre. Mathes Rehder. Wartberg Verlag, 1999. Pg. 35

⁸² *Geo Epoche Panorama Nr. 7. Geschichte in Bildern. Hamburg. Der Geschichte der Stadt in historischen Fotos*. 2016. Pg. 117



Spencer Place in 1971 as seen from Leopold Street. The high wall that surrounds the gardens of the row of terraced houses numbered 2-24 (left to right) – and since demolished – is reminiscent of that which Francis Haris stood before in the photograph on page 875.

Source: Leodis.net

Once her mother departed, I guess Margot and Francis shared their own place. According to an entry Tiny discovered in an old address book, their lodgings were at 20 Spencer Place.⁸³

Frau Tyralla's return to West Germany began modestly in a village called *Rahlstedt*, between Hamburg and Lübeck, where she rented a room from *Pensionär*, Carl Lietzmann, according to Hamburg's 1952 *Adressbuch*. Rahlstedt lay northeast of Hamburg and had developed into a popular residential suburb for its wealthy merchants at the turn of the century. During this time, therefore, many Wilhelminian style and *art nouveau* villas were created, thus helping to shape its appearance.⁸⁴



Above:
Frau Tyralla's New Digs in 1951: Rummelsburger Str. 25

Right:
Hamburg Hauptbahnhof 1954 and the night train from Zurich
Source: *Geo Epoche Panorama* #7, pg. 121



Rummelsburger Str. 25 (shown left in 2008) provided digs from July 30th until late that year. Her abode lay about 2 km from *Bahnstrecke Lübeck-Hamburg*, from where she could ride a regional train the 12 km or so to *Hamburg Hauptbahnhof*. Alternately, she could travel in the opposite direction toward Lübeck and even hop off 27 km later at *Bad Oldesloe*, near her father's birthplace.⁸⁵ Indeed, the railway line itself had been established in 1865, and was one surmised her father may even have used as an apprentice (see Chapter I).

But what of the 'Germany' she had so fondly missed? During the years since her departure, her compatriots had experienced an exemplary 'economic miracle.' Their country's economy had grown 8.5 percent annually, something never seen before. Real income doubled within a few years, the unemployment rate sank to one percent and Hamburgers enjoyed new luxuries and re-acquired freedom.⁸⁶

⁸³ According to Tiny, Spencer Place was not familiar, suggesting it was most likely occupied after her visit in 1950.

⁸⁴ See: wiki.de/Hamburg-Rahlstedt

⁸⁵ See: wiki.de/Bahnstrecke_Lübeck-Hamburg

⁸⁶ *Geo Epoche Panorama* Nr. 7. *Geschichte in Bildern. Hamburg. Der Geschichte der Stadt in historischen Fotos*. 2016. Pg. 120

Upon her arrival to the city, a walk to Hamburg's shops will have seemed as if nothing had changed since she'd first arrived in 1939. With local rationing having ended at the beginning of May 1950,⁸⁷ the city's stores were stocked with everything she could imagine: cigars, wine, smoked sausages piled in artistic bundles on porcelain plates. Car dealers had their vehicles on show. Shoes were everywhere too. On bakeries' glass counters lay loaf after loaf of white bread, rolls piled up in baskets, biscuits even.⁸⁸ Prices were now those that people actually paid.

During her previous spell in Hamburg, between 1946 and 1948, she'd have watched the locals collecting English soldiers' cigarette butts and one-legged men poking around their rubbish bins. But now people no longer felt humiliated.⁸⁹ They were without a care, without the trauma of nightbombing, without shame. Finally, Hamburgers could live. After years of claustrophobia, the horizon extended far out.⁹⁰



Finally, Hamburgers could live!
Sun worshippers at the Alster along the Jungfernstieg, spring 1953.
Source: Rehder, pg. 28

Frau Tyralla enjoyed sunning herself on the terraces by the Alster. From her digs out in *Rahlstedt*, the lure of the city – not to mention the sea – was too great. Among the papers' classifieds she likely noted ads that read: "*Kriegerwitwe such 2-Z(immer)-W(ohnung) in günstiger Gegend Hamburgs geg. 3-Z-W (Neubau) mit Kachelk., Bad, WC und Kammer in Flensburg-Mürwik.*" (In other words, "War widow seeks 2-room apartment in a convenient area of Hamburg or a 3-room apartment (new building) with tiles, bath, toilet and hall in Flensburg-Mürwik").⁹¹ Perhaps she placed such similar ads herself.

By mid-November 1951, Mutti moved back into her former neighbourhood, at the boundary between the districts of *Eilbek* and *Hohenfelde*, where she had also lived either side of the war. Now she moved into *Landwehr, 31*, making it her home for the next four and a half years – until 1956.⁹² According to Tiny's address book, Frau Tyralla had lived on the third floor, behind door #24.

⁸⁷ *Trümmer - Träume - Tor zur Welt. Die Geschichte Hamburgs von 1945 bis heute.* Uwe Bahnsen, Kerstin von Stürmer. Sutton, 2012. Pg. 51

⁸⁸ Admittedly talking about the summer of 1948. *The Forger.* Cay Rademacher. Arcadia Books, 2018. Pg. 202 & 213

⁸⁹ *The Forger.* Cay Rademacher. Arcadia Books, 2018. Pg. 233

⁹⁰ *Hamburg. Bewegte Zeiten – die 50er Jahre.* Mathes Rehder. Wartberg Verlag, 1999. Pg. 28

⁹¹ *Hamburg. Bewegte Zeiten – die 50er Jahre.* Mathes Rehder. Wartberg Verlag, 1999. Pg. 48

⁹² It's rather unsurprising she found herself here, an old familiar haunt. The regional train stopped at *Bahnhof Hasselbrook* and from there it was one stop on the S-Bahn line to *Landwehr*. See: wiki.de/S-Bahn_Hamburg

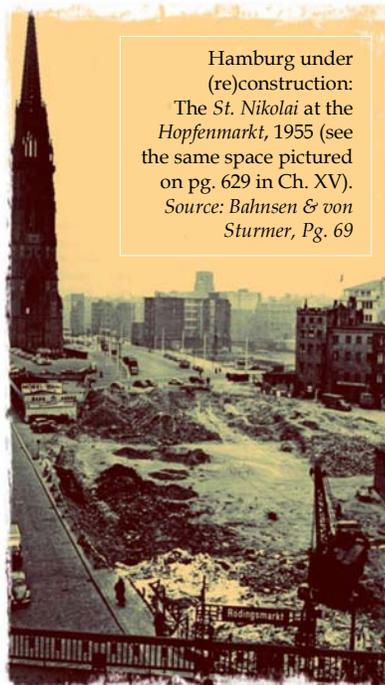


Above:
Frau Tyralla's domicile from late 1951 until 1956. Built around 1890, today *Landwehr 33/35* is No. 22398 on the list of Hamburg's cultural monuments.
Source: [wiki.de/Landwehr_\(Hamburg\)](http://wiki.de/Landwehr_(Hamburg))
- Uwe Rohwedder

I visited the location in 2001 and left with the impression that her apartment probably no longer stood. For good measure, I took a photograph of the *Grunderzeit* building which housed numbers 33 and 35 (shown left). Now I believe it was that photographed, which housed Frau Tyralla's flat.

Why? The 1952 *Adressbuch* reveals that *Landwehr, 31* had 26 residents across five floors⁹³ while just four lived at No. 33 and one at No. 35. How could that be possible in what was clearly a large building?

Maybe the building's principal entrance was the large doorway seen to the left of the picture and it was labelled 'No. 31', while the two smaller doors either side of the just visible 'caution' street sign were Nos. 33 and 35? Perhaps they concerned lower floor businesses alone. A trip to the city's planning office or an enquiry to Hamburg's archives would probably explain all!



Hamburg under (re)construction:
The *St. Nikolai* at the *Hopfenmarkt*, 1955 (see the same space pictured on pg. 629 in Ch. XV).
Source: *Bahnsen & von Sturmer*, Pg. 69

What is certain, however, is that while Frau Tyralla lived here, she was good friends with *Frieda Engelking*, declaring in 1958 that she owed her "many debts."⁹⁴ Like her own brother, Frieda's husband, *Ernst*, was a *Zigarrenvertr.*, a tobacco trader, while the city's *Adressbuch* reveals he and Frieda occupied a ground floor unit at *Landwehr, 31* in 1951.

I imagine she valued her city centre location, not least because she was fortunate to have it. Hamburg had already undergone a monumental transition and psychological shift, but notwithstanding the housing crisis, during 1950 alone, the city took in a total of 180,781 newcomers, a number arriving from East Germany: in 1949; 8,102, in 1950 it was 10,053 and in 1951: 12,822.⁹⁵ Naturally they further burdened the critical housing situation.

⁹³ Two on the ground, five on the upper ground, seven on the first, three on the second and five on the third, which I guess had their own upper floors, looking at the balconies in the photograph.

⁹⁴ *Mein Letzter Wille*. Hamburg, 28.8.1958

⁹⁵ *Die Aufnahme und Eingliederung der Vertriebenen und Flüchtlinge in Hamburg 1945-1953*. Evelyn Glensk. Verein für Hamburgische Geschichte, 1994

From her home in Landwehr, the *S-Bahn* was two minutes walk. From there she could ride across town, via the *Hauptbahnhof*, to the *Jungfernstieg* on the Alster, on to the city's *Baumwall* (where the inner harbour meets the Elbe), and beyond toward the *Landungsbrücken* and eventually *St. Pauli's Reeperbahn*, where Nanny and Margot paused en route to the US in the twenties.

Although the Hamburg of narrow-timbered gables, of fleets and of narrow yards, had for the most part been lost since then in the great firestorm of World War II, the emerging spaces made way for new houses, parks, squares and streets. While the *St. Katharinen kirche* was rebuilt, only the tower of the destroyed *St. Nikolai* remained, a reminder of the war and the devastation it brought (see adjacent picture).



From the famous merchants' warehouses in the *Speicherstadt* to the *St. Nikolai* memorial. Source: Rehder, Pg. 68

Wrote Mathes Rehder in *Hamburg. Bewegte Zeiten – die 50er Jahre*, "The born-again city is perhaps a little more sober, also poorer in terms of comfort and cosyness, yet attractive still, and for the Hamburgers is it still the most beautiful city of the world. And when the wind strikes across the *Speicherstadt* ... the aroma of coffee, tea and spices blows to the *Baumwall* or the *Dovenfleet* [north, toward the *Hauptbahnhof*]."⁹⁶

In those years, a trip to the *Kino* was also just as popular in Hamburg as it was in the UK, citizens visiting 21 times per year on average, while the city's theatres hosted some 37.6 million visitors a month. Popular films were *Endstation Sehnsucht* (A Streetcar Named Desire, released Dec. 1, 1951) and *Ein Herz und eine Krone* (Roman Holiday, released Dec. 10, 1953). Marilyn Monroe too became the idol of a new generation and by 1953, was one of the most marketable Hollywood stars; her legacy being defined by films of the time such as *Niagara*, *Gentlemen Prefer Blondes* and *How to Marry a Millionaire*. During the ads and the *Wochenschau*, young girls sold ice cream and confectionary in white aprons and bonnets in the theatres too.⁹⁷

Cinema was neither the only entertainment medium. On Christmas Day, 1952, two hour daily broadcasts by *Nordwestdeutscher Rundfunk* got underway. "The TV is a bridge from person to person," heralded the station's director, Werner Pleister.⁹⁸

And in case Frau Tyralla paid any attention to geo-politics, she'll have noticed that a formal end to Allied occupation was imminent, culminating in the restoration of sovereignty to West Germany in May 1952.⁹⁹ A month later, on June 6th, Hamburg became the *Frei und Hansestadt Hamburg* (Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg), thanks to a new constitution.

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⁹⁶ *Hamburg. Bewegte Zeiten – die 50er Jahre*. Mathes Rehder. Wartberg Verlag, 1999. Pg. 23, 68

⁹⁷ *Hamburg. Bewegte Zeiten – die 50er Jahre*. Mathes Rehder. Wartberg Verlag, 1999. Pg. 27

⁹⁸ *Trümmer - Träume - Tor zur Welt. Die Geschichte Hamburgs von 1945 bis heute*. Uwe Bahnsen, Kerstin von Stürmer. Sutton, 2012. Pg. 76

⁹⁹ *A Strange Enemy People: Germans Under the British, 1945-50*. Patricia Meehan, Peter Owen Publishers; 2001. Pg. 268

Although the city by the sea was to be Frau Tyralla's last port of call, her life's journey began in Leipzig in 1883. I wonder whether she still bore much interest in her birthplace? She'd left in the mid-twenties, but of course she had been there as recently as 1946, having sheltered during the war at her brother's villa in the neighbouring countryside.

Like Hamburg, Leipzig was also undergoing a post-war transformation. The German Democratic Republic's foundation alone was a watershed in the history of the German people – as it was for Europe – being seen as the “antithesis to Prussia and all that it stood for.”¹⁰⁰

Officially, the ‘GDR’ was a workers’ and peasants’ state (‘paradise’ was a term even floated) in which the proletariat's superiority began to be realised, helping to cement the achievements of the anti-fascist-democratic upheavals of the past, in turn spearheading the development of socialism, wrote *Günther Krüger*.¹⁰¹

Nevertheless, German unity continued to be a key issue on both sides of the divide, not least while its territories continued to be the focal point of the Cold War.¹⁰²

Did that matter to Nanny's brother, *Fritz Hinsch*? A Prussian and a capitalist, the 70-year old *Kunsthändler* (Art Dealer), had opted to stay in Leipzig rather than leave at the end of the war. Over cups of *Ersatz Kaffee*,¹⁰³ he and his wife, *Martha*, must have mused over the city's future. While *Wir bauen auf* led to Leipzig's recognition in 1950 as the tidiest town (probably East Germany's), just 8,000 residential units had been restored and only 100 constructed by that point in time.¹⁰⁴ Was that progress?



Where we used to live: ruins before *Salzgäßchen*, as seen from the northwest in July 1950 (top) and following clearance from the northeast in 1951.

Among the sites cleared of bomb damage was *Salzgäßchen*, where Fritz' pre-World War I home and store, *Cigarren-Versand Haus Hinsch*, had faced the *Altes Rathaus* and *Altes Börse* (pictured left). That year, the ground was levelled and by its end, the ‘passageway’ was debris clear. Today the space is a pedestrian precinct, replete with cafes and their patrons.

¹⁰⁰ *A German Century. Discussion.* Geoff Eley. *German History. The Journal of the German Historical Society.* Vol. 35, No. 1, OUP, March 2017. Pg. 119. See also: *The Preussenrenaissance Revisited: German-German Entanglements, the Media and the Politics of History in the late German Democratic Republic.* Andre Keil. *German History. The Journal of the German Historical Society.* Vol. 34, No. 2, OUP, June 2016. Pg. 260

¹⁰¹ *Leipzig: Geschichte der Stadt in Wort und Bild.* VEB, Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, Berlin, 1978. Pg. 104

¹⁰² *The German Question and the International Order, 1943-1948* by Nicolas Lewkowicz, reviewed by Martijn Lak of the Erasmus University Rotterdam *German History. The Journal of the German Historical Society.* Vol. 30, No. 4, OUP, Dec. 2012. Pg. 627

¹⁰³ *The Lesser Evil: The Diaries of Victor Klemperer, 1945-1959.* Victor Klemperer. Phoenix, 2004. Feb. 16, 1950. Pg. 311

¹⁰⁴ *Das war das 20. Jahrhundert in Leipzig.* Martina Güldemann. Wartberg Verlag, 1999. (1950). Pg. 56

Unlike Hamburg's,¹⁰⁵ Leipzig's construction programme didn't really get underway until February 1st, 1953, with the laying of the foundation stone at *Windmühlenstrasse*, a kilometre south (see 'Z' at the foot of the map on pg. 895).¹⁰⁶ But by 1955, a showcase of new apartments had risen up at nearby *Rosßplatz* – another area of family interest, it being where Frau Tyralla and her brother spent their childhoods. The adjacent photo shows *Rosßplatz* 8 – the building known as *Der Kurprinz* – in 1881, where she and her parents had lived between 1896 and 1906.



Earlier in Chapter III,¹⁰⁷ I had noted that '*Schrötergasse*', the alley to the right of *Der Kurprinz* was widened (see arrow 1) between 1882-1883, becoming *Kurprinzstraße*. This is shown in the framed images upper right, while those beneath show the space in 1955 (see arrow 3). Also of family interest, *Kurprinzstraße* was where Frau Tyralla was born in a fourth floor flat at No. 3 in 1883 (see 'X' in the image right).



Rosßplatz:
Schrötergasse's
evolution into
Grunewaldstrasse

Top: 1881 (a)
Middle left/right:
1906 (b)/1905 (c)
Bottom left/right:
1955 (d)/2020 (e)
Below: 1900 (f)

Sources:
a: Hermann Walter
b-c: Not known
d: Bundesarchiv
e: Google Maps
f: Facebook
(Leipzig auf Bildern)

However, while one sees an almost identical skyline today on the east side of the street, looking toward *Peterskirche*, an entire row of buildings on the west side of what is today '*Grunewaldstrasse*,' were lost in World War II. So too was *Rosßplatz* 8 and others that overlook the *Mägdebrunnen* fountain.¹⁰⁸



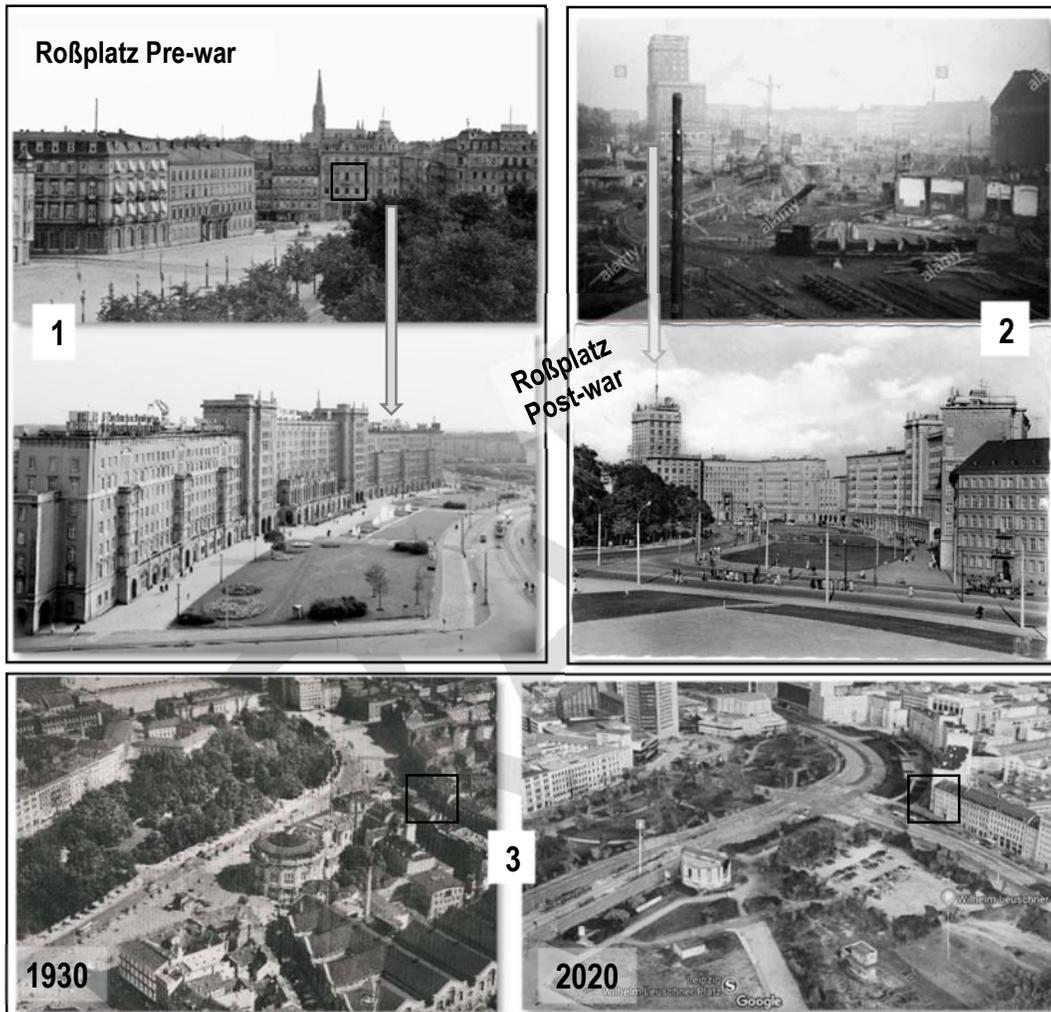
¹⁰⁵ *Halten wir das Hamburger Aufbautempo? Von Bürgermeister Dr. Nevermann.* Hamburger Adressbuch 1952. See: agora.sub.uni-hamburg.de/subhh-adress/digbib/view.jsessionid=CB2318219DDEE9355BC941312366D7C5D.agora12?did=c1:425073&ssid=c1:425077

¹⁰⁶ *Das war das 20. Jahrhundert in Leipzig.* Martina Güldemann. Wartberg Verlag, 1999. (1953). Pg. 59

¹⁰⁷ In respect to the family's dwelling in and around *Rosßplatz*, Chapter III's opening/closing pages require revision.

¹⁰⁸ See: de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rosßplatz#Gegenwärtige_Bebauung

After those ruins had been cleared, the mammoth *Ringbebauung* apartment block was erected. It is a typical example of classic socialistic GDR architecture, i.e. overly monumental and known for its *Zuckerbäckerstil* (i.e. gingerbread style). Today, the building is deemed a cultural monument. The images below add aerial views of *Roßplatz*' 1950s' reconstruction, while the corresponding location is shown on the map opposite.



Pre- and Post-war Roßplatz

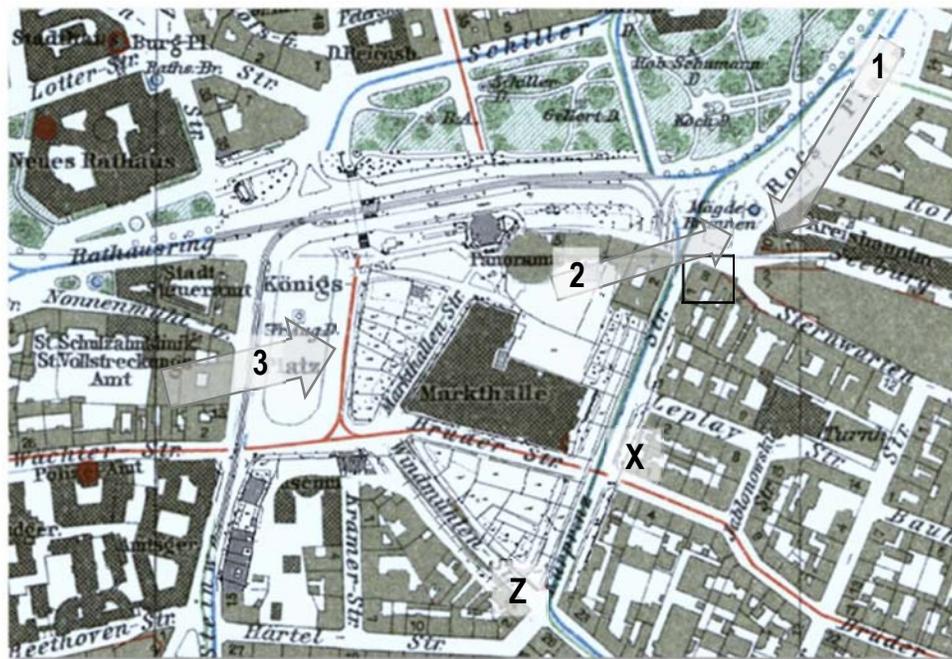
Upper quadrants:

Roßplatz pre-war (top left) and post-war, wherein the linked lower photos show it post-development.

Lower row:

Bird's eye view of Roßplatz.

Sources: Top left: n/a; Top right: alamy; Mid-left: Stadtarchiv; Mid-right: Facebook (Leipzig auf Bildern); Bottom-left: Google; Bottom-right: n/a



Preceding photographers' perspectives (i.e. '1', '2' and '3') with black box revealing Nanny and her parents' home at Rosßplatz 8. Source: stadtbild-deutschland.org

Despite the massive building programme that ensued in Leipzig – more than 2 million apartments being built by the political changes of 1989 – come 1991, nearly half of its housing still dated from before 1919.¹⁰⁹

While her brother Fritz Hinsch was the closest family Frau Tyralla had in Leipzig, his late son's daughter, *Vera*, was there too, albeit estranged. On February 25, 1950, she married a local man, from *Eutritzsch* in north Leipzig. A chef by trade, *Herbert Walter Förster* was two months her junior.¹¹⁰ Their first son, *Konrad*, was born December 2nd, 1949.

Vera, who passed away just as work on this chapter got underway, had been a charlady in the years leading up to the foundation of the GDR (listed an '*Arbeiter*' according to the city's 1949 *Adressbuch*). Some time afterwards,¹¹¹ she and her young family moved to *Haferkornstrasse 16* in east *Gohlis* (where Nanny and Margot had been born). It would be home to Vera and her family for the next 25 years. Soon afterwards, their second son, *Herbert Fritz*, was born on March 19th, 1951.



Following in family footsteps: Vera's home in Leipzig's east Gohlis, that same neck of the woods once home to Nanny and her mother between 1907 and 1923

¹⁰⁹ *Everyday life transformed: a case study of Leipzig since German unification*. Eva Kolinsky. World Affairs. Vol. 156, No. 4, 1994. Pg. 159+. Sage Publications, Inc.

¹¹⁰ Herbert Walter Förster was born July 4th, 1928

¹¹¹ His *Einwohnermeldekarte* would probably indicate the precise date.

A year after Herbert's birth, his great grandfather, Fritz Hinsch, passed away at home on April 3rd, 1952, having suffered an apoplectic stroke. He was 73.¹¹² Martha had been his wife for over 23 years. Astonishingly, however, it wasn't until Herbert's brother, Konrad, started school several years later, that Vera learned of his death. School start, being a widely celebrated occasion in Saxony, was special also to older members of the family. Vera told me she had gone to deliver an invite, only to face an angry Martha, who asked:

"I expect you have come for your inheritance?" before insisting she leave her in peace for good. "Her personality had completely changed," Vera told me.

I expect news of Fritz' passing probably reached Frau Tyralla more swiftly. Might she have contemplated returning to Leipzig to pay her last respects? Another of his granddaughters, Irene, told me:

"I remember very well father [Heinz] telling us, that grandfather Hinsch had died. According to my father's words, [Onkel] Hans took things in his hands – he was already a successful entrepreneur and knew his way around."

But my enquiry as to whether Irene's West Germany-based family themselves considered returning to Leipzig to pay their last respects, such line of thinking was quickly quashed:

"You overestimate our family bonds. These questions are apt for a 'normal' family. But also don't overlook the political circumstances in 1952 – everybody was still trying to get one's feet on the ground. I can assure you none of our family attended grandfather's funeral. Even if my father had wanted to go, his fear of the Russians was too great."¹¹³

I guess then Fritz's funeral was subdued. Despite several attempts, I could not obtain a copy of his *Nachlassakte* – his will and testament – without evidencing I was a legitimate inheritor of his 'estate' (note that granddaughter, Irene, was neither successful).

Had he that much to pass on, I wondered? Speaking to his grandson, *Rüdiger*, in the summer of 2000, his father, *Martin*, indeed inherited Fritz's Leipzig store.¹¹⁴ I asked Irene as to whether her father received anything?

"There was nothing left to our branch of the family. I even don't know whether there WAS something to be inherited!"

As for Hans, she thought he received some personal effects.

¹¹² Around 1730 according to death certificate Nr. 1940 of 1952

¹¹³ On February 11th, 2019 I invited grandson Rudiger's view, but no reply was received.

¹¹⁴ Martin is known to have later received more from Fritz's former wife, i.e. his mother, including a shop in Giessen (possibly that which Vera briefly worked at in 1945). Hans too took over a shop from Hedwig, while a fair amount of money was also later shared between the brothers. N.b. Hedwig died in 1974.

By 1952 then, it was Vera alone who remained representative of the Hinsch family in Leipzig. Unbeknown to all, she became our point of continuity through the ensuing decades, more or less up to the present day.

The following sub-section devotes a number of pages to illustrating the partitioned country in which she and her cousin, Irene, matured, as well as a number of critical turning points in East and West Germany's history.

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Comparing society in the two German states, that in the east had grown increasingly tense. The new Ministry of Security was typically slandered, the 'SS' Ministry – an obvious reference to the Nazis.¹¹⁵ By April 1950, over half the judges and 86 percent of the public prosecutors were recognised members of the commanding party, the SED (*Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands*, typically known in English as the East German Communist Party).

On May 1st of that year, while 500,000 had demonstrated for freedom on the *Platz der Republic* in West Berlin people also marched 'behind the Iron Curtain at the Brandenburg Gate'.¹¹⁶

That same month, the SED convinced their 'rival' parties, the Christian Democrats and the Liberal Democrats, that voters should be presented with a single united list of candidates. The elections which followed were thus held in an atmosphere of psychological and at times physical intimidation, which effectively 'widened rather than reduced the regime's deficit in legitimacy'.¹¹⁷

Not only was the open ballot a shock, the diarist, Professor Victor Klemperer, was also troubled by the poor supply of food and consumer goods.¹¹⁸ In Dresden's city centre in February 1951, for instance, there were "crowds of people in pitiful state and ... the greatest shortage of textile goods everywhere, the little available; poor quality and exorbitantly expensive." In March 1952, he wrote of "a great shortage of foodstuffs, no meat, no sausage – for about 10 days ... No one, including the news agency, knows the reason."¹¹⁹ Little wonder that living standards fell below 1947 levels in 1952.¹²⁰

¹¹⁵ *The Lesser Evil: The Diaries of Victor Klemperer, 1945-1959*. Victor Klemperer. Phoenix, 2004. March 31, 1950. Pg. 313

¹¹⁶ *The Lesser Evil: The Diaries of Victor Klemperer, 1945-1959*. Victor Klemperer. Phoenix, 2004. May 4-5, 1950. Pg. 316

¹¹⁷ *Germany from Defeat to Partition. 1945-1963*. D. G. Williamson. Pearson Education Ltd., 2001. Pg. 85

¹¹⁸ *The Lesser Evil: The Diaries of Victor Klemperer, 1945-1959*. Victor Klemperer. Phoenix, 2004. Oct. 16, 1950. Pg. 334-335

¹¹⁹ *The Lesser Evil: The Diaries of Victor Klemperer, 1945-1959*. Victor Klemperer. Phoenix, 2004. Feb. 21, 1951. Pg. 346. Then March 2nd, 1952. Pg. 379

¹²⁰ *The German Democratic Republic: Studies in European History*. Peter Grieder. Palgrave Macmillan, 2012. Pg. 37

It can't have been a pleasant time for Vera to give birth to her second son, while I couldn't help but reflect what Fritz Hinsch thought now of the Germany he'd grown up in.

Worse followed, when in July that year (acting on demands made by Soviet premier Joseph Stalin), it was decided that the new state would see the "systematic implementation of Socialism." An assault on the remaining middle stratum of the GDR, farmers who owned land and small business owners/tradesmen were forced to give up their independence through raised charges.

By autumn 1952, butter, vegetables, meat, sugar and bread were in even shorter supply. There was an acute shortage of underwear. Shoppers waited in monstrously long lines. Consumers criticised the dearth of diapers and the expense of nylons.

Referring often to the needs of children, old people and housewives, petitioners to the State Commission for Trade and Provisions insisted in winter/spring 1953, politely but firmly, that the state's neglect of the supply and distribution of basic goods harmed not only the physical condition of the population, but the political condition of the GDR.¹²¹

Despite this opposition, the SED continued turning the entire population into its enemies, announcing new austerity measures in February 1953, under the slogan, "regime of thrift."¹²² The situation became so tense that the bishops of the East German Evangelical Church urged the government to take note "of the distress which threatened to lead to a catastrophe of major proportions."¹²³

Stalin's death in March 1953 caused a tremor of anxiety through the SED leadership, but General Secretary (and defacto GDR leader), Walter Ulbricht (notable for his goatee), charged ahead.¹²⁴ In April 1953, ten thousand Leipzigers demonstrated against the likely incorporation of West Germany into NATO. In three days, over 3,100 telegrams and almost 10,000 letters were sent to the West German *Bundestag* as well as to West German companies.¹²⁵ Yet East Germany further antagonised its populace, taking away the ration cards of the owners of tiny grocery shops – as self-employed business people – on May 1st, 1953. "Widespread, most profound discontent," wrote Klemperer in his diary. "But in the newspapers, everything is going splendidly for us ..."¹²⁶

¹²¹ *Revenge of the Domestic: Women, the Family, and Communism in the German Democratic Republic*. Donna Harsch. Princeton and Oxford, 2007. Pg. 64, 68

¹²² *Revenge of the Domestic: Women, the Family, and Communism in the German Democratic Republic*. Donna Harsch. Princeton and Oxford, 2007. Pg. 64

¹²³ *Germany from Defeat to Partition. 1945-1963*. D. G. Williamson. Pearson Education Ltd., 2001. Pg. 87

¹²⁴ *Revenge of the Domestic: Women, the Family, and Communism in the German Democratic Republic*. Donna Harsch. Princeton and Oxford, 2007. Pg. 64

¹²⁵ *Leipzig: Geschichte der Stadt in Wort und Bild*. VEB, Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, Berlin, 1978. Pg. 113

¹²⁶ *The Lesser Evil: The Diaries of Victor Klemperer, 1945-1959*. Victor Klemperer. Phoenix, 2004. May 1, 1953. Pg. 414

Stalin's successors in Moscow responded by pressuring Ulbricht to produce more consumer goods.¹²⁷ Although he changed his position, angry workers engaged in protests on June 11th and 12th, 1953.

The dramatic upturn in emigration (i.e. *Republikflucht*) during the first half of 1953, however, began to translate into a serious economic and social problem. High numbers of political prisoners heightened concerns, as did the clamp downs on religious groups. A decision to raise the work norms (in short, the principle, 'more work for the same salary'), along with higher taxes and higher prices, was furthermore ill-perceived.



"The Goatee"
Walter Ulbricht
September 13,
1960
Source:
Opvolger van
Pieck via
wiki.en/
Walter_Ulbricht

Combined, this led to the 1953 East German uprising,¹²⁸ which shortly preceded the entry into force of the above measures on June 30th. It began with a strike by East Berlin's construction workers and a peaceful demonstration on June 16th, in which the collective had calmly and soberly said: "The goatee must go!"¹²⁹ That, however, turned into a widespread revolt the following day,¹³⁰ as hundreds of demonstrations and strikes unfolded in a wave spread by word of mouth – and RIAS¹³¹: the Radio in the American Sector (*Rundfunk im amerikanischen Sektor*), a radio and television station in West Berlin.¹³²

The main centres of unrest were East Berlin, Halle, Dresden, Magdeburg and Leipzig,¹³³ although demonstrations occurred in as many as 272 cities and towns across the GDR.¹³⁴ Soviet military commanders reacted with caution, but as it became obvious that the *Volkspolizei* could not contain the rebellion, the Red Army's tanks were ordered in.¹³⁵ The numbers of victims ranged from 55-125.¹³⁶

In Leipzig, a chain of demonstrators from *Peterssteinweg* (just west of *Windmühlenstraße*, shown below) led south and grew to 40,000 workers. However, Soviet panzers arrived at 1620 hours. Violent riots broke out resulting in three dead and 50 injured. A curfew was then enforced from 1930 to 0530. It wasn't until June 30th that one could leave the city.¹³⁷

¹²⁷ *Revenge of the Domestic: Women, the Family, and Communism in the German Democratic Republic*. Donna Harsch. Princeton and Oxford, 2007. Pg. 65

¹²⁸ See: [wiki.en/Uprising of 1953 in East Germany](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Uprising_of_1953_in_East_Germany)

¹²⁹ *The Lesser Evil: The Diaries of Victor Klemperer, 1945-1959*. Victor Klemperer. Phoenix, 2004. June 19, 1953. Pg. 418

¹³⁰ See: [wiki.en/Uprising of 1953 in East Germany](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Uprising_of_1953_in_East_Germany)

¹³¹ *Revenge of the Domestic: Women, the Family, and Communism in the German Democratic Republic*. Donna Harsch. Princeton and Oxford, 2007. Pg. 65

¹³² See: [wiki.en/Rundfunk im amerikanischen Sektor](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rundfunk_im_amerikanischen_Sektor)

¹³³ *The German Democratic Republic: Studies in European History*. Peter Grieder. Palgrave Macmillan, 2012. Pg. 39

¹³⁴ *Economy and State in Germany in the twentieth century*. Richard Overy. In

Germany Since 1800: A New Social and Economic History edited by Ogilvie and Overy. Arnold Publishers, 2003. Pg. 270

¹³⁵ *Revenge of the Domestic: Women, the Family, and Communism in the German Democratic Republic*. Donna Harsch. Princeton and Oxford, 2007. Pg. 66

¹³⁶ See: [wiki.en/Uprising of 1953 in East Germany](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Uprising_of_1953_in_East_Germany)

¹³⁷ *Das war das 20. Jahrhundert in Leipzig*. Martina Güldemann. Wartberg Verlag, 1999. (1953). Pg. 59



The 1953 East German uprising:
A Soviet IS-2 tank before Leipzig's former *Reichsgericht*
on Peterssteinweg June 17th, 1953.
Source: en.wiki

According to Peter Grieder, lecturer in 20th-century history, "The fledgling GDR would have collapsed had it not been for the intervention of the Soviet army." Indeed, the USSR's Prime Minister, Georgi Malenkov, conceded on June 2nd, 1953, that the East German regime was only kept in being by Soviet troops.¹³⁸ Publicly, the east blamed the west for disrupting national stability and the legitimacy of the SED, besides – wait for it – the influence of American popular culture on German youth. In the 1950s, young East German women 'consumed' more movies than any other form of entertainment until television became available in the 1960s.¹³⁹

To commemorate the rebellion, West Germany marked the date a national holiday and called it the 'Day of German Unity.'

For a while the occasion stalled *Republikflucht* – the numbers of refugees fleeing the 'workers' and peasants' paradise' peaking that year.

Keen to understand what our family from Saxony had made of these events, Irene and I discussed her recollections.

"My personal feelings were mixed. On one hand I knew and accepted this as a result of World War II. But on the other, I felt injustice for all Germans and myself: like a family suddenly is parted and there was no way to get together again."

"Still, the subsequent 'Tag der deutschen Einheit' was never a special day in our family – just a holiday. But in the street where we lived at least, candles were lit on windowsills to commemorate the other half of Germany."

In fact, throughout West Berlin, in West Germany and in the Western countries, flags were flown at half mast for the victims in the GDR.¹⁴⁰ However, while a public opinion poll in West Germany in 1951 had shown 68 percent of the population favoured European integration, by July 1952, over half preferred protection against the Russians. The Soviet intervention to crush the East German uprising only fuelled the hatred and mistrust of the USSR, which helped in turn to endorse the West German Chancellor, Konrad Adenauer's policy of western integration.¹⁴¹

¹³⁸ *The German Democratic Republic: Studies in European History*. Peter Grieder. Palgrave Macmillan, 2012. Pg. 40

¹³⁹ *Revenge of the Domestic: Women, the Family, and Communism in the German Democratic Republic*. Donna Harsch. Princeton and Oxford, 2007. Pg. 194

¹⁴⁰ *The Lesser Evil: The Diaries of Victor Klemperer, 1945-1959*. Victor Klemperer. Phoenix, 2004. June 24, 1953. Pg. 420

¹⁴¹ *Germany from Defeat to Partition. 1945-1963*. D. G. Williamson. Pearson Education Ltd., 2001. Pg. 113, 58, 59

As for Irene Hinsch's family;

*"My father ... felt that the only safe haven [from the Russians] was in Palatina. So, five years after arriving in Frankfurt, in 1951 we moved west of the Rhine and rented an apartment in Neustadt an der Weinstrasse, about 120km south of Frankfurt...living in the coach house of a once well situated (rich) vineyard."*¹⁴²

From their new home, Irene's parents built up a new book business as representatives for several publishing companies, while she and her siblings knuckled down to schooling, aided by Betty, their helper.

In 1951, Heinz and Ingeborg bought a Volkswagen Beetle which made things easier. They criss-crossed southern Germany, ensuring their enterprise succeeded. Nevertheless, they still had to knock on doors, ask for the principal, and get him or her to listen to what they had to offer.

But there were consequences to Irene's parents' industry, which sounds a little less in line with the traditional family ideals the West German state advocated: traditional 'norms' in which a nuclear family was crucial to societal stability.¹⁴³

"There was no pampering whatsoever. No looking after children or looking after them schoolwise or dealing with questions of adolescence – niente. Looking back – I can't blame them, but in our family, the three of us children, we found out the hard way how life works."

On the other hand, the couple were not the only ones who enjoyed the newfound freedom of the automobile, as the textbox overleaf reveals.



Irene, aged 13, and mother, Ingeborg, 1950.

¹⁴² Curiously, *Lieberoth Speditions* completed the move (*Lieberoth* having been the maiden name of Frau Tyralla and her brother's mother - see Chapter I).

¹⁴³ *Empowerment or Endurance? War Wives' Experiences of Independence During and After the Second World War in Germany, 1939-1948.* Hester Vaizey. *German History. The Journal of the German Historical Society.* Vol. 29, No. 1, OUP, March 2011. Pg. 60

17.3: Mobility in Germany to the mid-50s

Between 1950 and 1956, Volkswagen's Beetle became a symbol of West German economic success.¹ The number of cars in Hamburg for instance grew rapidly, from 53,000 to 155,000. In other words, while 34 Hamburgers in every thousand had a car at the start of the decade, by 1956 that figure had risen to 87.

Come the mid-1950s then, everyone wished for a mobility solution, not least because it was a sign of well-being and freedom.² Lending status to car ownership, from spring 1956, car-owning Hamburgers carried HH (*Hansestadt Hamburg*) on their license plate, rather than BH (*British Hamburg*).

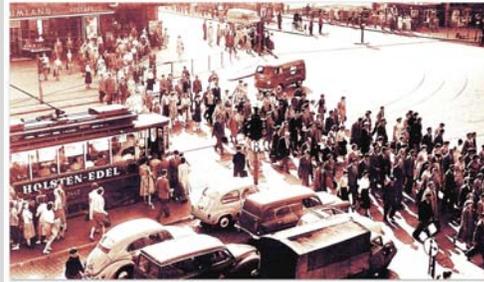
On the other hand, it wasn't until 1958 that the first Trabis rolled off the production line in neighbouring East Germany.³

To cope with the rising wave of motorisation and growing demand for parking spaces, Hamburg's first parking meter was installed in December 1954. A year later (when the top photo was taken in Hamburg), the first parking house opened. And with a view to further freeing up space for cars, at the end of the 1950s, it was decided to abandon one of the most important means of mass-transit still today, Hamburg's trams.⁴

The Vespa scooter grew in popularity,⁵ alongside motorbikes after Marlon Brando's *The Wild One* (released on January 14th, 1955), spawning inter alia, youth protests against a world of suits, careerists and cleancut men.⁶

Nevertheless, many still travelled on foot in combination with public transport. Hamburg's *Hauptbahnhof*, so heavily damaged during the war and rebuilt from 1948, quickly became the most important railhub in northern Germany (see the 1954 Zurich night train's arrival on pg. 888).⁷

And as for air travel, to begin with it was almost exclusively British aircraft that flew out of *Fuhlsbüttel*. But from 1955, newly-founded Lufthansa also went into operation. Combined, and thanks to the *Wirtschaftswunder*, within ten years of the war a good half of West Germans could afford to fly to New York, Paris or London.⁸



Sources: 1: Volkswagen Beetle: from Nazi icon to freedom symbol. UCL News. May 2, 2007.

Online: ucl.ac.uk/news/2007/may/volkswagen-beetle-nazi-icon-freedom-symbol/

2, 5, 7, 8: *Geo Epoche Panorama* Nr. 7. *Geschichte in Bildern. Hamburg. Der Geschichte der Stadt in historischen Fotos.* 2016. Pg. 120, 121 (incl. lower photograph);

3, 4, 6: *Hamburg. Bewegte Zeiten – die 50er Jahre.* Mathes Rehder. Wartberg Verlag, 1999. Pg. 25, 31, 37, 42 (incl. upper photograph).

Frau Tyralla must have felt vindicated, having talked up West Germany and its superiority in the UK. However, the 'economic miracle' that was about to get underway and which lasted well into the 1960s owed a great deal to the initiatives of the private business community: people like her nephew, Heinz, and his wife, who responded with growing enthusiasm to a market in which they enjoyed the sustained growth of profits for the first time since the outbreak of the First World War.¹⁴⁴ Thanks to annual growth rates of around 10 percent in real terms, the country, only shortly before ravaged by war, rapidly became the third strongest industrial country in the world.¹⁴⁵

In fact, economically and socially speaking it began to sound an awful lot like the US. In *Trams or Tailfins*, Jan Logemann compares the US and West Germany. However, he also reflects on the competition between east and west, noting the Cold War itself was fought in large measure over consumption, with two political systems competing over standards of living and what constitutes the good life.¹⁴⁶ Within East Germany, its SED was torn between its devotion to the Soviet 'heavy industry' model, and the need to keep pace with West German consumerism.

The Cold War, however, also brought with it, ideological propaganda, espionage and of course, a nuclear arms race,¹⁴⁷ the tensest periods of which were the years 1948 to 1953.¹⁴⁸ Stalin's long-term objective had been to transform Germany – united – into a fully-fledged Communist state, reportedly having told Bulgarian and Yugoslav leaders in the spring of 1946 'that all of Germany must be ours, that is, Soviet, Communist.'¹⁴⁹

"The American nuclear weapons programme was [therefore] aimed at deterring the Soviet Union, and at defending Europe and North America from ... Soviet aggression." As early as "the fall of 1951, the military told the USAEC [United States Atomic Energy Commission] that ore procurement totals should rise to 10,000 tons of uranium oxide a year" and on January 17th, 1952, President Truman decided to "accelerate nuclear weapons production ... America's determination to build a nuclear stockpile [was] second to none."¹⁵⁰

Goading the west, on March 10th, Stalin sent a 'note' in which he offered to sign a peace treaty with a reunited Germany.¹⁵¹ His move was an attempt to stop the signing of what became known as 'The General Treaty' of May 26th, 1952, which incorporated the Bonn Convention that would put an end to the Allied occupation of West Germany, besides Germany's accession to the European Defense Community (EDC) Treaty (that intended to establish an integrated European army).

¹⁴⁴ *Economy and State in Germany in the twentieth century*. Richard Overy. In *Germany Since 1800: A New Social and Economic History* edited by Ogilvie and Overy. Arnold Publishers, 2003. Pg. 266

¹⁴⁵ *Questions on German History. Paths to Parliamentary Democracy*. German Bundestag. 1998. Pg. 364

¹⁴⁶ *Trams or Tailfins: Public and Private Prosperity in Postwar West Germany and the United States*. Jan L. Logemann. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2012. Pg. 5

¹⁴⁷ *The German Democratic Republic: Studies in European History*. Peter Grieder. Palgrave Macmillan, 2012. Pg. 50

¹⁴⁸ *Revenge of the Domestic: Women, the Family, and Communism in the German Democratic Republic*. Donna Harsch. Princeton and Oxford, 2007. Pg. 63

¹⁴⁹ *The German Democratic Republic: Studies in European History*. Peter Grieder. Palgrave Macmillan, 2012. Pg. 19/20

¹⁵⁰ *Eldorado. Canada's National Uranium Company*. Robert Bothwell, University of Toronto Press, 1984. Pg. 309, 312, 315

¹⁵¹ *The German Democratic Republic: Studies in European History*. Peter Grieder. Palgrave Macmillan, 2012. Pg. 34

Western governments responded with a demand for all-German free elections. Stalin followed this with a second note on April 9th in which he declared himself in favour, whilst rejecting western demands for United Nations' election monitors. Historically then, his promise to hold free elections has been regarded with scepticism,¹⁵² (while The General Treaty was signed as planned in May, taking effect in 1955).

After Stalin's death, it briefly looked as if the German question might result in plans for German unification and possible neutralisation. Especially after the Soviet Deputy Prime Minister urged his colleagues to abandon the GDR. It was also obvious that the GDR was unpopular among its citizens and the SED weak in the aftermath of the June riots. However, any form of election would likely lead to the near annihilation of the SED.

The GDR regime's subsequent hardline character was informed therefore, not just by the traumatic memory of June 17th, but by its geopolitical position as a precarious state on the front line of the Cold War. Yet it eventually lasted for almost 50 years.

As a consequence of those events, some 6,000 were arrested and held in conditions reminiscent of Nazi SA (*Sturmabteilung*) torture chambers. The police were increased by nearly 16,000 and the *Stasi* (short for the Ministry of State Security),¹⁵³ was placed more effectively under party control, submitting daily reports to each county administration. Nevertheless, the SED also made economic concessions: pensions were increased, more consumer goods were to be produced and food prices lowered. The persecution of the Church was stopped and the heavy taxes and demands on farmers and businessmen were eased.¹⁵⁴

That scarcely placated, however, those in Germany's east who still sought unity. During 1954, some 52,000 Leipzigers continued to voice their discontent at The General Treaty and the European Defense Community Treaty (which was still to be signed) through as many as 14 rallies. In one of its June 1954 referenda, almost 96 percent of Leipzigers between 16 and 18 and almost 91 percent of those over 18, expressed opposition to the General Treaty and Germany's joining of the European Defense Community (EDC). Instead, they called for the departure of the occupation forces from West Germany.¹⁵⁵

The EDC Treaty was, however, subscribed to in October 1954 by France, Britain, Canada, the US, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg together with West Germany¹⁵⁶ six months later.¹⁵⁷ Its entry into force the following month, on May 5th (together with the General Treaty) resulted in West Germany joining NATO four days later.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵² *The German Democratic Republic: Studies in European History*. P. Grieder. Palgrave Macmillan, 2012. Pg. 35-36

¹⁵³ The *Stasi* was set up in February 1950 and by May 1952 had already taken control of the frontier police, leading Klemperer to note on August 11, "The army is already replacing the People's Police at the checkpoints and wears such Russian-looking uniforms, that one doesn't know whether one is looking at Russian or German soldiers."

The Lesser Evil: The Diaries of Victor Klemperer, 1945-1959. Victor Klemperer. Phoenix, 2004. Nov. 8, 1952. Pg. 401

¹⁵⁴ *Germany from Defeat to Partition. 1945-1963*. D. G. Williamson. Pearson Education Ltd., 2001. Pg. 90

¹⁵⁵ *Leipzig: Geschichte der Stadt in Wort und Bild*. VEB, Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, Berlin, 1978. Pg. 113

¹⁵⁶ See: wiki.en/General_Treaty

¹⁵⁷ *England in the Twentieth Century. 1914-1979*. David Thomson. Second Ed. Penguin Books, 1981. Pg. 250-1

¹⁵⁸ *Germany from Defeat to Partition. 1945-1963*. D. G. Williamson. Pearson Education Ltd., 2001. Pg. 41/2

While theoretically the door was left open for German unification, West Germany's integration into the above mentioned bodies made it unlikely in the foreseeable future. Conversely, it also intensified the 'reactive mechanism' of the Cold War and in the end contributed to the deeper integration of the GDR into the Soviet bloc.¹⁵⁹ The GDR thus joined the Warsaw Pact (which had been created by the Soviet Union to counter NATO) and in January 1955, began building the National People's Army. In September of that year, Russia recognised the GDR as a sovereign state, with Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev declaring that 'the German question cannot be solved at the expense of the interests of the GDR ... [and] its political and social achievements.'¹⁶⁰

Despite its recognition, the GDR remained a fragile, isolated and artificial state dependent on Moscow and twenty divisions of Russian troops within its frontiers. To keep the status quo, Ulbricht displayed exemplary loyalty to Moscow while the GDR was perceived by the Russians to be a 'clamp', helping to hold Poland and the East European satellite states in place.¹⁶¹

Ultimately, 1955 was 'a watershed year,' Chancellor Adenauer's *Westpolitik* being supported by the majority of the West Germans, while inevitably intensifying the division of Germany. On the other hand, it and the Cold War ensured the rapid acceptance of West Germany within western Europe and brought it access to global markets.¹⁶²

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Being close to the sea, Frau Tyralla considered she too was a safe distance from the Russians. The border with East Germany, however, lay only 50 kilometres to the east. Yet with her basic living concerns resolved, her thoughts might have turned to male company. Margot was in a relationship now, Tiny too, and with her brother gone, the idea of having a gent around held appeal. In any case, there were lingering questions over the disappearance of her former business partner, *Albert Petzold*. Perhaps now was as good a time as any to follow that up.

For at least fifteen years following the war, West German women had placed advertisements in veteran's newspapers, hoping that former comrades would get in touch. Dubious firms offered search services. Protestant and Catholic organisations assisted too. Even fortune telling became popular.¹⁶³

¹⁵⁹ *Germany from Defeat to Partition. 1945-1963.* D. G. Williamson. Pearson Education Ltd., 2001. Pg. 42

¹⁶⁰ *Germany from Defeat to Partition. 1945-1963.* D. G. Williamson. Pearson Education Ltd., 2001. Pg. 91

¹⁶¹ *Germany from Defeat to Partition. 1945-1963.* D. G. Williamson. Pearson Education Ltd., 2001. Pg. 48

¹⁶² *Germany from Defeat to Partition. 1945-1963.* D. G. Williamson. Pearson Education Ltd., 2001. Pg. 42, 112

¹⁶³ *Empowerment or Endurance? War Wives' Experiences of Independence During and After the Second World War in Germany, 1939-1948.* Hester Vaizey. *German History. The Journal of the German Historical Society.* Vol. 29, No. 1, OUP, March 2011. Pg. 75

During the late summer of 1954 therefore, Frau Tyralla decided to pay a visit to Hamburg's missing persons bureau.¹⁶⁴ Upon arrival, she was referred to The Red Cross, since it now collected every bit of available information on unaccounted-for soldiers and missing refugees: record cards, police reports, old *Wehrmacht* order papers, official registration notices, prisoner lists from the occupying forces and thousands of other documents (amounting in turn to some 18.5 million record cards). They were kept in rows of cardboard boxes that stretched for kilometres, each card with a name, date of birth, last address, last known sighting and any other potentially relevant information. The advantage with the Red Cross was that its reach extended more easily across and beyond the occupation zones.¹⁶⁵

Combining charm with remorse, Frau Tyralla endeared herself to the bureau's desk officer, who went out of his way to help her fill out the Red Cross's form (see textbox 17.4).¹⁶⁶



Birthday snap:

„Dieses Bild hat auf den Jungfernstieg ein Reporter gemacht, er hat mir dafür 3 Stück geschenkt. 1954 war es am 27. Sept. 71 Jahr alt.“

(A reporter made the enclosed photo on the *Jungfernstieg* and sent me three copies. It was made on Sept. 27th, 1954. 71 years old).

While explaining her case, a reporter in search of a story, overheard hers. Inspired by her unusual family name, he convinced her to join him for coffee. In a café somewhere between the *Binnenalster* and the *Jungfernstieg*, Frau Tyralla wound back the clock. She talked of moving to Hamburg just before the war, of fleeing to Berlin, and of retreating to her birthplace in 1943.

Although she had daughters in both England and Holland, her male interest was Berlin-based – he'd been at her side since she'd lost her Silesian husband at the frontline in 1915 in France – well, until 1943.

A photograph and local newspaper article resulted from their meeting, with the aim of stirring interest in Frau Tyralla's missing person's search.¹⁶⁷ I revisited the spot where the picture was taken, in April 2016, as is shown above.

¹⁶⁴ The experience described is largely fictional, penned in order to close the story on Petzold based on known facts and possible scenarios.

¹⁶⁵ *The Murderer in Ruins*. Cay Rademacher. Arcadia Books, 2015. Pg. 142, 145. See also: drk-suchdienst.de/en/how-we-help/tracing/second-world-war/online-tracing-request-second-world-war and this about the history of the service: drk-suchdienst.de/en/information-and-background-knowledge/history-of-the-grc-tracing-service

¹⁶⁶ The same form was similarly filled and submitted on February 13th, 2018 by the author based on information gathered chiefly in 2013 from archive sources and presented in Chapter XI – see pgs. 358-359

¹⁶⁷ Whether an article was written is not known, and if it was, we do know (yet) for which publication and for what reason. However, copies of the photograph wound its way to her family, including Irene, with the message "My dear Irene, for your recollection, from your Mutti"

17.4: Where are you? The Disappearance of 'Onkel Albert'

DRK-Suchdienst; Standort Hamburg;
Fachbereich Nachforschungen Zweiter Weltkrieg

Sought Person:

Family name: Petzold **First name/s:** Albert
Birth name: Albert Petzold
Place of birth: Magdeburg **Year of birth/birth year:** 1882 **Sex:** male
Last known place of residence/ address: *Berlin Mitte, Albrechtstrasse 5, Fremdenheim, hosted by Hermann Affeld (also seemingly deceased).*
Address of residence at 01.09.1939: *Wullenweber Str. 9, Berlin Moabit*
Time and place / type of last contact: *August 1943*
Relationship to the missing / sought person:
Partner between 1915 until circa 1933.



Reason for tracing request: *I lived in Hamburg from Feb. 1939 but returned to Wullenweber Str. in Nov. 1942. I liaised with Herr Petzold until evacuation in summer 1943. According to a note scribbled on a returned undelivered letter to my former landlord (a common friend), Herr Petzold had also lived in Albrechtstrasse 5. I have been widowed since 1915. I wish to know what has become of him.*

Marital Status: *Divorced*

Family name, first name, birth date of mother: *Elizabeth Petzold, nee Schubert, born 1842 in Halberstadt*

Family name, first name, birth date of father: *Oskar Petzold, 07.09.1838 (Halberstadt)*

Number of children: *A daughter, Bernburg-based during the war*

Additional information / information on persons who may have been with the sought person when contact was lost:

Albert had eight siblings. Elder sister, Frieda, lived in Magdeburg-Friedrichstadt from 1910. Oskar Max Bernhard, born cca. 1868-9, is thought to have lived in Burg (bezirk Magdeburg) in 1935. Arthur Gustav (born 1870), died in Brazil in 1906 although his daughter, Olga, was Berlin-based in 1924, and younger daughter, Frieda lived in the same district of Berlin - Neukölln - between 1938 and at least 1943. Elisa had lived in Gera in 1910. Minna left for Marienberg im Westerwald not much later (now the border between the Soviet and British zones). Adele had lived in Gröna/Bernburg until 1927 and Paula had been Berlin-based, at least until 1910. Younger brother, Walter, lived in Australia in the 1920s.

Rank, army field post no. or open troops designation, where applicable camp location and camp no.:

None whatsoever. In the first world war, Albert, although of conscriptable age, was not enlisted.

17.4: Where are you? The Disappearance of 'Onkel Albert' (cont).

Please add any further details such as occupation, distinguishing marks etc. here:

According to Berlin's Adressbücher from the 1920s through to the 1940s, Albert earned a living as a 'Fabrikant' – a small time manufacturer. He also walked with a cane from an early age, probably the reason he was not enlisted in the great war. Swinemünde was a popular holiday destination of Albert.

Have you or your family ever had this person traced before? No

--Enquirer--

First Name/s: Erdmuthé Sophie Nanny

Last Name/s: Tyralla

Birth name: Erdmuthé Sophie Nanny Hinsch

Birth date: 27/9/1883

Birthplace: Leipzig

Street and house number: Landwehr 31

Town: Hamburg

Please tell us anything else you would like to share with us below: A photograph of Albert enclosed.

Six weeks later, in early November 1954, Frau Tyralla received the following reply from The Red Cross as well as the documentation enclosed as textbox 17.5 opposite. It's length and detail astonished her. This was not just a response. It was an account of Albert Petzold's last days.



Sehr geehrte Frau Tyralla,
According to sources in Bernburg, Herr Petzold does not appear to have returned to his former wife and daughter during the war. He may have been recruited into the Volkssturm and perished defending Berlin in early 1945. Or he may simply have lost his life in one of the many air-raids and been buried anonymously. Berlin holds no death certificate for Herr Petzold. Therefore, we are closing his file, presumed dead. Enclosed is a full summary of what we learned.¹⁶⁸ We are sorry not to have more positive information to share.

Im auftrag,
DRK-Suchdienst
Nov. 2, 1954

¹⁶⁸ The summary that follows is obviously based on my own research.

17.5: On the Fate of Herr Petzold. Pt. 1

On both April 29th and May 7th, 1944, heavy daylight carpet bombing in the area between *Tiergarten* station (west of the park) and the *Grosser Stern* brought destruction to north *Moabit*, where Albert Petzold lived.¹ According to his *Einwohnermeldekarte* (residential record), on May 25th, 1944, he left his home in *Willenweber-strasse* to take refuge in *Albrechtstrasse*. The last date on the 62 year old's residential record is September 14th, 1944, where, under a column marked *Zuzug* (moving in) were the words; 'bei *Affeld*.' As previously noted, *Hermann Affeld* hosted there a *Fremdenheim* or boarding house. It's not clear to us whether the property was part of the Nazi regime's welfare network and compensation scheme, set up to help those who were bombed out.

Nevertheless, it is also possible that Albert was recruited to serve in the *Volkssturm* that September. Note that he was not too old – the men in 'Dad's Army' included not just the over sixties, but also those younger than 16 or 17.² However, the *Deutsche Dienststelle*³ has no information on possible service, confirming: "the last residence ... from 1944 in Berlin...gives no clear evidence regarding former military service."⁴

Given that he avoided military action during the first world war, Albert may well have dodged conscription in the second. As is well known, that time was chaotic. Communication structures collapsed. To escape the *Volkssturm* might have been manageable.⁵ However, even if one escaped service in Berlin, one had to go into hiding to avoid it elsewhere.

Albert's daughter, *Erika Lieselotte*, officially lived at her mother's former address in *Bernburg – Auguststrasse 62* – formally until 1938, although she likely lived in the city until 1946.⁶ His former wife, *Meta Elise Elfriede Petzold (nee Steffen)*, lived in *Bernburg's Neuestraße 59*, having twice re-married.⁷ She and her husband, *Ewald Hermann Knaul (Kaufmann, also of Bernburg)*,⁸ formally lived there until 1938/39 (according to *Adressbuch der Stadt Bernburg*), while evidence suggests they later moved to *Ohlstadt* in *Bavaria*.⁹

A retreat to *Bernburg* is hard to imagine, given the relatively little contact he had with his former wife and daughter (see footnotes 6-8). Had he done so, the survival chances were relatively high, given that the city saw relatively little damage (raids occurred between February 20th and 22nd, 1944, plus single events in April, June and July).¹⁰ Furthermore, city authorities there hold no death certificate for him,¹¹ although formally speaking, there were no Petzolds resident in *Bernburg* after 1938-9.

Your reference to *Swinemünde* warrants interest.¹² It could be reached by train from Berlin's *Stettiner Bahnhof*, which, despite suffering damage in the raids of November 1943, saw rail services swiftly restored.¹³ According to the town's 1938 address book,¹⁴ 'Elise' and 'Erika' *Paetzold* (the latter an 'Angestellte', i.e. employed person) lived in *Fischerstraße*.¹⁵ They could well have been Albert's former wife and his daughter, despite their aforementioned ties to *Bernburg* (not easily verified during wartime, given the absence of address books post 1938). Relevant reference sources might be approached in *Swinemünde*, notwithstanding the difficulties of it being Polish territory today.¹⁶

Should Herr Petzold have succeeded in reaching *Swinemünde*, on March 12th, 1945, it suffered heavy destruction at the hands of the *USAAF* at a time when it was already overwhelmed by East Prussian and Pomeranian refugees fleeing the advancing Russians. Between 5 and 23,000 souls are estimated to have died. Most were buried on the *Golm War Cemetery* west of the town, on the German side of today's border. Only some 500 victims of the raid were identified and buried close to the entrance of the cemetery while the remaining dead were placed in mass graves. Soviet forces occupied the settlement on the night of May 4-5th.¹⁷

Might Albert have retreated to either of his siblings, in *Magdeburg* or elsewhere? Normally his own birth record will detail the marriage and the death of that person. However, there is no such evidence.¹⁸ In case he had evacuated to *Leipzig*, you, *Frau Tyralla*, would likely know. A local *Einwohnermeldekarte* might have been kept, and if yes, would show the date and cause of death.¹⁹ However, you yourself don't have such a record for your 1943-1946 spell in the city so it is unlikely he had such too.

Aside from the aforementioned scenarios, it will have been increasingly difficult to leave *Berlin* after the call up to the *Volkssturm*. From the autumn of 1944 onwards, rail traffic began to fall away altogether, hampered not only by structural concerns, but also by logistical difficulties and the availability of rolling stock. The *Anhalter*,²⁰ which served *Saxony*, was now symbolic of the destruction and dislocation that had become commonplace in *Hitler's capital*.²¹

Footnotes: see 'Footnotes to textbox 17.5...Pt.1' at the end of this chapter

17.5: On the Fate of Herr Petzold. Pt. 2

Although the ties of family, community and work bound tightly for most, the regime also remained keen to know precisely where its citizens were and what they were doing,²² police surveillance resulting from a single false move.²³ And despite the apathy among many to the war (on one September 1944, Silesia-bound train, was the slogan: '*Sieg Heil's a bore: Down with the war!*'²⁴), there was a price to pay for not fulfilling one's 'responsibilities.' For instance, Berliners seen to be evading service were turned on by their neighbours and typically denounced. *Volkschädlinge* ('shirkers') were considered enemies of the people, with over five and a half thousand being executed for 'grave' offences and resistance to the Nazis in 1944, and another 5,700 in the first months of 1945 by Goebbels' People's Court.²⁵

By late December, Berlin²⁶ descended into a kind of civil war between Nazi supporters who insisted on a fight to the death, and those who tried to lay down their arms because they wanted to live.²⁷ Legions of workers, young and old, were conscripted into labour battalions to dig anti-tank defences. Legions more underwent training, while countless thousands lived as refugees in tent villages or in the remains of their damaged homes.²⁸ Even those injured during the war and still hospitalized, were dragged out of bed. Survival took precedence. The winter cold had its moments in Berlin too which claimed its victims. From December 14th until January 3rd, there were 21 days below zero. The temperature fell to -13.4 degrees Celsius on December 26th. And from January 20-31st, the cold spell returned, with a low of -12.1 being recorded on January 25th.²⁹

From early 1945, able-bodied men were not allowed to leave Berlin,³⁰ as part of the capital's preparations for its final battle. All men who were still at home that February³¹ had to have a doctor attest to their fitness for *Volkssturm* service.³² Anyone attempting to leave risked being picked up in the provinces, and where the machinery of the regime still functioned, shot as a deserter.³³ A complete set of false papers, including travel permit, military pass, employment card and Home Guard Z-card (exemptions offered to varying state propagandists, intermediary and senior party officials, etc.) cost 80,000 marks.³⁴ Others purchased sick leave certificates.³⁵ Men disappeared in droves, whilst every part of the city teemed with fugitives.³⁶ Local 'Home Guard' units were then ordered to defend their respective city sectors as part of three rings, the innermost being the government district.³⁷

Werewolf execution squads combed Berlin for deserters. Men who hid in cellars or attics or feigned illness were dragged through the streets and shot or hung. Fake ID added to the confusion when trying to identify the dead. Come war's end, trees and lampposts were festooned with the bloated corpses of those accused of desertion.³⁸ Signs hung from them that noted 'I am a traitor' or 'I am too cowardly to defend my wife and children.' Two soldiers were even hanged in *Friedrichstrasse* for failing to maintain their weapons.³⁹

On April 25th, all places of work were shut down, the streetcars and subways ceased to run, all streets were closed off and almost all shops were closed ahead of the final battle.⁴⁰ About 80,000 troops, half of them *Volkssturm*ers, faced 1.5 million Soviets. Men and boys were dragooned left, right and center.⁴¹ As Soviet soldiers moved towards the government quarter from all directions, Berlin became an unrecognisable maze of twisted metal, shattered buildings, piles of rubble and dead bodies. By the end of April, the city had become the site of indescribable carnage.⁴² Electric light, water and gas had become abstract concepts.⁴³

An estimated 100,000 civilians were killed by shelling and by summary execution.⁴⁴ After the Soviets' arrival, anyone suspected of carrying a firearm was killed on the spot.⁴⁵ Even those who had gone underground and worked against the fascists for years, were taken away and shot.⁴⁶ For others, the terror of retribution was too great and an estimated 6,000 'ordinary' Berliners committed suicide rather than fall into the hands of the Soviets.⁴⁷ Hundreds of thousands more Germans were captured and taken off to Gulags, never to return.⁴⁸ Some 175,000 *Volkssturm*ers therefore remain unidentified to this day.⁴⁹

Throughout 1945, Berlin was also bombed around the clock. Estimates of the total number of dead from air raids range from 20,000 to 50,000,⁵⁰ with corpses being piled up on street corners ready for collection.⁵¹ Thousands were left to rot under the immense piles of brick and stone.⁵² Russian prisoners were forced to dig graves, with bodies buried *sans* ceremony and covered with quicklime. Notices appeared on lampposts listing those who had died.⁵³ Should Albert have survived thus far, from May 2nd, the capital became a sea of crime, violence, rape and murder. Since Herr Petzold had relatively few, if any relatives or dependencies in Berlin, it seems likely no one took any notice of his departure.

In Berlin Mitte, where Albert last lived, its *Standesamt I* registry confirms it has no record of Albert Petzold's death, whilst no certification has been received via any other municipal office or court. For this reason, he has not been declared legally deceased.⁵⁴ However, based on your enquiry and our research, we are sure that an unidentifiable Albert died in 1944 or 1945. Henceforth, his case is closed, and he has been declared dead.⁵⁵

Footnotes: see 'Footnotes to textbox 17.5...Pt.2' at the end of this chapter

Frau Tyralla was lost for words. Maybe she ought to have let sleeping dogs lie. She may not have seen Petzold in over ten years. But still, it felt like an era had come to an end.

Daytrips to Lüneberg and Lübeck's *Weihnachtsmarkt* were poor distraction. The historic family home in Bad Oldesloe no longer inspired her. She committed her thoughts to paper in the form of letters to Nanny and Margot – Albert had nicknamed them the 'Nitty Sisters' in the early twenties. And to Tiny. But that only helped a little. Now she really needed time to herself.

+++++

Mutti's letter lay on the desk, unanswered. In Walter Tuck, Tiny now had a penfriend of two years. In September 1952, she turned 20 and celebrated with a grand party. Walter received a copy of the photo shown right. Nine months later, on June 19, 1953, the pair finally met, when he holidayed in the Netherlands.



After getting over his freckles, they took themselves off to Arnhem, roughly halfway to the German industrial *Ruhrgebiet*, and famed for the failed liberation attempt of September 1944, Operation Market Garden (see Chapter XV, Pt. II).



Up to that point, Walter has been stationed at RAF Wartling in East Sussex, a Cold War Ground Controlled Interception that made up part of an elaborate air defence system to counter possible attack by Soviet bombers.¹⁶⁹ By now he had decided he wanted to spend the rest of his life with Tiny.



So, on June 25th, Tiny's little sister's third birthday, Walter approached their father and asked for his approval. "As long as you take care of my daughter, it's ok," he replied. Nanny too liked Walter, and so Tiny gave him a resounding "Yes." Her marriage to Walter would certainly have its consequences.

Top:
Happy Birthday!
Tiny turns 20. September 1952

Middle:
At the Schiller Café on the
Rembrandtplein where Tiny's
grandmother, Frau Tyralla,
used to watch the world gc by
in the thirties. July 1953

Bottom:
Meet little sister, Alice - on her
third birthday. June 25, 1953

¹⁶⁹ See: [wiki.en/RAF_Wartling#Cold_War](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/RAF_Wartling#Cold_War)

Cor
Ridderhof
and his
belles,
shortly
before giving
away his
eldest to
Walter Tuck.
Christmas,
1953



Wedding plans were made per airmail over the next six months and after celebrating Christmas 1953 at home with family, Tiny travelled to the UK's south coast and on to Hastings on December 28th to get married. Despite their efforts to have the big day on January 1st, 1954, eventually they had to settle for January 2nd, a Saturday.

Cor gave her away. But rather than take Tiny's mother along – and conceivably set up a reunion with Margot – he was accompanied by Toni, who *"happened to be visiting England anyway."*

I was doubly surprised to hear this, but it was Nanny who had conversely argued that the family budget couldn't afford them both, while she also needed to take care of Alice. Cor eventually travelled at Toni's expense, while Tiny admitted it was only later that she realised how awkward that must have been for her mother.

Nevertheless, throughout this period, Tiny had stayed in touch with Margot, who together with Francis was also invited to the wedding. But now that she was in charge of the nearby gown store, and because good jobs were hard to come by, Margot preferred to stay put. New Year's was always a busy period too. *"Otherwise she'd have loved to see her family again,"* recalled Tiny.



At 21, Tiny was the fourth generation to marry a foreigner. Not only did she become a *Wandervogel* herself, but she also realised her (admittedly overlooked) dream of marrying an Englishman in one of the country's quaint churches (despite her father's discouragement who had argued the certificate wouldn't be valid abroad).

Being married to an RAF serviceman meant she could expect to be relocated every three years, with alternate spells being spent abroad. *"That was all part of the attraction,"* she added. In fact, they would be on the move for the next 13 years!

An Anglo-Saxon knot of sorts: Tiny and Walter at St. Mary's Church in Rye, East Sussex, England.
Saturday January 2nd, 1954

Of all the places the newlyweds could have been sent, their first posting was to West Berlin! The script couldn't have been any better. After a brief honeymoon at the 'Union Jack Club,' close to London's Waterloo station,¹⁷⁰ Walter flew off to lay the ground. But until married quarters became available, Tiny was left stranded in the UK.

RAF Gatow (basically pronounced 'gateaux') was part of the UK's commitment to NATO, and in turn its defence of Europe during the Cold War.¹⁷¹ It had already played a key role in the Berlin airlift of 1948 and was to become the frontline in the coming years: not only was East Germany visible across the airfield from its control tower, but eventually its *National People's Army (NVA)* too.¹⁷²

Tiny put her belongings into storage at London's King's Cross and found herself boarding with Johnnie and Vie Riscoe in Highgate once more.¹⁷³ "His business was flourishing by this point," she told me. "He was to be involved in the BBC variety series, *The Good Old Days*, which was preparing to launch in July 1953, and which went on to be a big success."¹⁷⁴ While there, Tiny narrowly missed an encounter with Joan Collins.

"Oh, you've just missed Joan Collins," Vie told her. "Joan Who?" asked Tiny.

Born a year after Tiny, her acting career was just taking off, having been added to Riscoe's roster – her father being a mate of his. Tiny was never endeared to Joan, she'd often make clear to us later!

Tiny's stay was cut short – not this time by the arrival of another sibling – but by Rae Crowe (still badmouthing Margot as it happens). In Tiny's shoes I'd have gone straight to Leeds. But to my surprise she told me the thought never occurred to her:

"I was way too innocent then – almost child-like. I didn't know my way around London let alone England. There weren't the means that one has at their disposal today to plan a route, buy tickets and so on."



Honeymoon Extravaganza:
The Union Jack Club in Waterloo, London

¹⁷⁰ See: [wiki.en/Union Jack Club](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Union_Jack_Club)

¹⁷¹ Indeed, the commander of Royal Air Force Germany (RAFG or British Forces Germany) also doubled as commander of NATO's Second Allied Tactical Air Force. See: [wiki.en/Royal Air Force Germany](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Royal_Air_Force_Germany)

¹⁷² See: [wiki.en/RAF Gatow](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/RAF_Gatow)

¹⁷³ Tiny previously said they lived in the same place in 1954 as they did in 1950 when she stayed with them.

¹⁷⁴ The series got underway on July 20th, 1953 and was performed at the [Leeds City Varieties](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Leeds_City_Varieties) (see: [wiki.en/Leeds City Varieties](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Leeds_City_Varieties)) in Swan Street (a hundred metres or so from 'Margot's' Paramount cinema on the Headrow and the Empire Theatre on Leeds' Briggate), recreating an authentic atmosphere of the Victorian-Edwardian music hall with songs and sketches of the era. It ran until 1983.

See: [wiki.en/The Good Old Days \(UK TV series\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Good_Old_Days_(UK_TV_series))

N.b. One of the cast members was Frank Carson who was also on Johnnie's performers' roster.

So, her next stop was Walter's sister in Newmarket.



RAF Gatow, Berlin
Source: baor-locations.org

But before West Berlin became a reality for them both, Walter requested the assignment be reviewed. For the most part, the city was still a mass of ruins and the married quarters hardly the best start for newlyweds. Even at the end of the decade there were still reasons to grumble it seemed, since on November 15th, 1959, the wife of an RAF airman's complaints were picked up by the UK's Parliament (*sic*), which recognised that without repairs and anti-vermin fumigation, they were not inhabitable! ¹⁷⁵

One can't help but imagine the stories that Tiny might have told in later years, had that adventure come to pass. Gatow

was only ten kilometres or 20 minutes drive from Berlin's West End, which is where Margot had spent her teens, Frau Tyralla had become *Frau Direktor* under Albert Petzold, and Nanny *püppchen* had made a triumphant return to Charlottenburg in 1927 after her first celebrated four-year stint in US vaudeville. The prospect of a reunion in the nation's divided capital and a chance to explore the old familiar haunts – as Margot eventually attempted in the 1980s – would have led to endless discussion about the past, I imagin.

Alas, it wasn't to be. The Dresden-based diarist Victor Klemperer colours our view with his diary entry of October 16th, 1954, after a visit to West Berlin, in which he writes of an: "...unending quantity of cars. The mass of people, the full shop windows, the cinemas ... stage-set buildings, and behind and above there are ruins ... lit up in the evening ..." ¹⁷⁶

As a result, the newlyweds ended up being 'cross-posted' to the Netherlands. Imagine the scene that transpired when Tiny made a surprise return to Amsterdam on February 20th, 1954 – her father's sixtieth birthday. Her parents drew their breaths when she walked in through the door that day. They thought she'd escaped from Walter!

But Tiny got her comeuppance. Having surrendered her Dutch citizenship six weeks earlier, she was ordered by the local police to register and visit them weekly.

"But I've lived here all my life!" she argued.

¹⁷⁵ Hansard. Vol 619, cc409-10.

See: api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/commons/1960/mar/09/married-quarters-berlin-complaint

¹⁷⁶ *The Lesser Evil: The Diaries of Victor Klemperer, 1945-1959*. Victor Klemperer. Phoenix, 2004. Oct. 16, 1954. Pg. 439/440

It made no difference now that she was a British national. So, while awaiting married quarters, Tiny got herself a job at the *Rialto* cinema nearby.

Three months later the couple were settled in the *Hoek van Holland*, about an hour's journey from Amsterdam and roughly the same to Tiny's father's birthplace: Yerseke in Zeeland.

Before long, Tiny had family down to stay with her, while many excursions to the neighbouring countries followed: in August to Ghent in Belgium, in May 1955 to *Mönchengladbach*, in July that year to Köln while the photo of Walter and two colleagues reveals another two day visit to Germany that August.

Tiny and Walter weren't due back in England until September 1956. However, the big news the following spring was that Tiny herself was expecting – and Nanny was on course to become a grandmother before her fiftieth. And in another treat for the books, the year delivered a second big event in Nanny's lifetime – finally a reunion with Margot.



Top:
Walter's Germany roadtrip,
August 1955

Right (above and below):
Visitors to the *Hoek van Holland*
married quarters. June 1955.

Left:
Tiny and Alice, Sept. 1956
(shortly before her departure –
and son's arrival)



Family home:
At the *Ile Jan Steen Straat*, June 1954.
From left to right: Walter, Tiny, a
close friend, sisters Irene and Alice
with her 4th birthday present –
a trike.

In the six years since Tiny had visited her aunt in the UK, Margot and her Hungarian beau had been focused on saving for their move to Canada. But now it was time to relax the pursestrings a bit. It was also a farewell of sorts, the visit following Francis' receipt of a passport that was issued by the UK and valid from May 1956.¹⁷⁷ That in turn meant their departure to Canada was a step closer to reality.



Margot's view:
Amsterdam's
renovated
Centraal Station.
November 1956
Source:
Amsterdam
Nostalgieisch
(Facebook) [here](#)
NS. CC-0 licentie.

Irene recalls the occasion well, the couple spending a fortnight or so in Holland, staying at 79, 2e Jan Steen Straat with *Ome Leo*, the brother of Nanny's friend, *Lies*,¹⁷⁸ and his German wife, *Tante Käte* – mainly because Nanny's home was a bit too cramped.

According to Russell Shorto, "The 1950s were about casting off the wartime era and pushing toward the future," heralding a "new era in Amsterdam's liberalism."¹⁷⁹

One look at its *Centraal Station* must have shown Margot that much. Amsterdam had "lashed itself to the forces that were coming into their own: cars, television, advertising, consumerism." However, "the city [also] needed to expand." As in Germany, "there was an economic boom: industry took off; wages nearly doubled in the course of the decade." The profits helped "to finance new housing and roadways."¹⁸⁰

Transformation aside, there was much to catch up on, it having been 20 years since the Leipzig-born former acrobats had last been together. Since then, Margot had gained two more nieces: Irene, now 17 and Alice, six. My mother was just that bit too young to recall much of the visit, but thankfully Irene could speak aplenty (Tiny, conversely, was marooned in southwestern Holland by her pregnancy.

"He kept trying to pop out early. At seven months I felt contractions, and at eight months too. I was told to jump up and down the stairs to hurry the birth along," she told me with a chuckle.

In many ways, Amsterdam was Margot's home. She had lived in Holland for four or so important years, from 1931 to 1935, mastering the language too. She then returns for several months with Harvey during the summer months of 1936. She'd also performed in many of its cities in the early 30s (see Chapters XII through to XIV), so it was no surprise that she wanted to share some of her old haunts with Francis; the *Utrechtsestraat* and *Rembrandtplein*, Irene told me. The bicycles too were as ubiquitous as ever, Amsterdam having grown so cluttered with them that the Dutch police now waged war on the two-wheeled (see textbox opposite).

¹⁷⁷ He was 'stateless' according to Francis' Canada Immigration Card (No. 230) and was valid for a single year

¹⁷⁸ Lies herself was married to a German, a Rhinelander, whose children, Paul and Mia, were close friends of Irene - see earlier references in Chapter XV Parts 1 and 2, as well as Chapter XVI.

¹⁷⁹ *Amsterdam: A History of the World's Most Liberal City*. Russell Shorto. Abacus, 2013. Pg. 316, 322-3

¹⁸⁰ *Amsterdam: A History of the World's Most Liberal City*. Russell Shorto. Abacus, 2013. Pg. 322-3

I wondered if Margot wasn't curious to visit her mother in Hamburg too, especially as it would probably mean the last meeting. However, Irene is quite certain that didn't happen – I guess budget was the principal constraint. Frau Tyralla neither joined her daughters in Holland (as she had in the early 1930s), because, as Tiny noted, she'd have hardly been welcome.

17.6: Amsterdam and its Disappearing Bikes

By the mid- to late-1950s, Amsterdam's 900,000 residents owned an estimated 500,000 to 600,000 bikes – about double the number owned just before the war. In response to randomly parked bikes, a new phenomenon spread across the city: In the windows of storefronts and groundfloor apartments, and on the facades of buildings, signs appeared from residents and business owners commanding: 'No bicycle parking. No bikes against the windows. Bicycle parking for customers only...'

In 1955, therefore, Amsterdam's police began to systematically clear carelessly parked bikes from 'forbidden places.' It began with sweeping bridges, where thousands of bikes stood parked against railings, blocking narrow walkways and forcing pedestrians to walk among the moving vehicles.

After the bridge campaign, during the year of Margot's visit, the police turned their attention to narrow walkways and alleyways, particularly those around the *Muntplein* and *Rokin*. Then in 1957, they took aim at the recklessly parked bikes at the *Centraal Station*.

After the impoundment of illegally parked bikes, in autumn 1958 the police launched a far more widespread crusade to address the wave of unwanted bikes. The capital was becoming, as one newspaper reporter put it: a 'bicycle graveyard' filled with an estimated 50,000 'bike cadavers.' In October, the police set out to 'make a clean sweep' of the wrecks.

On the other hand, 22 year old *Hugo Brandt Corstius* had a different idea: stop locking bikes. That year he proposed in the university newspaper, *Propria Cures*, the nationalisation of bicycle ownership, for the common good.

His cause, however, struggled to garner interest, while the authorities had the wind in their sails: Not only had many bikes been left abandoned by joyriders and *zwinjtjesjagers* (bicycle hunters), but regular riders began ditching their push bikes in favour of mopeds, scooters and cars. With the postwar Dutch economy continuing to prosper, the price of a motorised vehicle was now within easy reach of many Amsterdammers.*

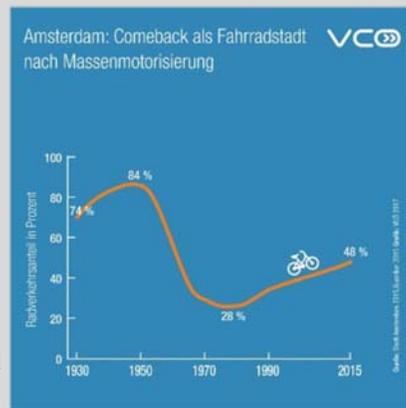
Thus, Amsterdam's pendulum swung from being a bikers' haven to a car-centric city. Indeed, the occasion can practically be dated: October 3, 1960. In September that year, the *Leidsestraat*, a renowned cycling thoroughfare, was dug up to lay new sewer pipes, tram rails and telephone cables. A three month trial ban on cycling followed that went on to become permanent. It not only proved to be a problem for the city's cyclists: but shop keepers' too, with sales suffering as riders ceased to stop by.

The loss of access to *Leidsestraat* in 1960 was but an indication of the fate that awaited cyclists in the decade to come – an unkind period for Amsterdam's cyclists. Mass motorisation now overwhelmed Holland's capital.

Yet within a decade, Amsterdammers were back to campaigning – this time to rid the city streets of cars, as chapter IX will show.

Source: Pete Jordan. *In the City of Bikes. The Story of the Amsterdam Cyclist*. Harper Perennial, 2013. Pp. 272-293
Inset: VCO - *Mobilität mit Zukunft*, 2017 (vcoe.at)

* That said, Holland's rate of car ownership was still drastically lower than America's and paled in comparison to that of other European capitals: in 1958: one car for every 23 inhabitants, compared to one for every 11.5 in London.



Notwithstanding bikes, the former Tyrallas relished precious moments together, if not with their mother then with Irene, primarily speaking German but also Dutch with Irene, who when left alone was *"proud to walk with Frances, to go for a drink, and try and speak English."* Photographs, which I feel very privileged to have come by, suggest they were all in their element.



Reunited: Nanny and Margot, accompanied by Francis and Irene. Summer 1956.

Bottom left inset:
Margot (left) and Nanny (right) in 1934 with
Frau Tyralla (inside left) and Tiny



As for Irene, she now worked for the national supermarket chain, *de Gruyter*. Blessed with a head for figures, she had started in 1953 and quickly worked her way up. In her free-time, she continued her acrobatic performances. "Wasn't that a talking point with Margot, given her own history?" I asked. "Not as such."

Apart from reliving the last 20 years, perhaps memories of Leipzig and who was left of the wider family might also have featured in the sisters' conversation. But most of all, Margot spoke of her and Francis' plans to move to Canada.

The couple's destination was a place called 'Uranium City.' By name it sounded glamorous (which was in fact the point – see textbox 17.8 on the next page but one). But in reality, 'UC' was more of a township in the middle of subarctic nowhere, surrounded by trees and lakes. Situated about 2000 km northwest of west coast Vancouver, Francis would work for *Eldorado Mining and Refining*.

I was curious how Francis came to consider uranium mining. In fact, word had long been emanating from Canada about a 'uranium rush,' while there was no shortage of articles in the Leeds newspapers referring to the opportunity to mine the radioactive chemical element, going as far back as 1950.¹⁸¹ On October 10th of that year for instance, the *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer* announced the discovery of a mass of uranium ore in Northern Saskatchewan, on the shores of Lake Athabasca.¹⁸² For anyone seeking an employment opportunity in Canada, I imagine alarm bells rang instantly.

Perhaps the real excitement, however, was contributing to the nuclear arms race – and for those who cared, a chance to turn the heat up on those in power back home. "A small piece of uranium could," for instance, 'produce a temperature comparable to that of the interior of the sun. The blast from such an explosion would destroy life in a wide area ... probably cover[ing] the center of a big city.'"¹⁸³ Therefore, countries had raced to stockpile the stuff, in case it came to atomic warfare: the Soviet Union to protect the members of the Warsaw Pact; the United States and the UK on behalf of NATO.

Although US President, Dwight Eisenhower had spoken on the promise of atomic energy at the United Nations¹⁸⁴ on December 8th, 1953, his speech failed to put the breaks on the arms race when he proposed international atomic collaboration with the catch-phrase, 'Atoms for Peace.'¹⁸⁵ On the contrary, the search for uranium continued unabated. Inevitably this put the spotlight on Canada, as is explained in textbox 17.7 overleaf.

¹⁸¹ Saved at the British Newspaper Archive [here](#) but articles themselves are only accessible upon fee payment

¹⁸² *Uranium Ore Discovery: Canadian Claim*. *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer*. October 10th, 1950. Pg. 3

¹⁸³ *Gunnar Uranium Mine: Canada's Cold War Ghost Town*. Laurier L. Schramm. Saskatchewan Research Council, 2017. Pg. 5 citing *Uranium*. Zoellner, T. Penguin Books. London, 2009.

¹⁸⁴ Formed in October 1945 with the intention of maintaining international peace and security, to develop friendly relations among nations, achieve international cooperation, and be a centre for harmonizing actions.

¹⁸⁵ Which led to the 1957 establishment of the International Atomic Energy Agency in Vienna.

17.7: Uranium Rush: The Word is Out! A modest media timeline

As early as 1944, the Canadian federal government-owned *Eldorado Mining and Refining* had staked claims in the Beaverlodge area. “In 1947, the [British] dominion began using Eldorado to stockpile uranium, in addition to supplying the US.”¹ By “1949 ... exploration in the area had dramatically increased ... although [none of the] thousands of radioactive ‘surface showings’ ... would be developed until ... 1951.”²

“The most significant finding ... was ... the [quantity in the] Beaverlodge region north of Lake Athabasca in northern Saskatchewan,”¹ with the first large ore body being discovered in 1946. By 1953, Beaverlodge Mines and Mill was up and running.³

A year earlier, 1952, Gus Hawker (textbox 17.11 more fully features the man from the Cotswolds) returned to Britain for the Queen’s Coronation — from Uranium City. He appeared on television and was nicknamed ‘Mr. Uranium’ by the British papers. While in London, he claimed he was interviewed by the BBC “five times.”⁴

In 1953, a programme called “*The Birth of a Great Uranium Area*,” was broadcast by Canadian Television Film Production, “illustrating the processes of uranium prospecting, drilling and mining.”⁵ At the time, the ‘city’ had a mere population of 1,899.⁶

Then on Tuesday, July 21st of that same year, the *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer* (Pg. 6) reported that Dr R. Gordon Hepworth of the General Infirmary at Leeds and St. James’s Hospital had been appointed surgeon to the Crown Eldorado Mining and Refining Company of Canada.⁸ “Radiation and its effects also caught on in Hollywood [over] the next couple of years.”⁷

Nine months later, in April 1954, Reader’s Digest Magazine published “*Uranium City Here We Come*.”⁹ By that time, there were already 52 mines operating alongside 12 open pits.¹⁰

It’s probably fair to say then that Margot and Francis would have been hard-pressed to avoid news of the Uranium rush during their years together in Leeds.



Sources:

1, 2, 3, 5, 6: *Gunnar Uranium Mine: Canada’s Cold War Ghost Town*. Laurier L. Schramm. Saskatchewan Research Council, 2017. Pg. 8, 3, 10, 12, 36.

N.b. The Beaverlodge mine is sometimes referred to as the Eldorado Mine, although there had already been two previous Eldorado mines.

4. *Pioneer with a Dream*. Therese Jarzab in *The History of Uranium City and District (Chapter X: Uranium City Oldtimers)*, 1982. Pg. 60. See: uraniumcity-history.com/memorabilia/history-uc-district-booklet

7. Within two years, the International Labour Organisation claimed that Uranium miners were especially prone to lung cancer. *Danger to Atom Workers*. *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer*. August 18, 1955, Pg. 5

8. *Eldorado. Canada’s National Uranium Company*. Robert Bothwell, University of Toronto Press, 1984. Pg. 381

9. *Uranium City Here We Come*. *Reader’s Digest Magazine* Vol. 64, No. 384 (April 1954). Pg. 59-64 in which it digests *Athabasca’s Atom Boom* (first picture above). Ronald Schiller. *Maclean’s Magazine*, March 1, 1954. Pg. 12-13, 51.

10. *The Uranium Times*, Uranium City’s local newspaper.

The Uranium Rush is on in Athabaska. *LIFE*. Vol. 33, No. 7, Aug. 18, 1952. Pg. 16 (second picture above)

Perhaps it was any such news report or event that the couple picked up on, as an opportunity to realise their dreams. News also surely spread among the mining workforce in the UK, given that staff turnover at Eldorado was high. Perhaps even Sandor tipped him off. “In a typical intake of 27 men in the mid-1950s, only one was left after a week,” reflected Robert Bothwell in his Eldorado retrospective. Indeed, “So few Canadians were willing to take jobs in a mine ... that Eldorado dipped into the overseas labour market. It got, in return, a stable and hard-working immigrant labour force, mostly from central and eastern Europe.”¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁶ *Eldorado. Canada’s National Uranium Company*. Robert Bothwell, University of Toronto Press, 1984. Pg. 322. N.b. In *Sun Dogs and Yellowcake. Gunnar Mines - A Canadian Story*. Patricia Sandberg. Crackingstone Press, 2016. Pg. 73, the author refers to Peter and Beth Smith, who, on the other hand, decided to go to Canada for the mining after meeting at university in England. Then he saw a job offer in northern Saskatchewan (at neighbouring Gunnar Mine) and went in 1956.

17.8: Uranium City: Where the future became the present

In the planning for an Eldorado townsite, there were two options in 1951. Since there were an increasing number of mines in the region, "there could be company towns, one for each mine ... or there could be one central town site, from which miners would travel to their place of work ... A central town site was a good idea. A well-planned one would be even better. Nobody wanted to see [a] ... shack town grow up in the north ... A planned community would be a credit to its inhabitants, and [the] planners." Ultimately, progress was too slow for a mine that was already under construction.

The name came first, in September 1951. "Like 'Eldorado,' it was a promoter's name. It conjured up visions of a mining metropolis sitting atop a great lode of uranium." Saskatchewan province had wanted a beautiful town in the north and so its government established the community of Uranium City, with the aim of serving the entire region.

"Perhaps 'city' was ambitious, considering 'there [was] ... nothing there ... except a road.' But it might well be a city, especially if advertised as such. The name stuck even if betokened 'a typical mining boom town built on solid rock ... rather than the beauty spot that it [was].' But the city still needed someone to foot the bill. And that's where the planning came unstuck. "The province moved too slowly in planning for Uranium City."

In July 1952, "Saskatchewan surveyed 100 lots and Eldorado cleared enough bush to open seven or eight blocks. With or without surveys", and without water and sewer and modern conveniences, "Uranium City was about to be peopled" Citizens had great expectations, matching the optimism of the town's name.

"A hundred lots soon became three hundred. Streets were laid out [bulldozed] and buildings erected ... To encourage its employees to move there, Eldorado offered low-interest mortgages covering 90 percent of the house costs." Another five percent was covered by Eldorado.

"As for its appearance, Uranium City was about average for a northern community, which [was] ... to say, unappealing for the southern eye." The province's treasurer characterised it 'a shack town' in June 1953. "Part of the blame," in his view, "was the province's policy of conceding 33-year leases," which resulted in people "building structures that ... last[ed] a great deal less ... Water supply was another difficulty. Water came from [neighbouring] Martin Lake, either in a water truck or by the bucketful. Since there were no water mains, there was very little fire protection."

The plan was "to make Uranium City a City Beautiful" – and the government did insist on some improvements. But a row of trees down the middle of the streets was recommended to be removed immediately, since "they [were] ... not only a fire trap but ... [made] parking practically impossible." Not only were they parched (in terms of rainfall, [it is] a semi-desert, being part of the Mackenzie River basin, which has a level of precipitation equivalent to certain sections of west Texas or New Mexico), but "the main road from Bushell Bay to Beaverlodge [(pictured)] passed through the centre of town." And thanks to its sandy soil, dust typically coated the trees.

Still, none of this stopped thousands of immigrants from calling it 'home,' 'the best place they had ever lived' and 'a place that many would move back to in a heartbeat.'

Sources: *Eldorado. Canada's National Uranium Company. Robert Bothwell, University of Toronto Press, 1984.*

Pg. 293, 295, 296, 298, 302, 303

Images: Uranium City in June 1954, 1956 (via Prairie-Towns.com) and 1977 (Robyn Mitchell via [Uranium City Friends](http://UraniumCityFriends.com)).



Discussing the couple's move with Irene today, she reflected: "I can't imagine Margot going off to live as remotely as that. She was all nails and heels. Even marrying a miner is hard for me to believe."¹⁸⁷ Was Margot aware of what lay ahead? Or was she throwing caution to the wind in the name of love? Maybe there was a little of Lilli Palmer – the German actress who had moved to England shortly before the war – in Margot too?

*"When one marries young, one makes compromises without being aware of it. One adjusts without any difficulty to the life-style of the stronger partner. One loves, and nothing else matters. 'Day people' live with 'night people,' the city person finds himself in the country, liking it, and vice versa. A lover of classical music goes to rock concerts night after night, and the jazz fan spends his evenings listening to Bach. This doesn't seem to get on anybody's nerves. On the contrary, 'opposites attract.' But that's true only of young people. If you find a mate in the second half of your life, the two of you must be of one mind. During my first marriage it was only love that bridged the gap between our minds."*¹⁸⁸

Either way, this was going to be another of love's great adventures. But there was another milestone to chalk off first: Margot had to marry the man she was going to follow to Canada. I guess it also helped to ensure both would have no difficulties entering the country, rather like Sandor and Hildegard Garas (who had already departed several years earlier and were by now settled in Vancouver).

I (and perhaps Nanny too) wondered whether the couple ever thought of settling and having children instead? "No" said Tiny. "Raising a family with Francis was never their interest. The pair were just not that family oriented." Irene agreed, noting their sights were fixed solely on North America.

Oops I did it again! Margot returns to Leeds Register Office almost 22 years to the day, and in the process revealing many precious insights upon the resulting certificate

1956. Marriage solemnized at <u>the Register Office</u> in								
District of <u>Leeds</u> in the <u>County Borough of Leeds</u>								
Columns— 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
No.	When Married.	Name and Surname.	Age.	Condition.	Rank or Profession.	Residence at the time of Marriage.	Father's Name and Surname.	Rank or Profession of Father.
238	First	Francis Harris	39 years	Bachelor	Labourer (Mining Contractors)	192 Chapeltown Road, Leeds. Y.	Sandor Harris	Licence Vicarious
	December 1956	Margot Riscoe	45 years	Previous marriage dissolved	gown saleswoman	192 Chapeltown Road, Leeds. Y.	Powel Eyralla (deceased)	Teacher
Married in the <u>Register Office</u>						by <u>James Payne</u> by		
This Marriage was solemnized between us,		<u>Francis Harris</u> <u>M. Riscoe</u>	in the Presence of us,		<u>Alex Johnson</u> <u>J. J. ...</u>	by <u>James Payne</u> <u>Superintendent Registrar</u> <u>Leeds</u>		

The couple's 'big' day arrived on December 1st, 1956. Their marriage certificate confirms Margot still sold gowns and that Francis was a labourer for a mining company. A curiosity is the reference to Margot's father, which the registrar has transcribed as *Powel*, reflecting I imagine Margot's German enunciation. The names of their witnesses are unfamiliar. 192, Chapeltown Road was the couple's address (confirmed by Tiny's address book too).¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁷ Personal correspondence with Irene in August 2018

¹⁸⁸ *Change Lobsters - And Dance*. Lilli Palmer. Star Books, W. H. Allen & Co. Ltd, 1977. Pg. 243.

¹⁸⁹ Chapeltown Road is pictured within Ch. XV on pg. 615 with No. 192 just out of the picture.

Thus, Margot and Francis prepared to depart England. They did so at a time when the standard of living was generally rising, and in contrast with the grim years of austerity, 1951-1956 were years of increasing plenty. A mood of prosperity grew, encouraged by the outstanding success of Mr Macmillan as housing minister and the 1955 budget which took sixpence off the standard rate of income tax.¹⁹⁰ Under the Conservatives, the legislation setting up the welfare state¹⁹¹ was not only preserved but improved. Churchill also committed to nationalising the railways.¹⁹²

But if matters were improving in the UK, it was a sad time for Hungarians overall. And while Francis would leave behind no one particularly important to him in England, plenty of family remained in Hungary. In textbox 17.1, I referred to three phases of exodus from Hungary. That below refers to the third, in 1956.

17.9: The Hungarian Revolution of 1956 – Ramifications for Canada and repercussions for East Germany

Following Stalin's death in March 1953, Imre Nagy, a reform-communist, introduced a 'New Course' in Hungary with Moscow's approval. The intellectuals, however, led a 'revolt of the mind' for greater freedom.¹

On October 23rd, 1956 matters came to a head. Peaceful protests gave way to violent suppression in November, leading to "the first tear in the Iron Curtain."² The Soviets reversed their position on liberal socialism and two hundred thousand Hungarians fled³ – under increasingly dramatic circumstances. Some 165,000 immigrants landed in Canada in 1956 and the following year the number reached 282,000⁴ (among them 6,000 who had first entered the UK between 1957 and 1958).⁵

In response to public pressure, Canada's government implemented a special programme offering free passage to thousands of Hungarians. They arrived in the early months of 1957, with most ships disembarking their passengers in Halifax or St. John, New Brunswick.⁶

The result was that more than 37,000 were admitted in less than a year.⁷ Janelle Smith reports in *Immigration to Canada in the 1950's and 1960's* that the high number contributed to the largest Jewish-Hungarian community in Montréal, as well as to various restaurants and bistros.⁸

The East German diarist, Victor Klemperer, wondered at the event's impact on his newly founded country: "What is going to happen here? To Ulbricht?" he asked.⁹ Walter Ulbricht could not isolate East Germany from the crisis sweeping Eastern Europe in the summer and autumn of 1956. Following strikes in August and September (in sympathy for the Polish uprising in June), the Hungarian uprising led to further unrest. But its brutal defeat by Soviet troops also acted as a powerful deterrent to his country's population, who were subsequently kept in check by armed militias in universities, polytechnics and in the countryside. Convictions meanwhile were doled out for anything from political jokes to helping somebody leave East Germany, even for passing information to the representatives of a hostile state.¹⁰

It wasn't long before Margot and Francis were part of that Hungarian exodus to Canada too, which in turn led to their making many more Hungarian acquaintances than they perhaps otherwise would have. I imagine those events also convinced Francis he was right to have left Hungary.

Besides Margot, sister Nanny, was also touched by affairs abroad, sending food parcels to Hungarian refugees that were being assisted by the International Red Cross – helped no less by her youngest, Alice.

Upper image (#3 below) shows an immigration interpreter assisting with the interview of a Hungarian applicant in 1956.

The lower shows a march to support Hungary in Eindhoven, the Netherlands, Nov. 5, 1956.

Source: wiki.en/Hungarian_Revolution_of_1956. Footnotes: see 'Footnotes to textbox 17.9' at chapter end on pg. 926.



¹⁹⁰ *England in the Twentieth Century. 1914-1979.* David Thomson. Second Ed. Penguin Books, 1981. Pg. Pg. 245

¹⁹¹ It was July 5th, 1948, when the UK's Health Service and National Insurance Scheme came into existence

¹⁹² *England in the Twentieth Century. 1914-1979.* David Thomson. Second Ed. Penguin Books, 1981. Pg. 244, 243



Right:
Harvey Riscoe,
Margot's only son,
feeling theatrical,
on his Highgate
doorstep. 1954
(during Tiny's
stay).

Below Right:
Eight years on:
Harvey (top right)
with the Butlins
Redcoats team in
Pwllheli, Wales,
1962 (n.b. Johnny
Ball, the soon to be
famous kids' TV
presenter, top left).

Source: *Here come
the redcoats*. Pg. 169



Margot on the other hand would leave behind her son, now 21 years old. I suppose if anything, she could take solace from the fact he was well taken care of by his father, whose latest project was already off to a good start.

By 1957, Harvey had been enrolled at the Mountview Theatre Club, which would lead to his appointment in 1958 as a 'Butlin's Redcoat' in *Pwllheli*, north Wales¹⁹³ – thanks to his father's close acquaintance of the founder of the Butlin Empire.¹⁹⁴

The redcoats were the 'Angels of the Holiday Camps' - a group of mainly young men and women who helped to galvanise a certain holiday atmosphere at the country's popular seaside resorts. They were also the largest employers of musicians and theatricals in the entire world at the time.

Along with Pontin's, Butlin's was one of the main, highly successful 'industrial' chains that provided almost military-style round-the-clock service and entertainment.¹⁹⁵ Its holiday camps "were a Valhalla for working-class kids

... They were just like big schools, really. You had your houses, your discipline, your dining hall, your social activities, competitions," noted Colin Welland of Lancashire, then 15 going on 16. In retrospect, he was struck by his naïvity. "For instance, three girls asked us back to their chalet for a drink and we said: "No, thank you, we're not thirsty."¹⁹⁶

¹⁹³ "Harvey was a Butlin's Redcoat in his early 20's." Harvey Riscoe. *Blue Collar Rat*. Patsy Martin (Riscoe).

Online at: gowr.co.uk/all-water-rats/v/539

¹⁹⁴ Rocky Mason, who served on the management team and knew the Riscoes well, told me: "Johnnie had become closely associated with Butlins in 1957, a relationship that would last until the 1980s. He became the main supplier of its artists and provided Butlins with acts for the resident revue shows, including Frank Carson [see footnote 174]." Furthermore, "from 1962, Johnnie Riscoe was the senior compere for Butlins for many years and did all their TV work." Personal correspondence, July 2011.

¹⁹⁵ *Family Britain: 1951-1957*. David Kynaston. Bloomsbury, 2009. Pg. 213

¹⁹⁶ *Austerity Britain: 1945-1951*. David Kynaston. Bloomsbury, 2007. Pg. 532-3

As Francis and Margot got set to depart, the 'baton' of UK residency was passed on to niece, Tiny. Indeed, just before the would-be emigrants married in Leeds, Tiny and Walter returned to England – together with new kid on the block – my cousin – *Michael Robert*. He was born in *Den Haag* in September 1956 (eventually bang on time!) and was named after a character in the autumn 1949 movie; *The Blue Lagoon*.

"It's a story about two kids stranded on an island who fall in love and grow together. In the scene where their son is born, when prompted for the name, the parents called out 'His name is Michael.' That prompted us to do the same," Tiny told me fondly.

She needed several months to recover, however, and so the family's move was postponed to November. Upon her return to the UK, once again Tiny had to endure a few topsy-turvy weeks. She and Michael spent a fortnight with Walter's sister in Newmarket, followed by another two weeks in a coastal hamlet an hour away called Felixtowe Ferry. In December 1956 it was on to Felixtowe proper (where ferries rather sailed to and from the Hook of Holland). There they spent the next two months waiting for married quarters. Eventually, Tiny and family received a home at RAF Bawdsey. It was February 1957.

As with Margot 20 years before her, Tiny would go on to face the same challenges in using a foreign language daily, while managing a newborn. A pity then that the distance prevented the couples from getting together at least once.

Their relationship remained strong, however, and would be cemented over the coming years. A month later, Francis left for Canada, three months ahead of Margot. Their story, entitled 'Cold War Accessories,' awaits in part two, which covers the rest of 1957 and until 1962.

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Footnotes to textbox 17.1: Whence Cometh the Man?

1. wiki.en/Ersekujvar and wiki.hu/Ersekujvar
2. sulinet.hu/oroksegtar/data/megyek_oroksege/Csongrad_megyve/pages/CSMEE/Magyar/html/Szentes3.html
3. wiki.en/Upper_Hungary
4. wiki.en/Csallokoz
5. Sándor is Hungarian for Alexander. Francis father was born 05.05.1892 and died in the early 1950s.
6. The Haris's had first lived in Budapest's eight district in Üllői út, which is a major transport artery and the longest avenue in Budapest, at 15.6 km long and nearly perfectly straight.
7. Újpest was integrated into Budapest's fourth district in 1950. See: wiki.en/Újpest
8. Erzsébet Haris, Francis youngest sibling was born 03.10.1922 and died not long before I made Ruth's acquaintance in 2012.
9. It is not known when Sándor Haris 'junior,' Francis youngest sibling was born but he died in 2003. According to Irene Geschitz, Sándor was a loyal communist and lived in Rozsadomb. He was part of the Allamvédelmi Hatóság - the secret police force of Hungary from 1945 until 1956 which attained an indigenous reputation for brutality during a series of purges beginning in 1948, intensifying in 1949 and ending in 1953. Apparently he was responsible for politicians' security. When Sándor applied for the job, his brothers and father were all omitted from his CV. He was estranged from his family.
10. Francis mother was Erzsébet Pistyik
11. Irene Geschitz was born in 1941 and was married to the eldest son (Sándor, born 1940) of Maria (Mariska) Haris and Sándor Geschitz. Irene would later accommodate both Francis and another émigré niece, Eszterrut and family (see #12 below) at their home in Budapest's district two.
12. On 21.03.1946, Erzsébet Haris married György Lederer (born 18.04.1923 and died 1981). Their children are Zsuzsanna (born February 1947 and who now lives in New York City) & Eszterrut (born 15.09.1949) and who lived in Munich, Schwabing between 1984 and 1989.
13. István apparently had a fist-fight with one or other German, and after being released from prison for murder he made his way to Paris in 1966 (slamming the border crossing in the process)
14. Francis Haris first wife, Maria Magdolna Kocsis, was born 30.09.1922
15. Francis Haris and Maria Magdolna Kocsis had married on 04.12.1943
16. Matyi, Maria Haris's youngest son, was born in 1945. Matyi later hosted Francis on his return visits to Hungary. He married in 1961 and himself had a son, also Matyi (born 1965/6) in Újpest and whom from indications via Facebook (facebook.com/geschitz.matyas), now lives in Csepel. Maria Haris's youngest son died in 2009.

Footnotes to textbox 17.9: The Hungarian Revolution of 1956

1. The Hungarian Refugee Student Movement of 1956-57 and Canada. Peter I. Hidas. See: www3.sympatico.ca/thidas/Hungarian-history/students.html
2. Hungary 1956. 2006. See: americanhungarianfederation.org/1956
3. Canadian History: Post-Confederation. John Douglas Belshaw. See: opentextbc.ca/postconfederation/chapter/4-post-war-immigration
4. The 1956 Hungarian Revolution: Hungarian and Canadian Perspectives. Christopher Adam et al. University of Ottawa Press, 2010. Project MUSE. Chapter 10. See: muse.jhu.edu/chapter/297231
5. Family History on the Move. Where your ancestors went and why. Roger Kershaw and Mark Pearsall. The National Archives, 2006. Pg. 89
6. "For a good six months, between December 1956 and June 1957" writes Christopher Adam et al in: The 1956 Hungarian Revolution: Hungarian and Canadian Perspectives. See: muse.jhu.edu/chapter/297231
7. A hundred years of immigration to Canada 1900 - 1999 (Part 2). Janet Dench, Executive Director. Canadian Council for Refugees. See: ccrweb.ca/en/hundred-years-immigration-canada-part-2.
8. Immigration to Canada in the 1950's and 1960's. Janelle Smith. Posted January 15, 2014. See: prezi.com/ffoxz6z-gk/jx/immigration-to-canada-in-the-1950s-and-1960s
9. The Lesser Evil: The Diaries of Victor Klemperer, 1945-1959. Victor Klemperer. Phoenix, 2004. Nov. 15, 1951. Pg. 479
10. Germany from Defeat to Partition. 1945-1963. D. G. Williamson. Pearson Education Ltd., 2001. Pg. 87, 92

Footnotes to textbox 17.5: On the Fate of Herr Petzold. Pt. 1

1. Berlin at War. Life and Death in Hitler's Capital, 1939-1945. Roger Moorhouse. Vintage Books, 2011. Pg. 331
2. "Zu alt wird er nicht gewesen sein. Die Männer und Jugendlichen im Volkssturm waren jünger als 17 oder 16 Jahre und älter als 60." Oliver Schweinoch of the Lebendiges Museum Online (LEMO), online at lhm.de/lemo on Feb. 2, 2016
3. The Deutsche Dienststelle für die Benachrichtigung der nächsten Angehörigen von Gefallenen der ehemaligen deutschen Wehrmacht (WASt) holds information on all former military service personnel and is the main source of information about those engaged in fighting the Second World War, including 18 million individuals and 3.1 million martyrs. That includes the Volkssturm, besides those who have disappeared. See: coeurssansfrontieres.com/de/kolloquium/treffen-2011-rosmys-sous-bois/152-la-deutsche-dienststelle-wast-berlin
4. Personal correspondence of Feb. 25, 2016 with Frau Püpke.
5. „Ich weiß nicht, ob es Gerüchte oder Befürchtungen in der Bevölkerung gab, kann es mir aber gut vorstellen.“ Oliver Schweinoch of the LEMO on 27/1/16. "Aber die Zeit war schon chaotisch, Kommunikationsstrukturen brachen zusammen, vielleicht konnte man es schaffen, dem Volkssturm zu entkommen," he added on Feb. 2, 2016.
6. Albert Petzold's daughter, Erika Lieselotte, was born in Bernburg on June 6, 1912. On Jan. 18, 1933 – without occupation – she married there the Kaufmann and Handlungsgehilfe, Johannes Otto Reinhold Hentschel. He was born Sept. 29, 1907, in Riestedt, Saxony Anhalt, northwest of Querfurt where he lived at Fürstinstrasse 16. According to Heirats-Sammelakte zur Eheschließung des Johannes Hentschel und der Lieselotte Petzold Nr. 3/1933, Hentschel's Bernburg-based father, Reinhold – a Kassengehilfe, and in 1934 a Sparkassen-Amstmeister – bore witness (although neither Albert nor his former wife did, while his consent was relayed from Berlin in December 1932). In spring 1933, the young couple had their first son who was quickly followed by another in late 1934, and a third in late 1936. According to Adressbuch der Stadt Bernburg, Albert's son-in-law rose from being a Sparkassen-Angestellte in 1934 to Sparkassen-Angestellte-Hauptmann in 1936. The family still lived at Lieselotte's flat in Auguststrasse (renamed Loeperstrasse) in 1938. The marriage was annulled on February 26, 1946 and three months later, Lieselotte gave birth to a fourth child, a daughter, in Bernburg on July 26. (Thereafter it becomes more difficult to follow Lieselotte's next steps, including a possible departure from Bernburg. Despite looking, Herr Fromme of Bernburg Stadtarchiv wrote on April 6, 2016 that he could not recover a death certificate for either Lieselotte or Johannes Hentschel as late as 1985 – when she'd have been 73, he 78 – subsequent records being maintained at the city's Standesamt, where details on the daughter's birth, father and possible second marriage could also be obtained).
7. On March 11, 1919, Meta Petzold had married Berliner, Johannes Ernst Albert Fritz Mödebeck, a Private Detective and later Kaufmann (born May 20, 1895 in Bernburg). However, because he lived in Berlin Schöneberg (Eisenacher Str. 51), they had never actually lived together, both parties blaming each other for sexual adultery leading to a divorce that was concluded Oct. 9, 1922 and documented in Bernburg on Jan. 5, 1923, according to Meta's marriage certificate (Nr. 54/1919, referred to from her daughter's nuptial agreement of 1933, and which also references Documentation 20 R. 90/22 of Sept. 30, 1922). The marriage bore no children.
8. Meta Mödebeck married Ewald Knaul on Oct. 16, 1932 (Marriage Cert. Nr. 223/1932) and lived at the time in Marienstrasse 59, while page 2 of her nuptial agreement (Nr. 222/1932 of Oct. 6, 1932) indicates she had lived in Bernburg 'since years.'
9. According to Hermann Knaul's birth certificate (Nr. 67, Jan. 17, 1902), he died in 1989 in Ohlstadt in Bavaria. Given that Meta Knaul's death is not reported in Bernburg, one may assume she accompanied him to Ohlstadt (or they divorced and she took on another name). A notice of death may still be found on her birth certificate, which would mean turning to the registry office in Swinemünde (now Swinoujscie, Poland). See: en.swinemuende.kreis-usedom-wollin.de
10. See: [de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Luftangriffe_auf_Bernburg_\(Saale\)](http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Luftangriffe_auf_Bernburg_(Saale)) See also: [youtube.com/watch?v=IWY7eN_jXbQ](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IWY7eN_jXbQ)
11. According to Christian Brenk, Leiter at Stadtarchiv Bernburg, who searched the available records to 1985 (when Albert would have been 103)
12. Albert's wife, Meta, was born in Westswine (West Swinemünde), Usedom-Wollin, Pommern on April 3, 1893 (Nr. 26/1893). According to her 1932 nuptial agreement (see footnote 8), her father, Albert Steffen, was a Maurer/Bauunternehmer (bricklayer/building contractor) who himself was from Swinemünde. Her mother, Ida, was born in neighbouring Dargen (Nr. 272/1933). They had made Bernburg their home, although Meta's mother was widowed by 1906, according to the city's address book and later died on May 21, 1933, having been resident in Auguststrasse 62 (obviously then shared with her granddaughter, Erika Lieselotte – see footnote 6).
13. While Berlin Burns. The Diary of Hans-Georg von Studnitz 1943-1945. Hans-Georg von Studnitz. Frontline Books, 2011. Nov. 30, 1943. Pg. 143.
14. See: digitale-bibliothek-mv.de/viewer/image/PPN818300922_1938/1/LOG_0003
15. Known today as Rybaki
16. See also: usedom-genealogie.de and: ahnenforscher@usedom-genealogie.de (request submitted without response on April 7, 2016).
17. See: <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Swinoujskie>
18. Response of Ines.Jordan@sa-magdeburg.de on Tue 12/20/2011 9:38 AM
19. Response of Claudia Hinze of the Leipzig Stadtarchiv, Torgauer Straße 74, June 3, 2013
20. Christabel Bielenberg who passed through the Anhalter to head south to the Black Forest in late 1944 described it as follows: "Propaganda posters hung unnoticed in red and black tatters from the shrapnel-pitted walls...Every day the windowless trains trundled in and out in the few hours left for living between the American mass daylight raids and the sporadic British night attacks; they carried a rudderless crowd of soldiers, civilians, refugees and evacuees along diverse routes to uncertain destinations." The Past is Myself & The Road Ahead: An Englishwoman's life in Berlin under the Nazis. Christabel Bielenberg. Corgi, 2011. Pg. 249.
21. Berlin at War. Life and Death in Hitler's Capital, 1939-1945. Roger Moorhouse. Vintage Books, 2011. Pg. 202

Footnotes to Textbox 17.5: On the Fate of Herr Petzold.

22. *Berlin at War. Life and Death in Hitler's Capital, 1939-1945.* Roger Moorhouse. Vintage Books, 2011. Pg. 350
23. *Aimée and Jaguar. A Love Story, Berlin 1943.* Erica Fischer. Bloomsbury, 1995. Pg. 226. NB: Elisabeth Wurst was put under surveillance for travelling to visit her Jewish friend in Theresienstadt, while another observes on Sept. 8, 1944; "Over and above the air raids which are slowly battering it [Berlin] to pieces, is the more awful shadow of the Gestapo." *The Past is Myself & The Road Ahead: An Englishwoman's life in Berlin under the Nazis.* Christabel Bielenberg. Corgi, 2011. Pg. 503
24. *While Berlin Burns. The Diary of Hans-Georg von Studnitz 1943-1945.* Hans-Georg von Studnitz. Frontline Books, 2011. Sept. 25, 1944. Pg. 208
25. Specifically, 5,764 in 1944, and 5,684 in 1945. *Faust's Metropolis: A History of Berlin.* Alexandra Richie. Harper Press. London, 1998. Pg. 529
26. *The Past is Myself & The Road Ahead: An Englishwoman's life in Berlin under the Nazis.* Christabel Bielenberg. Corgi, 2011. Pg. 213.
27. *Faust's Metropolis: A History of Berlin.* Alexandra Richie. Harper Press. London, 1998. Pg. 585-586
28. *Berlin at War. Life and Death in Hitler's Capital, 1939-1945.* Roger Moorhouse. Vintage Books, 2011. Pg. 356
29. See: tulse-berlin.de/bms/bmstx100/0009gesd.htm
30. *The Past is Myself & The Road Ahead: An Englishwoman's life in Berlin under the Nazis.* Christabel Bielenberg. Corgi, 2011. Pg. 265.
31. On Feb. 12, 1945, the Nazis also conscripted German women and girls into the auxiliaries of the Volkssturm. From December 1944 through to May 1945, girls as young as 14 began receiving instructions on the use of small-arms, bazookas, machine guns, and hand grenades. Weapons training was sometimes done by World War I veterans drafted into service themselves. Instead of boosting civilian morale, it often reminded people of Germany's desperate state. During the Battle of Berlin, Volkssturm units fought in many parts of the city. See: en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Volkssturm. See also: dhm.de/lemo/kapitel/zweiter-weltkrieg/kriegsverlauf/volkssturm courtesy of Deutsches Historisches Museum, Berlin.
32. *Aimée and Jaguar. A Love Story, Berlin 1943.* Erica Fischer. Bloomsbury, 1995. Pg. 232
33. Subsequently proclaimed in newspapers on February 16th, 1945. . *While Berlin Burns. The Diary of Hans-Georg von Studnitz 1943-1945.* Hans-Georg von Studnitz. Frontline Books, 2011. Feb. 5, 1945. Pg. 242
34. *While Berlin Burns. The Diary of Hans-Georg von Studnitz 1943-1945.* Hans-Georg von Studnitz. Frontline Books, 2011. Feb.22, 1945. Pg. 250.
35. *Berlin Underground: 1938-1945.* Ruth Andreas-Friedrich. Paragon House. 1989. Feb. 8, 1945. Pg. 201
36. *Berlin Underground: 1938-1945.* Ruth Andreas-Friedrich. Paragon House. 1989. Jan. 31, 1945. Pg. 195-6
37. *While Berlin Burns. The Diary of Hans-Georg von Studnitz 1943-1945.* Hans-Georg von Studnitz. Frontline Books, 2011. Feb. 5, 1945. Pg. 242
38. *Faust's Metropolis: A History of Berlin.* Alexandra Richie. Harper Press. London, 1998. Pg. 584-5
39. *Berlin at War. Life and Death in Hitler's Capital, 1939-1945.* Roger Moorhouse. Vintage Books, 2011. Pg. 364
40. *Aimée and Jaguar. A Love Story, Berlin 1943.* Erica Fischer. Bloomsbury, 1995. Pg. 240. April 25th, 1945.
41. *Berlin at War. Life and Death in Hitler's Capital, 1939-1945.* Roger Moorhouse. Vintage Books, 2011. Pg. 363
42. *Faust's Metropolis: A History of Berlin.* Alexandra Richie. Harper Press. London, 1998. Pg. 592, 593
43. *Berlin at War. Life and Death in Hitler's Capital, 1939-1945.* Roger Moorhouse. Vintage Books, 2011. Pg. 365
44. *Faust's Metropolis: A History of Berlin.* Alexandra Richie. Harper Press. London, 1998. Pg. 602
- 45-47. *Faust's Metropolis: A History of Berlin.* Alexandra Richie. Harper Press. London, 1998. Pg. 588
48. *Faust's Metropolis: A History of Berlin.* Alexandra Richie. Harper Press. London, 1998. Pg. 602
49. „175,000 Personen aus dem Volkssturm gelten als vermisst.“ . Oliver Schweinich, LEMO, Jan. 27, 2016. Interesting because 'only' 100,000 Berliners took the oath in November 1944, writes Roger Moorhouse in *Berlin at War. That means countless more were subsequently recruited. Take for example Friederike Grensemann. She arrived home from work around April 20th to see her father leave to join the Volkssturm. She never saw him again.* *Berlin at War. Life and Death in Hitler's Capital, 1939-1945.* Roger Moorhouse. Vintage Books, 2011. Pg. 353, 360
50. Current German studies suggest the lower figure is more likely. See: en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bombing_of_Berlin_in_World_War_II
51. Up to April 20/21, 1945. See: en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bombing_of_Berlin_in_World_War_II#Timeline
52. *Faust's Metropolis: A History of Berlin.* Alexandra Richie. Harper Press. London, 1998. Pg. 607
53. *Faust's Metropolis: A History of Berlin.* Alexandra Richie. Harper Press. London, 1998. Pg. 533
54. Personal correspondence of March 22, 2016 with Frau Schlachta of the Landesamt für Bürger- und Ordnungsangelegenheiten, Standesamt I in Berlin, Schönstedtstraße (TBC)
55. "Es ist sehr bedauerlich, dass Sie die Spur von Herrn Petzold nicht weiter verfolgen können. Ich halte es für möglich, dass 1944 oder 1945 verstorben ist. Vielleicht im Volkssturm? Möglicherweise wurde er 1954 für tot erklärt, ohne dass man wusste was genau passiert ist und wann. Es gibt viele anonyme Kriegsgräber in Berlin. Haben Sie schon beim Standesamt in der Schönstedtstraße nachgefragt?" Oliver Schweinich, LEMO. March 15, 2016. Furthermore, 'Everywhere [there] are graves with crosses; "Unknown Volkssturm man, fell on this and that date," wrote one Berliner in *Berlin at War. Life and Death in Hitler's Capital, 1939-1945.* Roger Moorhouse. Vintage Books, 2011. Pg. 372