IMPORTANT

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Interview Transcript Title Page

Collection title:	AJR Refugee Voices Testimony Archive
Ref. no:	125

Interviewee Surname:	Feuchtwanger
Forename:	Edgar
Interviewee Sex:	Male
Interviewee DOB:	28 September 1924
Interviewee POB:	Munich, Germany

Date of Interview:	17 July 2006
Location of Interview:	Winchester
Name of Interviewer:	Dr. Anthony Grenville
Total Duration (HH:MM):	2 hours and 40 minutes

REFUGEE VOICES: THE AJR AUDIO-VISUAL TESTIMONY ARCHIVE

INTERVIEW: 125

NAME: EDGAR FEUCHTWANGER

DATE: 17 JULY 2006

LOCATION: WINCHESTER

INTERVIEWER: ANTHONY GRENVILLE

TAPE 1

AG: I am conducting an interview with Edgar Feuchtwanger on the 17th July 2006 near Winchester and my name is Anthony Grenville.

AG: First of all, Dr Feuchtwanger, I'd just like to say thank you very much indeed for agreeing to do the interview with us. Could I ask you first of all to state your full name?

EF: My full name is Edgar Joseph Feuchtwanger.

AG: And where were you born?

EF: I was born in Munich

AG: And when please, the exact date?

EF: On the 28th September, 1924.

AG: Thank you. The Feuchtwangers, I know, were an old established family. Could you tell me something about your family background and family history?

EF: Yes, well, they were, sort of Bavarian Jews who have lived in that neck of the woods for a very long time. Feuchtwangen is a place north of the Danube where I think they did live at one time. They were then driven out, I think, and lived in the sort of important Jewish community in Fürth. And, I think, in the nineteenth century they began to move to Munich, which was of course the capital. What was then previously wasn't all Bavaria but became Bavaria. There were various branches. There was the banking branch....

AG: Yes.

EF:which isn't actually my direct branch, and there was...

AG: That's a pity!

EF: And er, yeah.

AG: Sorry, if there were other branches, I didn't want to cut you off.

EF: Well, I think that you know they were a big clan, and I think they were also in Frankfurt and so on and so forth. But in Munich it was mainly the banking and, I think, my lot. They started manufacturing margarine in the middle of the nineteenth **Tape 1: 2 minutes 50 seconds**

century or perhaps a little later. But they then...even my grandfather wasn't a very assiduous businessman or a manufacturer. He was mainly a collector of books, bibliophile and so on. And his children moved into a different sort of sphere, obviously partly literary, intellectual and so on. So that was my branch.

AG: Did you know your grandfather at all?

EF: I didn't know my grandfather because he died in 1916 and even my grandmother, who by all accounts was a rather formidable woman, died before I was a year old, so I didn't really know her either.

AG: Then, coming on to your parents, could you tell me – let's deal with your father first - could you tell me his name please?

EF: His name was Ludwig.

AG: And when was he born?

EF: He was born on the 28th November 1885 [Laughs].

AG: And what, what sort of man was he?

EF: He was a very much an intellectual, very much a Polyhistor he has sometimes been called, because he was interested in Jewish things, in German things, in medieval history, in the Reformation. I think he wrote his *Habilitationsschrift* it probably was. I don't know exactly, doctorate, on the Poor Law in the Reformation, and he did this under his sort of mentor, Gustav Schmoller, who is of course an important figure.

AG: Was that at Munich? It wasn't in Munich?

EF: It was in Berlin.

AG: Yes Schmoller was...

EF: He went both to Munich and Berlin. He was one of nine children. Two eldest, my uncle Lion, who is the well known one, and my father were the ones who were sent to university in Munich and in Berlin. And the family were an orthodox Jewish family. Very, very strictly orthodox in the sort of tradition of Samson Raphael Hirsch.

AG: Oh yes.

EF: It is a strange mixture of Jewish, German and in this case of course Bavarian, and I think both my father and his elder brother, Lion, rather broke away from that. They maintained their interest in Jewish things all their lives, very much so, but they were not...they cut away from Jewish orthodoxy, and they to some extent ceased to be practising Jews. They were very much intellectual Jews but....

Tape 1: 6 minutes 23 seconds

AG: So....

EF: ...I'm not even sure they were believing Jews. I wouldn't swear to that.

AG: Just restarting after the break. Does this mean that your household, the household you grew up in, was not particularly observant? Did you.....

EF: No, it wasn't observant. No.

AG: Not at all?

EF: Not at all, no, no.

AG: No Friday evenings?

EF: No. no.

AG: Did you go to synagogue on High Holy Days?

EF: Might just have done, but I can't even remember that that happened very much when I was quite young. I should say here that I'm...my father was married twice. I'm the only child of his second marriage. But his first marriage was to a Catholic. Not a very practising Catholic either, but certainly not a Jewish woman.

AG: Could you tell me about your father's professional development after he'd habilitiert?

EF: Well he was admitted to the Bar in Munich, but he never really practised. I think occasionally he was drawn into some things. I know there was a quite well-known family affair that involved Max Scheler, the philosopher, who was a cousin of my grandfather, and who got involved in some affair of honour. I have forgotten what it exactly was. And I always remember my father was pushed into appearing. I think Scheler had to leave Munich University as a Privatdozent and go somewhere else. But, basically, my father didn't practise as a lawyer, as a Rechtsanwalt, because at the age of 28, yes, and 1914, before the First World War broke out, he was, I think again by the grace of Schmoller, Gustav Schmoller, put into the publishing house Duncker and Humblot....

AG: Oh, right.

EF:which was the publishing house of the Verein für Sozialpolitik, which was, of course, the thing that Schmoller and the other Kathedersozalisten were very well known for.....

AG: Yes. Ah yes.

Tape 1: 8 minutes 54 seconds

EF: ...and really my father's main profession, until pushed out by Hitler and Goebbels in the thirties, was to be the director, or the academic director, of Duncker and Humblot.

AG: Was that in Munich?

EF: That was in Munich. It was in Munich and Leipzig. But in Leipzig it had its printing works and things like that and in Munich it had its direction.

AG: Mmmm

EF: And of course my father had a lot of authors in the sort of sociology field. Simmel, even I think a little bit of Max Weber...

AG: Oh.

EF:...certainly Alfred Weber, Werner Sombart and, very controversially, an important connection which my father made, Carl Schmitt...

AG: Oh.

EG:...which haunts my life, I must say, a little bit because it keeps coming back, you know.

AG: Yes.

EG: Yes.

AG: I mean, I know you read more about scholarly interest in Schmitt than Sombart even.

EF: Yes, oh yes. He keeps on coming back. And the fact was that it was my father who brought him into the publishing house. I mean, people like Weber, Simmel, Sombart, I think, were more or less there, but Schmidt wasn't because he was younger. And my father brought him in, in the twenties, and he was then normally with Duncker and Humblot until the Nazi takeover. And I still remember, remember him coming to my parent's house when I was a small child and have a piano over there in our little annex and I stood in the end of the piano like this...you know, basking in his great rep...He was at the peak of his influence then in 1922. It's all in letters. One can read about it and so on.

AG: And were there any difficulties with relations between your father as a Jew and people like Sombart and Carl Schmitt, who were hardly famous as philo-Semites?

EF: I didn't, don't know. I shouldn't think so, quite honestly. [Laughs]

AG: Oh, well. And your...as a result, your father must have had a lot of contact with academics and....

Tape 1: 11 minutes 39 seconds

EF: Yes, yes. He had a lot of contacts and that was of course...that was one side of his activity. He was...held a, one would have to say, a fairly important position in German intellectual life.

AG: Yes.

EF: Yes...

AG: One contact I ought to ask you about straight away is of course your uncle, Lion Feuchtwanger. Did you ever meet him at all?

EF: Not really. I mean I gather I was, you know, occasionally shown to him as a small child, but I don't remember that. The most that I remember about all that...of course he moved to Berlin, because he found, you know, Munich too reactionary and he (Brecht was of course a close friend of his) moved to Berlin, so they all were in Berlin. So occasionally he appeared in Munich. But I remember my aunt, his wife, appearing, so it must have been by about 1932. Very elegant woman with a beautiful car as would befit the wife of a celebrity. One could now say it. I didn't know it at the time but I thought she was a nice looking woman and she had this very nice car and that did impress me [Laughs]. So...

AG: Because the portrait he paints of Munich and Bavarian politics in *Erfolg* is by no means very flattering. I wonder if you didn't have any memory of that?

EF: The one thing I do remember about that is that my father said...At what point he said it I wouldn't know because of course it couldn't have been at the time because I was too small. When *Erfolg* appeared I was five, six years old. But I remember him saying he went to Berlin, which he did occasionally, and of course went to see his brother, or even stayed with his brother, and Lion was always like to read people his novels. He still did that in America, had these readings you know, and the whole exile community assembled. And he read my father bits of *Erfolg*, and my father was rather appalled that this is going to cause a hell of a stink and so it did. But of course in a way it's something that now looks like the right thing to have done.

AG: Absolutely.

EF: Yeah

AG: Switching to your father's private life, how was he, what sort of family home was it that you lived in?

EF: Well my father was a very sort of emollient figure, much more so than his brother. His brother was rather harder perhaps, harsh, bit given to harsher judgements. My father I would say was very much a peacemaker, and perhaps a little bit fond of a quiet life too but...and he was very much a scholar. You know he lived the sort of life which one couldn't lead now you know. He, of course, ran the publishing house. but that was hardly a terribly demanding thing to do. One could go to the cafe house, Café Stephanie in Munich where, you know, a lot of intellectuals met.

Tape 1: 15 minutes 37 seconds

He, at home, then shut himself away in his huge study, which was lined right round with books and that was his life and a certain amount of writing. Then of course from 1930 he edited the *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, which up to then was only a sort of little information sheet. But he turned it into quite an important sort of, you know, paper. He used it to write his own stuff and publish it and other people's things...

AG: How long...

EF: It became his vehicle

AG: How long did it manage to continue publishing?

EF: It published from...until 1938, yeah, yeah. But you see he did that before...he started doing that before the Nazi takeover, so you can see he was by no means not interested in Jewish affairs. But of course he was also very much into German intellectuals, certain aspects of it, sociology and philosophy and so on.

AG: Did he have to join up during the First World War or was he exempted?

EF: Very briefly. He always said the sergeant said 'der Feuchtwanger kann den Schieß... nicht halten' [?]

AG: Bring the rifle, I suppose, yes.

EF: Yes that's right.

AG: Yes

EF: And he did suffer all his life from stomach ulcers and, I think it was 1937, he had to have a lot of his stomach removed, which was then put down to the rather difficult diet he had as a child, his brother as well, in an orthodox Jewish family. You know, where the dietary laws were very strictly kept of course....

AG: Oh yes, yes.

EF: ...in his parental home. Whether it was due to that I wouldn't like to say. But it was something that he had to live with and nowadays it would be easily cured, but it wasn't then.

AG: Where was the family home in Munich? Where did you grow up?

EF: The family, do you want me to tell you the street?

AG: Yes please. If you...

EF: It was called the Grillparzerstrasse.

AG: Grillparzerstrasse? Oh!

Tape 1: 18 minutes 22 seconds

EF: Yes, it was near the Prinzregentenplatz.

AG: Is that...

EF: In Bogenhausen, yes. And, of course, at the corner of Grillparzerstrasse and Prinzregentenplatz lived from 1929 Herr Hitler.

AG: Really?!

EF: Yes. Adolf Hitler. In the same sort of second floor flat as we lived in. You could see it down at the bottom of the road.

AG: We'll come on to him later.

EF: Yes.

AG: What sort of flat was it?

EF: Our flat?

AG: Yes

EF: Well these were sort of rather large flats. I don't know, we had five or six rooms, some of them were rather big and, then, the other side, were more offices, the kitchen and so on. I think it had even a room or two at the back for servants. Because one did have, well, it had to have in those days. That's how it was. It was a flat, which, I mean, even my grandmother had lived in, my maternal grandmother, before the First World War. And my mother then inherited it and so we then lived there.

AG: As you've mentioned your mother, could you tell me a little about her? What was her name? When and where was she born?

EF: Her maiden name was Rheinstrom. She was born in 1887. She was born in Kaiserslautern in the Palatinate. But I think when her father died, which was about 1902, the family moved to Munich. The Palatinate was of course Bavarian and I would say she very much had the looks of a lot of Rhineland Jewish people. Very small, petite almost, blue-eyed. That's how she was.

AG: And...

EF: Very much, you know, women were very feminine in those days, didn't aspire to be anything else. But my mother, you know, was busy, worked I think again in Jewish charity things, and did so in the First World War, I think even was decorated for it. The Ludwigskreuz I think she had, a Bavarian decoration, and so on. So she was, you know, she was not somebody who was just content to be a housewife. But of course to some extent that's...she was very much on the distaff side, I would say.

AG: You said that your father had been previously married. Did he have any children by his first marriage?

Tape 1: 21 minutes 45 seconds

EF: Yes, I have a...I had. She was seven years older than me, a half sister called Dorothea. Known as Dörle. She sometimes lived with us. Our father's divorce was entirely amicable and, I often remember staying with his first wife in Berlin in the 1930s and so on. My half sister stayed with us every now and then. But she was then sent to finishing school in Lausanne I think in the thirties when she was sixteen or seventeen, and she eloped [Laughs]...

AG: [Laughs]

EF: I remember with a French-Swiss man called Duboisson. I remember my father having to go to the wedding in 1935. But, as a result of that, I have a whole sort of Swiss family, who you know...I have a half niece, I have great nieces and I have even great grand-nephews and nieces. I recently met my Swiss great, great niece aged seven.

AG: So she must have, therefore, avoided any difficulties from having a half-Jewish parentage...

EF: More or less, I think...

AG: ... I mean from the Nazis...

EF: The thing was she was out of Germany then. But she then lived...I think there were all sorts of difficulties for her. I think her marriage broke up quite quickly again and her daughter, now my half niece, who is over seventy now [Laughs] born in 1935 as a result of the elopement, then lived with her grandmother, my father's first wife, and they moved back into Germany during the war. And I remember us having to send food parcels to them at the end of the war. I mean my father's first wife was very Bavarian you know. Her father was a Kunstmaler in Munich, quite well known, I think, at the time. But she was very much a Bavarian woman and she moved from Switzerland back into Germany during the war. So my half niece was in Germany during the war. But then, not my half sister, my half niece then went back to Switzerland and got married in Zurich to a surgeon and so on, whom I met just before he died. So I have all this.

AG: How did your father come to meet your mother and re-marry, do you know?

EF: I don't really know. I know that my mother's family then lived in Munich and that's how they must have met. And my mother had three brothers; there were four children; she had three brothers. One was killed right at the end of the First World War, and it's after him that I am named. My name is Edgar because he was Edgar. So he...I obviously didn't know him. She then had two other brothers. One was quite a sort of well known lawyer in Munich. He was called Rheinstrom, Professor Rheinstrom. He had clients like Richard Strauss, you know.

AG: Oh!

Tape 1: 26 minutes 15 seconds

EF: I remember him saying what a nice man Richard Strauss was. 'Go and see him in Garmisch', you know. And Strauss was very hot on his royalties and all that sort of thing and I think it was my uncle who looked after that And he was also, I suppose, what one would here call a company lawyer. I remember him telling me in his old age that he was on the Aufsichtsrat of 44 German companies, including Henkell...

AG: Oh right. Is that the...

EF: Champagne firm. I remember him saying old... you know that Henkell's daughter Anneliese, married Ribbentrop, and that is how Ribbentrop got going really. I remember my uncle saying that old man Henkell said to him: 'I can't imagine how Anneliese could marry such a Luftikus [lightweight].'

AG: Luftikus, a Luftikus [Laughs]

EF: [Laughs]

AG: Yes

EF: But that's how he was anyway.

AG: When did your parents get married?

EF: They got married in 1923.

AG: Oh it must have...so they'd just lived through some very turbulent years in Munich.

EF: They did, yes.

AG: Did they talk to you at all about the Republic and so on?

EF: Well, I know that my father's sympathies were on the whole always on the left, you know, as were of course my uncle's, much more overtly. My father was, as I said, much more emollient. But he knew a lot of those people you know, like Mühsam and Landauer, you know was murdered in 1919. Yes, I remember him telling me that you know. He had his office somewhere in the centre of Munich at that time, and there,

you know, was the collapse of the Soviet Republic. I don't know, probably the second one and one of the Soviet Republic soldiers quickly went into his office, stuffed his red shirt down the loo and got out the back, and things like that. So I did hear a certain amount about that as a child.

AG: If he was an associate of Mühsam's and Landauer's he was probably in danger actually...

EF: Yes, yes.

Tape 1: 28 minutes 51 seconds

AG:..when the Whites...

EF: Whether it was any prominent associate...it was just a soldier who happened to get into his office. But, on the whole, I think my father had a certain amount of sympathy for all that. Certainly he was no German nationalist or anything like that. He was very...he didn't like that at all.

AG: And he must have been in Munich presumably when...at the time of the famous Beer Hall Putsch?

EF: Oh yes, but I haven't heard, I didn't hear much about that I must say. Never heard him talk about that. I mean, I remember of course the Nazi commemorations of it. You know, when they marched through that town and there were all these pylons with burning at the top and every time Hitler passed a pylon the name of a so-called martyr of the Nazi movement came over the loud speakers. I remember that, but that was in the thirties of course, after the Nazis came to power.

AG: Your parents, how do you remember them together? Were they a close and happy couple? Did they socialise together?

EF: Yes they socialised a lot, quite a lot I would say. I think...I mean I'm not sure that one would, you know, sort of, in the present climate say they were terribly touchy feely. But, you know, they were...I think they complemented each other very admirably and my mother was a sort of foil for my father, let him get on with his scholarly thing, which was his life and so on. I suppose I, as a child, was more, if you like, formed by my mother, obviously.

AG: Yes, let's come on to your early memories.

EF: Yes.

AG: How do you remember Munich as a small child? What do you remember of it, of Bogenhausen?

EF: Well, I remember things like, we, my mother, you know, played tennis, and I was taken to see her play. Quite a lot of our relations lived around us, and I remember them and I remember playing with my cousins. One of my uncles married a Bernheimer, who were the Bernheimers, the big antiquarian house in Munich, right in

the big thing and later appropriated by Göring in a very extraordinary deal which you may have read about. But, anyway, they were related to us, and I used to be taken to the large, what would appear to be a large country house on the edge of Munich and play with my cousins there. One, they had one child, the Bernheimers, who was a mongol and I remember him very clearly, and he was one of the longest living mongols that existed at that time because he was still back in Munich in the 1950s, when he must have been fifty. And he was a...he was a very gentle sort of a person. He used to greet my mother and so on and so forth, as a, as a grown up. But I remember playing with him as a child. So I remember those sort of things, yeah.

AG: And where were you at school, where did you start off?

Tape 1: 33 minutes 6 seconds

EF: I was first at a Volksschule called Gebele Schule, from, must have been 1931, or 32 perhaps.

AG: Could you, when we transcribe that we'll never be able to spell it, could you spell Gebele?

EG: It's spelled G-E-B-E-L-E schule.

AG: Oh, thank you very much. I won't ask you to do that too often.

EF: And, as a matter of fact, that's where I was at the time of the Nazi takeover and what I've got...I don't know whether we should bring this in...

AG: Mmm, yes

EF:.....I've got an exercise book, which I had aged eight in the spring of 1933 and the teacher was obviously somebody who was completely enthusiastic about the Nazi takeover and straight away, beginning on the first of May 1933, she pushed out all this Nazi stuff, you know: how great the war was and how heroic Germany was and, subtext being we'll have another go and this time we'll win [Laughs] sort of stuff. And all that is in this exercise book, which I've got upstairs, which I,...perhaps we'll show later, yeah.

AG: Mmm, please.

EF: ...which has often been shown because it's really quite a potent document.

AG: And she....

EF: And I was a Jewish child...

AG: Yes

EF: ...but it didn't make any difference. That wasn't referred to by her, by the teacher. The racial thing. Not a word of that. But everything about, you know, how terrible the Treaty of Versailles was, how heroic Germany was, the one picture of Germany: four

against twenty-seven in the war, you know. It didn't seem to occur to her that it might be a bad idea to be four against twenty-seven, but I don't think it occurred to us being taught by her.

AG: And were you the only Jewish child in the class?

EF: I think I probably was, yes, I think I probably was.

AG: How were your relations with your classmates, especially after the Nazi takeover?

Tape 1: 35 minutes 33 seconds

EF: It didn't seem at that stage to make an awful lot of difference. And obviously my parents left me in that school until I was old enough to go to the secondary school - the Maximilliansgymnasium I went to, I think, in 1935. I suppose if I had had real problems there, they would have taken me away. But they didn't. That didn't happen.

AG: In the early years then, it seemed as if the Nazi rule didn't impinge too strongly on you. It must have impinged on your parents a bit.

EF: Oh it certainly impinged on my parents and I knew about it, and, you know, I think you know one was, even at that age, eight, nine, very aware of it all. Obviously one couldn't evaluate it and no doubt my parents couldn't really tell me, sort of, exactly what it was all about like one could now. But, yes, very well aware of it and of course we were right in the middle of it, you know. And I keep on saying: 'I'm so old. I'm the only person to have seen Röhm. Not only did I see Hitler...

AG: Yes!

EF:many times, but Röhm also you see lived near us and I can remember him.

AG: How do you remember Röhm?

EF: I can tell you exactly. I was taken for a walk, as one was, you know. I had a Kindermädchen and, taken for a walk. And we were walking near a little sort of fleapit cinema, which had been turned into a polling station for the plebiscite which took place on the 12th November 1933, which was the first of Hitler's plebiscites. It was officially, you know, about whether Germany was right to leave the League of Nations. I think that was the main one. And we passed this place, and we saw something was going on. There was a press photographer. In those days press photographers had huge cameras like this (indicating) and so we stopped and thought we'd wait and see what happened and out came Röhm on the arm of his mother...

AG: [Laughs]

EF: ...Nobody explained to me why it was his mother and not some other female attachment [Laughs] but...

AG: [Laughs] [Röhm was a notorious homosexual]

EF: ...I was too young for that and his mother was all in black with a sort of up-turned flower pot hat like German elderly women had, and Röhm gave the Nazi salute, like this [Gestures], which I think he and Hitler were allowed to do other than to do this [Gestures] and, well, that was Röhm, and seven months later of course he was dead. That also I remember vaguely because, I don't know whether Hitler actually stopped at his flat before going to beard Röhm in his you know, who was on the Tegernsee in the Hotel Hänselbauer, which has now been renamed something else.

Tape 1: 39 minutes 7 seconds

I wouldn't swear to it whether Hitler was there, but he probably was. I imagine he would've stopped off at his flat. What I certainly distinctly remember was: it was a Saturday morning; it was light, sort of seven, half past seven, quite light. I heard a lot of noise and I went to the window, and I could only just look over the windowsill and I could see there were cars outside Hitler's flat, and people were rushing in and out. You heard that jackboot sort of noise on the pavement and that was obviously Hitler's motorcade being prepared to go out to the Tegernsee to beard Röhm and have him arrested and have some of the others shot and that was 30th June 1934.

AG: You said that because you lived so near to, relatively near to Hitler you must have seen him as well.

EF: Hitler I've seen quite a... I don't know how many times...getting into his car and this sort of thing and on one or two sort of important occasions like...I didn't actually see him take off for Austria in 1938, but I saw, suddenly, these I think four-wheeled drives one would call them now, I think reviewing vehicles, were assembled outside his flat in the Prinzregentenplatz. You see them in newsreels when he entered Vienna, because normally he used big black Mercedes and a motorcade and...but this time he had these special vehicles assembled. And I didn't remember seeing him take off, but I remember him coming back because the following Thursday, I think it was, there were posters all over Munich saying the Führer is arriving back at the station, is taking the route and so on and so on, back to his flat, which normally wasn't very often mentioned because it enabled him to use it without too much...and, anyway, that's the only time I saw Hitler drive through, you know, standing in his car, holding onto the windscreen. What stuck in my mind about it: there were people in the street, you know, drove through and it was only about another hundred or two hundred yards before he stopped and got out into his flat and you saw him and the car went past and in no time it was all gone [Laughs]. Nobody was left, you know, not many people in the street. That I remember quite clearly.

AG: What was it like? You were a young boy, seeing Hitler as a private person as it were, not on duty like that on a public occasion, getting in and out of his car or sort of coming out of the flat?

EF: [Shrugs]

AG: What did he look like? Like Hitler I suppose!

EF: Oh yes, I think I do remember and I can't have been more than eight, nine. In those days - this must have been perhaps 1933 or that time - you could still walk past

his flat, at other times, particularly when he was in it, it was all, you know, the people were kept to the opposite sides of the road and it was quite wide there, it was the sort of end of the square and in the early days you could walk past it and...well I remember walking past it. I thought: I'll have a look at the bell push and see if it says Hitler...

AG: [Laughs]

Tape 1: 43 minutes 13 seconds

EF:...and it didn't actually. It said Winter, who was by then his housekeeper. Before that it was of course his half sister, who, you know all that. And then the other thing I do remember that he...then he came walking past and suddenly he came out and he was in a...I think there was only about one car there. It must have been fairly early in his chancellorship. There might have been two cars, but it was just one car there and he came out and he was wearing a mackintosh, you know, with the belt, and he was wearing a sort of trilby hat. It might have been a Tyrolean hat you know. I'm not even sure it didn't have a feather in it. And there were a few people around, not very many - of course nobody knew him then - and those that were around shouted: 'Heil Hitler', and he lifted his hat like that [Gestures], and got in the car [Laughs], which wouldn't ever have been the case much later on, you know. Later on, the routine was: there were his cars lined up, four or five, you know, those big black Mercedes, and then suddenly the driver would get in and start the engine. And then his SS bodyguards would come out, you know, and a clattering, all the boots on the pavement, taking their seats in all the three or four cars there were. And then he would come out like that [Gestures] and get in behind the driver and whoosh off [Laughs]. So that's my....it's funny one does remember sort of visual images when one is small.

AG: Do you remember other Nazi manifestations in Munich? You mentioned the annual commemorations of the Beer Hall Putsch...

EF: Well I think the thing I do remember is the Tag der Deutschen Kunst, which sort of started '36 and of course every street was draped in different colours. And I think the first year it was done like that you got little sort of night lights, red, given to each household and you had to put them on the windowsill and light them at a certain time. And then I think the following year there were brackets that you had to screw into the window and you had to light them, and all that.

AG: And the fact that your household was Jewish didn't make any difference at that stage?

EF: No

AG: And going back to yourself, how did you get on at the Maximilliansgymnasium? It must have been a very good gymnasium.

EF: Well I've been back there at least once. I think I was back there four years ago and talked to the students or whoever they were. Well, by that time of course, there was an awful lot of Nazi staff you know. Constant rallies and you had to meet in the gymnasium, the day of this and the day of that. And you know you had to listen to

speeches, you had to stand in rows. One thing that I always remember is, of course they had two national anthems by that time, the Deutschlandlied and the Horst Wessel Lied, and by the time of the second one your arm got jolly tired holding it like that. You gently rested it on the chap in front of you.

AG: So you were not banned from...? You were not excluded?

Tape 1: 47 minutes 27 seconds

EF: Not from that. What we were of course banned from...I think there was about one other...There were other Jewish boys in the school, but I think there was only one half Jewish boy in my class. But of course we weren't in the Hitler Youth or anything like that, which on the whole we thought was rather good because we didn't have to do all that.

AG: Were you victimised at all, or discriminated against by the staff?

EF: No. I think I would say one or two staff who, one felt, that they were, you know, Nazis, but on the whole they didn't sort of take it out on....I wouldn't say so. Not really. Otherwise you see again...I'm sure my parents would've taken me away. So I did go on going there until Kristallnacht.

AG: Oh yes, tell me about what happened on Kristallnacht.

EF: Well Kristallnacht I remember we...first of all my father was taken to Dachau.

AG: How long for?

EF: For six weeks. They were...a lot of them were let out just before Christmas on the understanding that they would emigrate as quickly as possible.

AG: Were you there when he was arrested?

EF: Yes, I think so, yes I think was.

AG: Tell me how events developed.

EF: Well sort of, you know, two Gestapo officials came and took him away. Then the big thing after that was that my father had this big library. Partly it was because he was a collector of books, a bibliophile library of antiquarian books, but the bulk of it was of course his library. He also had an enormous number of review copies and all this being the publisher, and so on and so forth. And they came and took most of it. You know, a removal van came with about twenty-two large cases, and people who knew what they were doing just took the books and put them in there. Well, we got a few of them back after the war because of course the Americans had collecting points, particularly for art, you know, things that may be of value and so on. I've got some of them upstairs. They became part of Himmler's *Ahnenerbe* and were given on loan to the University of Vienna, their Oriental Institute, who of course at the end of the war were terribly anxious to get rid of these signs that they had collaborated.

AG: What time was it that the Gestapo men came to arrest your father?

EF: I think it was quite early in the morning, as far as I can remember, and my mother then kept me back from school. And I never went to school again in Germany.

AG: Did you see any of the other destruction?

Tape 1: 51 minutes 20 seconds

EF: I didn't see much of that or, if I saw it, it was probably much later, by which...but, you know, we heard about it and of course it was a time of great anxiety and, you know, we were talking to our relations and all this sort of thing. There was always of course, particularly with my father, fear - would he get out at all because you know being called Feuchtwanger was not much fun in the Third Reich.

AG: No, no of course. Yes.

EF: But somehow, you know, the Third Reich...My father quite early on, I remember him saying that it's ordered anarchy and that's what in many ways of course people are saying what it was. You know, the left hand didn't always know what the right hand was doing.

AG: Because of course your uncle's other book, the Familie...

EF: Die Oppermanns...

AG: Die Oppermanns must've come out by then.

EF: Oh yes. My uncle was enemy number one, almost, yes. I think he had lost his German, was amongst the first thirty or so who lost, were deprived of their German citizenship in 1933.

AG: Were his books actually burned, I mean they must've been burned at some stage?

EF: They were burned. All of those things, yes.

AG: So it must've been a very difficult time for you and your mother. You would've been, what fourteen?

EF: I was fourteen, yes.

AG: How did you both manage?

EF: Well we..., you know, by that time my father, you see, had to leave Duncker and Humblot. He finally had to leave it in 1936 and he was then employed full-time in Jewish affairs by the Jewish community. And he went right around Germany, lecturing in the Jewish Lehrhaus and all these things, and he wrote a great deal for the German press, the Jewish press.

AG: Which sort of papers? Do you remember?

EF: *Jüdische Rundschau*, *C.V. Zeitung*, all these things he wrote for, and actually, in a curious sort of way, it was a very fulfilling sort of time for him because previously, I suppose, in a way he had been a back room boy. Obviously he was important; he had quite a lot of power over important authors and so on. But he wasn't a public person really, and suddenly he did become a public person in the Jewish German community. He wrote a lot. I remember when he was fifty in 1935 there was quite a lot of notice taken of him. He had his pictures in all the Jewish papers and so on. So he suddenly was rather more high profile than he had previously been.

Tape 1: 54 minutes 38 seconds

AG: Did he become more Jewish than he had previously been, do you think? Was he pushed?

EF: He didn't need to be pushed because he never was not, you know....

AG:in that way, I see, yes....

EF: He was always fully Jewish but not religious. He was somebody who, this chap who edited his essays, he was ein Kulturjude, which I think is a nice phrase.

AG: A very nice phrase. When did he start making plans to emigrate?

EF: Almost straight away then, and of course fortunately we had relations both on my fath...Well, we obviously had Lion, and my mother's brother had left Germany in 1933 and was quite successful as a lawyer outside. I think he acted for the Austrian Rothschilds and all sorts of things like that.

AG: So he went to Vienna?

EF: No, he went to Paris. He was in Paris, yes.

AG: Oh right. And Lion Feuchtwanger was in Sanary.

EF: Sanary, yes. And they then, you know, got going to get us out, which I mean mainly involved depositing money. You see, you could come...Britain was one of the few countries where you could come as a family just like that, on what was called a Kapitalistenvisa, visum, I think it was called. And that involved, I think, depositing a thousand pounds, which was a lot of money in those days. And that was done.

AG: I see.

EF: Yes

AG: And how did you and your mother manage for this period of six weeks before your father was released?

AG: Oh it was a period of great anxiety because, as I say, we weren't at all sure whether, you know, he would ever get out. And he wasn't in very good health

anyway. But my father could see the one thing you mustn't do was to, sort of, fall out of line in any way, then you were finished. You keeled over, you were finished. But he just...I remember seeing when he came out he had frostbite and he was in a very bad way, but he wasn't fatally injured or anything like that.

AG: Did you have any contact with him at all, during the six weeks?

EF: Yes, they were you know...they were allowed to write postcards, some of which I think still exist. I'm not sure whether my father's exist.

Tape 1: 57 minutes 37 seconds

AG: Well the tape has come to an end so perhaps we could have a break there.

EF: Thank you.

TAPE 2

AG: Edgar Feuchtwanger, tape two. We were just talking about your father being detained for six weeks in Dachau and then the preparations for emigration. Could you tell me how that, sort of, developed once your father came back?

EF: Well we got this visa for coming here and, through what mechanism I don't exactly know, it was arranged that I should go first and live with a family over here. Not with my family, with a family who had undertaken to take a refugee child, which of course quite a lot of people did at that stage. So I was sent first...I went in February I think. The exact date I left was the fourteenth of February. My father came with me on the train as far as the Dutch border. I remember him having his passport looked at by an SS man near the border, and the SS man said why wasn't he leaving as well and he said he was due to leave but not yet. And then I went on, on my own, which...

AG: Was this an ordinary train? It was a Kindertransport?

EF: It was an ordinary train. It wasn't a Kindertransport, no. It was just me. Just me and my....

AG: What did you feel? Had your parents explained to you what was happening?

EF: Well, my sort of memory of it is very...I don't think it ever occurred to me that I might not see my parents again. Of course they were in the process of arranging their emigration and it was all going ahead, so I had no very great reason to believe they they wouldn't follow me. But I thought it was all rather an adventure because it was, I think. I'd only been once out of Upper Bavaria and that was when I went to Berlin, briefly, for about a week or so in nineteen...September 1937, when my father had an operation in Munich and thought it a good idea if I went, wasn't there. I was twelve at the time, thirteen. And so I'd never been out of Upper Bavaria and that was the first time I went and I thought it was all, well rather fun really, you know. A bit of an adventure. And I then went on, on my own after the Dutch border.

AG: What was it like to say goodbye to your father?

EF: It wasn't particularly emotional or anything. Not as far as I was concerned. May be it was, may be he was much more burdened with it than I was. But I was fourteen. Well, I then went on my own through the Hook and Harwich and down to Liverpool Street.

AG: What were your first impressions of England, of Harwich, coming in to London?

EF: Well I thought it was all rather strange, and people on the train of course took a little bit of interest in me. I couldn't make a great deal of it because of course I didn't speak English very well. Just about, a bit, but not much.

Tape 2: 3 minutes 57 seconds

AG: Did you have a sort of case? Were you allowed to take out as much as you wanted or did you have just...

EF: I can't remember that. I must've had a case. I'm sure I had a case but not much more than that. And then I arrived in London and I was met by various people who knew me or knew my parents. How this came about, again, I'm not sure.

AG: English people or refugees?

EF: Refugees, yep. And they took me from Liverpool Street to Paddington. All I remember about that is, as our taxi pulled out of Liverpool Street I said: 'God, it's on the wrong side of the road!'. I soon realised of course, I, you know, remembered...Anyway, I then went on what was then called the Cornish Riviera to Truro because, again, it had been arranged that I should stay with a doctor's family in St. Mawes in Cornwall. I do remember that before I left I was...We got a guide book on Cornwall. I think it was a Penguin guide to Cornwall and St. Mawes was of course a sort of yachting place in those days and I knew I was going to stay with the doctor.

AG: What was the family name?

EF: Dyson. He was called Malcolm Dyson. And she was Beryl, and they had two quite small children who were smaller than me, a boy and a girl. The girl was about four or six; the boy was four, I think. And I, of course, didn't know them. It was all arranged, I think - this I learned in due course - through somebody called Charles Singer, who was Professor of the History of Medicine at one of the London university colleges and whose wife was a Waley Cohen, and who was clearly active in all these things and had a very beautiful house, to which I later went, in Par in Cornwall. I think in fact, I'm not quite sure whether it was the house, I think it may well have been the house where Daphne du Maurier lived.

AG: Oh!

EF: Before him.

AG: Were the Dysons Jewish?

EF: No, no, no, they weren't Jewish. They were, sort of very much English, liberals, who were very much agin, you know, the appeasement policy by this time - it was February '39 we're talking about - and who were very interested when I told them how Chamberlain had gone to the private flat of Hitler in Munich where he'd signed that piece of paper, you know, peace with honour. I knew about that, I'd seen, I'd seen something of, living there. And, anyway, they looked after me extremely well. In fact, particularly the wife, taught me English very well and was again instrumental in due course - this didn't happen immediately - in getting me in to Winchester. She always said: 'I'm never going to get my children in to Winchester but he will', and this all was done, through, sort of, various bits of string-pulling, not to put too fine a point on it.

Tape 2: 8 minutes 6 seconds

AG: But...

EF: Sorry?

AG: I was just thinking, to start preparing you for Winchester, which is very difficult to get into. when you, especially if you, you spoke so little English.

EF: Yes .well...

AG: Did they tutor you in English or had you...?

EF: They tutored me and they had a friend where I also stayed for a while. I think they had arranged it between them. He was a man called George Pryde, who was Professor of Scottish History at Glasgow, and he had a cottage in St. Mawes. I stayed with them for a while. He had an American wife and he taught me quite a lot. He taught me above all history. I've still got the notebook in which he dictated me the whole course of English history more or less from King Arthur to the present day, and things like that. The Winchester thing was that Winchester had actually decided to give three places to refugee boys. It, the governing body, decided that. But, to get one of them was something else. And there again, I think, strings were pulled. The neighbour of the Dysons in St. Mawes was a chap called Lord Arran, the fifth Earl of Arran, who was related to everybody. I always remember quite well, in this sort of spring-summer of 1939, because the great debate was about the big change of policy, you know, when Hitler marched into Prague. At last Chamberlain couldn't go on with appeasement. But the important thing of course was that Lord Halifax as well now changed sides and public opinion switched sides, flipped right round. But the point was that at that stage Lord Arran used to take the night train to London, a thing he normally wouldn't have done, to attend the debates in the House of Lords, because of course they were very important because Halifax was there, and so some of the crucial things were actually in the House of Lords rather than the House of Commons. And Aaron used to come back and tell us all about it. And I remember him saying we...you know there was somebody called Lord Londonderry?

AG: Oh yes! Hitler's friend, yes.

EF: Whose book about him by Ian Kershaw I've just reviewed. And of course Lord Londonderry was an arch-appeaser and all these sorts of things. And I remember Aaron saying: 'Londonderry was all over us; he was in such an apologetic mood', because of course he'd suddenly seen it all gone wrong for him of course as one learns from the book. He all blames it on the fact that they didn't rearm in time, but he had said they should've done. But, anyway, we heard all about these things and...but, through those sort of connections, I was exactly given one of the places at Winchester.

AG: Did you have to sit an exam or anything?

EF: I did, yeah.

Tape 2: 11 minutes 35 seconds

AG: I bet you weren't just given it like that!

EF: Which I didn't do too badly at...

AG: I'm sure.

EF:...and so, you know, I had to make sure I could actually do it, you know. Follow it and so on. And I did that, yeah.

AG: Had you had any schooling in England, formal schooling, at all?

EF: I had no schooling. Between the time I arrived in February '39 and went to school at Winchester in September '39 I had no schooling. I wasn't at school. Of course I hadn't been at school at the Maximilliansgymnasium since Kristallnacht, so I had nearly a year, ten months, without school.

AG: Even so you managed to do this exam...

EF: Yeah, yeah

AG:...because Winchester is notorious as probably just about the most difficult school in the country to get in to.

EF: Yeah, yeah, well I mean I only gradually got to know about that! But, anyway, that's, that's how I...

AG: Do you know who the other two were who got...?

EF: Yes, one of them was George Grun, who later became quite well known as a lecturer at the LSE. He was a lecturer in International Relations. He was only quite recently...I've seen a reference to him in the newspapers. He's dead now. And the third one was a chap called Amberg who, you see these were all older than me and the consequence of this was that in 1940 they were either taken to the Isle of Man or they were taken to Canada. I can't remember exactly how the sequence was, but I wasn't because I was below sixteen, and so I stayed on, and the others didn't.

AG: They were taken from Winchester?

EF: Yep, I think so. Because you know, they were enemy aliens above the age of sixteen, which was the thing in May or, yes I think it was May 1940. But I wasn't. My father was, my father was taken to the Isle of Man...

AG: Well we'll get on to that.

EF:...where he spent about, I think, four months, something like that, yep.

AG: But actually we ought to, as you mentioned your father, ask you how they came to come over and how much later?

EF: They came in May, sort of about two and a half months later.

AG: Yes

Tape 2: 14 minutes 8 seconds

EF: So, as expected, and they then stayed on in London.

AG: Did you travel up to London to see them when they arrived?

EF: Not really at that stage, as far as I remember. I think the first time I went to London was something like August. No it can't have been that year. Sorry, I've got it wrong. I don't think I went to London in 1939, not as far as I remember.

AG: Did your parents come down to see you then?

EF: Well, my parents then decided, since I was going to be at Winchester, they would rent a house in Winchester, which was of course in a way not necessary because I could've been there as a boarder. But they thought, well, why not? They had no particular reason for staying in London and so that's what they did.

AG: And when did you come? Did you stay with the Dyson's until....?

EF: I stayed with the Dysons and one or two other people in St. Mawes until the term started at Winchester in September 1939.

AG: In the meantime war having broken out.

EF: In the meantime yes, but I remember being on the beach at St. Mawes and of course people used to bring these rather large radios down. They weren't even transistor, they were still valve radios. And I remember people sitting on a certain beach, which I have seen quite a few times since, in St. Mawes, when the news came through of the Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact. And everybody was really, well I mean I think it's not too strong a thing to say frightened, at that stage. You know, suddenly it seemed like a totally hopeless situation. Not just from a point of view that war would come but how could one fight it with, you know. But basically the people I knew were people of sort of liberal leftish views who felt one should do it with the

Soviet Union. Of course they were perhaps in a slight state of illusion about the Soviet Union but never mind.

AG: And do you remember the actual outbreak, the announcement of the outbreak of war?

EF: Not terribly well because one has heard it so many times since. I couldn't say whether I heard it then or later.

AG: So a little bit later, in September 1939, you went to Winchester...

EF: Went to Winchester, yeah

Tape 2: 16 minutes 50 seconds

AG: What were your first impressions of Winchester? What was it like for a refugee Jewish boy from Munich turning up at Winchester?

EF: It was all rather strange, although I.... You see it wasn't sort of totally strange because everybody told you this, and you know, it is after all a stereotype isn't it? as Tom Brown's Schooldays. I'm not quite sure I wasn't given it to read and so on and so it wasn't, you know, it wasn't in fact quite as bad as it was made out to have been in novels! But of course it's a strange business; to me it was in a way. But...

AG: It must've been

EF: ...one is resilient at the age of fifteen, isn't one?

AG: Yes I suppose you weren't a thirteen-year-old going in. You were already older than...

EF: I was a little bit older, yes. I was little...

AG: Presumably there were all the usual customs of fagging and so on?

EF: Oh yes, all these things. So, yes absolutely.

AG: Did you escape that as a fifteen year old?

EF: Not really, no, no.

AG: Were you assigned to a House?

EF: I was in a House yes, I was assigned to a House, yeah.

AG: Did you, did you at that...

EF: It was a very cricketing sort of House. The House Master was a man called H.S. Altham. Altham and Swanton was one of the classical histories of cricket. And he was H.S. Altham. Harry.

AG: How were you received at Winchester and how did you feel about it?

EF: Well I, you know, I mean, one doesn't sort of analyse these things too much when they're actually happening.

AG: How do you feel about it now?

EF: Well, I thought to begin with, perhaps I found it quite difficult, and certain things alarmed me or frightened me. But, of course, as time went on I got more and more used to it and I also got more senior and then, you know, it's always the case in public schools, you get more senior, you take it out on the next lot, so!

Tape 2: 19 minutes 5 seconds

AG: What sort of things did you find particularly alarming?

EF: Well, you know the sorts of things. I had to have a cold tub in the morning and all those sort of things. You had to go for long runs and all that sort of thing.

AG: Did you find the sort of sporting ethos very different from the Maximillians-gymnasium?

EF: Yes, because in Maximillian it was the Turnhalle and of course it isn't that at all. It's games.

AG: Winchester is, I think, a school that tends to pride itself on its academic side as well...

EF: Oh yes, yes.

AG: More than most.

EF: Oh yes, and of course in time I did appreciate all that and you know, I'm often asked now to give lectures about all these things. And you know, we had dons who were really, when I think back on it now, very sort of, clued up. I mean the one I was, at Winchester, we called it up to, you were up, you were in somebody's div. Never called by class, never talk about a boy. You're a man and you're up to so and so, and they have nicknames. And I was up to, for many years, because I did go up quite quickly in the academic ladder so I was in the senior div for a longer time. So I had the same Master and he was a chap called Firth, known as Budge Firth because he was a little mouvementé. And he was the son of J.D. Firth, you know the famous Daily Telegraph journalist? Very well known in his day. And he was of the Firth steel family so he was not short of a bob or two. But I mean that was how public school masters were. A lot of them had private incomes. They didn't have to do it; they did it because that's what they liked doing. And I remember he had his sort of obiter dicta on what was going on, still quite effective when I think of them now. He, he'd say, when he was talking about somebody like Chamberlain, several of whose relations were round about Winchester. His granddaughter, who thinks the world of him, still is, very nice lady. And he said, well, Chamberlain, he was a Birmingham businessman

and if you've got a difference with a Manchester firm well, you arrange a lunch at Crewe and you sort it out. And he thought he could do that with Hitler! Or he said, you know, when talking about, say, the German attack on the Soviet Union, he said: 'This will be the most horrific and most brutal thing that's ever happened', and so it was. And so on, he could see what was going on, you know, pretty, pretty interestingly and clearly.

AG: Did you, even at that stage, specialise in history?

EF: Yes I did, yeah. There's three routes in which you either up the classical, which was still quite important then. Or you up the modern, which is languages, history or you up science, called stinks at Winchester. And of course we had many quite interesting things. I remember in somewhere near my final term, we had in one term, we had Wavell, who was of course an Old Wyckhamist. We had Mountbatten; we had Masaryk, who was the Czech Foreign Minister in London, who was very nice and we took to him very well. And most memorably perhaps of all was Monty, Montgomery, because his son was in the school by that time, and he came straight from the battlefield in Tunisia to see his son, obviously. And suddenly you saw this man, you know, whose picture was all over the

Tape 2: 23 minutes 50 seconds

paper, was a national hero, having you know won the first victory, from Alamein to Tunisia, appearing in the green cricket field with his black berry still on, and in the company of the Headmaster, known as the Head Man at Winchester. And he then..., this was I think on a Friday or Saturday, and the following Monday the school was assembled to listen to him. And he gave the first account of his battle, which he had just finished about five days previously. And he had his, somebody there, some, military figure who was writing it all down. It was literally his first account of the battle. And I remember him standing at the centre, at the lectern, to talk about this. And then he said, 'I pushed three divisions into my left wing', and he went over to the left of the podium. And then he said, 'They pushed me back, they pushed me back', and he went back to the lectern. And of course as boys we found all that pretty impressive! And he is a very, was a very charismatic figure, very egotistical and all that, but I heard him talk at times later on in life and he always is, was, quite charismatic, I must say.

AG: Did you make friends with other boys at Winchester?

EF: Well I did a bit yes, and one in particular I've always kept up with, who went into the Sudan political service, which then became part of the Foreign Office, and he actually ended up as British Ambassador in The Hague. And he died three years ago and I gave the speech at his wake...

AG: Oh!

EF: So I did make some quite close friends, yes.

AG: What was his name?

EF: Philip Mansfield.

AG: How were your parents getting on, during the time of the outbreak of war?

EF: Well they had of course quite a struggle to make some money, because I mean they had some money deposited for them, but that couldn't go on forever. And my father was really, I mean, my father was, stopped dead practically. I mean not that he himself didn't keep going or anything but he couldn't do anything because, I mean, he was totally dependent on his German, and then Jewish, contacts and they didn't exist anymore. And so he did little jobs. He worked for a time in accountancy and things like that. And my mother was a very good seamstress. She made dresses. They were quite befriended by a lot of people because, well I suppose they were quite interesting to people and, you know. And, the name was quite well known in those days, and things like that. But, you know, in many ways they had a difficult time.

Tape 2: 27 minutes 20 seconds

AG: There probably weren't very many Jewish refugees in the Winchester area.

EF: No, no. Hardly...there were occasionally one or two refugees, Czechs, who we befriended. But, it wasn't that my parents lacked social contact, not at all. In fact my mother became a very, sort of...My mother lived much longer than my father. My father died in 1947, but my mother died in 1979. And my mother did become very much a sort of fixture of the Winchester social scene. She always spoke English with a very strong accent but people, you know, thought she was quite a card, you know. She was very, you know...She had lots of friends, and the other curious thing was that at Southampton University, to which I later came, there was a whole posse of refugee academics. The most notable, I think, was a man called **Seppler** [?], who as far as I know is the first professor of electronics in England. He brought electronics as a separate thing. And so on. They had a sort of Kaffeekränzchen, the ladies. Yeah, for years and years. This was later on, of course.

AG: So it sounds as if your parents didn't encounter too much hostility but even say, what about the time when your father...

EF: It wasn't a question of hostility, it was just a question of difficulty.

AG: Yes. Where did they live? What sort of accommodation did they live in at first?

EF: They rented a house, yeah, yeah. In, which my mother continued to live until she died.

AG: And was that in Winchester itself?

EF: In Winchester, yeah. It's still there, yep. We even know the lady who lives in it now.

AG: That would've lasted then until your father was interned, I suppose?

EF: Yes, but that was only a kind of brief interruption. Then he came back. My father then was recruited at the end of the war. Actually it was I think by the American army

to, you know, go for the German archives. He was particularly involved in going for the archives of the German Air Ministry, Göring's whole lot. And so he, he had a sort of rank of captain or something in the American army. That was his, and so he went to Paris and then went to, right into Germany, to Nuremberg and all those places. And actually in that book of essays by my father they have unearthed very long letters that my father wrote to his brother in California about all that. It was a pretty interesting account of how things were at the end of the war, in April 1945, in Germany.

AG: We must come on to that but I'd like to take you back to the internment. I mean, first of all, how did you feel about your father being, this is May or June 1940, being taken away and locked up?

EF: Well, of course we felt very bad about it and, you know, we tried all sorts of things to try and get him out. A lot of people I think round here felt quite bad about it.

AG: Were you actually at home when he, no, you would've been at school presumably when he was...

EF: No, I think it was it was on a Sunday. I did, I do remember it.

AG: Could you describe it for us, please?

Tape 2: 31 minutes 35 seconds

EF: Well, I just remember there was some...Winchester was a separate police authority and whoever it was, the chief constable, said he had to take him into custody. And sort of officers came and he then was in the Isle of Man.

AG: Do you remember which particular camp it was?

EF: I don't quite remember it, no. But you know, he did give quite a lot of description and of course they developed quite an interesting cultural life there, which he took part in. And I think he was there, until about August. He wasn't there very long because, in the end I think, the string-pulling worked and he was got out. After not a very long time, I should think he was there at most three months.

AG: But hard to be interned in Britain after you've been locked up in Dachau.

EF: Yes, absolutely.

AG: It must've been quite a blow for him and for you.

EF: Yes that I do remember, while he was away. You see my mother was then back in London. Because another thing was of course you couldn't, aliens couldn't stay in this coastal...

AG: Ah yes, that was a protected area. Of course.

EF: That was part of it, yeah, yeah. And so she went back to London, where she stayed with, I don't know who they were, friends or how it worked out. And I then

went to, you know, in the holidays to London. And of course this was just at a point when London started to be bombed, which I remember, you know. I remember seeing the sky lit up, you know, from the fires in the docks. We were somewhere in Hampstead, somewhere like that. And then Winchester called back all the boys whose parents were in London or in any town that was being bombed. They could return to Winchester early, before the term started, and I remember coming back here, to the school.

AG: Do you remember the Battle of Britain?

EF: Well, the thing I remember about it all most....There were various things now I come to think of it. One of the Housemasters, not mine, another one of the, you know...He was called Robertson, known as the Bobber, who was a real sort of Mr Chips of Winchester. His boast was that he knew everybody in England who was anybody by one link at the most [laughs]. And, anyway, he took me fishing with another boy, and the other boy was called Victor Fortune. And obviously it was a thing he arranged because the other boy's father commanded the 51st Highland Division, which was encircled in Calais, and he became the most senior British officer to be taken prisoner. Major-General, I think he was, also called Victor Fortune. And I remember, you know, going fishing and the thing sort of drifted around in the conversation that this was all going on at that particular point.

Tape 2: 35 minutes 34 seconds

AG: Goodness.

EF: And then I remember when, you know, Churchill made all these speeches. We were, the boys in the house - this was Harry Altham's house - we were called down into the House Master's sitting room. It was a large room. And we listened to the speeches there. And I remember there was a chap there in a...he was a Bishop in a red cassock and that was the father of a chap who was then the Senior Prefect of the House, called Gilbert Talbot. And the Talbots, you know, were a very famous family and their, I don't know who it was, in the First World War, founded a thing called Toc H. And all the Winchester dons, certainly Harry Altham, had been linked to Toc H

AG: How do you spell Altham?

EF: A-L-T-H-A-M

AG: Thanks, it's just so we can get it right.

AG: He was of course very much a cricketing man. The one thing I remember: his father died and I think his father was also a general, who as a colonel had been the Head of Intelligence in the Boer War. And he died. He was very old, I think about eighty-nine or even more. And we all came down and said: 'Sorry Harry that your father's died', and so and so forth. And he said: 'Well, he had a very good inning. Got bowled straight in the end'.

AG: It must have been a strange experience for you as a refugee boy, or certainly an unusual one to mix with all these sort of top drawer English people?

EF: I suppose I didn't really know much else. I mean, that's how it was and it didn't, didn't strike me as so strange. I can see now that, you know, this is all rather specific, isn't it? Probably an experience, which in fact not many of the population now have.

AG: No, no.

EF: But that's how it was.

AG: Was Winchester effectively spared air raids and bombings and things, did you...?

EF: Not very. There was the odd bomb dropped and of course Southampton was quite badly bombed and, and we had to go down into the basement into shelters, every now and then, but it's not, it wasn't directly very much.

AG: You must've been aware of the sort of wartime austerities and shortages and things?

EF: Yes, yes. I think one of the things is that, you know, if you had to eat institutional food during the war, there's certain things you never want to see again, like rabbit and suet pudding and a few other things like that!

Tape 2: 39 minutes 16 seconds

AG: Yes. How did you, how were you aware of the sort of general morale of the population around Winchester? And were you ever afraid that Hitler might invade, for example, win the war?

EF: I think my, my parents possibly were because I remember my mother saying, 'Wenn der Kerl noch im Buckingham Palace schläft', something like that. But I think to others it hardly occurred. There were still lots of people who, you know, quite ordinary people, the sort of plumber who came said: 'Britain always loses every battle but the last', and that sort of thing was, you know... They weren't too bothered. They didn't think this was even a possibility. And you know, you think now no country was more popular in England than Russia when the war...after Hitler attacked Russia, because suddenly the bombing stopped and everybody could breathe more easily and so on and so forth. And I remember sitting in the grounds of Winchester with a lady who was actually German. She was married to one of the dons, this don who taught languages at Winchester at that time. And we were sitting on a bench. I knew her. She was much older than me. I was only a boy you see. And she said to me, 'Jetzt hat er sich auf die Bank gesetzt' and that was only into the invasion of, or, 'in den Dreck gesetzt', meaning Hitler. Of course this was wisely premature to say that, but it turned out to be correct in the end, yes. But that's, that's how it was. But, you see the whole sort of public school thing was, in many ways, so different in those days you know. I remember one thing that the Labour Party in, towards the end of the war, was working on, you know, more or less abolishing the public schools. I think they were getting out a thing called the Fleming Report, which was to adapt them in some way. And some Labour, London Labour MPs came to visit Winchester and I was one of those told to look after them. And we got on very well with them, but, you know, to us they were people from a different planet. We hadn't seen anybody like that before and they probably thought we were from a different planet.

AG: You mean that Britain was such a sort of socially divided country still?

EF: Yes, yes of course. Yes.

AG: Yes I suppose that it would be different from the bulk of refugees who did live in places like West Hampstead or...

EF: Yes, yes.

AG: Or Hampstead itself.

Tape 2: 42 minutes 45 seconds

EF: Well, we didn't really see much of that, at that stage. Because I mean, I saw it I suppose very briefly when I was in London in the autumn of 1940, but then that was only a few, two or three weeks maybe at the most, if that, and then I was away again.

AG: When were you parents allowed to come and live in Winchester again?

EF: Fairly soon. I can't remember exactly when it was but...

AG: And they sort of managed during the war and...

EF: Yes they managed, yes, yes. And as I say my father then had this spell in Germany, which was of course interesting for him. But he wasn't really ever able to... I mean his life was brought to a halt. I can't put it otherwise. And he coped with that remarkably well, you know. He was very philosophical. And he was interested then in English things, language and so on. But, you know, in a way he was a fish out of water.

AG: And so, probably, you relied, your family relied quite a lot on your mother's earnings as a seamstress?

EF: Yes, yes, yes. And then I think he, particularly after he had been in Germany, he could see possibly the best solution for him would've been - well he did think of that and say so - to go back to Germany, because obviously he'd been quite a big noise there, returning, you know. But it never came to...My mother didn't like the thought at all; she didn't want at all to do that. But, anyway, the thing never came to anything because he died.

AG: Did they lose family members in the Holocaust?

EF: I lost one of my aunts, my father's sister, whom I liked very much. She was one of the younger sisters, was very amusing and she, she and his third brother, a man called Martin, who has also written his autobiography, they emigrated to Prague. I think she, the sister, actually married, you know one of those marriages with which you acquire a different nationality. So she had Czech nationality. But, how it all came

about, he left in the end and went to Palestine, which was Palestine then and not Israel, but she didn't for reasons I can't, I do not know, and I think she died in Theresienstadt. But the others all survived.

AG: Even so, going back to Munich, where there was, presumably by then, virtually no Jewish population left, would've been difficult.

EF: Well, maybe, but I mean my father probably could've played quite a role there. There's no doubt about that. He could've done that, which of course partly, he thought: well I can never do it here so what should I do, you know? But my mother didn't like the idea at all. The curious thing though was - this always I found rather strange - a lot of people were like her and then a lot of my relations, including my father's still-surviving sister, who had lived in Jerusalem for a long time. I think she was actively Zionist. I'm not quite sure when she went there. It could've been even before 1933. She had a fairly wealthy husband and she had a - I never saw it - a very nice villa in Talpiot where my father once went to stay. And I remember him, you know, paying that visit. I don't know when it was. In the middle thirties I would think. And yet all these people, suddenly they were all again in Munich, you know, staying in hotels and seeing each other, spending the summer in Munich. My maternal uncle from the sort of fifties, mid-fifties onwards always spent the summer in Feldafing near Munich, from New York. Why I don't know, but they did.

Tape 2: 47minutes 45 seconds

AG: There are one or two more things I was going to ask you about the war, just thinking that you were down here in Winchester. Were you aware of American forces, in the run up to D-Day?

EF: Yes considerably, because there were lots of them around here. And I think my parents had an American officer billeted on them and yes, very much aware of that.

AG: I mean, so far as you had any impression of them did you think of them as sort of allies or yanks or what?

EF: Oh well, I can't really say that I personally had much of a reaction. I think my parents' officer quartered on them was pretty sort of wild west. I don't think she was too taken with him. But, you see, by the time I came of the age when I either had to go into, I assume it would've been the Pioneer Corps, I in fact went into something called the Ministry of Supply Home Grown Timber Division, which...

AG: Goodness!

EF: ...was a bit like being a Bevin boy and I worked in a sawmill.

AG: Where?

EF: It was at a place called Ludgershall not far from Andover. There's a wooded area there near Marlborough called Savernake Forest and this was being cut down and they improvised the sawmills and I worked in a sawmill. And we cut up sleepers for the invasion of Normandy and all that. And we...it was a certain number of British

people - they weren't called Land Girls, they were called the Women's Timber Corps, which was a subdivision of the Land Army, Women's Land Army. They prepared you know, they measured the trees. This one was to be cut down etc. etc. And we employed Italian prisoners of war. And I learned Italian.

AG: How did you get on...?

EF: But we had actually to, you know, it was a bit rugged because it seemed frightfully heavy and it's also rather dangerous because if you aren't careful you get something chopped off yourself. Yes.

AG: How did you get on with the other British people?

EF: Oh, no, we were alright because you see the men, a lot of it had to be men because it was heavy you know, just to lift these things. The women just did the subsidiary preparation and so there was a certain amount of camaraderie between us, so yes.

AG: They probably they came from very different backgrounds?

EF: Yes they came from different backgrounds but we got on alright.

AG: Were you accommodated there as well?

EF: Yes, we were accommodated in a sort of big house you know, lots of us.

Tape 2: 51 minutes 22 seconds

AG: How long did that last for?

EF: That lasted I think the better part of a year I would say, yes, yes.

AG: What did you do after that?

EF: Then I went to Cambridge.

AG: Ah, that's a bit of change!

EF: The lucky thing was that because it then really became redundant, you see, once, sort of by the autumn of 1944 the whole thing was wound down so there was in my case no obstacle to going to Cambridge quite early. You see I had a place, had got a scholarship before leaving Winchester and so I was...

AG: In which? In history presumably?

EF: Yes, yes. And so, in fact they were quite glad to have me because they knew shortly they were going to have lots of people coming back from the war. So a certain number of people who came back from the war, as it were, early, they took. And so I started in..., I think in October 1944.

AG: And which college was this?

EF: Magdalene.

AG: What was it like going up to Cambridge?

EF: Oh I enjoyed that terrifically, because Magdalene is not one of the bigger colleges. Anyway, it was very small then. It only had a hundred and twenty undergraduates, and we were a really close-knit community, full of very interesting people, and we had a very close relationship with the dons and I had a great time. I loved that, yes.

AG: What did you like about it particularly?

Tape 2: 53 minutes 10 seconds

EF: Well, you know, it was just a, how shall I say, a complete community, you know, where one, you know, knew people and one had constant social intercourse with quite a lot of interesting people.

AG: Did you have any particular friends there?

EF: Well I had - he lived on my staircase and I was quite close friends with a chap who...his background was rather curious. He was a...he belonged to the Ceylon Burgher community. You know Ceylon was once a Dutch colony and from that a certain amount of people with Dutch antecedents survived and he was one of them. But his father was a fairly senior colonial administrator. They'd been more or less absorbed or suborned by the British. And that was his background and of course he was very, he was into ev...he was absolutely the original intellectual. He was tremendously intelligent.

AG: What was his name?

EF: Henry Ernst. But he went through every...When he came he was a Trotskyist. I'm not sure whether he ever became Stalinist, if so it was not for more than a few weeks. He then became a devout Anglican, and eventually he became a Dominican, and he was quite an important Dominican. He was a...what are they called? - studies father at the Dominican place in Oxford. And I knew him quite well.

AG: What about your tutors, who were they?

EF: Well, the one I sort of was most friends with was a chap called Turner, who was the Pepys librarian, who was very typically one of those Oxford dons who, you know, never wrote anything. He should've edited the Pepys diaries, which were of course in the college, which I remember bringing back to the college from somewhere around Ely at the end of the war in a car. I wasn't doing it myself. I was with other people doing it. Anyway, he, George Turner...No, it wasn't George Turner, Francis Turner. His brother was a man called George Turner, who was headmaster of Marlborough and various other public schools. He was one of those sort of public school dynasty people. And his brother George founded Makerere College in Uganda, as a result of

which we had the Kabaka of Uganda as one of...who I also knew quite well. Anyway, George Turner, who was very musical and so on, I was very friendly with him. And you know, the college had always made a point of having Fellows, you know, like Bill Empson and people like that and one of them was T.S. Eliot. And I remember spending an evening drinking beer with Francis Turner, T.S. Eliot, whom Francis called Tom and one or two other people, including I think, Henry Ernst, in Francis Turner's rooms. We talked about nothing very much. I remember Eliot had just been to Paris, which very few people were able to do then, and sort of, it must've been the spring of 1945, and he was talking about that. And, so, I had quite an interesting time. I had a lot of anecdotes attached to Magdalene but I won't bore you with them!

AG: And did you specialise in...? Did you have any particular interest in history? Were you, British or...?

Tape 2: 57 minutes 48 seconds

EF: I did quite a lot of medieval history and the chap whom I really, not a don, but whom I did a specialist subject with, who I think impressed me most was somebody called Dom David Knowles, who was a...I think he was a Benedictine, who had quarrelled with his Order about being released as a professor at Cambridge, and with whom I did the English Franciscans, a very out of the way subject. But you know he was very interesting and, you know, the English Franciscans of course are quite important - Ockham and people like that.

AG: Yes, right I think at that point we'd better have a break because the tape is about to run out.

EF: Yes.

TAPE 3

Anthony Grenville: Edgar Feuchtwanger, tape 3.

Just finishing off your time at Cambridge, presumably you sat your final exams. Did you, how did you get on in those?

Edgar Feuchtwanger: I got a 2:1. Rather an ordinary thing to do. And the other person who taught me quite a lot and who was in a sense sort of, if you like pastorally responsible was a chap called Frank Salter. And Frank Salter, who was a Fellow at Magdalene, who was very interested in er, adult education, the Workers' Educational Association. He was, I think, chairman of the Cambridge Extra-Mural Board, and he thought that would be a good thing for me to do. And that's what, in fact, I then started to do.

AG: You went straight in...?

EF: I started first part-time down here with the, I think, the WEA, which was also linked to the...I've forgotten what it was called then, the Department of Adult of Education. There was this whole sort of set up in those days, which virtually doesn't exist anymore, you know. The universities and the Workers' Educational Association,

they ran this whole network, which was thought to be of great importance of course, and in a way it was because of course a whole generation, particularly of Labour politicians, had come out of all this.

AG: And what did you do?

EF: I began to be a lecturer in that, and I was then taken on by the university.

AG: At Southampton?

EF: At Southampton. And I, you know, I lectured all over mostly Hampshire, of course it was, and then we went a bit into Dorset and East Sussex. And my whole life was: I, you know, during the day I thought, or I thought I thought, and I prepared and then in the evening I lectured. And that's the sort of life I led for quite a few years.

AG: How long did you work with the WEA?

EF: I mean, with the WEA alone I think it was only about a year or so and then it was with the university, but it was still with the WEA. The whole thing was a giant thing...

AG: We used to call it Extra-Mural Studies.

EF: I was in the extra-mural thing, I think, for most of the fifties. We also in those days had to do a lot with the army. I don't quite know how. Yes, well of course you still had national service and therefore it was very much part of the brief that you had to supply the same facilities to people who were doing their national service. You had to give lectures and so on and so forth or, if necessary, you had to be able to take some exams or whatever, and so it went

Tape 3: 3 minutes 53 seconds

on. And of course there was an awful lot of that sort of thing round here because Aldershot was part of the thing and Portsmouth, Navy, and so we did a lot of that sort of thing as well as the ordinary civilian evening classes.

AG: And how did you find that sort of work?

EF: Well I liked it on the whole because it gave you a sort of, you know, broad brief and you could really talk about what interested you, and you weren't too confined in, you know, certain academic channels and so on and, yes, I liked it. But I then started to do a PhD you see, which was easier to do because I was of course, strictly speaking, on the staff of the university. So I could do a staff degree and that I did and er...

AG: When did you do that?

EF: I think I got the PhD about in 1958, so I must've started about '54, '55.

AG: What was your subject?

EF: Well my subject was really part, well mostly the Conservative Party organisation. It was a subject which a chap called Gash, Norman Gash, you know, is a well-known historian, the biography of Peel, and so on. Well, I think what he wanted or he suggested I should do, do it you see on urban conservatism because the second Reform Bill, after all, was passed by the Tories on the assumption that it could mobilise the urban working class. And this was a subject which hadn't been much explored and I found that was in fact very difficult to do because you would've had to travel, you know, a lot of trying to find local papers and so on. And I soon came to the conclusion that it was much easier to look at the papers of leading politicians, like Disraeli and so on. And so gradually I shifted to, well, it's really the foundation of the Conservative Party organisation, which Disraeli did, you know. He, purely pragmatically, passed the Reform Act, so he had to have people, you know, to organise urban...The Liberal Party had a much better network. They had trade unions; they had... the Reform Leagues worked for the Liberals. The Conservatives didn't have much, not in urban areas; because of course they were mostly county. And so there was a man called Gorst who, you know, I wouldn't say he became my hero, but he was first a man who had quite a career in New Zealand you know, the Maori king, and then I think for some reason became a Conservative MP, and Disraeli picked him to do this job. And I did find a lot of correspondence of theirs. So I really became the historian of setting up..., which I think has not been much superseded. My book was eventually published by the Oxford University Press. It's there, I think it's there somewhere.

AG: Which year was it published?

EF: I think it wasn't published until 1968, but I remember Blake was the reader for it and he found it did the job and he used it in his biography of Disraeli. And it's a very sort of down to earth research, you know, nothing ideological, nothing philosophical, and that could be done within reason round here. You know I could go to Hughenden, where Disraeli's papers were. In those days Hughenden, I think it already belonged to the National Trust, but it was in the keeping of one ex-army sergeant who said: 'Right, you look in the basement, it's all in deed boxes, you take what you want and carry it up to the top of the house'. There was a room where one could sit and do it. That's how it was, quite simple. It's now all in the Bodleian. But in those days...And it was very hit and miss. And you know there

Tape 3: 8 minutes 50 seconds

were other people around here, a lot of politicians have their base in southern England. I could find papers. And so I did it.

AG: And what about your personal life. I mean presumably you started out living at home?

EF: I started out living at home and well, the curious thing, I met my wife through the army because, as I was just saying, we had to do a lot of this sort of lecturing, and there was also...Did we have to run courses for the staff college exam? I think we did that. Anyway, my recollection is we had three generals, you know, who had fought in the Second World War, one of whom became my father in law.

AG: How did that come about?

EF: Well, I don't know, he invited me to his house in Devon and so I met Primrose.

AG: Could you tell us just for the tape his family name?

EF: Essame, the funniest name but it's E, sometimes it's spelt Essum. He was a Second World War general. I think we did talk about it, he...

AG: I don't think we talked about it on the tape actually. We did but not on the tape.

EF: Well, anyway he...

AG: Tell me for the tape.

EF: He was, you know, he was a fighting general, commanded a brigade all the way from the Normandy beaches to Hamburg or Bremen. Real fighting general. And then I think he commanded bits of Vienna or was Deputy Commander of Vienna and so on. And we always got on very well and that's how it happened.

AG: And when did you actually get married?

EF: We got married in 1962, yes.

AG: Where did you get married?

EF: Where?

AG: Yes.

EF: In Devon. You see, he lived in Devon and his wife was actually a doctor. She was a..., which was quite rare in those days, she had a General Practice in Honiton in Devon, which subsequently my brothers-in-law had. And she, you know, stomped around in a small Morris during the war, that's before I knew her. But, by the time I knew them, she was just about to retire from that. But she had, I think, trained as a doctor in the First World War and then women couldn't really, hardly do it in England. But she then went out to India where she married her husband who was in the intervening period stationed in India for a long time. And there she did practice. In fact it's still... Our daughter, who is a journalist, when she was working on *The Telegraph*, was suddenly told she must do Pakistan. You know, newspapers have these

Tape 3: 12 minutes 31 seconds

supplements on some occasion. She didn't even know where Pakistan was, but never mind. So she then became the specialist for Pakistan whenever it came up, and three times she went to Pakistan and the fact that her grandmother had, I think, worked at the, I think it's called Lady Dalhousie Hospital in Karachi where Benazir Bhutto had her babies, stood her in very good stead.

AG: Yes. While we're talking about... you mentioned your daughter. Could you tell me...well, before we get onto your children, where did you settle with your wife when you were married?

EF: Well we then settled round here. Not in this house to begin with. We rented a house in Twyford which is near here, and then, a few months after we got married, we decided we needed to have a house, own a house, and we found this plot, or somebody found it for us, which was chin high with stinging nettles. You couldn't get on it, you know. It was part of the next door, which wasn't like that in those days either; it was a small rural labourer's cottage which has since been extended. And this was part of the plot and they sold us this part and we built this house.

AG: Gosh, and you've been here ever since?

EF: Yes.

AG: And when were your children born? Tell me about them.

EF: Antonia, who is the eldest, who is a journalist, she was born in 1963. Adrian, whom you've met, was born in 1965.

AG: Just for the tape what does he do?

EF: He's a translator. And I don't know whether he did show this to you. He's at the moment translating this catalogue for this Museum of Jewish Artefacts that's going to be shown in Hohenems and then in Jerusalem and, rather interesting, done by this chap Falk Wiesemann, who is a Professor in Düsseldorf. And so he also worked as a translator on the Klimt...

AG: Oh yes the Klimt, the picture case, yes.

EF: And the youngest was born in 1972. There's quite a gap between two and three and she is in human resources at the Royal Bank of Scotland.

AG: What's her first name?

EF: Judith.

AG: And do you, skipping ahead a bit, do you have grandchildren?

EF: We have three grandchildren. They're all by the eldest, Antonia. They're all boys. One is called George. He is twelve. The second is called Thomas and the third is called Peter. And George has two. His second name, I think, is Leo, which he has because of Lion, and I think his third name is, I can't even quite..., I think it's Vernon Har.... Antonia's husband's, or Antonia's

Tape 3: 16 minutes 17 seconds

Mother-in-law's family are Vernon Harcourt, again a very distinguished family, and so Vernon Harcourt is also in the name, but Leo also is.

AG: I jumped ahead a bit there. From the WEA and the extra-mural studies, were you then sort of absorbed into the history department?

EF: Yes. After I'd done...obviously I did the PhD in the history department.

AG: Ah yes.

EF: And then I started to teach also in the history department. And for a while I straddled the two departments. But then, I can't remember exactly when it was I was completely in the history department. And, anyway, the whole extra-mural thing changed so much. Those of us, as you probably were yourself, working in universities and had to do a certain amount of administration, you forget about it. It's probably Freudian suppression, it was so ghastly.

AG: Yes, yes. Were you still mainly concentrating on British and English history?

EF: No, then I, well, the first thing where I went into German history was because, there's a lady, Ilse Wolff, I'm sure you know about her, who was the secretary at the Wiener Library. Her husband was called Oswald and they founded a publishing firm called Oswald Wolff. And, while Oswald was still alive, he asked me to write a book about Prussia. It's still around, Prussia: Myth and Reality. It's also been translated into German. It's just the sort of book which I would write, but one would hardly write now, very sort of ideological you know. What is, what does Prussia stand for? I mean Oswald was rather concerned to, sort of, make it clear to the English-speaking public that Prussia isn't...anyway, to say Prussia is the villain of the piece is oversimplified. And I think that's why he asked me to write it. Why he should've asked me to write it I don't know, but he did and of course up to a point... I mean I've always done a little bit of German history, almost everybody did anyway or European history. And so I wrote that and then, as I think I may have mentioned, well the Third Reich became such a big students' draw and the one person who did it at Southampton, Alan Merson, retired and then it more or less fell to me to do that and of course that was, became quite a big item. I mean, I was then divided between...I still taught a special subject, late Victorian party organisation; that was my special subject. But I had to teach much bigger numbers on Imperial and Weimar Germany, a little bit into the Third Reich. I didn't go too far into the Third Reich.

AG: So this is where your future books came out of.

EF: And then, when I retired, that was just the point at which computers came in. And whereas of course when I was still in the university I did write a bit, after all you had to, to keep your end up, but in those days I wrote in longhand and of course one had a secretary, who could transcribe it. And that's how I operated. But then, when I retired or around about that time, you got computers and you could do it all yourself, well much more easily. As a result of that, I've probably written more since I've retired than I did before, because you are then...you've got nothing much else to do. I did actually go on teaching after I retired, for another seven years. I retired at 65 but I only stopped teaching regularly when I was about 72, about ten years ago, and even then I did a little bit more. But I certainly was not so involved. You've got more time, and, if you're actually asked to write as a retired person, you're faced with a...if you

don't, if you say no, well it's the end of it, so you might as well do it and it keeps you out of mischief.

Tape 3: 21 minutes 28 seconds

AG: Which of your books are you particularly pleased with or proud of?

EF: Erm.

AG: You've written a lot in recent years.

EF: I don't really know. I suppose I did those two biographies. I did Disraeli and Bismarck.

AG: Very big figures, yes.

EF: Yes, and I mean, they're not seminal biographies or anything like that. I mean, there are masses of biographies of these people and really I only did an up-to-date one for the sort of academic market, but I think they're quite nice, quite readable.

AG: Your most recent one, Albert and Victoria, is well, a good deal...

EF: That's a bit of different thing because...

AG: That's a new one, that's quite different.

EF: What happened was I was asked to do a contribution on the reign of Victoria for a book called *English Kings and Queens*, which was published in German and which was done by the then director of the German Historical Institute in London called Peter Wende. Perhaps you knew him. And I knew him quite well because, briefly, I was guest Professor in Frankfurt, and so I then got to know him and he asked me to do the Victoria thing. Well, out of that I wrote another little book called *Queen Victoria In Her Time*, that green one, and then Hambledon Press said: 'you must write something for us', and I had to think very hard of something I could write, still without you know... I didn't want to sit in Coburg for nobody would pay for it anyway. So I wrote this much more, you know, for the general reader. I hope it makes a reasonably good read, sort of semi-coffee table type of book.

AG: Oh, I think it does it does make a good read. As I'm reading it at the moment I'm qualified to say so.

EF: That's kind of you to say so.

AG: I dispute your description of it as coffee table, certainly the bits on...the way you work in things like...I mean, very complicated stuff, of Bismarck's constitutional manoeuvrings when he first came to power as prime minister. Even that you make, I won't say straightforward, but it's, I thought it's woven in remarkably, remarkably skillfully.

EF: Well I thought that one should weave a certain amount of that in, otherwise it'd be nothing, because I mean the, Albert and Victoria, well Victoria and Albert, they've been done dozens and dozens of times. There's no point in doing that again.

AG: Yes, yes. Mustn't get too sidetracked on that! One area I haven't asked you about it is your children. Were they educated round here?

EF: Yes. The two girls were educated in St. Swithin's School, which is a girls' school here.

Tape 3: 24 minutes 46 seconds

And Adrian was at Winchester, again.

AG: And did they all go on to university?

EF: Yes. Antonia the eldest went to Cambridge.

AG: What did she read?

EF: She first read philosophy. No, she first read philosophy and then I think switched to history. And Adrian did languages.

AG: Where?

EF: At New College, Oxford. And he did Russian and German. And that's why he still does Russian, but as a translator. He's found that most of his business is German because, you know, it's a commercial thing of course. And the youngest went to Exeter where Primrose went.

AG: Ah. What did she read?

EF: She read Agricultural Economics.

AG: And did you find you got to know, sort of, local parents through St. Swithun's?

EF: Yes, but I mean we've always known a lot of people round here. A lot of people. Yes.

AG: Mainly academic contacts or ...?

EF: Not really, no. All social, social.

AG: Mainly British?

EF: Almost entirely. Well occasionally people have Swedish wives or something like that, but they all...

AG: Right. I was getting at whether you had many refugee friends or acquaintances?

EF: I'm just trying to think. Well we haven't obviously round here, because...

AG: I know that, because we've also done an interview with her for this project, that you're very friendly with Bea Green.

EF: Well I knew her as a child. We were really, sort of, best friends. And then she, I think, did come on the Kindertransport didn't she? And in fact through her I got drawn into this a bit. I've once or twice given a lecture to Kindertransport audiences. There was quite a big thing in London one year ago, when...

AG: One of the anniversaries.

Tape 3: 27 minutes 21 seconds

EF: Although, I mean, what I did was pretty similar to Kindertransports, but it was only me, one person. But she was on the Kindertransport. And then, in some curious way, she came to live in...with a family here, a Colonel Williams, whom I can't remember whether we did know them or, my parents must be back then. And so we've always sort of come together again on... And she, you know, well she came four weeks ago and had the book launch and I think, was it two or three years ago? I was given that decoration by the German government, you know, what is it? Verdienstkreuz...

AG: Verdienstkreuz, Bundesverdienstkreuz, yes.

EF:...and she came to that presentation, so I always ask her if anything like that happens. I think I got that because when I was at Southampton, there was a point where we needed some contact - I think it was when I was still in adult education - with a German university and we were somehow put in touch with Frankfurt. And in the sixties Frankfurt was one of the most disturbed German universities and we got linked with people who were, you know, the sort of liberals of the university but who were very much under pressure. And they liked having us, having a contact with us. And of course my colleagues at Southampton from all sorts of departments, whom I collected together to go there, they found all this fascinating. You know, to find all these people discussing Marxism in highly esoteric terms. They thought it was great. And so we set up this link with Frankfurt University and it then branched out into a sort of staff exchange. Frankfurt was always very generous. They always had one lectureship for a Southampton person and so it went on and on and on. And that's why I got this. That was just, you know, it just happened.

AG: So, when you go back to Germany, it sounds as if you go back without too much, how can I put it, without too much sort of baggage?

EF: Well I suppose...when I went back, further back and, as I said before, I don't know whether it's on the tape, people of my mother's generation for some reason, and I'm not talking just about my mother, I'm talking about my uncle...

AG: You did.

EF: I'm talking about a lot of the Feuchtwanger cousins. They all went back, not to live there, but you know they often went back to spend weeks on end in the summer,

again in Munich or one of the lakes. And, when I first did that with my mother, I think my feelings were much more ambivalent. But of course in the course of time, after all, the people who are there now, hardly anybody has got anything to do with.... And the few people I know still from way back, they weren't the sort of people whom one can hold anything against.

AG: It makes me think of asking you the question, that you seem to be remarkably well integrated socially in this part of the world, but how do you think of yourself in terms of your own identity? Do you think of yourself as British or English or German or German-Jewish or what?

EF: I think I would prefer not to give myself a label. I know I'm a sort of multi-label person, and I mean, obviously, everybody knows what my background is. I make no secret of it, in fact I would say I exploit it.

AG: How so?

Tape 3: 32 minutes 0 second

EF: How what?

AG: How do you mean you exploit it?

EF: Well you know I'm asked to give lectures...

AG: Oh I see.

EF: at the Sparsholt History Society and I talk about Munich and living opposite Hitler. That always goes down terribly well, wherever I go. And so I exploit it and, on the other hand, well I mean, let's face it: I've lived her since I was fourteen and in a very specific sort of context, and you know I still, I, how shall I say, I know I belong in some ways to an English generation that is now out of date, or I don't know.

AG: Well you come from a very specific, well, German or German-Jewish culture at the same time.

EF: I do, that too, yes yes. That's true, yes, yes. And so, well. Does it matter? Why should one have just one label?

AG: Indeed. Indeed. Before we finish I'd just like to ask you if, when family and friends see this and, perhaps other people in years to come, if you have any message or any words or anything you'd like to say, as a sort of conclusion or a resumé or a message from your life?

EF: Well, one thing I would say is, you know, one's just got to be oneself. One is how one is. One has one's history and there's nothing much you can do about it and not that one has to be ashamed of it either. And I think actually it's quite a good thing, I mean from some points it's a bad thing to live long, which I'm beginning to do, but I think in some ways it sort of adds to one's perspective. I quite like now that I can sort

of look back on all sorts of things and, I don't know whether with any greater wisdom but...

AG: Well in that case Doctor Feuchtwanger I'll say thank you very much indeed for doing this interview with us. Thank you.

EF: Thank you for letting me talk!

AG: It was a pleasure.

Tape 3: 35 minutes 2 seconds

PHOTOGRAPHS

AG: Who is the person in this photograph?

EF: That is my father, aged 50.

AG: Could you just, say his name?

EF: His name is Ludwig, Doctor Ludwig Feuchtwanger, and it was taken to mark his fiftieth birthday in Munich, in 1935.

AG: Thank you very much.

AG: Who are the people in this photograph please?

Tape 3: 35 minutes 42 seconds

EF: That is my mother, Helena Feuchtwanger, nee Rheinstrom, with me as a baby in Munich in 1924.

AG: Thank you very much.

AG: Who are the people in this photograph please?

EF: It's my father and myself in 1929. He was aged 44. I was 4.

AG: Where was it taken?

EF: In Munich.

AG: Lovely.

EF: Yes, that's what I was just going to show you. He was a net...

AG: Who are the people in this photograph?

EF: That is my wife Primrose and myself, taken in December 2002 in Sydney, Australia.

AG: Thank you very much.

AG: Who are the people in this photograph?

EF: That is my daughter Antonia and her husband Simon Cox at their wedding here in Sparsholt in 1989.

AG: Thank you very much.

AG: Who is the person in this photograph?

EF: That is my son Adrian and the picture was taken in Winchester in the early 1990s.

AG: Thank you very much.

AG: Who is the person in this photograph?

EF: That is my daughter Judith and it's taken at a horse trial near Southampton in about 1990.

AG: Thank you very much.

AG: Who are the people in this photograph?

EF: They are my grandchildren, George, Thomas and Peter, taken in December 2005.

AG: Where was it taken?

EF: Most of them in Italy I think.

Tape 3: 38 minutes 13 seconds

AG: Thank you very much.