

“A Covert from the Tempest”: Responsibility, Love and Politics in Britain’s *Kindertransport*

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“[W]e could deal [with children] in large numbers, provided they were sponsored by responsible bodies and responsible individuals. Here is a chance of taking the young generation of a great people...a chance of mitigating to some extent the terrible sufferings of their parents and their friends.”¹

ADDRESSING THE HOUSE OF COMMONS on the plight of Jews and other “non-Aryans” in Nazi Germany, Austria and Czechoslovakia, Great Britain’s Home Secretary, Samuel Hoare, used these words to introduce the British child-rescue scheme now termed the “*Kindertransport*.”² On this evening of November 21, 1938, Members of Parliament reacted with horror at the Nazi-organized pogrom, *Kristallnacht*, of less than a fortnight earlier. Some advocated relaxing Britain’s stringent immigration requirements. Others worried that refugees would threaten a fragile economy, taking jobs from British citizens and requiring public support.³ Admitting unaccompanied children for temporary refuge seemed a reasonable compromise. Between December 1938 and early September 1939, organizations and individuals collaborated in the *Kindertransport*, bringing nearly 10,000 children to Britain from Nazi-controlled lands by train and ferry.⁴ Moved in some cases by politics, in others by a sense of moral, cultural or religious responsibility, in still others by familial duty and love, a wide array of bodies and individuals made essential contributions to the *Kindertransport*’s success. Their varying motivations demonstrated the complexity of effective response to an international humanitarian crisis and fostered a new sense of social responsibility for the welfare and rights of individuals.

A Developing Humanitarian Crisis

Adolf Hitler and the National Socialist German Workers’ Party (the Nazis) took power in Germany in 1933 vowing to abolish Jewish citizenship and

eliminate Germany's Jewish population by encouraging mass exodus.⁵ Nazi laws immediately began to strip Jews of their civil rights, rights to participate as full members of political society and to access opportunities and amenities on the same terms as others. Jews were barred from civil service positions (1933), medical, legal and other professional practice (1933) and work in theater or movies (1934).⁶ The Nuremberg laws of 1935 followed, revoking Jewish citizenship and banning marriages and sexual relations between Jews and those of "German or related blood."⁷ Soon, escalating restrictions prohibited Jews from making business contracts with the state and curtailed their economic transactions with non-Jews. After German annexation in 1938, these laws quickly took effect in Austria and parts of Czechoslovakia.⁸

Contrary to internationally recognized children's rights, Nazi persecution also imperiled the intellectual development, physical well-being and psychological security of Jewish children.⁹ They were banned from public schools, parks and theaters and suffered physically and psychologically when parents were imprisoned or lost employment or property.¹⁰ Susanne Goldsmith, who rode the first *Kindertransport* train leaving Vienna, recalls, "Other children no longer played with us. It was very depressing. Every week new rules and regulations were directed at Jewish families."¹¹

Between 1933 and 1938, these rights deprivations led to voluntary Jewish emigration from Nazi territories. Still, many thought Nazi control a passing phase. They hesitated to leave homes for strange lands, unfamiliar people and economic disadvantage.¹² This attitude altered as the escalating oppression of 1938 inflicted increasingly degrading treatment on Jews and assailed their liberty and security. Now, soaring numbers sought to emigrate, but stringent immigration laws in many countries thwarted their attempts. Restrictions stemmed from anti-alien and anti-Semitic feelings and from fear, in the widespread depression of the 1930s, that immigrants would burden national economies.¹³ While thirty-two nations attended an international immigration conference on the problem in Evian, France during summer 1938, only the Dominican Republic offered to increase immigration quotas for those fleeing Nazi territories.¹⁴

***Kristallnacht* and Policy Change in Britain**

On the night of November 9, 1938, brutal attacks on physical security, liberty and property transformed Nazi rights deprivations into a humanitarian crisis where peril was immediate and large-scale suffering acute.¹⁵ Nazi sympathizers throughout Germany, Austria and Czechoslovakia's Sudetenland destroyed thousands of Jewish businesses and synagogues and terrorized Jews, killing approximately 100.¹⁶ Nazi officials arrested and imprisoned 30,000 Jewish men, later sending many to concentration camps.¹⁷ The events of this *Kristallnacht*¹⁸ shocked the world and marked a turning point in British refugee policy. Reports from American consuls in Germany described merciless "attacks upon a helpless minority"¹⁹ and cited evidence that German officials had planned the violence.²⁰ In Britain, letters to *The Times* emphasized the Nazis' "cold brutality"²¹ and

condemned “this fresh onset of persecution.”²² Some advocated taking “more than our fair share of these... tortured people... not a new Evian, but a new spirit.”²³

History often portrays moral responsibility as the impetus for humanitarian response. However, the official British response was foremost political. The government faced national and international criticism for ceding parts of Czechoslovakia to Nazi control under the Munich Pact.²⁴ At home and abroad, its obstruction of Jewish immigration to Palestine, which it controlled, also fueled criticism.²⁵ Influential Jewish groups within Britain urged that immigration restrictions be eased,²⁶ and citizens' humanitarian pleas were widespread.²⁷ Minutes of a 16 November 1938 Cabinet meeting show Britain's Prime Minister, Neville Chamberlain, and his ministers anxious to curb criticism and hopeful that a refugee plan might win support from the United States and improve “public opinion” in Britain.²⁸

The *Kindertransport* plan, developed by Home Secretary Hoare and refugee advocates including Quakers and members of Britain's Jewish community, seemed likely to serve these political aims efficiently and without arousing opposition.²⁹ The British public would sympathize with unaccompanied refugee children, who could enter Britain under an existing program allowing European children temporary residence for educational purposes.³⁰ As ultimately implemented, the plan required a sponsor for each refugee child, an individual or organization committed to providing care and education until the child left Britain. Sponsored children under age seventeen could enter with an identity card rather than German travel documents or a British visa, simplifying and hastening the immigration process (see Appendix A). From March 1939, the government also required that sponsors guarantee £50 per child to fund later emigration from Britain. Organization, finance and execution, described in the next section, fell to private individuals and agencies.³¹

The government thus aimed to quell national and international criticism and satisfy Jewish organizations and concerned citizens after *Kristallnacht's* horrors. Other key *Kindertransport* participants, by contrast, acted from a sense of responsibility. As will become clear, though, even when moral duty was one element of this motivation, it did not typically operate alone.

Responsible Bodies: Combining Religious, Cultural and Moral Duty

In referring to “responsible bodies” in his 1938 speech to the House of Commons, Home Secretary Hoare had in mind those with legal authority to organize and supervise children's immigration and guarantee their later emigration. Charitable organizations mobilizing the *Kindertransport*, however, were also “responsible” in the sense that they were motivated by a multifaceted sense of duty. The largest and most active of these, ultimately charged with overseeing all *Kindertransport* children in Britain, was the Movement for the Care of Children from Germany, later called the Refugee Children's Movement (RCM). It perfectly illustrates the contributions and motivations of organizations involved in this program.³²

Immediately following Hoare's announcement to the House of Commons, the RCM began its work, coordinating volunteers and bureaucrats across Europe and negotiating with Nazi officials, who continued to favor Jewish emigration. Its first transport of 206 children left Berlin via train and arrived in Harwich, England by ferry on December 2, 1938.³³ Typically, children departed by train from large cities including Berlin, Vienna and, later, Prague and travelled to the Hook of Holland in the Netherlands. There, volunteer workers fed them and helped them board a ferry (see Appendix B). "Guaranteed children" had individual sponsors in Britain, ordinarily family or friends, sometimes a designated foster family, and went directly to their homes. The RCM or like organizations sponsored "non-guaranteed children,"³⁴ who were selected by Jewish social-service organizations in Germany and Austria after parents or guardians submitted requests.³⁵ Until foster homes were available, they resided in British "holiday" camps or similar facilities.³⁶

The RCM's origins helped it assemble assistance across Europe. Jewish organizations in Britain had a long history of helping European Jews to emigrate. From 1936, the focus of the Council for German Jewry, a joint British and American organization rooted in earlier groups, had been to aid those fleeing Nazi persecution.³⁷ The RCM, in turn, grew from the Council, whose active members were essential in negotiating the *Kindertransport* plan with Hoare and now played central roles.³⁸

Unlike earlier refugee organizations, though, the RCM relied on active participants who were religiously and culturally diverse and driven by varied conceptions of responsibility. Christian contributors included Quaker facilitators in Nazi-controlled countries and Dutch volunteers.³⁹ They also included Lord Ronald Gorell, who served as Chairman, and Lord Stanley Baldwin, a former prime minister whose public appeals raised £550,000 for Jewish immigration, much of it for the RCM.⁴⁰ Some, including Lord Baldwin, acted from a felt moral duty to provide children "a hiding place from the wind and a covert from the tempest."⁴¹ For others, with a cultural or religious bond to refugees and long association with Jewish aid organizations, it was these special ties that drove a sense of responsibility "to get Jews out of the Nazi hell."⁴²

Responsible Individuals: Moral Duty, Familial Duty and Love

Independent organizers and Jewish parents were as essential to *Kindertransport* success as the government and civic organizations. Again, varied motivations, including commitments of duty, drove their contributions. In January 1939, a young British stockbroker traveling in Czechoslovakia found refugees from Nazi persecution living in appalling conditions.⁴³ This traveler, Nicholas Winton, asked British contacts about child immigration policies and soon was appointed Chairman of the Children's Committee for Czechoslovakia.⁴⁴ His tireless, hands-on approach and refusal to work closely with existing committees distinguished him. As his letters and papers show, Winton understood that refugee children in desperate poverty, without access to education, suffered deeply: "The very bare necessities of life are lacking, [and] their education has ceased. It would

be a tragedy if they should be left to starve physically and intellectually.⁴⁵ In Czechoslovakia and Britain, Winton worked with families and maintained a hectic social schedule, hoping each luncheon would bring sponsors or funds.⁴⁶ His reaction to oppression revealed a sense of moral responsibility, and his energy showed affinity for challenge. These together helped Winton save 664 children via *Kindertransport*.⁴⁷

Parents were likewise central in finding many children *Kindertransport* access. Familial duty and love drove their actions. When the Nazis occupied Czechoslovakia in March 1939, respected Czech farmer and patriot, Arthur Nohel, was in London, negotiating Czech immigration to Africa. As he sought British papers for his family, trapped near Prague, his wife, Irene, willing "to take any risks to unite [her] family," secured their children *Kindertransport* passage.⁴⁸ Her clandestine escape through Poland two months later allowed them to meet in Britain and emigrate to the United States as war began.

Unlike the Nohels, thirteen-year-old Benno Black arrived in Harwich from Breslau, Germany in July 1939 as an unguaranteed child. His parents, kept from the United States by immigration quotas and fearing for their son after his father's *Kristallnacht* detention, had placed him on a *Kindertransport*. Unselfish love and family responsibility colored his mother's farewell. Unable to bear a public parting, she instructed Black that she, his grandmother and his aunt would stand "on the street just below the first viaduct, and as the train would pass over, at a slow speed, they would wave to me."⁴⁹ Meticulous packing lists written for sons and daughters preparing to travel⁵⁰ (see Appendix C) and letters from parents left behind tell similar stories of sacrifice from love and family responsibility. A young German mother, for example, wrote to her teenage niece, Paula, begging the girl to send detailed news of her children "because they are all I have to live for."⁵¹

A Legacy of Social Responsibility and Inclusion

The *Kindertransport*'s immediate result was the rescue of 10,000 children. In the longer term, this effort underwrote new legal responsibilities in Britain and fostered an attitude of social responsibility and inclusion among British citizens and in rescued children and their descendants. When Germany invaded Poland in September 1939, Britain declared war, Nazi-controlled borders closed and the *Kindertransport* ended. From 1942, news of Nazi atrocities revealed that most *Kindertransport* children in Britain now likely were orphans with no family to whom to return. Some had found loving foster homes. Given foster parents' preference for younger children, though, many lonely teenagers languished in group settings. Others had been abused by foster parents or detained as enemy aliens. Questions of adoption for younger children and parental consent to marriage for older ones now also arose.⁵²

Britain's Guardianship Act of 1944 acknowledged that *Kindertransport* children were not temporary residents and that practical and moral concerns demanded a trustee responsible for their welfare.⁵³ Pursuant to that law, Lord Gorell, RCM Chairman, was appointed legal guardian of refugee children without parents in Britain who had entered after 1936. These included Jewish *Kindertransport*

children, but also Catholic and other Christian children.⁵⁴ As Gorell later emphasized, through his appointment Britain embraced legal responsibility to protect children across cultures, religions and national origins: “[T]he guardianship of thousands was quite new to the law of England. New also was a guardian to Jewish children who was not himself a Jew, [and] a Protestant guardian to Roman Catholic children.”⁵⁵ Two years later, Britain further reflected this new attitude of social inclusion by offering to naturalize orphaned refugee children,⁵⁶ in essence reinstating civil rights the Nazis had extinguished and accepting refugees as fellow citizens.

Now-adult refugees and their children likewise voice a commitment to social responsibility and inclusion born from the *Kindertransport* experience. At a 2001 reunion, *Kindertransport* refugees offered insights to improve child refugees’ legal access to education and counseling and committed themselves to work for legal recognition of the kinds of basic children’s rights once violated by Nazi laws.⁵⁷ Reflecting on his father’s *Kindertransport* rescue, teacher Richard Nohel today expresses “a sense of responsibility to put something positive into the world” through his life and work.⁵⁸ Susanne Goldsmith often challenges school children “to make friends with people of different backgrounds, [for then] we will not have hate groups.”⁵⁹ These examples voice not merely moral concern for the welfare of fellow human beings, but commitment to an inclusive community where individual rights are recognized and protected.

Conclusion

The success of Britain’s *Kindertransport* required legal negotiations, multi-faceted organizational efforts, hands-on, spontaneous work of individuals and fierce determination of desperate parents. While moral responsibility motivated some of these actors, a sense of religious, cultural or familial duty as well as political incentives and parental love were the compelling forces that drove others. For nearly 10,000 children, the resulting effort eased the suffering that significant rights violations and violence together inflicted and proved that successful humanitarian response can find its source in a fusion of motivations. The *Kindertransport* legacy, a new sense of social responsibility that includes a commitment to individual rights, directly challenges and rejects the disregard for rights and human well-being that characterized the Nazi era. It suggests that a mix of actors and motivations not only is crucial to effective humanitarian response, but also fosters the broad commitment to social inclusion that is essential to forestalling future humanitarian crises.

Notes

1. Samuel Hoare, Speech to the House of Commons, November 21, 1938, *Hansard Parliamentary Debates*, Commons, 5th ser., vol. 341, 1473-1474, <http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/> (accessed March 1, 2014).
2. The German "*Kindertransport*" means "children's transport."
3. *Hansard*, 5th ser., vol. 341, 1428-1483 (21 November 1938), <http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/> (accessed March 1, 2014).
4. Amy Zahl Gottlieb, *Men of Vision: Anglo-Jewry's Aid to Victims of the Nazi Regime 1933-1945* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1998), 125.
5. Jaques Fredj, *The Jews of France During the Holocaust* (France: Gallimard, Mémorial de la Shoah, 2011), 31. Not only practicing Jews, but also those of Jewish heritage and other "non-Aryans," suffered Nazi persecution. In this paper, I focus on all those of Jewish heritage and use the adjective "Jewish" broadly to cover all of these people.
6. Amy Newman, *The Nuremberg Laws: Institutionalized Anti-Semitism* (San Diego, CA: Lucent Books, 1999), 10-37. For the Nazis' own exhaustive list of laws concerning the Jews see "Listing of legal measures pertaining to the treatment of Jews, 1933 to 1938" in *Legalizing the Holocaust: The Early Phase, 1933-1939*, vol. 1 of *The Holocaust: Selected Documents in Eighteen Volumes*, ed. John Mendelsohn (New York: Garland Publishing, 1982), 1-21.
7. United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, "Translation: Nuremberg Race Laws," *Holocaust Encyclopedia*, <http://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10007903> (accessed December 15, 2013).
8. Fredj, *The Jews of France During the Holocaust*, 31.
9. The League of Nations had formally recognized children's rights in 1926. See League of Nations, *Geneva Declaration of the Rights of the Child* (Geneva, Switzerland, September 26, 1924), <http://www.un-documents.net/gdrc1924.htm> (accessed February 23, 2014).
10. Newman, *The Nuremberg Laws*, 10-37.
11. Susanne Goldsmith, *Kindertransport* refugee, interview by author, email correspondence, December 31, 2013.
12. See, e.g., Melissa Hacker, *My Knees Were Jumping: Remembering the Kindertransports*, VCR (New York: New Video Group, 2003).
13. Lynn H. Nicholas, *Cruel World: The Children of Europe in the Nazi Web* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005), 129-139.
14. Gottlieb, *Men of Vision*, 79-87.
15. Today, such violent attacks are deemed violations of human rights, but at this time no international body had formally recognized such rights. This recognition came only after World War II with the United Nation's adoption of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*. United Nations General Assembly, *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, 10 December 1948, <http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/> (accessed February 21, 2014). For discussion see Mary Ann Glendon, *A World Made New: Eleanor Roosevelt and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (New York: Random House, 2001), especially 173-191.
16. Vera K. Fast, *Children's Exodus: A History of the Kindertransport* (New York: I.B. Taurus, 2011), 10-11.
17. Judith Tydor Baumel-Schwartz, *Never Look Back: The Jewish Refugee Children in Great Britain, 1938-1945* (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press), 64. For first-hand accounts of *Kristallnacht* see Mark Jonathan Harris and Deborah Oppenheimer, eds., *Into the Arms of Strangers: Stories of the Kindertransport* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2000),

57-75; Benno Black, *Kindertransport* refugee, "Escape on the *Kindertransport*," *Holocaust Anniversaries: Kristallnacht, the Kindertransports, and the Genocide Convention*," St. Paul, MN, audio recording by author, December 9, 2013.

18. The Nazis originally gave the events this name, which means "night of broken glass." It refers to the shattered glass from thousands of broken windows that covered streets after the violence.

19. David H. Buffum, American Consul, "Anti-Semitic Onslaught in Germany As Seen From Leipzig," American Consulate, Leipzig Germany, November 21, 1938 in *The Crystal Night Pogrom*, vol. 3 of *The Holocaust: Selected Documents in Eighteen Volumes*, ed. John Mendelsohn (New York: Garland Publishing, 1982), 191.

20. Edwin C. Kemp, Consul General, "Anti-Jewish Demonstration in Bremen," American Consulate, Bremen, Germany, November 10, 1938 in Mendelsohn, *The Crystal Night Pogrom*, 170-172.

21. Letter to the Editor, "The Problem of Jewish Refugees: A Case for British Lead," *Times* (London), November 12, 1938, Times Digital Archive (accessed February 22, 2014).

22. Archbishop's Appeal, Letter to the Editor, "Germany and the Jews: Strain Upon British Friendship," *Times* (London), November 11, 1938, Times Digital Archive (accessed February 22, 2014).

23. Letter to the Editor, "The Problem of Jewish Refugees."

24. See, e.g., "Munich Pact Logical Culmination of Chamberlain Policy, Record Shows," *Washington Post*, October 9, 1938; "Munich Pact Denounced: Rabbi S.S. Wise Declares Merely Postponed War," *New York Times*, October 10, 1938; "Lloyd George Hits Munich Peace Pact," *Christian Science Monitor*, October 22, 1938. All accessed through Proquest Historical Newspapers, February 22, 2014.

25. For evidence of British concern over the views of the U.S. regarding Palestine policy see, e.g., "British Cabinet Considers Roosevelt Stand on Palestine," *Washington Post*, October 25, 1938, Proquest Historical Newspapers (accessed February 22, 2014).

26. Baumel-Schwartz, *Never Look Back*, 49-55.

27. See, e.g., Archbishop's Appeal, Letter to the Editor, "Germany and the Jews: Strain Upon British Friendship"; Letter to the Editor, "The Problem of Jewish Refugees."

28. Cabinet Conclusions 55(38), 16 November 1938, CAB 23/96, 221-228, U.K., National Archives <http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/SearchUI/image/Index/D7738389?index=3&page=1> (accessed February 3, 2014).

29. As Home Secretary, Hoare was the Cabinet member responsible for British immigration policy.

30. For description of the educational program in place see Baumel-Schwartz, *Never Look Back*, 59. For discussion from the time see *Hansard*, 5th ser., vol. 341, 1930 (24 November 1938), <http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/> (accessed March 1, 2014).

31. Gottlieb, *Men of Vision*, 101-107 provides a good summary of the details of the *Kindertransport* plan. The term "*Kindertransport*" is sometimes also used to refer to transports that moved children from Nazi territories to unoccupied countries including France and the Netherlands as well as to the movement of children from concentration camps to Britain after World War II. Here I use the term, as is common, only to refer to British transports between 1938 and 1939. For discussion see Fast, *Children's Exodus*, xv-xvi, 17-40.

32. Among the many other groups participating in *Kindertransport* rescues were a variety of Protestant and Catholic organizations and the Chief Rabbi's Religious Emergency Council (CRREC), an Orthodox Jewish institution. Religious disagreements sometimes made coordination of efforts difficult. For discussion see Fast, *Children's Exodus*, 97-131.

33. Martin Gilbert, *Kristallnacht: Prelude to Destruction* (New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 2006), 184-185.
34. On the distinction between "guaranteed" and "non-guaranteed" children see Norman Bentwich, *They Found Refuge: An Account of German Jewry's Work for Victims of Nazi Oppression* (London: The Cresset Press, 1956), 67-68.
35. The application process varied depending on where children lived. Some sites required a letter or oral request, others a formal interview. Initially, emphasis was on rescuing children whose circumstances were most dire. Later, attempts were made to transport children who were attractive and well behaved in hopes of insuring continued support for the program from the British public. See Claudia Curio, "'Invisible' Children: The Selection and Integration Strategies of Relief Organizations," *Shofar* 23.1 (Fall 2004): 41-56; Tara Zahra, *The Lost Children: Reconstructing Europe's Families After World War II* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011), 66-70; Harris and Oppenheimer, *Into the Arms of Strangers*, Interview with Norbert Wollheim, 77-78.
36. For general description of the placement process see Gottlieb, *Men of Vision*, 107-119. For a later account by one of those involved see Bentwich, *They Found Refuge*, 65-69. For an account from the time see "Hospitality to Refugees: Finding Homes for Children," *Times* (London), January 6, 1939, Proquest Historical Newspapers (accessed February 22, 2014).
37. On the history of Jewish refugee organizations in Britain see Baumel-Schwartz, *Never Look Back*, 23-44. For an account from one who was intimately involved see Bentwich, *They Found Refuge*, 30-49.
38. Bentwich, *They Found Refuge*, 65-66.
39. Baumel-Schwartz, *Never Look Back*, 67-68. On Quaker contributions see Jennifer Taylor, "The Missing Chapter: How the British Quakers Helped Save the Jews of Germany and Austria from Nazi Persecution," (October, 2009), Society of Friends, <http://remember.org/unite/quakers.htm> (accessed February 9, 2014).
40. Gorrell's "Adventure and Opportunity" in Bentwich, *They Found Refuge*, 78-85 describes his role. Gottlieb, *Men of Vision*, 119-21 describes Lord Baldwin's appeals.
41. The text of Lord Baldwin's appeal appeared in *The Times*. See "The Refugees: Appeal by Lord Baldwin," *Times* (London), December 9, 1938. According to *Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary*, a "covert" is a shelter.
42. Bentwich, *They Found Refuge*, 30. This seems to capture Bentwich's own motivations as an active member of Jewish aid societies and contributor to the refugee effort.
43. Muriel Emanuel and Vera Gissing, *Nicholas Winton and the Rescued Generation: Save One Life, Save the World* (London: Valentine Mitchell, 2001), 120-124 offers an overview of Winton's work.
44. Letter from Nicholas Winton as Prague Representative, British Committee for Refugees from Czechoslovakia, January 1939, *Nicholas G. Winton Collection* (Washington, D.C., United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Archives, Permanent Collection), Folder 1.
45. Nicholas Winton to Miss Layton, January 10, 1939, *Winton Collection*, Folder 1.
46. See, e.g., Nicholas Winton to Martin, January 11, 1939, *Winton Collection*, Folder 1; Nicholas Winton to Mother, January 14, 1939, *Winton Collection*, Folder 1.
47. Harris and Oppenheimer, *Into the Arms of Strangers*, 281.
48. Elsi Hamilton, Heini Nohel and John Nohel, *The Nohels – A Family History*, unpublished manuscript, 1998, 171. See *A Family History*, 168-174 for the full story of the escape.
49. Benno Black, *Kindertransport* refugee, "Escape on the *Kindertransport*," audio recording by author.

50. *Schischa Family Papers*, packing list for Karoline Lara Schischa, July 10, 1939 (Washington, D.C., United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Archives, Permanent Collection), Folder 1.

51. Clara Koppold to Paula Grünbaum, 1939, *The Paula Balkin Correspondence, 1939-1941* (Washington, D.C., United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Archives, Permanent Collection), translation by author. For more about this family, see Gertrude Dubrovsky, *Six From Leipzig* (Portland, OR: Valentine Mitchell, 2004).

52. Karen Gershon, ed., *We Came as Children (A Collective Autobiography)* (London: Victor Gollancz, Ltd., 1966), 19-30 includes personal stories.

53. For discussion of the Guardianship (Refugee Children) Act of 1944 see *Hansard*, 5th ser., vol. 396, 1576-1582 (4 February 1944), <http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/> (accessed March 1, 2014).

54. Baumel-Schwartz, *Never Look Back*, 199-214. Jill Rutter, *Refugee Children in the UK* (New York: Open University Press, 2006), 57-63 discusses Christian and Catholic refugee children in Britain during World War II.

55. Gorell, "Adventure and Opportunity," 82-83.

56. Bentwich explains that this unprecedented step allowed British citizens to adopt these children. See *They Found Refuge*, 72-73. For others the offer of citizenship evidences British society's acceptance of *Kindertransport* refugees as members. See Linda Rabben *Give Refuge to the Stranger: The Past, Present, and Future of Sanctuary* (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, Inc., 2011), 108.

57. Iris Guske, *Trauma and Attachment in the Kindertransport Context: German-Jewish Child Refugee Accounts of Displacement and Acculturation in Britain* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009), 34-40.

58. Richard Nohel, interview by author, email correspondence, February 17, 2014.

59. Susanne Goldsmith, interview.

Appendix A

58524 (313) Rev. (F. M. 1944) - 4502 8593

This document of identity is issued with the approval of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom to young persons to be admitted to the United Kingdom for educational purposes under the care of the Inter-Aid Committee for children.

THIS DOCUMENT REQUIRES NO VISA.

PERSONAL PARTICULARS.

Name LILLMANN FELICIA

Sex FEMALE Date of Birth 31/12/1936

Place PRAG

Full Names and Address of Parents
LILLMANN Viktor & Annea
9, Budeč'ska'
PRAG,



BRITISH COMMITTEE FOR CHILDREN
IN PRAGUE.

This is one of the special travel documents that replaced the British visa for *Kindertransport* children. From *We Came as Children (A Collective Autobiography)* by Karen Gershon.

Annotated Bibliography

Primary Sources

Baldwin, Lord Stanley. "The Refugees: Appeal by Lord Baldwin." *The Times* (London). December 9, 1938. Times Digital Archive. Accessed February 22, 2014.

This is Baldwin's published appeal for contributions for refugee relief to the people of Britain. It gave me an example of a central figure acting from moral responsibility for the well-being of refugees.

Bentwich, Norman. *They Found Refuge: An Account of British Jewry's Work for Victims of Nazi Oppression*. London: The Cresset Press, 1956.

Written by a key figure in Jewish relief, this source provided me with an understanding of the relationship among older and more recent agencies and of the motivations of participants in the Refugee Children's Movement. Because it is written from Bentwich's first hand experience with the *Kindertransport* and other refugee efforts, it is a primary source.

Black, Benno. *Kindertransport* refugee. "Escape on the *Kindertransport*." *Holocaust Anniversaries: Kristallnacht, the Kindertransport, and the Genocide Convention*. December 9, 2013. St. Paul, MN. Audio recording by author.

Mr. Black, now of St. Louis Park, Minnesota, escaped Nazi Germany in 1939 at age 13 on a *Kindertransport*. His presentation at William Mitchell College of Law in St. Paul, described his experiences from 1939 until he settled in Minnesota as an adult. His moving story gave me first hand insights into the experiences of a non-guaranteed teenager in Britain. Like so many *Kindertransport* children, Black lost both parents to the Holocaust. Because the audience for this presentation was small, I was able to enhance my understanding by talking with him in person afterwards.

"British Cabinet Considers Roosevelt Stand on Palestine." *The Washington Post*. October 25, 1938. Proquest Historical Newspapers. Accessed February 22, 2014.

This article helped me understand the international criticism Britain faced on the question of immigration into Palestine and the government's sensitivity about the issue.

Buffum, David H. American Consul. "Anti-Semitic Onslaught in Germany as seen from Leipzig." American Consulate, Leipzig, Germany. November 21, 1938. In *The Crystal Night Pogrom*. Vol. 3 of *The Holocaust Selected Documents in 18 Volumes*, edited by John Mendelsohn, 190-197. New York: Garland Publishing, 1982.

The American Consul's report provided me an excellent example of foreign witnesses' shocked responses to the violence of *Kristallnacht*.

Goldsmith, Susanne. Interview by author, December 31, 2013. Email communication.

Susanne Goldsmith traveled in the first *Kindertransport* from Vienna to Harwich in 1938 as a seven-year-old child. She lived with two loving foster families, one before the war, and one after evacuation to the countryside when World War II began. She was one of the fortunate few *Kindertransport* children whose parents survived the Holocaust. This interview provided me with a first hand account of what the *Kindertransport* experience was like for a young and relatively fortunate child. It also gave me insights into the sense of responsibility that *Kindertransport* children derived from their experiences.

Gorell, Lord Ronald. "Adventure and Opportunity." In Norman Bentwich, *They Found Refuge: An Account of British Jewry's Work for Victims of Nazi Oppression*, 78-85. London: The Cresset Press, 1956.

Here, Lord Gorell explains his role as Chairman of the Refugee Children's Movement and as guardian for refugee children under the Guardianship Act of 1944. His essay gave me insight into Britain's new sense of legal responsibility for World War II refugee children and its growing commitment to social inclusion.

Hamilton, Elsi, Heini Nohel and John Nohel. *The Nohels-A Family History*. Unpublished manuscript, 1998.

The Nohels' family history gave me a detailed account of the experiences of Arthur and Irene Nohel and their children, John and Nany, in Nazi-occupied Czechoslovakia, of their escape from the Nazis, and of John Nohel's *Kindertransport* experiences. It provided me with an excellent example of one of the happier *Kindertransport* stories. While the Nohels' nuclear family survived, however, numerous relatives perished. John's son, Richard Nohel, kindly allowed me to read this unpublished family history.

"Hospitality to Refugees: Finding Homes for Children." *The Times* (London). January 6, 1939. Times Digital Archive. Accessed February 22, 2014.

This newspaper article soliciting homes for refugee children also provided a detailed description of the *Kindertransport* plan.

Kemp, Edwin C, Consul General. "Anti-Jewish Demonstration in Bremen." American Consulate, Bremen, Germany. November 10, 1938. In *The Crystal Night Pogrom*. Vol. 3 of *The Holocaust Selected Documents in 18 Volumes*, edited by John Mendelsohn, 170-172. New York: Garland Publishing, 1982.

Through this original report, I was able to see that witnesses understood from the beginning that the *Kristallnacht* violence was not spontaneous, as the Nazis claimed, but planned. Nazi officials alleged that the violence was a reaction to the assassination of diplomat Ernst Vom Rath by a young Polish Jew.

Koppold, Clara to Paula Grünbaum. 1939. *The Paula Balkin Correspondence - 1939-1941*. Washington, D.C. United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Archives. Permanent Collection.

This letter from an aunt in Germany to her niece in Britain concerning the aunt's young children, also in Britain, shows how much *Kindertransport* parents cared for their children and suggests motivations of love and familial duty behind parents' participation in the *Kindertransport*. I was able to find and read this letter during research at the Museum archive in Washington. I translated the portion quoted in my paper from the German. To view this and other documents in the Holocaust Memorial Museum Archives, I first accessed the Museum's online catalog and identified files related to the *Kindertransport*. I then contacted Museum archivists via email, asked to examine specific files and registered as a researcher with the Museum. I examined files on December 30-31, 2013.

League of Nations. *Geneva Declaration of the Rights of the Child*. Geneva, Switzerland. September 26, 1924. <http://www.un-documents.net/gdrc1924.htm>. Accessed February 23, 2014.

The *Geneva Declaration* shows that children's rights received international recognition before World War II and helped me appreciate the nature of those rights and their connection to Nazi abuses and to the *Kindertransport* legacy. The site is maintained by the Conference of NGOs.

Letter to the Editor. Archbishop's Appeal. "Germany and the Jews: Strain upon British Friendship." *The Times* (London). November 11, 1938. Times Digital Archive. Accessed February 22, 2014.

This letter provided me with insight into British reactions to *Kristallnacht*. It is a letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury, so he speaks for more people than just himself.

Letter to the Editor. "The Problem of Jewish Refugees: A Case for British Lead." *The Times* (London). November 12, 1938. Times Digital Archive. Accessed February 22, 2014.

This letter advocating an increase in British immigration quotas shows the intense reaction citizens had to the violence of *Kristallnacht*.

"Listing of legal measures pertaining to the treatment of Jews, 1933 to 1938." In *Legalizing the Holocaust: The Early Phase, 1933-1939*. Vol. 1 of *The Holocaust: Selected Documents in Eighteen Volumes*, edited by John Mendelsohn, 1-21. New York: Garland Publishing, 1982.

Here, I obtained a better understanding of the vast array of restrictions that Nazi laws inflicted on Jews. Perusing twenty pages of restrictions in the original German helped me appreciate how oppressive life was for Jews living under Nazi rule even before mass extermination began.

"Lloyd George Hits Munich Peace Pact." *The Christian Science Monitor*. October 22, 1938. Proquest Historical Newspapers. Accessed February 22, 2014.

This article provided me with an indication of the opposition within Britain to the Munich Pact. It suggests that the government had political reasons to attempt to improve its image. David Lloyd George was an influential politician and former prime minister who was especially popular in his native Wales. He had once favored Britain's relationship to Nazi Germany, so his opposition to the Munich Pact suggests that disfavor with Chamberlain in Britain was strong and widespread.

"Munich Pact Denounced: Rabbi S.S. Wise Declares Merely Postponed War." *The New York Times*. October 10, 1938. Proquest Historical Newspapers. Accessed February 22, 2014.

This article shows international opposition to the Munich Peace Pact and indicates that the British government had to worry about its international image. Rabbi Wise was an influential American Reform Rabbi and an outspoken critic of the Nazis.

"Munich Pact Logical Culmination of Chamberlain Policy, Record Shows." *The Washington Post*. October 9, 1938. Proquest Historical Newspapers. Accessed February 22, 2014.

This is a further source reflecting international criticism of the Munich Peace Pact and suggesting that the British government had reason to be concerned about its image.

Nohel, Richard. Interview by author, February 17, 2014. Email communication.

My interview with the son of *Kindertransport* refugee John Nohel revealed effects of the *Kindertransport* experience on the children of refugees, especially regarding their development of a strong sense of moral responsibility. Richard Nohel grew up in Madison, Wisconsin, where his father was a professor of mathematics, and now teaches high school in Minneapolis, Minnesota.

Schischa Family Papers. Packing list for Karoline Lara Schischa, July 10, 1939. Washington, D.C. United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Archives. Permanent Collection.

This packing list for Karoline Lara Schischa, a *Kindertransport* child from Vienna, gave me a sense of how carefully parents of these children planned for their future needs. Perhaps this is because parents knew they might never see children again and wanted to express their love and carry out their familial duty. I examined the packing list while doing research at the Museum archive in Washington, DC.

United Kingdom. Cabinet Conclusions 55(38). 16 November 1938. CAB 23/96. U.K. Archives <http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/SearchUI/image/Index/D7738389?index=3&page=1>. Accessed February 3, 2014.

These minutes of a meeting between Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain and his Cabinet suggest that their motivations in supporting the *Kindertransport* plan were substantially political. The site where the minutes are available is maintained by the U.K. National Archives.

United Kingdom. *Hansard Parliamentary Debates*, 5th ser., vol. 341 (21 November 1938). <http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/>. Accessed March 1, 2014.

I used this House of Commons debate, and Home Secretary Samuel Hoare's speech in particular, to better understand the political discussion surrounding the decision to undertake the *Kindertransport* plan and to appreciate the motivations involved in its creation. The UK Parliament maintains this site.

United Kingdom. *Hansard Parliamentary Debates*. 5th ser., vol. 341 (24 November 1938). <http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/>. Accessed March 1, 2014.

From this House of Commons debate, I gained a better understanding of the existing educational program that was expanded in order to quickly admit *Kindertransport* children into Britain. The UK Parliament maintains this site.

United Kingdom. *Hansard Parliamentary Debates*. 5th ser., vol. 396 (4 February 1944). <http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/>. Accessed March 1, 2014.

This House of Commons discussion of the Guardianship Act of 1944 provided me a better understanding of the Act's provisions, the concerns that gave rise to it and the new, more inclusive, attitude towards refugee children that it represented. The UK Parliament maintains this site.

United Nations General Assembly. *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*. 10 December 1948. <http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/>. Accessed February 21, 2014.

This document gave me an example of the wide variety of human rights endorsed by the United Nations General Assembly and helped me understand Nazi persecution from a present-day human rights perspective. The site is maintained by the United Nations.

United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. "Translation: Nuremberg Race Laws." *Holocaust Encyclopedia*. <http://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10007903>. Accessed December 15, 2013.

This document allowed me to understand the extent of the deprivations of civil rights that those of Jewish heritage suffered under the Nazis. Because it is a translation provided by a respected source, I cite it as a primary source. The site is maintained by the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.

Winton, Nicholas. Letter as Prague Representative, British Committee for Refugees from Czechoslovakia. January 1939. *Nicholas G. Winton Collection*. Washington, D.C. United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Archives. Permanent Collection.

Here, Nicholas Winton communicated the importance of providing aid to refugee children in Czechoslovakia. His letter also asked whether it would be possible to bring these children to Britain, and if so, how. The letter is an example of Winton's effective and energetic operation. I examined the Winton file, including an extensive set of letters, during research at the Holocaust Museum archive in Washington.

Winton, Nicholas to Martin. January 11, 1939. *Nicholas G. Winton Collection*. Washington, D.C. United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Archives. Permanent Collection.

This letter demonstrates some of the ways by which Winton raised funds to transport children from Czechoslovakia to Britain. It suggests that Winton loved a challenge.

Winton, Nicholas to Miss Layton. January 10, 1939. *Nicholas G. Winton Collection*. Washington, D.C. United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Archives. Permanent Collection.

This letter concerning the plight of refugee children shows Winton's true concern for children's welfare and his moral motivation.

Winton, Nicholas to Mother. January 14, 1939. *Nicholas G. Winton Collection*. Washington, D.C. United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Archives. Permanent Collection.

In this letter to his mother, Winton describes his circumstances and expresses his concerns. Here, he also explains why he wants his office to be distant from other less-efficient refugee offices. This source was useful because it provided insight into Winton's feelings about other groups and his personal goals.

Secondary Sources

Baumel-Schwartz, Judith Tydor. *Never Look Back: The Jewish Refugee Children in Great Britain, 1938-1945*. West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 2012.

This excellent source provided me with a detailed account of the events leading up to the British *Kindertransport*, both in Europe and in Britain. It also provided comprehensive information on the operations of the Refugee Children's Movement and similar organizations.

Curio, Claudia. "'Invisible' Children: The Selection and Integration Strategies of Relief Organizations." *Shofar* 23.1 (Fall 2004): 41-56.

Curio's article offered insights into the selection process for *Kindertransport* children within Nazi-controlled countries and explained why either the most needy or the most appealing were often chosen over others.

Dubrovsky, Gertrude. *Six From Leipzig*. Portland, OR: Valentine Mitchell, 2004.

This book described the experiences of six cousins from Leipzig who were rescued by the *Kindertransport* and sheltered by foster families in Cambridge, U.K. It related the story behind Clara Koppold's heartbreaking letter to her teenage niece, Paula Grünbaum, and helped me to better understand the letter.

Emanuel, Muriel and Vera Gissing. *Nicholas Winton and the Rescued Generation: Save One Life, Save the World*. Portland, OR: Valentine Mitchell, 2001.

Here, I gained a basic understanding of Winton's work.

Fast, Vera K. *Children's Exodus: A History of the Kindertransport*. New York: I.B. Tauris, 2011.

Fast's book was especially useful in providing a detailed account of *Kindertransport* organizations other than the Refugee Children's Movement. Her work also explained the relationships and conflicts among these groups, in particular between Orthodox Jewish organizations and others.

Fredj, Jacques. *The Jews of France During the Holocaust*. France: Gallimard, Mémorial de la Shoah, 2011.

This exhibition book contains reproductions of the photographs and documents, as well as accompanying text, from the permanent exhibition of the Mémorial de la Shoah in Paris, France. I visited this memorial and museum in August 2013. Both the visit and the exhibition book gave me a good general history of the Holocaust. They also provided me with a way to compare the responses of different governments and people to Nazi persecution of the Jews. For example, the exhibition includes information concerning the efforts of French citizens and communities to aid Jewish refugees.

Gershon, Karen, ed. *We Came as Children (A Collective Autobiography)*. London: Victor Gollancz, Ltd., 1966.

Gershon's book provided me with a wide selection of personal reflections by *Kindertransport* children. Children's reflections on their final memories of their parents were particularly moving and showed how frequently *Kindertransport* children departed from home believing that their parents would soon join them.

Gilbert, Martin. *Kristallnacht: Prelude to Destruction*. London: Harper Collins Publishers, 2006.

Gilbert's book gave me a background understanding of the importance of *Kristallnacht* to later events, including the *Kindertransport*.

Glendon, Mary Ann. *A World Made New: Eleanor Roosevelt and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights*. New York: Random House Publishing, 2001.

This book gave me an excellent background understanding of the text of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* and of the debate surrounding its adoption.

Gottlieb, Amy Zahl. *Men of Vision: Anglo-Jewry's Aid to Victims of the Nazi Regime 1933-1945*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1998.

With the help of Gottlieb's book, I was able to get a good basic understanding of the *Kindertransport* program and those who organized it. It was especially helpful in describing key participants in the Refugee Children's Movement.

Guske, Iris. *Trauma and Attachment in the Kindertransport Context: German-Jewish Child-Refugee Accounts of Displacement and Acculturation in Britain*. Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009.

This discussion gave me insights into the psychological issues faced by adult *Kindertransport* refugees and about their sense of social responsibility to current child refugees.

Hacker, Melissa. *My Knees Were Jumping: Remembering the Kindertransports*. VCR. New York: New Video Group, 2003.

Hacker's documentary provided me with my first chance to hear now-adult *Kindertransport* refugees discuss their experiences. It gave me insight into parents' motivations, the impacts of the transports on children's psychological states, parents'

sense of love and familial responsibility and the effects the *Kindertransport* had on the children of refugees. Because the interviews included in the documentary were edited, I list it as a secondary source.

Harris, Mark Jonathan and Deborah Oppenheimer, eds. *Into the Arms of Strangers: Stories of the Kindertransport*. New York: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2000.

This collection of interviews with *Kindertransport* children, parents, foster parents and organizers offered detailed accounts of experiences and interactions of those involved with the *Kindertransport*. The interviews it contains are edited, so I list it as a secondary source.

Newman, Amy. *The Nuremburg Laws*. San Diego, CA: Lucent Books, 1970.

Newman's discussion provided me with an overview of Nazi denials of Jewish civil rights between 1933 and 1938. It also provided an account of the historical circumstances preceding and surrounding these denials.

Nicholas, Lynn H. *Cruel World: The Children of Europe in the Nazi Web*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005.

From Nicholas's book I was able to gain an excellent understanding of the context in which the Nazis came to power, the explanation for narrowly restricted immigration quotas and the conditions under which *Kindertransport* children lived in Britain.

Rabben, Linda. *Give Refuge to the Stranger: The Past, Present, and Future of Sanctuary*. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, Inc., 2011.

Rabben's work provided me further grounds for concluding that British society of the 1940's came to accept *Kindertransport* refugees as fellow citizens.

Rutter, Jill. *Refugee Children in the UK*. New York: Open University Press, 2006.

Rutter offers a helpful discussion of refugee children sheltered in Britain during World War II. Her work was especially useful for understanding how Christian and Catholic refugee children came to Britain and how they were housed and cared for.

Taylor, Jennifer. "The Missing Chapter: How the British Quakers Helped Save the Jews of Germany and Austria from Nazi Persecution." October, 2009. <http://remember.org/unite/quakers.htm>. Accessed February 9, 2014.

This article offers insights into the ways in which the Refugee Children's Movement and other *Kindertransport* organizations collaborated with further groups, the Quakers in particular. The site where it is available is maintained by the Society of Friends.

Zahra, Tara. *The Lost Children: Reconstructing Europe's Families After World War II*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011.

Through Zahra's work, I gained further understanding of the methods used to select children for Britain's *Kindertransport*.