

IMPORTANT

This transcript is copyright Association of Jewish Refugees

Access to this interview and transcript is for private research only. Please refer to the AJR Refugee Voices Testimony Archive, prior to any publication or broadcast from this document.

AJR Refugee Voices Testimony Archive

AJR

Winston House, 2 Dollis Park

London N3 1HF

ajrrefugeevoices@ajr.org.uk

Every effort is made to ensure the accuracy of this transcript, however no transcript is an exact translation of the spoken word, and this document is intended to be a guide to the original recording, not replace it. Should you find any errors please inform

ajrrefugeevoices@ajr.org.uk

Interview Transcript Title Page

Collection title:	AJR Refugee Voices Testimony Archive
Ref. no:	31

Interviewee Surname:	Pulzer
Forename:	Peter
Interviewee Sex:	Male
Interviewee DOB:	20 May 1929
Interviewee POB:	Vienna, Austria

Date of Interview:	8 September 2003
Location of Interview:	Oxford
Name of Interviewer:	Dr. Anthony Grenville
Total Duration (HH:MM):	2 hours 20 minutes

REFUGEE VOICES: THE AJR AUDIO-VISUAL TESTIMONY ARCHIVE

INTERVIEW: 31

NAME: PETER PULZER

DATE: 8 SEPTEMBER 2003

LOCATION: OXFORD

INTERVIEWER: ANTHONY GRENVILLE

TAPE 1

Tape 1: 0 minute 38 seconds

AG: Could I start by just asking you to state your full name, please?

PP: Peter George Julius Pulzer. Originally it was Georg, but I added an 'e' to make pronunciation easier. And the Julius was also the name of my paternal grandfather.

AG: And where were you born?

PP: I was born in Vienna, on the 20th of May 1929 as I sometimes remind myself, three weeks before the birthday of Anne Frank. And occasionally I ask myself, 'Suppose our fates had been reversed'.

AG: Could I ask you to tell us about your family background?

PP: Well, we were a rather typical middle-class Viennese family. My father was a first-generation graduate, he practised as a civil engineer.

AG: What was his name?

PP: His name was Felix. He practised as a civil engineer, but he'd had the very wide training that the Technical University in Vienna gave, so he also qualified as an architect and was very interested in design of all kinds. In fact, the chair I'm sitting in was designed by him. And we managed to bring it out with us.

AG: Oh, I hope we got that in shot.

PP: And although he was quite young, and hadn't achieved a position of great prominence, he managed to find work throughout the economically rather difficult years of the 20s and 30s.

AG: When was he born?

Tape 1: 2 minutes 33 seconds

PP: He was born in 1899, and he was the youngest in a family of four.

AG: Was he born in Vienna?

PP: He was born in Vienna. Both my parents were born in Vienna. Like most Viennese, they had parents and grandparents who came from everywhere in that monarchy. On my father's side from Moravia, on my mother's side from Hungary.

AG: Was your father of an age to serve in the First World War?

PP: Yes he was. He was born in 1899, so he was 18 in the last year of the First World War, and he became an officer cadet in the First Engineers, and I've got quite a few maps that he had. He was a great figure of trenches. He originally served in Italy and then was moved to the Western Front, which was unusual for an Austrian. He was attached to a German unit, and then got various German medals for bravery under fire. I sometimes wonder whether in the course of these military engagements he met my future father-in-law, who was a captain in the British Army in France, but they were fortunately on different parts of the front.

AG: Which part of the front was your father on?

PP: He was in Verdun. And my future father-in-law was at the Somme. So no joke for either of them.

AG: Was your father wounded or did he emerge unscathed?

PP: He emerged unscathed, though his older brother was killed.

AG: And he then had a successful career?

PP: Yes, after demobilisation he went to university, it was a five-year course. And he got a variety of jobs with civil engineering firms, and was involved, probably in a rather subordinate way, in a number of quite prominent projects. One was the so-called 'Hochalpenstrasse', the road up to the Grossglockner.

Tape 1: 4 minutes 58 seconds

He was involved in the first trans-Danube suspension bridge, the Reichsbrücke. But also in a number of the celebrated municipal blocks of flats, but his name doesn't appear on any of the plaques, you know, he was doing office work.

AG: What about your mother?

PP: Her name was Margaret, Margarete, and her maiden name was Breiner. She came from a very large family. She herself had only a brother, but there was a huge extended family in various parts of Central Europe, many of whom we didn't know, they either lived in other parts of Vienna or outside Vienna. And she trained-. Her father trained as a blacksmith, but then became, in a very small way, a hardware wholesaler, he ran a one-man business.

AG: What part of town was that?

PP: This was in the 20th district, Brigittenau, not terribly upmarket, but we had a comfortable flat. As far as I can make out, my parents were saving up to be able to move to the suburbs, but nothing ever came of that.

AG: When was your mother born?

PP: She was born in 1901.

AG: When did she meet your father?

PP: It must have been in the early twenties. I think it was through her brother, who was also a student at the Technical University, and he became a friend of my father, so I suppose that's how they met. They were married in 1926.

AG: Do you know where they were married?

PP: Yes, I think they were married in the City Hall in Vienna. I've got the marriage certificate somewhere. Yes, I think it was actually in the Rathaus on the Ringstrasse.

AG: Had she trained at all?

PP: Yes, she was a handicraft teacher.

AG: Did she actually teach at a school or college?

PP: I think she taught evening classes and gave private lessons. And after I was born, after my sister and I were born, she gave this up.

AG: Seeing as you mention your sister, when was she born?

PP: She was younger than me, she was born in 1934.

AG: What's her name?

PP: Her name is Karin. She was only four when she came to England, and all her schooling was here, like mine. And she trained as a secretary and worked for the BBC.

AG: In the German section?

PP: No, in the World Service. It was called something else in those days, in Bush House. And she worked for a number of rather interesting and eminent chaps, including Martin Esslin, with whom she kept up an intermittent correspondence until he died, which was only about two or three years ago. And she met her future husband on a skiing holiday, as one does. He's a German.

AG: Non-Jewish?

PP: Non-Jewish German.

Tape 1: 8 minutes 32 seconds

PP: And for a time they lived in England and then he went abroad on various projects. He was also an engineer, he is an engineer. They spent several years in Afghanistan, they spent several years in South Africa, and they are now settled in Germany, where their daughters live and their grandchildren live, and they come over from time to time, and I go over from time to time. So contact is maintained. We were quite assiduous letter-writers, but email has now taken over, so I suppose the correspondence which was once archived very carefully will be lost to future generations.

AG: Which city does she live in?

PP: She lives in Hattingen, which is in the Ruhr, it's between Essen and Bochum, but, contrary to what one might think, quite rural, very attractive, and if you sit on the veranda of their house you see nothing but hills and trees and wild life.

AG: Going back to Vienna, you said your family was in Brigittenau? Do you remember the address?

PP: That's right. Oh yes, yes, I remember it quite clearly. I've been back to Vienna quite often.

AG: What was the address?

PP: It was in Pasettistrasse. It was in fact round the corner from Meldemannstrasse, Meldemannstrasse 27, which, as you know, was a municipal doss house, not a doss house, but a shelter for the homeless. One or two of its residents gained later notoriety, though at the time I don't think he made much impression on the neighbourhood.

AG: For the tape, I should say this is Hitler.

PP: Yes, but I think it's wrong to call it a doss house. Brigitte Hamann has established that it was, by the standards of the day, quite a comfortable shelter for the homeless.

Tape 1: 10 minutes 50 seconds

AG: Was this a flat or a house?

PP: This was a flat. It was a typical Viennese block of flats, four or five stories, we lived on the first floor, or the Mezzanine as it was called, or the piano nobile, and I think it was the largest flat in the house, and it was the only flat which had its own bathroom. So we stood out from the predominantly proletarian neighbours.

AG: In what way would you say this was a typical Viennese flat? Lots of people are not familiar with the flats in Vienna.

PP: Well, it was typical in the sense that it was rather foursquare and grey, with a certain amount of pseudo-Palladian decoration over the windows, a quite elaborately designed staircase, no lift, the concierge lived on the ground floor, the bigger flats were on the first floor, and the further you went up, the smaller and pokier the flats became. And I think quite a lot of

the smaller flats didn't have running water. I seem to remember that there was a tap on the corridors, from which you were expected to fill the washbasins and kettles and saucepans. And it was an L-shaped flat, which many of them were, and you came into a rather large hall, that was the short leg of the 'L', and the long leg of the 'L' divided the kitchen and the bathroom from the living quarters.

AG: How many rooms?

PP: There were, well, if you exclude the kitchen and the bathroom, there were five rooms, three of them interconnected, a dining room, drawing room, my parents' bedroom, the nursery.

Tape 1: 13 minutes 32 seconds

[Interruption]

PP: And a nursery and my grandfather's bedroom. He continued to live-, it was originally my grandparents' flat, and, when my grandmother died, my parents moved in but he stayed on. And the fifth room was his office, from which he ran his one-man business. And it was the one room in the house that contained the telephone.

AG: Did you have any domestics?

PP: Yes, there was a cook, who lived in the neighbouring house. Occasionally, she also babysat for us. She came very much from an Austrian, Viennese, working-class family, a very class-conscious family. Her brothers were active Social Democrats and in one case a communist.

AG: What was her name?

PP: Her name was Anna. At first sight, you might have thought that she was not very bright. But suddenly in mid-life she acquired a certain amount of Wanderlust, and in 1937 decided to take a domestic position in England. There was no political requirement for this. As I say, she was not Jewish. And spent the rest of her life here. I think she died a couple of years ago in her nineties. And we maintained contact with her.

AG: Where did she find work here?

PP: She started work in Guilford, in Surrey, and then moved to Sussex and worked for various families and then ended up in an old-folks home. And she used to go back to Vienna regularly to visit her various siblings. But she was the youngest in the family and one by one they pre-deceased her, so towards the end she just stayed on in England, and, as I say, she died a couple of years ago, in her nineties.

AG: How did she fare during the war, as a non-Jewish Austrian, well, German, I suppose?

PP: Well, somehow or other, she managed to escape internment. I don't quite know how she managed that but she did. Maybe as a domestic servant to an upper middle-class family she was regarded as being engaged in essential war-work.

AG: Let's go back to your parents, your family, your home. Was it at all a Jewish home in a formal sense?

PP: No, not in the least, not in the least. My parents had a civil marriage, which was quite difficult under Austrian law, because civil marriage was valid only for persons of different denominations. So my father actually took the step of resigning from the Jewish community, the 'Israelitische Kultusgemeinde', in order to be able to contract the civil marriage. His main motive was that most rabbis in Vienna were orthodox. He might have been prepared to be married by a reform rabbi, he certainly wasn't going to have anything to do with an orthodox rabbi. And then, in 1938, after the Anschluss, he was required to rejoin the community, the 'Kultusgemeinde', which occasioned a certain amount of sarcasm on their part. He said that they said to him, "Jetzt kommen Sie zurück zu uns"- "Now you're coming back when you need us". I suppose there was a certain amount of justice in that.

AG: And was anything observed, did they go out to synagogue on Friday evenings?

PP: No. No. And I don't think my grandparents did. It may be that they were 'three-day Jews', you know, they go to the synagogue for Yom Kippur, Rosh Hashanah and Passover, but maybe not. I was not conscious of their being at all observant.

AG: Were there other Jews in the house?

Tape 1: 17 minutes 47 seconds

PP: Well, there was also a great aunt of mine, a sister of my grandmother, and her family. She was a widow, she had two sons. She emigrated to the United States with her two sons. And her grandsons actually have become quite famous. One of them was the novelist, Allen Kurzweil, and one of them is the computer wizard, Raymond Kurzweil. So these were, these are second generation refugees, who, like many of their kind, made it, thanks to their parents or grandparents being able to emigrate at the right time. But, as far as I know, these were the only Jews living in that block of flats. There was quite a large Jewish population in the 20th district, but it was further south, living on the borders of the 2nd district, whereas we lived quite near the Danube, which was quite a way away from the main area of Jewish settlement.

AG: In among your parents social circle, were there Jews?

PP: It was predominantly Jewish. I was unaware of this until after the Anschluss. And then, after the Anschluss, it became clear that so-called assimilation meant mixing with other assimilated Jews. It was a secular network, but it was a predominantly Jewish network. Not entirely so, partly through my father's professional connections, one or two of his friends or acquaintances turned out to be of somewhat dubious loyalty, but others were not, others were not. And, of the latter category, we re-established contact after the war. But I would say the majority, you know, people who came to dinner-parties, people with whom they went on holiday, people with whom they mixed socially, were in their majority Jewish, at any rate of Jewish origin, but also predominantly secular, and non-observant.

AG: What sort of places did they go on holiday?

PP: We went to the countryside, to the Alps, I mean this was the typical Central European middle-class way of life that one went to a farm somewhere in the countryside for four weeks

in the summer. That was the family holidays. If they went on their own, they went a bit further afield, they went to the Adriatic, sea-side resorts in the Adriatic. On one occasion, they went to Paris for the World's Fair, in I think 1937, for the World Exhibition. And, on one occasion, they went on a Mediterranean cruise. But they were people of modest means, they could not afford luxurious holidays. They were sufficiently well-off to be able to afford an annual holiday, but not to go on grand sprees.

AG: Did they have cultural pursuits?

Tape 1: 21 minutes 33 seconds

PP: Very much so. I mean, in addition to having his architectural and design interests, my father had a great interest in history and biography, and I still have quite a lot of his books. Very much so, he was very much a man of ideas. They were both music lovers, and they went to the theatre, to the opera, and continued to do so when they came to England. We had a gramophone, a small collection of chalaks, some of which I still have, the original recording of the 'Dreigroschenoper', that sort of thing. Yes, culture was there. It was the typical cultural life of that segment of Viennese Jewish middle-class.

AG: And did you father frequent cafés?

PP: No. My grandfather did.

AG: Which ones?

PP: The local one. It was the local one. No, they didn't, but I think we lived in the wrong part of Vienna for that. There were cafés, but I would have thought that the typical clientèle there were taxi drivers. Because they were not too attractive for my parents. I mean he may have frequented cafés when he was a student, or before he got married, but the café was not part of his life. His brother-in-law, his sister's husband, was a great frequenter of cafés. His daughter, my cousin, who also managed to get to England, came here on her own and her parents didn't follow her, partly because her father was a Hungarian citizen and therefore thought himself safe. But I once asked her what the deterrent was. And she said her father had said, and I quote this in German, "Was soll ich dort anfangen? Es gibt doch keine Kaffeehäuser"- "What am I to do there? They don't have coffeehouses". So that, I think, indicated his priorities. In this respect, he was different from my father.

AG: Turning to you yourself, perhaps I could start by asking you about your schooling. When did you start your school?

PP: Schooling in Vienna began at the age of six. So I went to the local elementary school, which was a couple of blocks away. It must have been a rather good school, of its kind. I was there for three and half years. And, at the end of those three and a half years, I knew quite a bit of formal grammar and quite a bit of basic arithmetic, and I could do multiplications, long division, that sort of thing. So I think that, in its work-a-day way, it taught us efficiently.

Tape 1: 25 minutes 22 seconds

AG: What sort of other children were there?

PP: It was mainly from the neighbourhood, that is to say mainly lower middle-class and working class. Very few other Jewish children. It was a boys' school, it was a single-sex school.

AG: Did you make friends there?

PP: A few. Not many. I didn't have an awful lot in common with the majority of the pupils.

AG: But that was more because of your social origins-?

PP: Yes, yes, than anything else, that's right, yes. My friends were the coeval children of my parents' friends.

AG: Did you encounter any anti-Semitism?

PP: Before the Anschluss, none. After the Anschluss, really not much. My class teacher was absolutely straight down the line. He announced after the Anschluss that there was to be no nonsense and that all the pupils would continue to be treated equally. The headmaster was a very nasty piece of work. And he did the rounds of the classes making racist speeches, but more against the Czechs than against the Jews. So I think the answer is that one's experiences were very random and very chancy, they depended, you know, in a different class I might have had a quite different experience. And then, of course, at the end of 1938, Jewish pupils were segregated, and I went to another school, a more distant school for Jewish children only. And that too was quite an interesting experience. Of course, we fancied ourselves, you know, that because we were an all Jewish school, we were intellectually superior.

AG: Where was this school?

PP: It was still in the 20th district, it was near the market.

AG: Do you remember the name?

PP: Well, I think it was named after the street in which it was located, the Gerhardusgasse.

Tape 1: 27 minutes 48 seconds

PP: It was, I suppose, a 15 minute walk from where I lived, a 15 or 20 minute walk. And a lot of our teachers were dismissed Gymnasium professors, so the teaching was of quite a high standard. But really, nobody's mind was on the academic work. There was a constant turnover of pupils coming and leaving, a constant turnover of teachers coming and leaving, and really there was only one topic of conversation and that was 'Are you emigrating, and where are you emigrating?'

AG: Going back a little bit, can I ask you how you remember the Anschluss?

PP: Well, I remember it very clearly because I was ill in bed with flu. And there was a lot of noise going on outside because they were playing the-

AG: Did you understand politically what was going on?

PP: Not really, not really. My political awareness before the Anschluss, I was eight at the time of the Anschluss, no, I was just, I was nearly nine, that was intermittent. I remember the assassination of Dollfuss in 1934, I remember the Civil War, the Social Democratic uprising, because we were living in a Social Democratic area in Vienna, so there was a certain amount of smoke and gunfire going on. I remember newsreels of the Spanish Civil War, and of the Chinese-Japanese War, but these impressions came and went. I was aware that there were disturbances before the Anschluss, involving Nazis, but that was about it. I didn't really appreciate what the significance of that was. And then, as I said, I was ill in bed, there were planes overhead, there were rumblings in the street, there were either lorries or tanks, I don't know, and I asked what was going on. My parents did their best to explain that from then on life would not be as it had been before, that one had to be extremely careful what one said to whom, one had to avoid all indiscretions, and from then on one was going to be a second-class citizen, under suspicion, and that one might have all sorts of unpleasant experiences. And I took this in, and did my best to comply.

AG: What was life like, daily life, for you after the first months of the-?

PP: Daily life wasn't very different, except on occasions. As I say, school went on much as before. One of my aunts had a drapery shop, near where we lived, and of course she was subjected to boycotts, and there were storm-troopers standing outside her shop, and she was obliged to display a poster saying, 'Kauf nicht bei Juden'- 'Don't buy in a Jewish shop'. But that came and went, and she had to give up her shop in the end. But, as I say, there were comings and goings. What does stick in my mind is Kristallnacht and that was very unpleasant, very unpleasant indeed. Something like ten or a dozen storm-troopers just invaded our flat.

AG: What sort of time of day was this?

PP: This was late afternoon. Looted everything they could lay their hands on, even to the extent of grabbing a necklace that was round my sister's neck. And of course carted off my father and grandfather to the Gestapo headquarters in the Schwedenplatz. But, fortunately, they emerged unscathed.

AG: How long were they there for?

PP: Some hours. They were back the next morning. There was a certain amount of difficulty. My father was released. And he said, to his credit, "I'm not leaving without my father-in-law", so he waited around until he was also released. Then an odd thing happened. This was early in the morning, it must have been 3 or 4 a.m., there was no way of getting back home, so they came home by taxi. And, of course, having been carted off peremptorily, he had no money on him. They said afterwards the taxi driver must have known they were Jews - who else was going to get a taxi at four in the middle of the night from the Gestapo Headquarters on the 11th of November? And my father said, "Well, you'll have to wait while I go upstairs, while I go home to get some money". And there was no problem about that, whereas the guy could have been very unpleasant, had he chosen to be so. There was always this element of the unpredictable in Vienna, where anti-Semitism was much more violent than in Germany, it was much more widespread. The looting, the so-called wild expropriations happened much more quickly and much more thoroughly, but, at the same time, you had remnants of Viennese sentimentality, and being a 'good chap', and you never knew where you were. Were you going to meet a thug, an opportunist, or someone who retained some of the old values?

Tape 1: 34 minutes 11 seconds

AG: You said that some of your father's non-Jewish friends turned out to be of dubious loyalty. What was the sort of balance, were they a minority, or-?

PP: It was fifty-fifty, I would say, it was fifty-fifty.

AG: What about the people who remained, did they tend to be left-wingers?

PP: In some cases, yes, in other cases not necessarily. No, I don't think there was a syndrome. There were just people who said, 'Right, if you're somebody's friend, you remain somebody's friend'.

AG: You said that you re-established contact with some of them. How many of them survived?

PP: Of course, in so far that they were not Jews, they, well, they may have suffered from bombing, or they may have been obliged to join the Wehrmacht, where the survival rate was not very high either. Some of the-, especially the elder generation survived. And we had to take the initiative to re-establish contact because none of them knew where we were. We'd moved around during the war. So my father got out his address book and started writing to the people he cared to write to. And in the majority of cases there were replies.

AG: And, going back to Kristallnacht, was this the decisive factor in getting your parents to make plans to emigrate?

PP: No. They decided pretty soon after the Anschluss, given the very swift radicalisation of anti-Semitism, the fact that my father lost his job-.

AG: Was that straight away?

PP: After a few months. He was able to go on freelancing, to do backdoor work for his former employer, so there was an income. But he lost his job, we were evicted from our flat.

AG: Where did you go?

PP: Well, I went and lived with some aunts and my parents and my sister lived in a, one of these recognised Jewish houses, I think it was a one-room flat, somewhere in the 9th district. So there were any number of signals that indicated, you know, you must get out of here, if you can.

AG: How did they set about it?

PP: They set about applying to all agencies that existed for the purpose of helping refugees, of writing to any relatives that we had in, however distant they might be, in other countries, there were one or two in the United States, there were one or two in Argentina, there was even one in Cuba. You know, could they try to get us a visa, put up a bond to guarantee that we wouldn't be a burden on the social services. And they were not particularly choosy about where they would go in the first place. One symptom of their early preparations - we all

started learning foreign languages frantically. We all took Spanish lessons in case we might go to Latin America; we took Hebrew lessons, in case we were going to go to Palestine, and I think my father took up a bit of English, so we tried as much as possible to prepare ourselves for immigration wherever. And, in the end, it was the UK that turned up trumps. As we know, whatever criticism one might make of the attitudes of the British government, there was no doubt that the private and voluntary efforts to aid refugees in Britain were second to none. And, in the end, through the good offices of a clergyman's family in Hertfordshire, we were able to come out in February 1939.

Tape 1: 38 minutes 48 seconds

AG: What was their name?

PP: Their name was Ponsonby and I'm happy to say, and put on record, that we continue to be good friends with their children and their grandchildren. In fact, one of their grandsons was a pupil of mine when he was an undergraduate here, so it turned out to be a very close and happy relationship.

AG: Which denomination were they?

PP: They were C of E.

AG: And which organisation effected the emigration of your parents?

PP: It was the one that was located in Woburn House. I forget its exact name. I'm not sure whether I knew its exact name. It was my parents who dealt with the letter-writing and the signatures. I was nine or ten at the time. I just tagged along.

AG: So this Reverend Ponsonby, he was your guarantor?

PP: Yes, it was actually his wife who did the donkey work. She was an absolutely tireless carer for other people's welfare, you know, of the sort that one is familiar with from English middle-class life. That is an absolute and total salt of the earth.

AG: I ought really to ask what their first names were?

PP: Her name was Phyllis, his name was Morris.

AG: Did they help other refugee families?

Tape 1: 40 minutes 40 seconds

PP: Yes, they helped other refugee families, Jewish and non-Jewish. And there were-, they lived in a rather large house, and, among the other people who passed through there, there was a Lutheran pastor and his wife, who had either fallen foul of the Nazis or had profound conscientious objections to them. And, there again, I discovered what a small world, how small the world is. The house next to the one in which we are talking was for a time a residence for graduate students at Oriel College. And one of these students was a pupil of mine and, when he graduated, he gave a party. And one of the people who turned up at his party were his grandparents from Canada. And they were the Lutheran pastor and his wife,

whom we had shared house with in Hertfordshire in 1939. It was only then that I realised what the connection was.

AG: Where was it in Hertfordshire?

PP: It was in Much Hadham.

AG: Where was that?

PP: I think it's near Hitchin, I think.

AG: What do you recall of your departure from Vienna?

PP: Well, we had, on the one hand we had to get rid of a lot of our possessions, and they were sold at knock-down prices, because everybody else was selling up. We managed to get some of our possessions into some of these large crates.

AG: Is that what they call a lift?

PP: A so-called lift. And, if you bribed enough Gestapo officials, you could get it to Trieste, which was a free port, and, if it didn't get stolen there, then it might end up in Tilbury or somewhere like that and finally you could retrieve what you had managed to send out. It was a great relief, leaving Vienna.

AG: How did you leave?

PP: We left by train. From Westbahnhof, and got into the train.

AG: When was this?

PP: Do you know, you might think that I would remember the date of what, in some respects, I believe must be one of the most important days in my life, and I do not remember. It was in mid-February, but whether it was the 9th or the 10th or the 11th or the 12th or the 14th or the 15th, I do not remember. And I have no documents. Somehow or other, my parents' passports, with their visas and emigration and immigration documents, disappeared, in some wastepaper basket and I-. It was in February 1939, in mid-February 1939, that's all I can tell you. I mean, it's the most extraordinary lacuna in my memory.

AG: Do you remember the journey?

PP: Oh yes, yes.

AG: What in particular?

Tape 1: 44 minutes 9 seconds

PP: Well, travelling through Germany, seeing places I had not see before, going there during the night, crossing the Dutch frontier, now there was a rite de passage, suddenly seeing the Dutch customs official, with his different uniform, and his different stamp, rubber stamp, you knew you were alright.

AG: Were there other Jews on the train?

PP: Not that I knew, not that I knew. Probably.

AG: Did the German officials give you a hard time?

PP: Not in our case. I know in some cases they did. Some in the Kindertransport had their toys stolen. In our case, it was straightforward.

AG: How did you cross the channel?

PP: We crossed the channel from Flushing, Vlissingen, it wasn't Hoek of Holland in those days, to Harwich. Very stormy, I was sick, my sister was sick. Got the train to Liverpool Street, where we were met by friends, and we stayed with them in London until we were ready to go to Hertfordshire.

AG: What were your first impressions of England in February?

PP: Well, it looked very Turnerish. It was misty, it was foggy, it was at night. There were steam trains puffing away. Liverpool Street was a much larger station than the Westbahnhof, it had one of these great cast-iron girders, the station is divided in two, or was in those days, and there was a taxi rank in the middle, which I thought was very odd. And then, well, what's the difference between London and Vienna? It was much bigger. It was obviously a much more prosperous place, the double-decker buses, it had red telephone boxes, it had pillar boxes, it had York Stone slabs on the pavements, it consisted of houses rather than flats, it had a much more extensive underground system, and they spoke a language I couldn't understand.

AG: You only spent a relatively short period of time in London.

PP: That's right. I didn't in the end join my parents in Hertfordshire, because I, again, I think through the good offices of the Ponsonby family, I got a place in a small school in High Wycombe in Buckinghamshire, it was called 'Wood Side'.

AG: Does it still exist?

PP: No, no, it existed for two or three years. Which was run by an elderly couple. He'd been, I think, a colonial civil servant, and she was a teacher. And the idea was, I think, to give us a crash course in English and a bit of general education. In fact, it was precisely the kind of school David Blunkett has in mind for immigrant children, which gets so loudly denounced by the politically correct, and which gave us a bit of education in British customs and British history, which is now so loudly denounced by the politically correct. And it did me nothing but good. Had I not gone to this school, which in a sense segregated me from British society for a few months, I would have been much less well equipped to integrate later, and I certainly wouldn't have been able to sit and pass a scholarship exam to the local grammar school within a year of arrival in this country.

AG: In English?

Tape 1: 48 minutes 21 seconds

PP: In English. So, you know, I'm all in favour of special, separate education for immigrant children because I think it's in their interest and they will benefit from it. Not for the long term, but initially, as a crash course.

AG: So this school was effectively entirely composed of-?

PP: Of refugee children from Germany, from Austria, in one or two cases from Prague. I was there for a few months. And, after I left, I lost contact with those of my friends who'd been there, the school closed down in 1942, they went off in various directions after the war, some of them emigrated further or joined their parents, if their parents had survived. And that was the case until a couple of years ago, when I bumped into, actually, one of the boys with whom I - 'boys', he was in his seventies, as I am now - with whom I had shared a dormitory. And he came up to me after a lecture which I had given, his wife having seen an advertisement for the lecture, and said to him, "Didn't you say you knew somebody of that name?" And so they turned up at the lecture, and he came up to me afterwards and said, "Do you remember me?" And I said, "No, I don't remember you, I'm amazed you remember me". And so that made two of us, and then the thing snowballed, and there were quite a number of these old Woodsiders, who are in contact with each other. A minority, because, as I say, I dare say some of them are dead, some of them don't want to be associated with former pupils, some of them are elsewhere, California, Australia, who knows? But there is a hard-core of us, and it's very odd.

AG: Do you have a reunion?

PP: We haven't had 100% reunions. We've had partial reunions. And there was a lot of email traffic, which is good for keeping us in touch. It's bad in being a substitute for physical encounters. One can always put off meetings by thinking, 'Well, we can always send each other electronic messages'. So these are the advantages and disadvantages of modern technology.

Tape 1: 51 minutes 17 seconds

AG: What's become of your former fellow pupils?

PP: Well, predictably the ones with whom it's easiest to make contact are the ones who have been in one way or another successful. One of them became a professor of mathematics at the University of London, one of them actually became a professor here, whom I knew by sight, because, like me, he would turn up at every chamber concert in Oxford. But because we hadn't coincided at the school, he joined after I'd left, I didn't know what the contact was. It was through a third ex-Woodsider that we finally established that we shared this past.

AG: Who is this?

PP: His name is Stephen Wilbarth, who is a very eminent geologist. I mean, you mention his name in geological circles, and you will get the response, 'Ah, yes'. And what of the others? One of them is an engineering site manager, and one of them is a multilingual scientific translator. So they are all in egghead occupations of one kind or another. Whereas I think that the ones who are not, are more likely to hide themselves.

AG: This must have been the first time you'd boarded, or been away from home. How did you find that?

PP: That's right, yes. Well, not too difficult, the school was small, it was really a big family, there were never more than 20 of us at one time, and the staff were really very kind. Again, if you were to ask me to sum up my experiences, which you no doubt will, at the end of this interview, I will have to say that at every stage I fell on my feet. We were terribly lucky to find this family in Hertfordshire, we might not, I was terribly lucky to be at this school, with its very cosy atmosphere, I might not.

AG: The staff were all English?

PP: No, the couple who ran the school were English, and the rest were also refugees. There was a housekeeper and there were a couple of teachers.

AG: Do you remember any names of your refugee teachers?

PP: I don't. I expect I could look it up but I don't remember the names. You know, it is now sixty years ago, more than sixty years ago, sixty-five years. And then, when my father got a job in Kingston-on-Thames, again with an engineering firm, his specialism was reinforced concrete, which I think was more developed on the continent, at that time, than in Britain. But, in the spring of 1939, there was a demand for specialists in reinforced concrete, and he couldn't find enough work, designing air-raid shelters. In fact, he designed the air-raid shelter underneath the market place in Kingston-on-Thames, which is still in existence but is used as a cold-store for vegetables.

Tape 1: 55 minutes 10 seconds

AG: Did that mean they moved down to Kingston-on-Thames?

PP: We moved to Kingston-on-Thames, yes, and I then joined the family. First of all, I went to elementary school in Kingston, and then to the grammar school in Surbiton.

AG: What's the name of the school?

PP: Well, it was called, when I joined, it was called Surbiton County School for Boys, and then it became Surbiton County Grammar School, and then it moved and it became a sixth form college.

AG: How did you find going to an English school?

PP: I'm probably a quite adaptable person, and it was, by the time I got to the English school, my English was alright.

AG: How long had you been here?

PP: A few months, a few months. At that age, one learns quickly. I mean, it was adequate for the purpose. And again, it was a reasonably friendly environment, there was a certain amount of curiosity value, because Kingston was not an area, it was not Hampstead, it was not the

Finchley Road. There were a few other refugees living in the neighbourhood but, apart from me, there were only one or two pupils at either of the schools that I went to.

AG: Did you encounter any hostility?

PP: At my school, none. In my grammar school, the staff were very good, very supportive, very helpful.

AG: Even during the war?

PP: Even during the war. It was, I should have thought, by the standards of the time, a rather liberal establishment. One or two of the pupils at times made unpleasant remarks. Others, on the other hand, went out of their way to be nice.

AG: When they made unpleasant remarks, were these aimed at you as a Jew, or as a refugee, or as a German?

PP: A mixture, a mixture. Yeah. They were fairly rare, maybe there were half a dozen incidents in the course of my seven years there.

AG: The tape's about to end, so perhaps we should have a break here.

Tape 1: 57 minutes 42 seconds

TAPE 2

Tape 2: 0 minute 7 seconds

AG: We were just talking about your time at the school in Surbiton. How did you get on there academically?

PP: I got on well. I would say, in the first two or three years, my performance was distinctly average, then I got the bit between my teeth. I mean, as School Certificate, as it was called in those days, and Higher School Certificate, loomed, I realised that I needed to become a high achiever if I were to get anywhere. And, of course, my parents assumed, as people from that stratum were bound to assume, that I would go to university, so I would say from the lower fifth and fifth form onwards, I did well.

AG: Did you excel in any particular subject?

PP: In history. I was on the arts side. In history, in languages. Less so maths or the sciences.

AG: Quite early in your school career, the war must have broken out?

PP: Oh, yes, yes. The war, yes, the war broke out. Now, I was still at Woodside, in the first three months of the war, I was at Woodside, then I moved to Kingston and I was at the elementary school in Kingston for two terms, and that included the beginning of the serious bit of the war, the Norwegian campaign and the fall of France, the beginning of the Battle of Britain.

AG: Was your family's life affected by the outbreak of war at all?

PP: Not by the outbreak of the war. To some extent, my father's career benefited from it, because air-raid shelters were now even more in demand. But then, in June 1940, he was interned on the Isle of Man.

AG: Do you remember him being-?

PP: Oh yes.

AG: Can you describe it?

PP: My mother was rather distressed. My father took it very philosophically.

AG: What happened?

PP: Well, a couple of policemen turned up and said, you know, "I'm very sorry but I'm afraid you'll have to come with us". And I remember my father saying to my mother, "Don't worry, this isn't the Gestapo". But it took quite a long time for him to be released. He started off at Hightown, near Liverpool, and then moved to the Isle of Man, where he was quite active in this unofficial university, which had flourished there.

AG: Do you know which camp he was in?

PP: That I can't tell you anymore. But it wasn't until the following February that he came back home.

AG: How did your mother manage financially?

PP: Well, I think if one's, if the breadwinner were interned, one got something or other from the state.

AG: Were you able to communicate with him?

Tape 2: 3 minutes 36 seconds

PP: Oh yes, yes, yes. One could write. The letters were censored, but one could write, but one had to use a certain form, and the letters couldn't be sealed. But one could write. It was probably more worrying for my father, being there on the Isle of Man, and hearing every day that London was being bombed.

AG: Yes, and what was your experience of that? Do you remember the Battle of Britain?

PP: Oh, I do, very much so, yes, yes, yes. I mean, it was a strict rule, but, as soon as the sirens went, one had to dive into a shelter. But, of course, no self-respecting school-boy would ever do anything of the sort because it's exactly then that the fun would start, and you could look at the Spitfires shooting down the Messerschmitts.

AG: Could you tell the difference?

PP: Oh yes, every schoolboy was an aircraft spotter. You could tell a Junkers from a Dolomire and the Spitfires from a Hurricane, and whatever else.

AG: So did you see dog-fights?

PP: I saw some dog-fights. I mean, on the whole, if the noise got too close, then one did go into a shelter.

AG: Did you have any sense of the atmosphere at the time of the Battle of Britain?

PP: I suppose I must have been aware that it was touch and go, that the outcome depended on whether the Germans tried to invade, and on whether the Germans would try to invade, what our future, if any, would be. Because, if an invasion were to occur, it was fairly obvious that it would be successful, because British defences were land defences, as opposed to sea and air defences, were not very good. So yes, I think-. But I myself took a rather Churchillian view, you know, 'We're not interested in the possibilities of defeat'. And again, I think this was quite typical of arrogant ten-year-old schoolboys. Of course we will win!

AG: Did you hear Churchill's speeches?

PP: Oh, yes, yes, yes. No, they were a must. I can still hear his voice. "We shall never surrender." Absolutely, yes, yes. That was a great morale booster. Perhaps more for people like us than for the general British public.

AG: Why do you take that view?

PP: Simply because we had such a particular stake in the outcome of the war, because it would have been such a disaster. Either if there had been a successful German invasion, or if there had been a peace with an untrustworthy German dictator. And the fact that Churchill personified the policy of excluding this possibility, meant that he was a universal hero in the refugee community. What I didn't realise was that he was the brains behind the internment. You know, 'Corral the lot' was his phrase, but that was not known at the time.

AG: What about, after the Battle of Britain, followed the Blitz, what are your memories of the Blitz?

PP: Well, again, as long as you weren't actually hit, it was a game.

Tape 2: 7 minutes 18 seconds

AG: How did it work?

PP: Well, you looked out of the window at night, and you saw the search-lights, and you saw the aircraft shells exploding, and it was quite a spectacle. I know this is a very inhuman way of looking at it because war is a great tragedy, all wars are a great tragedy, and this war was a particular tragedy, but, for a ten-year old, it was very exciting, or an eleven-year old, or a twelve-year old. I remember D-Day.

AG: Oh yes?

PP: Because our house was under the flight-path. And all night, all night, the planes rolled overhead, and they woke me up, and so I went to the window to see what was going on, and my father was already up, and I said, "What do you think is going on here?" And he said, "Well, this is it, isn't it?" And it was. But I knew about D-Day some hours before it happened, because of the house being under the flight-path, under one of the flight-paths.

AG: And were you near any bombs?

PP: Yes, we were. Actually, it was the V1s that were more dangerous than the bombing. And our house was next to a large hospital. And the hospital was hit by a V1. It was the Kingston General Hospital. And it broke our windows, and the plaster came down from the ceilings, so we lived in a somewhat makeshift way for some weeks.

AG: When there was bombing, did you have your own shelter or did you go to a communal shelter?

PP: No. We had what was known as a Morrison Shelter. That's to say one of these metal constructs. And my sister and I slept in this cage. So, I think, even if we'd suffered a direct hit, we'd have survived, though we'd have had a certain amount of dust in our lungs.

Tape 2: 9 minutes 37 seconds

AG: It must have been a great strain on your parents, working and having all this-?

PP: Yes, they hid it from us. I knew there was rationing, and I knew that, as a result, food was rather monotonous and boring. There were two kinds of bread and one kind of cheese, and one kind of jam. But, in the main, they did their best to maintain a show of normality.

AG: And did they make friends and acquaintances in those days?

PP: Yes, yes. This is another example of our falling on our feet, because the Ponsonbys, when we moved to Kingston, alerted the local vicar, and the local vicar called us, and again, somehow, we hit it off. And, although you might think that my father, the atheist Jew, and the vicar, the public school Anglican, would have had nothing in common with each other, they did, because although he was a public school Anglican, he was also, somewhat atypically for the Church of England at the time, a pacifist socialist. So he too was, within the parish, a bit of an outsider, and, unlike most of his parishioners, had intellectual and artistic tastes, so they hit it off, and became friends. And, through him, there were other friends.

AG: Did you have friends and contacts among the refugee community?

PP: A few, a few. There weren't that many. There weren't that many. We knew some of them.

AG: Going back to you now, how did your education, academic career then continue?

PP: Well, yet another example of falling on my feet. The vicar of Kingston had before then been vicar at the chapel of King's College, Cambridge and knew the senior tutor of the college and introduced me to the tutor, so when the time came to choose university entry, I chose Cambridge, and I put Kings as my first choice college, but of course one doesn't get it through the vicar knowing the senior tutor of the college, one has to sit an exam. And I sat the

scholarship exam and I got the scholarship. So, to that extent, I suppose it was my merit. But, had it not been for the contact, I might have chosen less well. Because my six years at Kings really were a quite marvellous time and I think were the true formative experience of my life.

AG: Which year did you go in?

Tape 2: 12 minutes 56 seconds

PP: I went up in '47, straight from school.

AG: What did you read?

PP: I read History. I read the History Tripos. And then, in 1950, since my father was by that time naturalised and therefore I was, I had to do my National Service and, after the National Service, I went back to Kings.

AG: What class degree?

PP: Yes, I got a first.

AG: And you said your father became naturalised, was this before you went to Kings?

PP: Again, I can give you the date, but I don't carry it in my head.

AG: I just wondered if you would have had difficulties with fees and the like, if you weren't, if your father wasn't a British citizen. I heard of people who couldn't go to university because of naturalisation.

PP: I think my father probably was naturalised at the time. I had also applied for what was at the time a County Major Scholarship, and there was some bureaucratic obstacle to my not getting it, but I don't think it was connected with not being a British citizen.

AG: Sorry, I interrupted you, you were about to tell about the National Service.

PP: Well, I did my National Service in the RAF, as an education officer, and then-

AG: Where was that?

PP: Partly in Lincolnshire, partly in Somerset, nowhere terribly exciting, I mean, not Malaysia, or the Gold Coast, or anywhere like that.

AG: And what was that like?

PP: Well, I was really a teacher. It was OK. Had I not had-, if I hadn't had to do it, I wouldn't have done it. So, to that extent, it was a hole out of my life. On the other hand, the work was not too arduous and, at that time, the RAF was rather enlightened in encouraging its personnel to seek further educational qualifications. Now, this was basically to get, to encourage the squaddies to get, an O' Level. But I enquired whether it also applied to getting an external degree, and they said there was nothing in the regulations that says it doesn't. So I extended

my National Service to three years, in order to be able to do this, and took an external degree in Economics.

AG: You needed quite some mathematics for that.

PP: Well, either I knew more mathematics than I thought, or they lowered the standard in order to let me pass, but I passed. There was a compulsory paper in statistical math, and how I ever got through that, I do not to this day know. But I did. And then I went back to Cambridge.

AG: I didn't ask you earlier what your impressions of Kings were, I mean, as a refugee. What sort of people did you mix with, and what was it like?

PP: Well, it was Cambridge in the 1940s, and therefore it was, on the one hand, predominantly public school, on the other hand, predominantly, I wouldn't say predominantly, but quite largely, ex-service. And the ex-service people were in many cases in their late twenties, often married, and they had one priority and that was to get through their courses as quickly as possible. And because they were older than the other undergraduates, and probably regarded us as being rather immature, one didn't naturally have much contact with them. They lived outside the college, if they had families, and, as I say, they got their noses to the grindstone and tried to do everything in two years and so they were, with some exceptions, out of the social circuit. The others, well, again, Kings was exceptional among the Oxbridge colleges at the time. It was rather Bloomsburyish. A lot of music went on, in part through the college and the choir, but not only. The college concerts were of a very high standard. It was very heavily associated with the Mahler Society, with its quite superb productions. And a lot of people, who later became household names, like Peter Woodthorpe, or Jonathan Miller, or Peter Hall, or John Barton, cut their teeth in the Mahler Society. And at least some of them were at Kings. So, in all these respects, it was very much a mind-opening and a spirit-opening experience. Now, I thought I knew a lot about music, I knew about chamber music, about the Lieder repertoire, about the symphonic repertoire. What I knew nothing about was English liturgical music. I didn't know who Tallis or Byrd or Gibbons were. And they were the daily fare of music in the chapel. And that was a great widening of my, of the repertoire of my appreciation. So, all in all, I mean, like most colleges, it was cliquey and one was more welcome in some cliques than in others. And I suppose I mixed more with grammar school types than public school types, though not totally so. And there were some other refugee students.

Tape 2: 19 minutes 25 seconds

AG: At Kings?

PP: At Kings. That drew us together. But, all in all, it was quite mixed. I took up rowing and some of my friends cynically remarked it was typical of me to choose a form of exercise one could do sitting down. And that brought me into contact with totally different people, and one or two of the friends I made there have been life-long friends. One of my fellow crew-members became sixth-form master at Nottingham High School, and I went there a number of times to talk to sixth-formers, and he is a very keen and very expert gardener, which I'm not but my wife is. And the last time we went there, I think I spent two hours talking to the sixth-form, and he and my wife spent more like twenty-four hours going round his garden. So there were overlapping, interlocking circles, and I made a point of belonging to more than one.

AG: And you didn't find the fact that you were a refugee of Jewish origin was-?

PP: No, absolutely not. I mean, certainly, as far as fellow undergraduates were concerned, the answer is no. As far as the fellows were concerned, the ethos of the college was such that it was almost unfairly a plus. There was an automatic assumption that one was bound to be an intellectual. And, once or twice, I suspected that I was actually being treated in a way that, at a school, one might have called favouritism. I didn't realise this until afterwards. It doesn't occur to one at the time. At the time, one thinks one is being treated like everybody else.

AG: Was this by one of your tutors?

PP: By more than one, by more than one.

AG: Did you have eminent tutors?

PP: Yes, yes, I was taught by Christopher Morris, who was quite an authority on Tudor and Stuart England, by John Saltmarsh, who was one of Sir John Clapham's prize pupils in Economic History, and, above all, by Noel Annan, with whom I maintained friendly contact right up until his very sad death a few years ago. In fact, when one of my books was republished a few years ago, he was the speaker at the book launch. So that was in every respect a totally positive experience.

Tape 2: 22 minutes 42 seconds

AG: Jumping forward to when you returned as a graduate, what was your subject?

PP: Well, I'd always been interested in history, in particular in political history, and particularly 19th and 20th century history, and I actually specialised as an undergraduate in French history. And there were the politics of the 3rd Republic. And it was in that context that a question opened itself in my mind, which is the paradox of political irrationalism in late 19th century Europe. Here was a period, which had begun with high hopes of reordering itself along rational liberal lines, that at last Enlightenment was to come into its own, and, in fact, it saw a revival of integral nationalism, of integral religion, fundamentalist religion, and of anti-Semitism. And, especially if one had my kind of background, and if one had been at the receiving end of this unfortunate development, one was bound to ask what did this consist of and why did it happen? But originally I asked myself this in the French context of the Dreyfus Affair and of nationalists, like Drumont and Maurice Barrès and so forth, and of in-betweeners, like Charles Péguy. And then, when I returned to Cambridge in 1954, I thought I would try to tackle this, but to tackle this comparatively, bringing in Germany and Austria as well. But that was too tall an order. It was too tall an order in two respects. One, there was simply too much material, and the other was that work on France had actually been done, there were a number of good books on the French aspect of this topic. And it began to dawn on me that the amount that I could add was probably not very great. Whereas there still was a lacuna on Germany and Austria. So I finally wrote my thesis on the origins of anti-Semitism in Germany and Austria, having begun in France. But whose thesis, in its final form, has ever resembled the project in its original conception?

PP: So that was in 1957 and I finished my thesis in 1958. And, by that time I had decided that my first choice for a career was an academic one, though one couldn't be certain of getting an academic post in the late 1950s because there were very, very few jobs. And one of the

reasons that I decided to do a PhD at Cambridge, which was not usual in those days, one simply wrote something, which one hoped would qualify one for a fellowship, was that I might have to look for my first job in the USA, where a PhD would be a requirement. But again, I fell on my feet, I got a job at Oxford, it was a college lectureship at Magdalene College and Christ Church.

AG: When was this?

PP: This was in 1957. I hadn't yet finished my thesis initially, but there it was, in the oven. That was a three-year lectureship, which was then renewed. And I gradually became part of the Oxford scene. I became an Official Student of Christ Church in 1962, that being the nomenclature for a Tutorial Fellow, and I would have been perfectly happy to spend the rest of my life there. I went abroad, visiting professorships came one's way, and are very important, because otherwise one becomes provincialised, and one falls into a routine. And I had three stints at various American universities.

AG: Which ones?

Tape 2: 24 minutes 18 seconds

PP: The first one was at the University of Wisconsin, which was a very good place to start at because, on the one hand, it's in the Midwest and therefore more archetypically American than Harvard or Stanford would have been, in their rather more cosmopolitan East and West Coast environments. But, of its kind, it was extremely good, specially the Political Science Department, which was where I was teaching. It really had some very eminent people there, Austin Rally and Leon Epstein, and a number of others, and one was immersed in a very different academic environment, with very different teacher and student requirements. And I learned a lot simply by spending however many months there, and also, while one had a vague image of New England or the West Coast, being in the Midwest, and touring in the Midwest, and driving around, was also a new experience. And it was a very open egalitarian place.

AG: When were you there?

PP: It was 1965. It was just the beginning of the Vietnam War. And I was drawn into the politics of that. But the university is in Madison, which is also the state capital. So there was also quite a lot going on. And the governor of the state was, at that time, a very liberal Democrat, Governor Nelson, who, in those pre-terrorist days, simply mixed with everybody and had his lunch in the staff canteen, which would be impossible nowadays, however much you might want to do it. And there was one occasion when a Soviet delegation visited Madison. I think it was a governmental delegation, not an academic one. And they were taken to the state capital, and they asked who it was standing there in the hash-brownies queue, and they were told, "That's the governor of the state", and they simply wouldn't believe it. They said, "No, you're making it up". So they said, "Here's his photograph". And they said, "No, he's a double!" And the next day they were taken in the governor's office and here he was again, and they were simply obliged to believe that the governor, like everybody else, stood in the cafeteria queue for his lunch. And it was this openness, the often slightly superficial, hail-fellow-well-met character of American society, which was very different from the suburbs in which I had grown up in, and also different from Oxbridge, which is internally egalitarian, but not with regard to the outside world.

Tape 2: 30 minutes 36 seconds

AG: Where else did you spend time?

PP: I also taught at UCLA, the University of California Los Angeles, and at the School of Advanced Studies in Washington DC, which was part of Johns Hopkins, and that was teaching purely graduate courses. And again, the fellow faculty members were in some cases quite eminent. And the students were good. And they were untypical for American students in all having been required to learn a foreign language, so the reading that one assigned to them was much wider. It was in the centre of Washington, in Massachusetts Avenue, opposite the Brookings Institution, and down the road from the Library of Congress, and again it was a very fruitful time.

AG: You said you had eminent colleagues there-.

PP: Now, I would have to rack my brain, but David Calleo, for instance, and specialists on, Arnold Wolfers, and specialists on the Far East, specialists on the Middle East. Very good people.

AG: Actually, we've been rather neglecting your personal life. I must ask what was becoming of your father and mother?

PP: Well, my father sadly died very young, of cancer. That was in late 1957. My mother lived on for another 25 years. But it was all a bit of an anti-climax for her, she went on living in Kingston, and then in Surbiton, and she had her circle of friends, and she went on going to concerts and to the opera. And of course I had, in the meantime, married, and-.

AG: Yes, do tell us.

PP: That's right, yes. Well, I met my wife here in Oxford. And we were married in 1962.

AG: What was your wife's maiden name?

PP: Marshall.

AG: And her first names?

PP: Gillian. Gillian Marshall.

AG: And what did she do in Oxford?

PP: She was a chef in a restaurant, the Tudor Cottage in Iffley. And, after we got married and she expected our first child, she left the restaurant. It was in the Good Food Guide. And, the year after she left, the Good Food Guide said, "This place isn't what it was", which was a great source of satisfaction to us both.

AG: What sort of background does your wife come from?

PP: Her father worked in the Bank of England. In fact, both her parents worked in the Bank of England, and he'd been-. The family background, further back, is partly clerical, partly bohemian. There is a vague connection, which we've been trying to disentangle, but it is very difficult to disentangle because there was a large amount of alleged illegitimacy with the Warwickshire literary coterie of the early 18th century, and all sorts of people went to bed with each other, who, in accordance to the norms of the time, should not have done so. So, whether my wife was actually descended from some of these famous people, or not, we shall probably never discover. Though somehow, somehow, we have a portrait hanging in the hall of some of the members of the family, so how it got down to us, and how her ancestors were entitled to it, if they were not true bloodline descendants, I don't know. It's all shrouded in a bit of mystery. And the rest of the family consists of, consisted of, clergymen. Both her grandfathers were clergy, and, in fact, one her nephews is a clergyman, now married to a female clergyman, so that element is still in the family. It was very much an educated middle-class family.

AG: And, from the sound of it, almost 100% English?

PP: Yes, well, except one quarter of the family came from Ireland. And, again, there is a certain amount of mystery surrounding that. It was a Church of Ireland clergyman, but one suspects, further back, the family was Catholic, when the family name was Doyle, which tends to be more of a Catholic than a Protestant name. But certainly, as far as we've been able to trace, the family was Church of Ireland.

AG: You mentioned the birth of your first child?

Tape 2: 36 minutes 22 seconds

PP: That's right, yes. Well, of course, when there were grandchildren, my mother acquired a new lease of life.

AG: How many children do you have?

PP: We have two, both boys. Both boys, yes, Matthew and Patrick. They've done well, both in their own ways. The eldest son read Engineering and began work with an engineering research firm, but, as you know, in British industry, as soon as you're any good at your job, you are promoted to something that you don't want to do. And he was told that he was going to be promoted. And when he asked what he was going to be promoted to do, he was told 'Sales'. He said, "No, thank you", because he's a hands-on person. And he was developing electronic equipment. And he has now moved sideways into scientific journalism, and he's working, he works for a publisher of scientific journals. And my younger son became a musician.

AG: Ah!

PP: And lived in worthy poverty, playing percussion, which requires great overheads, because, on the whole, neighbours don't like you practising at home. And he's done a variety of jobs, he works, he manages a record shop, he works some of the time as a carer for a disabled couple, and he keeps bees.

AG: Do they live near?

PP: He lives in London. The older son lives in Brighton, he went to the University of Sussex, and was so keen on Sussex, on Brighton, has so many friends in Sussex, in Brighton, he's gone on living there, although he works in London.

Tape 2: 38 minutes 39 seconds

[Interruption]

AG: I think I'd just asked you if your two sons and families, if any, live near home?

PP: Well, no family, no grandchildren, but, as I say, the younger son, the musician, lives in London, and the older lives in Brighton, which he has been in love with ever since he was a student at the University of Sussex. And his first job was also in the Science Park at the university, so he's been there for twenty years, more.

AG: And, going back to your academic career now, you arrived in Oxford at both Magdalene and Christ Church. What was Christ Church like?

PP: Well, it was a bit old-fashioned. It was actually, in some respects, less formal than Magdalene. For instance, at Magdalene, the fellows processed into dinner in order of seniority. In Christ Church, they just shambled in any old how. I think it's part of an aristocratic egalitarianism, the club atmosphere, which I referred to earlier. But once you were in there are no further distinctions. Academic standards were at that stage not very high. In any one year, there were a few very bright pupils, including some who have made academic or other careers, have become household names, but the majority were rather humdrum, and a few were actually pretty dim. And that changed in the course of time. By the late sixties, the public school element was much reduced, and entry was much more meritocratic, by the seventies even more so, by the beginning of the eighties, we were co-educational. And now I would have thought the college was probably in the upper quarter, and certainly in the upper half, of the Oxford colleges in academic attainment. I mean, it's altogether professionalised itself in this respect.

AG: Did you teach a history degree or PPE?

PP: Both, both. Yes, I taught for both, until the mid-seventies, and then I became senior tutor in PPE. I felt I couldn't carry on any longer doing the history teaching, which is a source of great regret to me, because some of the history undergraduates were very interesting people and it was a subject that continued to interest me, but I simply couldn't do it all.

AG: Your dissertation turned into a book-

PP: My dissertation turned into a book. At a time when there wasn't a huge interest in the subject, it went out of print.

AG: When was it published?

PP: It was published in 1964. It was republished in 1988 and it's still in print, in the USA at any rate. It's in print with Harvard University Press and if you'd said to me in 1958, "Will your thesis still be in print 45 years from now?", I'd have said, "You must be joking. I haven't

even found a publisher yet". But, there we are, that's a source of gratification for me. It was also translated into German and the German translation will come out again in a few months time, with a new long introduction by me on how the subject has, the topic has been researched since I wrote about it.

AG: Do you feel you were doing pioneering work?

PP: To some extent, yes. That made it both more difficult and easier. There were fewer signposts. On the other hand, I could map out the road as I wanted to.

Tape 2: 43 minutes 39 seconds

AG: Did you encounter people who turned their noses up at this area of research, or thought that it was not what you ought to be doing?

PP: There were some who were surprised that I thought it a matter for serious academic investigation. I mean, there is the old liberal attitude that anti-Semitism is so contemptible, you know, that it's not worth investigating at an academic level. You get a touch of this in Hugh Trevor-Roper's introduction to 'Hitler's Table Talk'.

[Interruption]

PP: ...in the introduction Hugh Trevor-Roper wrote to 'Hitler's Table Talk', where he says that Hitler's ideology, Hitler's set of ideas, is of absolutely no interest at all. You know, here was a crude philistine, who rambled on. And researchers since then have revised this view, and if you look at recent works on Hitler, say those by Ian Kershaw or Brigitte Hamann, then you know there is a topic worth investigating there on how his mind came to be formed and how his world view evolved. And, because of this change in attitude, people no longer say about my thesis, my book, "Why do you concern yourself with rubbish like that?" But I then went on to do some quite different things. As I've said in another context, I didn't want to be a one-trick circus dog. My teaching was on entirely different topics, my teaching was on British History, Comparative Government, Political Theory, these were the requirements of the PPE syllabus. And my next book was on British politics, British electoral politics. And it did very well, in fact, it has sold more copies than any other book that I've written. And that too is out-of-print now, and out-of-date, but you can still read it on the internet.

AG: What's its title?

PP: It was, goodness me, 'Elections and Political Representation in Britain', which is a bit of a mouthful. But then inevitably one is-, what reputation one has is determined by what one does first. And, as academic and popular interest in modern Jewish history revived and, as academic and popular interest in anti-Semitism and other forms of racism, xenophobia and nationalism, revived, I began to be in demand in the context of my original interest. And I became associated with the Leo Beck Institute in London, which is concerned with researching and publicising modern German Jewish history. And I started writing for their symposium volumes, and their yearbook, and gradually became more and more involved with them and ended up as their chairman, which I still am. That of course brings one into an international network, and quite a lot of my more recent writings have again been on this topic. I wrote a book in 1988, called 'Jews in the German State: the political history of a minority', which is now out in paperback, I'm happy to say. I contributed to the multilingual

German-Jewish History in 'Modern Times', four volumes, which has come out in German and in English and is coming out in Hebrew. But, at the same time, two of my more recent books have been on more straightforward German history.

AG: What are they?

PP: One is called 'Germany 1870 to 1945: politics, state-formation and war'. And the other, which I wrote first, continues the story, is called 'German Politics 1945 to 1995'. So I keep my feet in more than one camp, which I think is good for one.

AG: Did you find it difficult to find time for research and writing while you were also teaching large numbers of undergraduates at Christ Church?

PP: Oddly enough... I taught undergraduates until 1984. And in the sixties, seventies, and early eighties, especially if one took advantage of one's entitlement to go on sabbatical leave, it was possible to get on with research. The long vacation was there for three and a half months, one could travel to do research, and I got a fair amount of writing done. I then was appointed to the Gladstone Chair, which took me away from Christ Church, it took me to All Souls, and, contrary to the widespread belief that a fellowship at All Souls is one long doddle, it was nothing of the kind.

AG: Just for the film, what is the full title of the Gladstone Chair?

PP: It was then the Gladstone Professorship of Government and Public Administration. It is now simply the Gladstone Professorship of Government. And, with it, went a fellowship at All Souls. But that required a huge amount of administration in my capacity as professor: graduate teaching, the supervision of theses, the examination of theses, and it actually turned out to be much more time-consuming than undergraduate teaching, contrary to what many people might have assumed. And I would say, in the first four or five years of holding the chair, I got no research done at all. And I then learnt, or taught myself, the art of delegation. And I got some sabbatical leave and managed to return to writing, but a lot of the research that I did in this period, I was able to turn into books and articles only after my retirement, which was in 1996. Since then, I think, my productivity has been higher than ever before.

Tape 2: 51 minutes 22 seconds

AG: Seeing as you spent really a long time at Christ Church, could you tell me a little about life as a don at Christ Church and the people you knew there?

PP: As I said, time changed, it was a very conservative place when I joined it, a little insular. I remember when one of the economists wanted, applied for two years' absence, in order to work on some very prestigious project in development economics, there was a certain amount of opposition to this, on the grounds that he would get too big for his boots and wouldn't want to come back and teach mere undergraduates. In other words, it was a teaching college, in which, at any rate in the Humanities, scholarship got second place. This was less true of the scientists. We had our sprinkling of FRSs among the scientists. And, of course, there had been a number of very eminent refugee scientists at Christ Church, including Francis Simon, the discoverer of Absolute Zero. Now, he had come to Christ Church because his chair was attached to Christ Church. But having people like that in the sciences meant the sciences were more research-oriented and more internationally open.

AG: Did you ever come across Sir Francis Simon?

PP: No. He died just as I came to Christ Church. But I knew his widow, for all I know, she may still be alive, but she would be in her hundreds. She was a very keen concert-goer, and in Berlin she had been a member of the Berlin Philharmonic Choir, and told me that she had sung in the Berlin premiere of Mahler's Eighth Symphony. So! That was another side of Christ Church. There was this, at any rate, in the fifties and sixties, this quite sizeable high-powered emigré community.

AG: Were there any others at Christ Church that you came into contact with?

PP: Not in my time, not in my time.

AG: And someone like Sir Francis Simon, would he have spent much time at Christ Church?

PP: Well, he would turn up to college meetings, he would do his stint on college committees, he actually designed the gas-fire, which warmed one of the rooms in the Senior Common Room. It wasn't totally successful. He was better on low temperatures than high temperatures. But this indicates that he showed some loyalty and some commitment. But this gradually changed. Now, really, students of Christ Church, as they are now called, are as productive in the humanities and the social sciences, as they've always been in the physical sciences, in the natural sciences.

AG: What about, if I can put it like that, the human side of the teaching?

PP: That was always very pleasant, again there were certain activities which I didn't take to, there was always a group after dinner that went to play bridge.

AG: It's quite a Central European pursuit.

PP: That's right, but it was just not my thing. You know, I thought it was gentlemanly rather than scholarly. And I've never aspired to being a gentleman. A negative aspiration, which I think I have successfully achieved, but that too went by the way. They've all become much busier. When I first went there, the meal that mattered was dinner. Now the meal that matters is lunch. Because people live further out, they're more and more likely to have families, they're more and more likely to have working spouses, so hanging around until 8 o'clock or 9 o'clock is something that one does occasionally rather than on a regular basis. But people were very friendly.

Tape 2: 56 minutes 55 seconds

AG: Did you have particularly friendly connections with any of your colleagues?

PP: Yes, certainly, certainly - your old tutor, Alban Krailsheimer; my colleagues in Modern History, in particular the younger ones, who joined in the course of my time there, like Christopher Hague, who is on television every other night telling us about Queen Elizabeth; William Thomas; in Politics, well, my senior colleague when I joined, Robert Blake.

AG: Yes, I was going to ask you about Robert Blake.

PP: Yes, well, we kept quiet about politics, though, since I was on the very moderate left and he was on the very moderate right, we'd actually agreed on quite a lot of matters. And his successor, Jonathan Wright, now we really are quite close friends, I would say. He was co-editor of the 'Festschrift' that was presented to me, and he just completed his quite marvellous life of Gustav Stresemann, which I think will be a big hit, and the standard work for decades. So, with all these and many other people, I had quite close personal contact.

AG: We ought to break now because the tape's coming to an end.

Tape 2: 58 minutes 37 seconds

End of Tape

TAPE 3

Tape 3: 0 minute 5 seconds

AG: Could I ask you about your time at All Souls? Apart from the very heavy administrative workload you mentioned earlier, what was it like being transported from Christ Church to All Souls?

PP: All Souls was fine. People used to ask me, with a conspiratorial look in their eye, you know, "What is All Souls really like?" And, if you're asked the question often enough, you formulate a pat answer, and I used to say, "Well, they do three things for me: they give me a very nice room, they feed me, and they leave me alone". That is to say, as a fellow of All Souls, I served on this committee and that committee, and I took part in the social and intellectual life, but the college imposed very few burdens on me because the burdens all came from the university, in association with the Chair. What I missed at All Souls was having a lot of colleagues in my immediate subject. When there were six PPE tutors at Christ Church, there were four history tutors, in addition to temporary lecturers and Prize Fellows, so there was always a very large number of people, who shared my immediate intellectual interests, and there were fewer of those at All Souls. What was, what compensated for this, was that there was a different crowd of interesting people. For instance, one of the fellows was Lord Hailsham, at that time a widower, Lord Chancellor, and a widower. And he would come every weekend. And I would make a point of having dinner on Friday evenings there, because his conversation, or rather, his monologue, would consist of a series of indiscretions about that week's cabinet meetings. And he had the charming habit of never referring to the then Prime Minister by either her title or by her name, but only by the third person plural pronoun. And we had fascinating evenings. And there was something else that struck me. I happened at the time to be reading a book by a former pupil of mine, Ben Pimlott's 'Life of Hugh Dalton'. And there were certain aspects of Hugh Dalton's life that I found puzzling. For instance, unlike most academic economists who were left of centre, he was not a Keynesian. And it so happened that, at the time, there were two other very eminent economists at All Souls, who had been colleagues of Dalton's at LSE, namely John Hicks, and Douglas Jay, who later on became a politician, but had begun as an academic economist. And they were both very interesting on Dalton and his intellectual make-up, and both of them, quite unsolicited, sent me material that they had written in their time at the LSE when Dalton was a colleague. So, I left one world, which I appreciated, and which All Souls could not quite compensate for, for another world, which offered me some of the things Christ Church hadn't

offered me. So, from this point of view, and also because All Souls has twelve Visiting Fellowships a year, people from all over the world, eminent in their fields. Some of them were rather dry as dust, some of them one tried to strike up a conversation and it fizzled out after a few minutes, and others were totally fascinating, and one was very happy to have met them, and one goes on meeting them.

AG: And did your connection with All Souls continue?

PP: Yes, I'm an Emeritus Fellow, I can have lunch and dinner there, and tea, and I can read the newspapers, and I can sit around and make a general nuisance of myself, and I can use the library. It remains my academic home. I also have academic associations with Christ Church, with St Anthony's College, with Nuffield College, but I suppose, having been most recently at All Souls, that is the club I frequent most frequently.

AG: And could you tell me something about your activities since you retired, I think you said in '96?

PP: Right. Well, the German for retirement is 'Ruhestand', as you probably know, and German academics, who have retired, describe themselves as being in the 'Unruhestand', which is a pun: 'Ruhe, meaning rest, and 'Unruhe', meaning disturbance or disorder. And that is really the story of my retirement. The point is, if one is an academic, then one is lucky in pursuing in a professional way what is really one's hobby. And therefore one just carries on. One no longer has to teach, although I kept on all my doctoral students until they completed, and some of them took rather a long time to complete, and I went on helping out with papers, lectures and seminars, but maybe one per term, so that wasn't a burden. And I could always choose my topic, I wasn't bound by a syllabus. But, as I've indicated, I've probably written more in the seven years, or published more in the seven years, of my retirement than in any previous period of seven years. And I've had more time to lecture and teach abroad.

Tape 3: 6 minutes 55 seconds

AG: Where have you been abroad?

PP: Where have I been abroad? Well, a lot of it has been in the former communist Eastern Europe, which always fascinated me because of the distant family connections. And where have I been? I've been to Estonia, Latvia, Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Ukraine. In many cases, several times. I mean, I must have been to Budapest half a dozen times now. I think I've been to Budapest more often than I've been to New York. Whereas, twenty years ago, the opposite was the case. So that's one thing. I mean, I helped with the selection of scholarship candidates, East European students, who want to study at Oxford. The Social Studies Faculty at Oxford has a link with the Economics University in Budapest. Various former students of mine have gone to work in Eastern Europe, and they ask me to participate in their programmes, so that's one side of it. In fact, I've just returned from Poland, we are in the second week of September 2003, and I was there at the end of August, because one of my former students, who is working there, has just got married to a Polish lady, and the wedding was in Poland and my wife and I were invited. So, personal life and social life and academic life become intertwined in this way.

PP: But also because German Jewish history is now high fashion, and because, above all, there was a need to introduce the subject into former Eastern Germany, where it had simply

been neglected by the communist authorities, I have taken part in a scheme to teach the subject at various universities of the former East. And I've been a visiting professor in Dresden, that was in '97, and at the Humboldt University in Berlin, that was in the year 2000, and this year, in the summer semester, in Leipzig. And I'm always careful to go to places that also have other amenities to offer, like decent opera houses and good art collections and library facilities. But we've enjoyed all three of these visits, I suppose the one in Berlin most, because Berlin just has that greater dimension of facilities and amenities. But, in their different way, Dresden and Leipzig also. But all three provided an opportunity to travel in a part of Europe that had been largely closed off before 1989, which is still treated with indifference by a lot of West Germans. In fact, I've probably seen more of former East Germany than most West Germans. They're still more likely to go skiing in the Rockies or white-water-rafting in New Zealand, than to look at Weimar or Wittenberg. To that extent, the internationalisation of West Germany, of the former West Germany, which is partly a reaction to the Third Reich, partly a consequence of the Cold War and the Iron Curtain, and partly, I think, a great wish to be absorbed by the world, and not be hated anymore as Prussians, has rather, has almost undermined the interest of many members of the younger generation in their own country. And I remember being in Berlin, just after the wall had come down, standing next to the Brandenburg Gate, with a German colleague, and being able to see the Reichstag building, as one was meant to. And I said, I said to him, and what I said was quite honestly meant, because I knew him pretty well, so I could say these things, I said, "Well, as far as I'm concerned, I can do without German unification". I said, "Kann mir gestohlen werden". But I do think the unification of Berlin is the restitution of a great crime, that here is a single cultural unit, and they built a wall right through the middle of it, was quite unforgivable. And it gives me a lift to be able to stand next to the Brandenburg Gate and to be able to see the Reichstag building. And his reply was, "Frankly, I don't feel a thing. I feel more at home in London or Paris". And this is somebody, who had been born in West Germany, who grew up in West Germany, had spent a lot of his life outside Germany, his children had gone to university in Britain. I mean, here was a very typical internationalised post-war German.

Tape 3: 13 minutes 5 seconds

AG: Do you ever go back to Vienna?

PP: Oh yes, I went back to Vienna in the fifties to do research for my thesis.

AG: What was that like?

PP: Well, a bit creepy. One saw a lot of war invalids. Because as you know Germans didn't have penicillin during the war. And, when you saw a war invalid, you asked yourself where did he get his wounds, what was he doing when he got his wounds. But I took the view the one thing one shouldn't acquire is hang-ups about Germany and Austria, that if you get a hang-up, or if you carry resentments around with yourself, the person you harm is yourself. It's you who suffer, not those about whom you have a hang-up, or against whom you have the resentment. So I decided to treat my stay in Vienna as being as normal an occasion as possible, and my later stays in Germany as normal an occasion. And, in the course of time, the people one mixed with, the people with whom one became friends, were of course liberal-minded academics, journalists, politicians, citizens, they were untypical. But, in many ways, they were people who appreciated that one came to Berlin or Vienna or Munich. Because there were occasions when they felt isolated or under pressure or under attack, and wanted or

needed the moral support of people who were not prepared to say, “Well, all Krauts are bastards”, who were prepared not to say, “All Krauts are bastards”. And so, in the course of time, I really built up some really happy relationships. It took a little time, I should think it has really been a factor in my life since the seventies. But it’s now firmly established.

AG: Did you detect any differences between the former West Germany and Austria?

PP: It took longer in Austria, but in many ways, and I’m that minority in Austria who feel as they do, and as they should, there’s almost a stronger commitment, because of a feeling that they have to make up lost time, and that the environment against which they have to fight, in particular with the rise of Haider, which is now happily over, they’re in a more difficult position, and therefore take often a more radical stance. And I feel an almost greater obligation towards them than towards Germans, among whom, in many cases, one is now dealing with the second generation of the liberal converts.

AG: Did you go back to your family flat?

PP: I’ve never been inside it but I went there. I was in Vienna with my wife and younger son, and we went both to the house where my father had grown up, which is an early 19th century house, which I remembered as a child as being pretty non-descript, but which apparently is now of architectural interest. It has been scrubbed to the lines, and is, if not a listed building, at any rate one that is looked after. Whereas the house in which I grew up clearly suffered war-time damage, and the Neo-Palladian décor has gone, and it looks very non-descript from the street, and inside it has deteriorated.

AG: One other question I was going to ask you is whether you or your mother received any restitution?

PP: Yes. My father, of course, having worked in Austria had paid National Insurance contributions and, on the basis of those, became entitled to a pension, which he never got because he died before he reached pensionable age. But, on the strength of this, my mother got a widow’s pension. I don’t think it’s amounted to a great deal. On the other hand, since, in the course of the sixties and seventies, the pound went down and the shilling went up, she did have some exchange rate profit from it. And I am now entitled to a small Austrian pension, on the grounds that my education was interrupted, and I’ve also had these various modest, but welcome, lump-sum payments, as overall compensation for loss of possessions, eviction from the home and so on. But I think that’s the final hand-out. But, no, there is, there has been, a recognition, however belated, on the part of Austrian authorities that some kind of restitution is due.

Tape 3: 19 minutes 23 seconds

AG: I don’t know if there’s anything else, any other subjects, that you would like to mention, or anything else that we’ve left uncovered?

PP: No, I think I did cover my not terribly eventful life quite thoroughly.

AG: I don’t think I’d quite agree with that.

PP: I think there's one thing I'd like to say. I have used the phrase more than once, 'I've fallen on my feet', and I'm very conscious of that. Something like 50 to 70,000 refugees from Central Europe came to Britain in the course of the thirties, including the 10,000 children. Not all the histories have been happy. Especially if they were older and couldn't really establish themselves professionally. And many of the children were left to their own devices after they left school. So I'm very conscious that my 'success story', which is not untypical, has not been universally shared. And I am very conscious that there are others, who are less fortunate than I have been, and that really the distribution of life chances in this world is often a very random business.

AG: Well, Professor Peter Pulzer, thank you very much for doing this interview with me.

PP: Well, thank you for coming to talk to me. In the past, I have always had misgivings about immortality but, as mortality looms, I've become reconciled to whatever follows after.

AG: Thank you very much.

Tape 3: 21 minutes 22 seconds

PHOTO

Photograph of father during First World War, in army uniform.

Tape 3: 22 minutes and 8 seconds

END OF INTERVIEW