Introduction

In 1948 Franz David Bielschowsky (1902 – 1965) was appointed director of the research laboratory of the New Zealand branch of the British Empire Cancer Campaign Society, a position based at the Otago Medical School in Dunedin. When he arrived in the city in April of that year, this talented German Jewish exile and his wife, biochemist Marianne (née Angermann), were clearly anxious to put an end to the itinerant life that had been forced on them since the early 1930s. In an interview published in *The Bay of Plenty Times* on 16th April, Franz remarked that he hoped the couple would be able to settle in New Zealand permanently because, he said, "I have travelled around a good bit".

Such understatement may well have been standard for the stoical War generation, but Franz's modest description of the previous fifteen years of his life conceals the rigours which he and his wife had undergone and the extent to which they were directly affected by some of the most momentous events of mid-twentieth century European history: the rise of National Socialism in Germany, political unrest and Civil War in Spain, and the Second World War. Beginning in the early 1930s, the career trajectory of Marianne and Franz had taken them from various locations in Germany then on to Holland, Spain and the United Kingdom. Although by today's standards of hypermobility this list of destinations may not appear long, the circumstances that impelled each shift, the privations that accompanied them and the constant sense of uncertainty that continued to await the couple at each successive stop would certainly have made them yearn for an end to the odyssey.

Our insight into the Bielschowskys' life is provided by three letter journals which were among the papers deposited with the Hocken Collections in 2003 by Dr Jean Kennedy, who came into their possession on the death of her mother, a close friend of Marianne Bielschowsky and an executor of her estate. This journal[1] is the first of the three and contains transcriptions of letters written by Marianne in 1935 – 1936 to her parents, who were resident first in the small town of Langenberg between Essen and Wuppertal and then, from May 1936, in Berlin. During this time, Marianne left Germany to join her future husband at the Faculty of Medicine, Madrid University where they both worked as research scientists under Dr Carlos Jiménez Díaz.

According to a note on the flyleaf of the journal, the original letters she wrote were to be burned on the death of the parents. It would appear that the transcribed letters have been edited, presumably because they related confidential or sensitive matters, because the texts display occasional non sequiturs and often end abruptly without the usual formalities.

Mathilde Marianne Bielschowsky née Angermann (Marianne was her preferred first name) was born at Stefanienstrasse 13, Dresden on 30 June 1904. Konrad, her father, was a Ratsassessor – a university-educated jurist and civil servant – and the Angermanns appear to have been a well-established Saxon family. In 1906, the family moved to the city of Ilmenau – at that time still part of the Grand Duchy of Saxony, now in the federal state of Thuringia – where Konrad was Bürgermeister (mayor). When Marianne was eight, in 1911, the family shifted again, this time to the somewhat smaller town of

[1] MS-1493/6

Langenberg situated much further to the west on the fringes of the great industrial conurbation of the Ruhr. Despite its location close to the Rhine and the French border, Langenberg was administratively part of Prussia. Konrad Angermann was to serve as the Bürgermeister of Langenberg for two twelve-year terms from 1911 until his retirement in April 1936.

This was obviously a period of unparalleled turmoil which Marianne would have experienced from the perspective of a household closely involved in the political dramas of the day, particularly at the level of local government. Family life and international politics converged in dramatic fashion for the Angermanns in January 1923, when the French and Belgian armies occupied the Ruhr region in pursuit of reparations claims under the Treaty of Versailles. In response, the German central government under Wilhelm Cuno called for a policy of passive resistance to this infringement of sovereignty and the economic expropriations it was designed to enforce. Civil servants and essential workers such as railwaymen joined in the campaign but the occupying forces simply removed uncooperative individuals from their posts and expelled them from the region. Tensions quickly ratcheted up: while the French and Belgians made forced requisitions, imposed fines on industrialists and collected taxes in the form of import and export duties, German militants engaged in acts of sabotage and a spiral of violence ensued.

Langenberg lay on the eastern fringes of the zone over which the French and Belgians claimed control and, initially, was not occupied. On 12 January 1923, Konrad Angermann in his capacity as mayor issued a call for calm in the *Langenberger Zeitung* at the prospect of French soldiers arriving: "Soweit eine Begegnung mit der Besatzungstruppe nicht zu vermeiden ist, erwarte ich mit Bestimmtheit, daß auch unsere Bevölkerung die Ruhe und Würde bewahrt, die dem Ernste der Zeit entspricht."[2] In the event, it was not until 29 March 1923 that French mountain infantry and cavalry units finally entered and were quartered in the town. Although in the weeks that followed Konrad Angermann went to lengths to avoid provoking the local French military authorities, both he and the local police chief, a certain Herr Schütte, were arrested on the evening of 30 May and taken to the prison of Werden on the outskirts of the city of Essen, a facility that was being used to hold high-ranking individuals from the Ruhr region. On 14 June, both men appeared in court on a charge of having disobeyed the local military commander.[3] Proceedings were held in French with interpreters acting for the defendants. The French prosecutor sought a sentence of two years and two months imprisonment for Konrad and a fine of two million marks.[4] The police court claimed not to have jurisdiction over the matter and

[2] "Where an encounter with the occupying forces cannot be avoided, I resolutely expect our people to maintain a dignity and calm that is equal to the gravity of the time." *Langenberger Zeitung*, 12 January 1923. Local people in the Ruhr faced a great deal of disruption during the occupation: travel was restricted as was freedom of assembly, households were forced to billet soldiers, and private property was sometimes confiscated. The construction of toll houses in the area around Langenberg effectively created a border between the town, and its sister cities of Neviges and Velbert. The aim was to encourage the demand for French and Belgian imports while stifling exports and making it difficult to bring in local raw materials. Industry was sometimes brought to a standstill through French actions which included the imposition on businesses of massive fines. (Degen, 290 ff.) These French measures, together with a vigorous propaganda campaign by ultra-conservative German nationalists, meant that by spring 1923 there was in Langenberg "ein erhitztes, aggressives Klima" which included assaults, theft and a rape by the French and sabotage and shootings by the Germans. (Degen, 294)

[3] *Langenberger Zeitung*, 15 June 1923

[4] A punishment that, in view of the hyperinflation of the time, may not have been as severe as it appeared: on 11 June the Reichsbank was purchasing twenty Mark gold coins for 300 000 RM. *Langenberger*

referred it to a military tribunal which, however, never heard the case: on 30 June Konrad Angermann and his colleague were released from French custody but expelled from the occupation zone. Both men found temporary accommodation in nearby Elberfeld, on the outskirts of Wuppertal.[5] The *Langenberger Zeitung* interpreted the expulsion as a tacit admission by the French authorities that the initial charge of civil disobedience would never have stood up before a tribunal.[6]

Though the French maintained a presence in the Ruhr until August 1925, the units stationed in Langenberg were withdrawn already on 30 September 1924[7] and Konrad must have returned to his position as mayor at about this time. The young Marianne was by then not permanently resident in Langenberg but would have followed the events in the Ruhr and Rhineland closely. It is hard to believe that this early exposure to civil unrest and even violence did not leave a lasting impression on her. These experiences of her youth perhaps go some way to explaining her insouciant attitude to the chaotic conditions she would encounter in Madrid in 1936.

However anxious and uncertain the times may have been, they clearly did nothing to derail Marianne's education or deter her from a love of learning. She was obviously a talented and dedicated student as indicated by the *Reifezeugnis* (university entrance diploma) which she gained from the Realgymnasium Langenberg in March 1922: her grades for Maths and Physics were both "very good", and all her other subjects were graded "good" with the exception of Religion. The diploma notes that her chosen course of study was to be chemistry. That young women were not expected to advance this far in their schooling can be seen from the wording of the printed diploma itself which ends with the stock phrase: "Der unterzeichnete Prüfungsausschuss hat ihm [sic] demnach das Zeugnis der Reife zuerkannt." ("The undersigned examination committee has therefore conferred on him [sic] the university entrance diploma.") In Marianne's case the male pronoun "him/*ihm*" has been struck out and overwritten with "her/*ihr*".[8] Despite the opportunities that had opened up for women in the workplace due to the manpower shortages of the First World War, it was still unusual for young women to complete secondary schooling with the intention of continuing at university. In 1925 (three years after Marianne finished school), only 9.1% of pupils taking the university entrance qualification were girls.[9]

Marianne must have had tertiary education in her sights for some time, for almost immediately upon leaving school in 1922 she enrolled at the University of Greifswald. Situated on the Baltic Sea in Western Pomerania, Greifswald, with its ancient university (founded in 1456), is over 600 km away from Langenberg, a distance that must have entailed some inconvenience for the traveller in the early 1920s. The remote location was not likely to have been an attempt by Marianne to emancipate herself from the parental

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Zeitung, 11 June 1923. On 4 July the paper reported that the Reichsbank was paying 550 000 RM. The price of the *Langenberger Zeitung* was itself soaring: a month's subscription had gone from 2 000 RM on 31 March 1923 to 10 000 RM by 29 June.

[5] *Langenberger Zeitung*, 2 July 1923.

[6] "Somit müssen also auch wohl die Franzosen zu der Einsicht gekommen sein, daß sie den jetzt Ausgewiesenen zur Last gelegten Verfehlungen nicht so schwerwiegender Natur waren, um eine Verhandlung vor dem Kriegsgericht zu rechtfertigen." *Langenberger Zeitung*, 2 July 1923.

[7] Degen, 297.

[8] The same change was later made to her diploma from the University of Greifswald.

[9] Boak, 155.

home so much as an indication of the lack of choice available to a woman wishing to study chemistry. The first German state to open its universities to women was Baden which accepted enrolments to Heidelberg and Freiburg in 1900, while the last to offer places to women was Mecklenburg in 1909. At the end of the First World War, females made up just 10% of the student body, a figure which increased quickly after 1923 to reach 18.8% in 1931. The numbers of women students were, of course, not evenly spread throughout faculties or disciplines. In university arts departments women made up 31.8% of students, while in others they were barely represented at all. The increasing presence of women at university triggered calls by some professional organisations for restrictions or even bans on them studying certain subjects. Of relevance to Marianne in this regard was the proposal by the Association of Philologists (!) at the University of Leipzig that women not be allowed to study chemistry, physics or history.[10]

For women, the opportunity to study required the encouragement and financial support of parents open-minded enough to appreciate the value of a university education for their daughters. Since there was little public funding available for women, this meant that the socio-economic background of female students was self-selecting. According to Boak, a "mere 1.1 per cent of female university students in summer 1928 came from the working class, compared with 9 per cent of male students."[11] Fortunately for Marianne, the Angermanns were evidently supportive of their daughter's ambition. Their attitude was, perhaps, surprising considering the conservative politics of Konrad Angermann[12] who was sympathetic to the arch-conservative Deutschnationale Volkspartei (DNVP).[13] However, along with most other parties in the Weimar Republic, the DNVP's programme had made a general commitment to gender equality[14] – a principle that also applied to

[10] Boak, 156.
[11] Boak, 155.
[12] Eduard Neumer describes Konrad as an "Anhänger der DNVP". (Degen, 362) After the National Socialists extinguished all manifestations of representative democracy in April 1933, they set about removing their potential opponents in public administration. Konrad Angermann retained his office, however, which leads Neumer to suppose that – although Konrad does not appear to have ever been a party member - he was yet a "beflissener Erfüllungsgehilfe" of the Nazis. (Degen 362.) The appendix, which reproduces a speech he gave ca. 1920, provides a sense of the nationalist pathos that informed his views. His political opinions may, however, have softened and become more nuanced with time. Though he was fully aware of his daughter's relationship with and later marriage to Franz Bielschowsky, a Jew, this does not appeared to have affected his sense of paternal loyalty. The Angermanns travelled to meet their daughter and son-in-law in Brussels in 1939 after the latter had fled from Spain. Konrad arrived with much needed clothing for Franz.
[13] The largest right-wing party of the Weimar Republic until overtaken by the National Socialists in the elections of September 1930 (Scheck, 547), the DNVP was founded in 1919 with a programme which aimed at the restitution of the monarchy, the promotion of a strident nationalism that would counteract 'un-German' influences, and economic policies which tended to favour industrialists and large landowners. In May 1933 the DNVP voted to dissolve itself completely in line with Nazi legislation on the banning of political parties.
[14] There had been a consensus even amongst right-wing groups prior to 1914 that it would be unwise to exclude women from politics and most conservative parties paid at least lip service to the idea of female emancipation. (See: Ute Planert, *Antifeminismus im Kaiserreich. Diskurs, soziale Formation und politische Mentalität*. Göttingen 1998. 113. Cited in: Scheck, 548.) According to the DNVP's programme from 1920: "[der Frau] steht die gleichberechtigte Mitwirkung im öffentlichen Leben zu." (Mommsen, 537) This equality was specifically extended to the workplace with a guarantee of equal pay for equal work: "Den erwerbstätigen Frauen ist in wirtschaftlicher [...] Hinsicht nachdrückliche Unterstützung zu gewähren; bei gleicher Vorbildung und gleichwertiger Leistung haben sie Anspruch auf gleichen Lohn." (Mommsen, 542)

tertiary education. Konrad Angermann's conservative party politics should not, in theory at least, have provided an ideological basis for opposing Marianne's university study.[15]

But although women were, in principle, able to study alongside their male peers at university from 1900, the study of chemistry – at least in the Prussian education system – continued to be regarded as a lower order 'Brotstudium' (vocational study) prior to 1914. This was because most training in chemistry took place at vocational institutes which did not require students to have the same secondary school qualifications as those demanded by universities. The increase in women who obtained a vocational qualification in chemistry began to rise from the 1890s – twenty new vocational schools were established from 1909 alone. Women, however, tended to move into lowly paid positions such as the seasonal work offered by the sugar industry.[16] It was a situation that alarmed the national professional organisation of chemists, the Verein Deutscher Chemiker, which, allegedly concerned that women were exaggerating their qualifications, successfully lobbied to prevent them being employed by the country's major chemical firms.[17] The First World War left chemistry departments at universities depleted of male students though in many cases the deficit was made up by women who prevented a complete collapse in student numbers. Of those who completed the advanced Verbandsexamen in 1918, 35% were women. Before the war they had never made up more than 3% of the total.[18] Similarly, the number of women who completed a doctoral dissertation had doubled to 18% by the end of the war compared with 1914.[19]

The situation for women studying chemistry was mixed after 1919. The new constitution of the Weimar Republic provided for equality of academic and professional opportunity but the large numbers of demobilised male students and the higher profile that chemistry had gained due its role in technological advances in the military meant that courses were in high demand. Women as a proportion of all advanced students fell, although their absolute numbers were higher than ever – an indication that the younger generation was intent on taking advantage of the new opportunities available to them in the Republic. In 1924, the final year of Marianne's undergraduate degree, fifty-two women completed doctoral degrees in chemistry in Germany[20] but this number almost halved the following year, possibly because labour market conditions were hostile to female PhD graduates. There was a demand for industrial chemists during the expansionary period of the early 1920s, but by the end of 1923 there were only sixty-eight female graduates employed in the private sector.[21] Employment prospects deteriorated with "women chemists … repeatedly warned to expect a poor job market for women professionals and disproportionately low salaries, considering the length and cost of academic study".[22] Where women were fortunate enough to gain a foothold in industry, scope for professional development was almost non-existent: "creative and lucrative positions

[15] In a passage that would ominously point to future developments in tertiary education policy, however, the DNVP's manifesto in 1920 stated its determination to actively discourage study by non-Germans: "Studierende deutscher Staatsangehörigkeit oder deutscher Abstammung haben auf [Hochschulen] das erste Anrecht." Mommsen, 540.
[16] Johnson, 5 – 6.
[17] Johnson, 6.
[18] Johnson, 7.
[19] Johnson, 8.
[20] Johnson, 11.
[21] Johnson, 14.
[22] Johnson, 14.

were generally reserved for men."[23] For women chemists, then, the horizon for advancement in both public and private sectors was limited indeed and must have produced acute disappointment for those who aspired to make a distinctive contribution to their field. As Jeffrey Johnson rhetorically asks: "How many women, out of frustration or desperation, took posts for which they were overqualified?"[24]

Now located far from the family home, Marianne must have been greatly concerned at her father's fate as he languished in French custody. The close relationship between Konrad and his eldest daughter can be seen in a photograph preserved in Marianne's album: he sent a self-portrait to her with a dedication on the reverse after his release from prison [see appended images]. Other political and economic events would have added their own stresses to the first year university experience. In 1922 – 23 Germany was undergoing a period of hyperinflation that eroded depositors' savings and caused a general loss of confidence in state institutions and political leadership. The impact of this period can be seen in the course fees charged by the University of Greifswald in 1922 and 1923 recorded in Marianne's Studienbuch. For chemistry students the greatest expenses were incurred for practical laboratory courses which required the use of chemicals and equipment: in the Summer Semester of 1922 she paid 3200 Marks for a laboratory course in inorganic chemistry – a charge which rose to 4300 Marks just a couple of months later in the Winter Semester of 1922-23.[25]

After two years at Greifswald, Marianne moved to the warmer end of the country, enrolling at the University of Freiburg in Baden in the Summer Semester of 1924. By this time, hyperinflation had passed and her Studienbuch shows more reasonable course fees: fifty Marks for a practical in organic chemistry, sixteen Marks for a lecture course on benzol derivatives.[26] The Studienbuch shows Marianne to have been absent from the university during the Winter Semester of 1925 – 26, but she had returned by the summer semester of 1926 and went on to complete her doctorate in chemistry. The title of her dissertation was "On several reactions of N,N-dimethyl-N'-phenylthiourea."

Marianne graduated in July 1928 but by the winter semester of 1930-31 she was back at Freiburg. In the intervening period she had worked as an assistant to the famous Siegfried Josef Thannhauser who held a chair in Internal Medicine at the University of Düsseldorf, only forty km from Langenberg.[27] When Thannhauser was appointed to a similar position

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[23] Johnson, 16.
[24] Johnson, 16.
[25] These price rises were every bit as dramatic for Marianne's parents in Langenberg. There, the local newspaper, the *Langenberger Zeitung*, which appeared twice a week, had been charging 150 Marks for a month's subscription in early December 1922. By 1 June 1923 customers were being expected to pay 4000 Marks. (*Langenberger Zeitung*, 5 December 1922 and 1 June 1923)
[26] The period of hyperinflation was brought to an end in late 1923 by the introduction of a provisional currency, the Rentenmark, to replace the old Papiermark. The Rentenmark, in turn, was replaced in August 1924 by the Reichsmark which was pegged to the gold standard. The old Papiermark could still be exchanged until July 1925 – at a rate of one Reichsmark to one trillion Papiermark. (Widdig, 48)
[27] Siegfried Josef Thannhauser (1885 – 1962). German physician and medical researcher. Born into a Jewish patrician family in Munich, Thannhauser became full professor in 1922 and subsequently held professorial positions in Düsseldorf and Freiburg. Marianne Angermann was enrolled at both these universities during this period. Thannhauser left Germany in 1935 for Boston where he remained until the end of his life, despite job offers from German research institutes after the war. See: Hofmann, A. F., and Nepomuk Zöllner. *Siegfried Thannhauser (1885 - 1962) Physician and Scientist in Turbulent Times*. Freiburg: Falk Foundation, 2004.

at the University of Freiburg he brought a select group of his assistants with him and so Marianne was able to return to her alma mater. Amongst those accompanying Thannhauser was the talented young biochemist, Franz David Bielschowsky, who worked with Thannhauser as a Privatdozent.[28] Bielschowsky would in 1938 become Marianne's husband. This Freiburg circle of biochemists was a very distinguished one indeed, and included Hans Adolf Krebs who would go on to win the Nobel Prize for Physiology and Medicine in 1953.[29] Thannhauser, Krebs and Bielschowsky were all Jewish; the next few years would see them all stripped of their positions and forced into exile.

Changes were afoot in Marianne's life at this time as well. The collections of her Studienbücher in the Hocken Collections show that by May 1931 she was once again back in the Rhineland, this time enrolled in microscopy and general botany courses in the medical faculty at the University of Cologne. The reasons for this move are provided by the new name under which she enrolled – Marianne Siefken-Angermann – and her marital status: the Studienbuch has both "Mann" and "Fräulein" crossed out (but, tellingly, it provides no third option for "Frau"). Her place of residence is given as Hamburg, which must have been the hometown of her husband.

There is unfortunately no online record of her marriage nor of her husband's precise identity, but it is not unreasonable to suppose that he was also a chemist. Given the relatively small numbers of people working at a high level in this field at the time we can isolate a potential candidate with some confidence: Werner Siefken (1903 – 1968) was a of a very similar age to Marianne and had also worked at the University of Freiburg on thiourea at the same time she was completing her doctorate on the subject.[30] He would later collaborate with Otto Bayer's team at I.G. Farben in Leverkusen on the discovery of polyurethane – he was one of the co-signatories to a patent application filed in 1937.[31] It is possible, therefore, that he and Marianne were based in the Leverkusen area several years previously in 1930 – 32. (Leverkusen and Cologne are separated by only a few kilometres and it would have been an easy matter for Marianne to commute to the university.) Nothing is known about Marianne's employment at this time – the courses she attended at Cologne appear to have been for interest only – but a co-authored publication that appeared in *Hoppe-Seyler´s Zeitschrift für physiologische Chemie* in 1932 indicates that she and her former colleague, Franz Bielschowsky, had been continuing their scientific collaboration.[32]

Marianne's marriage does not appear to have lasted long. An enrolled student at Cologne in the Summer Semester of 1931, Marianne had switched to the University of Bonn by the

[28] A Privatdozent(in) designates an academic who is qualified to teach and examine students at a university but who has not yet attained a full professorship.
[29] Krebs' name is associated with the eponymous 'Krebs cycle' which describes the metabolic mechanisms of oxygen respiring cells.
[30] Hans Lecher, Werner Siefken. „Über die Konstitution des Thioharnstoffs und der Thiuroniumsalze. IV." In: *Justig Liebigs Annalen der Chemie*. 456 (1). 1927. 192 – 200.
[31] I.G. Farben (Otto Bayer, Werner Siefken, Heinrich Rinke, L. Orthner, H. Schild), *German Patent DRP 728981*, A process for the production of polyurethanes and polyureas, 1937.
[32] Franz Bielschowsky, Marianne Siefken-Angermann. "Experimentelle Studien über den Nucleinstoffwechsel. XXVIII. Mitteilung. Zur Frage der Spezitität der von Z. Dische angegebenen Farbreaktion mit Diphenylamin und Carbazol auf die Purin- und Pyrimidinnucleoside der Thymusnucleinsäure." In: *Hoppe-Seyler´s Zeitschrift für physiologische Chemie*. 207 (3-4). 210–215.

Winter Semester of 1932 – 33 when she had reverted to her maiden name and was enrolled in the medical faculty. There, she studied briefly under the anatomist Johannes Sobotta (famous for his *Atlas der deskriptiven Anatomie des Menschen*), as well as the zoologist August Reichensperger and the physiologist Julius Ulrich Ebbecke.[33] The documentary trail of her academic activities in Germany runs out after the Summer Semester of 1933 (she ex-matriculated on 17 November), a year that saw German society as a whole turned on its head. President Hindenburg named Hitler Chancellor on 31 January, 1933, the Reichstag fire occurred on 27 February, elections were held in an atmosphere of widespread intimidation on 5 March, and the Ermächtigungsgesetz (Enabling Act), which effectively created a National Socialist dictatorship, was passed on 24 March through the application of repression and outright violence.

The Nazis moved swiftly to implement their anti-Semitic programme and one of their first targets was public servants – a category that included academics.[34] The Gesetz zur Wiederherstellung des Berufsbeamtentums (Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service) was passed on 7 April and mandated the immediate retirement of almost all civil servants who were not deemed to be of "Aryan" descent. Marianne's friends and colleagues, Franz Bielschowsky, Siegfried Thannhauser and Hans Krebs at the University of Freiburg – where the philosopher Martin Heidegger became Rector on 21 April – were immediately affected.[35]

Franz Bielschowsky left no record of his experience, but it can hardly be doubted that it was any less anguished than that of Hans Krebs who gave a detailed account of this time in an article published in the *Medizinhistorisches Journal* in 1980.[36] Though he had not been personally targeted by Nazis or other anti-Semites, Krebs wrote that he had certainly been aware that life for Jews in Germany was generally more difficult than for other people – particularly in terms of academic advancement. On 15 January 1933 Krebs

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[33] *Anmeldebuch* for Marianne Angermann, Rheinisch Friedrich Wilhelms-Universität zu Bonn. (Hocken Collections, MS1493/009).

[34] Anyone working in local government would also have had to demonstrate that they conformed to National Socialist standards of 'political reliability' under this legislation. Officials who were members of - or who were sympathetic to - the Social Democratic or Communist Parties were often summarily dismissed. That Marianne's father, Konrad Angermann, was able to retain his position in Langenberg's city administration until retirement indicates that he was probably regarded as 'sound' by the new regime. Presumably this was because of his affiliation to the far-right – though not fascist – Deutschnationale Volkspartei (DNVP). Of the three towns which now make up the modern city of Velbert – Langenberg, Neviges and Velbert itself – it was only in Langenberg that there was an absolute majority for the parties of the far-right (National Socialists and Kampffront Schwarz-Weiß-Rot) in the Reichstag elections of 5 March 1933. At the local body elections held exactly a week later, the Nazis formed the largest single party in Langenberg at 37.3%. (Degen, 354) A photo of the final session of the Langenberg town council on 31 March 1933 (just prior to the total reorganisation of local government by the Nazis) shows councillors and SA men gathered in front of a swastika and the flags of both Prussia and the Kampffront Schwarz-Weiß-Rot, a political alliance dominated by the DNVP. (See photos attached to this introduction.)

[35] None of Marianne's teachers at Bonn – Sobotta, Ebbecke, Reichensperger – were affected by these draconian laws. Though Ebbecke was considered an anti-Nazi, he was not above accepting money for research from the totalitarian State; a file kept on him by the authorities during the Nazi period stated that he was "currently" engaged in research on the physiological "effects of high pressure" – a formulation that recalls the gruesome experiments carried out on prisoners in concentration camps. Ralf Forsbach. *Die Medizinische Fakultät der Universität Bonn im Dritten Reich*. München: R. Oldenbourg, 2006. 465.

[36] Hans Krebs. „Wie ich aus Deutschland vertrieben wurde. Dokumente mit Kommentaren." In: *Medizinhistorisches Journal*. Bd. 15, H. 4 (1980), pp. 357-377.

had been put forward for a full professorship at the University of Münster, a proposal that became redundant with Hitler's accession to the chancellorship.[37] On 12 April, Krebs received a letter from the faculty dean, Professor Rehn, tersely informing him that he was now on compulsory leave in the interests of "maintaining security and order" ("Aufrechterhaltung der Sicherheit und Ordnung").[38] Only three months previously, this same Professor Rehn had praised Krebs to the Ministry of Education for the extraordinary quality of his postdoctoral thesis.

Fortunately, Krebs' reputation was such that enquiries were already being made on his behalf at the University of Cambridge. In the meantime, he was given his official notice on 19 April and his employment was terminated with effect from 1 July. The writer of this last letter was an acquaintance of Krebs, but despite this connection the tone of the document was, according to Krebs, devoid of any personal touch: "Er kam mir eiskalt vor" ("It seemed as cold as ice").[39] The final piece of correspondence from the university authorities confirming his dismissal date of 15 July was signed by Rector Martin Heidegger.

Encouraged by a sympathetic network of international acquaintances and peers, Krebs had written to the President of the Royal Society, Professor Sir Frederick Gowland Hopkins (Nobel Prize Winner in Medicine in 1929), in Cambridge enquiring about the possibility of a research position. As an admirer of the young Krebs' work, Hopkins took steps to secure such a post and the German scientist finally left for England on 19 June 1933 determined never to return to his home country until the Nazis had been removed from power.[40] Grateful that he was able to escape Germany with relative ease, Krebs acknowledged that most of his fellow refugees underwent far greater travails:

> Viele, die schließlich in der Fremde eine neue Existenz gründen konnten, hatten schwere Zeiten durchzumachen; ihr Besitz war von den Nazis konfisziert worden, sie waren arm, sie hatten keine soziale Beihilfe, sie waren Außenseiter im Land ihrer Zuflucht, und nach Ausbruch des Krieges litten sie mit Recht unter der Furcht, daß sie in Hitlers Hände fallen könnten, eine Furcht, die sich auf dem europäischen Festland als nur allzu berechtigt erwies.[41]

After his dismissal from the University of Freiburg, Franz Bielschowsky spent a brief period working at the University of Amsterdam under Professor Isidore Snapper, professor of internal medicine (and himself of Jewish ancestry[42]). A few months after arriving in the Netherlands, Bielschowsky was recruited by Professor Carlos Jiménez

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[37] Krebs, 365.
[38] Krebs, 366.
[39] Krebs, 368.
[40] Initially employed at Cambridge, Krebs would be offered a lectureship in pharmacology at Sheffield University in 1935 and spend the next 19 years there. The fact that Franz Bielschowsky secured a position at Sheffield University in 1939 after his flight from Spain may well have been due to the influence of his former colleague from Freiburg.
[41] Krebs, 377.
[42] Alarmed at the rise of the Nazis in neighbouring Germany, Snapper left the Netherlands in 1938 for China where he took up a position at the Beijing Union Medical College. After the War he pursued a medical career in the United States. https://www.ntvg.nl/artikelen/isidore-snapper-1889-1973-en-bedside-medicine/abstract [Accessed 10. February 2020]

Díaz[43] in Madrid to head the biochemistry section of a proposed new Instituto de investigaciones médicas.[44] In a curious coincidence, Franz's father, Max Bielschowsky (1869 – 1940), had also been working behind the scenes to get his son appointed to just such a position. Bielschowsky senior, a world-renowned neuropathologist, was personally acquainted with the Spanish scientist Santiago Ramón y Cajal, winner of the Nobel Prize for Medicine in 1906,[45] and head of the Instituto para investigaciones biológicas, a research laboratory based in Madrid. He had written to Cajal, asking him to use his influence to see if Franz could be appointed to a position in Jiménez Díaz's new laboratory. According to Jiménez Díaz in his memoirs, *La historia de mi instituto* (1965), Cajal, his former teacher[46], made the recommendation only to learn that Jiménez had already decided on precisely this course of action.[47]

Jiménez-Díaz's concept of an institute which would be integrated into a hospital so that it combined clinical practice and teaching with laboratory research was unheard of in Spain at the time, but was familiar to Jiménez Díaz from his two years of postdoctoral work in Germany.[48] Compared with northern European nations of the day, Spain's public research institutes were relatively poorly funded so that Jiménez-Díaz felt compelled to look to wealthy individuals for support. Possessed of considerable drive and charm, in the

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[43] Carlos Jiménez Díaz (1898 – 1967), physician and researcher. Jiménez Díaz attended a commercial college in his native Madrid before embarking on the study of medicine in 1913. A gifted student, Jiménez-Díaz graduated with a medical degree in 1919 and almost immediately applied for a full professorship in pathology at the University of Barcelona. He was turned down for this position because of his age – he was 21 – a rejection that was discussed in a debate in Spain's national parliament, the Cortes. He then obtained a position as a clinical lecturer at the hospital of San Carlos in Madrid in 1920 before successfully applying for a professorship in pathology at the University of Seville in 1922. In 1926 he was named professor of medical pathology at the Central University of Madrid and began work on his dream of establishing the Instituto de investigaciones médicas which was formally opened in Pavilion One of the medical faculty at the Ciudad Universitaria on 13. February 1935. See: Jiménez Fernández, 2007.

[44] See Franz David Bielschowsky's letter of application for the position of research director for the New Zealand branch of the British Empire Cancer Campaign Society. Hocken Collections, MS-1493/017.

[45] Max Bielschowsky's fate after 1933 replicated that of his son, as did the geographical route he took. Head of histopathology at the Kaiser Wilhelm Institut für Hirnforschung in Berlin, Max was placed on leave on 22 May 1933 until February 1934 at which time he was due to take retirement. According to the Institute's official history this was because of personal differences with the director, Oskar Vogt, who actually declined to make use of the recently passed Berufsbeamtengesetz to dismiss Max on the grounds of his ethnicity. (Henning, 648) Vogt was a committed socialist and would later be forced from his post by the Nazis in 1936. Nevertheless, irrespective of the initial cause of Max's retirement, it would not have been long before the provisions of the National Socialists' Berufsbeamtengesetz came to apply in his case as well. Subsequently, Max worked in Utrecht and at Cajal's Instituto para investigaciones biológicas in Madrid before returning to Berlin in 1936 at a time when conditions were becoming ever more desperate for Jews. He was able to emigrate to England in 1939 shortly before the outbreak of the war. Max Bielschowsky suffered a stroke and died in London in 1940. See: F.W. Stahnisch. "Max Bielschowsky (1869 – 1940)" In: *Journal of Neurology* (2015) 262:792–794.

[46] Jiménez Fernández, 21.

[47] Cajal immediately offered his services to Jiménez-Díaz as a translator. Explaining the raison d'etre of the new institute to his mentor crystallised the whole project for him, wrote Jiménez Díaz: "[…] [Cajal] told me it was the most crucial task necessary for the development of science in Spain." (Jiménez Diaz, 42) My translation.

[48] "In Berlin Carlos worked with such excellent clinicians as van Noorden, Kraus and Strumpell and later in Frankfurt he studied biochemistry with the great Michaelis and experimental medicine with Bickel which showed his early interest in unifying research and clinical work." M. Jiménez Casado. *Historia de la Fundación Jiménez Díaz*. Madrid: Ibáñez & Plaza Asociados S.L., 1996. 14. Quoted in: Matesanz-Santiago, 2012. 108. My translation.

autumn of 1934 he managed to persuade many of the country's great and good[49] to commit to substantial donations and to serve on the Board of Governors. Spain was a politically polarised nation at the time and moving inexorably towards civil war in 1936, but although his donors were drawn from the aristocratic and conservative sectors of Spanish society, Jiménez Díaz himself does not appear to have had any overt ideological preferences – at least when it came to ensuring the success of his cherished Instituto.[50]

For Jiménez Díaz, the plight of the German Jews was undoubtedly a tragedy – but he also saw it as an opportunity for Spanish science to catch up with its European and North American rivals. His altruism sat side by side with an ambition fuelled by a nationalist spirit typical of the times:

> I had already hired F. Bielschowsky - presently at the Cancer Institute in New Zealand[51] – who was son of the famous histologist and who had been one of Thannhauser's best collaborators, when that brutal moment arrived when Hitler launched his war on the Jews and many valuable men were exiled or dismissed from their posts.[52] It was a crucial moment that Spain should have taken advantage of in order to provide a livelihood to those unlucky men and to provide a much needed injection of the utmost importance for our scientific development. If, as I had counselled, we had generously taken these people in, without any suspicion or pettiness, we would have put them in a position where they could have contributed to the education of Spanish youth. What a leap forward we could have made! And certainly for much less cost than might be assumed for scholarships and other less fruitful means.[53]

Jiménez Díaz went on to give an example of this "suspicion" and "pettiness" that was explicitly anti-Semitic:

> I hired Bielschowsky – as I later did Miss Angermann – at my own expense but I couldn't bring in any more [Jews] because I wasn't able to. It was not just that it

[49] The impressive list of dignitaries, politicians and aristocrats recruited by Jiménez-Díaz is set out in his autobiographical *La historia de mi instituto* (1965), 225 – 227. See also the first entry in the letter journal from 31 December 1935.
[50] In *La historia,* Jiménez Díaz fondly recalls working closely together with the then Professor of Physiology, Juan Negrín, on the design of a new hospital to be constructed on the modern campus area of the Ciudad Universitaria to the northwest of Madrid. "Dr Negrín, apart from being an intelligent man, was very familiar with institutions in other countries and he invested great enthusiasm and a lot of spirit into setting up the new faculty." (Jiménez Díaz, 35. My translation.) This same Juan Negrín would go on to become the last President of the Second Republic, a Socialist politician who was forced to submit abjectly to Franco's victorious army when the Republican cause collapsed in early 1939. Jiménez-Díaz would later more actively cultivate ties with Franco's regime in the post-war period in order to rebuild the Instituto.
[51] Jiménez Díaz appears to have been unaware that Franz Bielschowsky was by this time already dead.
[52] Jiménez Díaz seems to imply in this passage that Franz Bielschowsky had already been appointed to his position in Madrid before the *Berufsbeamtengesetz,* which required the dismissal of Jews, came into effect. This does not account, however, for Franz's tenure at the University of Amsterdam under Professor Snapper where he spent most of 1933. One wonders, therefore, whether Jiménez-Díaz was recalling events in their correct order here.
[53] Jiménez Díaz, 40.

> was officially impossible. I was also criticised for having done it once already, as I would be on many other occasions. They would say of me: "He's hired Jews!"[54]

Despite planning for the Instituto being at an advanced stage by the time Franz Bielschowsky arrived in Spain on 26 December 1933,[55] Jiménez Díaz was aware that the rather inadequate facilities available in Madrid would not have stood comparison with Freiburg or Amsterdam. According to Jiménez Díaz, however, Franz soon settled in after he had been briefed on the goals of the new Instituto.[56] It must certainly have helped that he was not amongst strangers since many of the Spanish researchers had spent time in German laboratories or were even personally acquainted with him. Pedro de la Barreda Espinosa, who was to be in charge of Cellular Metabolism at the Instituto, had worked with Thannhauser in Freiburg from 1930 and was therefore a former colleague of Franz.

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[54] Jiménez Díaz, 40. Spain was a country in which the roots of anti-Semitism went deep. In 1492 when the Reconquista had formally been completed, all Jews who refused to convert to Catholicism were expelled by order of a royal edict (the Alhambra Decree); many of them accepted the invitation of the Turkish sultan to settle in his dominions, thus forming the Sephardic community whose language was Ladino, a form of Spanish. It was not until the mid-19th century that Jews were formally allowed to reside again in Spain. By the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries attitudes had changed to the extent that many groups – such as Miguel Pulido's *Alianza Hispano-Israelita* established in 1910 – were working to cultivate economic and cultural ties between Spain and the Sephardim. Pulido's enthusiasm for the Sephardic diaspora was motivated by his Spanish nationalism, since he saw them as a community that had retained a commitment to traditional Spanish values even after hundreds of years in exile. (See: Bernd Rother, *Spanien und der Holocaust. Romania Judaica, Bd. V*. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2001. 32.)
The idea that Sephardic Jewry were upholders of an original Spanish culture meant that it was even possible for Spanish Fascist intellectuals in the Falange to propose a cultural rapprochement with the Sephardim, even if they did not seek a reversal of the 1492 edict: "Antisemitismus war für die radikale spanische Rechte kein besonderes Thema. Umgekehrt forderten die späteren Falangisten [...] aber auch nicht die Revision des Ausweisungsedikts von 1492 oder die völlige Religionsfreiheit. Die Sepharden waren für sie interessant, weil sie durch ihr Beharren auf die spanische Sprache die Überlegenheit der spanischen Kultur demonstrierten. Sepharden waren für sie vorrangig Spanier, dann erst Juden." (Rother, 34)
Acknowledgement of a common cultural heritage did not mean, however, that Sephardic Jews were to be regarded as the equals of non-Jewish Spaniards. In 1930 José María Doussinague, trade attaché at the Spanish embassy in Berlin, and later Franco's General Director of Foreign Policy at the Foreign Ministry in Madrid during the Second World War, published a paper for the Economics Ministry. In it, he advocated closer ties for economic reasons with the Sephardim who, he believed, were superior to other Jews due to their Spanish experiences: "Die Sepharden [] seien durch ihren langen Aufenthalt in Spanien rassisch und moralisch deutlich verbessert worden." (Rother, 35)
A more generous approach to Spanish-Jewish relations might have been expected during the crisis of 1933 when so many German Jews were in desperate need of asylum. Spain's government, composed of Socialists and left-Liberals, was less than sympathetic: speculation about an influx of Jews led to visas being reintroduced for Germans in April 1933, ostensibly because of fears the labour market would be "overburdened". In October that year the government rejected a proposal from the League of Nations for a quota system to deal with Jewish refugees. According to the League there were a mere 1 000 German refugees of all types in Spain in April 1934. (Rother, 44) It is estimated there were then around 6 000 Spanish Jews. (Rother, 45)

[55] The date of Franz's arrival in Spain is recorded on a document in the Hocken Collections (MS 1493/015) from the medical director of Military Hospital No. 6, Madrid on 6 December 1938. (In an ironic turn, this letter was written to provide official confirmation of Franz's request to be evacuated from the country.) The Hocken documents also indicate that Franz had been a resident in a student hostel on the Madrid campus, the Fundación del Amo, in the period following 10. January 1934. The Fundación del Amo would become one of the initial targets of the Nationalist attack on Madrid in mid-November 1936. (Thomas, 459) Captured from the Republicans on 17 November it was completely destroyed in the course of the war.

[56] Jiménez Díaz, 40.

Severo Ochoa, in charge of Physiology and, later, winner of the Nobel Prize for Physiology in 1959, had worked at the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute in Berlin and would also have known Franz's father, Max Bielschowsky. The other two department heads, Morán Miranda and Arjona, had both done postdoctoral work in Germany.[57] From a Spanish perspective, the biomedical sciences at this point in the 1930s must have seemed like a German fiefdom.

The record in the Hocken Collections is blank for Marianne's activities between her enrolment at the University of Bonn in the summer semester of 1933 and her eventual departure for Madrid at the end of December 1935. There are indications in the letters, however, that she had been living in Berlin. In a letter dated 16 February 1936 she describes having received a photo from Berlin which showed everyone at "the company".[58] It seems to have been a very unsatisfactory period in her life, however, and it requires little interpretive skill to realise that she was suffering from some form of depression. In her letter of 2 February 1936 she writes of the "dreadful loneliness" of Berlin, and it is obvious that her physical and mental health had also suffered. On the 21 June 1936 she reports Franz's comment about how much better she was now looking after having arrived in Spain "half dead" – a remark that surprises her given how well she felt her parents had fed her "in those last few months". Perhaps we should take those words to mean that she had sought refuge in the parental home at Langenberg? Certainly one need look no further than the prevailing social and political conditions for an explanation of her unhappiness. That her friends and colleagues had had their careers ruined by Nazi anti-Semitism was cause enough for grief on a personal level.[59] But their professional disasters must also have redounded to Marianne's own disadvantage, since she would have seen the research community into which she had invested so much of her own hopes and ambitions utterly destroyed.[60] For a woman trying to make her way in the academic world, this would have been an especially bitter blow. In order to gain a teaching position at a German university, a candidate requires a postdoctoral qualification (Habilitation) but it was only in 1920 that Konrad Haenisch, the Prussian SPD Minister of Culture, had determined that, under the Weimar constitution, women

[57] See Jiménez Díaz, 222 – 223.

[58] See also the letters of 6 January 1936 (mistakenly dated in the original 6 December 1936) and 11 January 1936.

[59] Marianne would have witnessed the treatment meted out to anyone suspected of a link to "non-Aryan" and politically "undesirable" individuals in the Medical Faculty at the University of Bonn in 1933. The type of pressure exerted even on Assistenten (i.e. those in the process of a postdoctoral thesis and who aspired to an academic post) can be seen in the case of Paul Glees whose story bears some resemblance to that of Marianne. In December 1935 Glees was made Assistent in the Anatomical Institute at Bonn. Though he was a Gentile, Glees had moved in Jewish circles. The National Socialist leader of university lecturers then demanded that he join the Party in order to demonstrate his loyalty to the State, or face dismissal. Glees refused and left Germany for Amsterdam in June 1936. His Jewish fiancé had already left the country in December 1935 as she was unable to find a position as a dentist. The couple eventually ended up in England. (Höpfner, 468)

[60] Michael Grüttner and Sven Kinas have forensically detailed the consequences of the Berufsbeamtengesetz on ten German universities. They include statistics for the University of Bonn, Marianne's last academic home. Bonn suffered 40 dismissals under the provisions of the act out of a total of 309 staff. Of these, 22 were dismissed for reasons of "racial ideology" and 18 for other reasons, such as political or confessional "unreliability". In addition, one person voluntarily resigned for political reasons, so that the legislation caused a total loss of 41 staff (13%). Eighteen of these individuals emigrated. Of those who remained, two eventually died in concentration camps and one person committed suicide. (Grüttner, 161) Hans-Paul's Höpfner's figures are even higher, since he includes the entire period of Nazi rule (1933 – 1945); in all, he writes, 62 members of the University of Bonn were dismissed including 12 Assistenten. (Höpfner, 452)

were to be afforded the same postdoctoral opportunities as men: "This would apply to matriculation, to doctoral examinations, to Habilitation, and even to professorial appointments."[61]

Even in the context of such a legal framework, however, a supportive, collegial environment and the ability to pay one's own way (usually as an Assistentin to someone with a full professorship) are crucial requirements for the postdoctoral researcher; these were, of course, both conditions which were largely denied to women of the time and could only exacerbated by the Berufsbeamtengesetz which eliminated so much Jewish talent. With the decimation of her senior colleagues in her specialisations within biochemistry and physiology, Marianne must have felt that she had also had to sacrifice her own career.[62] Her professional options would have been limited in the absence of influential patrons, and it may have been that she suffered the fate of many unmarried academic women who, according to Johnson, "lingered in a shadowy existence on the academic fringe, perhaps as underpaid and overqualified laboratory technicians, or otherwise eking out a living with occasional support from their families."[63]

The appointment to a position in Madrid must therefore have come as a liberation for Marianne, a miraculous opportunity to exchange the drudgery of menial work in an authoritarian society for an intellectually challenging career in a vigorous – if also precarious – democracy. In her first entry in the journal on New Year's Eve 1935, Marianne's mother, Charlotte, acknowledges that her daughter's move to Spain represented a dramatic reversal of fortune:

> Bitter schwer ist es, sein liebes Kind so weit weg, so momentan unerreichbar zu wissen. Aber lieber draußen glücklich und zufrieden, als unbefriedigt in der Heimat und nicht am rechten Platz. Marianne hat recht getan – so einsam wir auch sind ohne sie. Nach bitter schweren Jahren hat sie eine Tür hinter sich zugeschlagen und eine neue weit aufgetan – gebs Gott zu einer besseren Zukunft.

From today's perspective, Charlotte's wish for a "better future" for her daughter in the Spain of 1936 cannot be read as anything but ironic – the country was only a few months away from a three year civil war that would cost half a million lives and usher in a thirty-six year dictatorship. Nevertheless, it is obvious from her letters that Marianne was sustained by the vision of a better life in Spain. Newly arrived, Marianne wrote on 30 December about Spain as another migrant at the same time might have written about the United States – as an aspiring land that rewarded enterprise:

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[61] Haenisch to university trustees in Prussia (draft copy, January 1920), in: GStA Merseburg, Laufbahn, Bl. 157. Quoted in Johnson, 10.

[62] Worse was to come for the younger generation of women. In April 1933 the Nazis also enacted a Gesetz gegen die Überfüllung deutscher Schulen und Hochschulen (Law against the overcrowding of German schools and universities). Primarily aimed at restricting education to those who were not "Aryan", it included provisions for limiting the intake of women to universities to just 10% of the total. (Wenning, 142)

[63] Johnson, 13.

> Und es ist vielleicht ein Glück in solch ein aufstrebendes Land zu kommen. Ich meine fast, man sieht schon die Fortschritte gegenüber den Zuständen, wie sie vor 2 Jahren waren. Wenn man Geld hätte, hier könnte man so vieles anfangen.[64]

After arriving in Madrid, Marianne found temporary accommodation for a few days in the Plaza de las Cortes in the central city before quickly settling into a comfortable apartment in the Calle Francisco de Rojas around two kilometres to the north. Once there, she set about familiarising herself with her new tasks. Jiménez Díaz's new institute was still under construction at the Faculty of Medicine on the Ciudad Universitaria campus and much of Marianne's work seems to have centred on the logistics and planning involved in setting up the chemistry laboratory, training the assistants and establishing working relationships with other departments. She had a keen sense of the ways in which working conditions were slanted towards the needs of men and set about redressing the balance; one of her achievements lay in persuading her male colleagues that the institute's female workers needed a dayroom in which they could rest during their two hour break and that the completion of women's changing facilities should be prioritised.[65]

Although she had not worked closely with Franz since their time together at the University of Freiburg, she was optimistic that they would be able to pick up again where they had left off: "[E]s geht [Franz] hier sehr gut und er spielt eine große Rolle. Uns ist es nicht, als hätten wir uns in den letzten 5 Jahren kaum gesehen. Ich denke, wir werden wieder schön zusammenarbeiten können."[66] Relationships with her other colleagues seem to have also been cordial and productive; Marianne refers to them in her letters as an "intellectual elite"[67] (scarcely an exaggeration in light of Severo Ochoa's Nobel Prize in 1959) – with the implication that she might number herself amongst them:

> Lernen und Lehren, was habe ich mir das immer gewünscht! Nun fällt es mir zu und die Leute, mit denen ich arbeite, sind entschieden eine geistige Elite. Ich werde Gelegenheit haben, meinen Kopf wieder anzustrengen. Aber das ist gut und befriedigend. (26 December 1936)

The reader familiar with the history of the Second Spanish Republic may experience some frustration that Marianne seemed largely indifferent to the extraordinary political events of the day and their implications for twentieth century history. By and large, these matters were recorded in her letters in a vague and somewhat desultory way. It cannot have been that Marianne was politically neutral. The treatment meted out to her Jewish friends and colleagues will have understandably aroused her loathing for National Socialism. She seemed also to have had a great deal of sympathy for the left-wing popular government (Frente Popular) which was elected in February just a few weeks after her arrival in Spain. During a general strike called in April she remarked on the "bewundernswerte[] Disziplin der Arbeiterschaft", absolved the ruling parties of any responsibility for violence: „[...] man hat sich dabei davon überzeugen können, daß, wenn es hier einmal knallt, nicht die regierenden Parteien anfangen." (19 April 1936) In the

[64] The comment seems to indicate that this was not Marianne's first trip to Spain. If she had been in the country "vor 2 Jahren", then this may have been to accompany Franz on his move to Madrid from Amsterdam.
[65] See letter of 2 March 1936.
[66] See letter of 3 January 1936.
[67] See, for example, the letter of 4 June 1936.

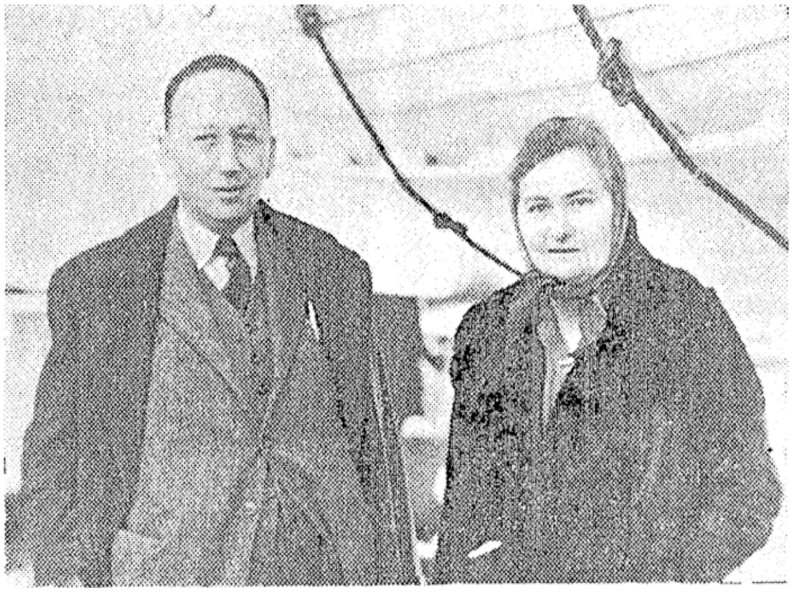
same letter, however, she went on to deny that any meaningful events were happening at all. She assured her parents that they need have no cause for concern. Anything they read in the German newspapers was bound to be a sensationalised version of events that would not be recognised by locals: "es liegt nicht der geringste Grund zur Besorgnis vor. Die Zeitungen aller Nationen leben schließlich von den paar Sensationen, und meist merken die Einwohner am aller wenigsten."

Marianne no doubt wished to spare her parents undue anxiety but her denial of the gravity of the situation may also have been a soothing story created for her own consumption. By July 1936 there was no turning back: to return to Germany would almost certainly have involved accepting a position that demeaned her abilities. Bereft of her friends and intellectual peers in a country where the roles for women were becoming ever more restricted, Marianne would have faced a grim future indeed. Seen in this light, one can understand why she must have been prepared to assert determinedly that her future lay in Spain, and to tell herself that the country's current troubles would soon pass. (In any case, by providing detailed references to the political upheavals that surrounded Marianne on all sides in Madrid in 1936 we have attempted to furnish some political and historical context to the personal, quotidian events narrated in the letters.)

Once the army's uprising made it clear that the young Republic was in mortal danger, both Marianne and Franz quickly made the commitment to throw in their lot with the Republican cause. Having lived through a series of political crises that had led to the extinction of democracy and the emergence of National Socialist tyranny in Germany, they were – like so many of their contemporaries – fully aware of the wider, European dimension of the Spanish conflict. If war were necessary to stop the spread of fascism in Europe, Spain would be the battleground. Twelve years later, in his letter of application for the directorship of cancer research in Dunedin, Franz pinpointed the widening of the war as the catalyst for his commitment: "When the intervention of Hitler and Mussolini in the Spanish conflict became obvious, I joined the Medical Service of the Spanish Republican Army and worked as a captain in a military hospital in Madrid […]"[68]

Franz and Marianne's service in the Republican medical corps was clearly a matter of conviction – but there were also more immediate, material reasons for Franz to return to medical practice and for Marianne to work in a hospital laboratory: barely inaugurated, Jiménez Díaz's Instituto at the University of Madrid had, by November 1936, become one of a number of buildings on the campus that were being bitterly fought over as rebellious Nationalist troops battered at the capital in an attempt to gain a quick victory. In the event, Franco's rebel army would be held up at the University for the next three years as the two sides settled into a stalemate during the siege of Madrid. By the time the Nationalists finally triumphed in March 1939, however, the laboratory Marianne described in such loving detail in her letters would lie in ruins. Most of its researchers would be either dead, in exile, or have their careers crippled due to their association with the lost cause of Spanish Republicanism.

[68] Hocken Collections, MS1493/017.



Dr Franz Bielschowsky and Dr Marianne Bielschowsky on their arrival in New Zealand. (*Otago Daily Times*, 14 April 1948)

Marianne with her mother, Clara Angermann (née Beutler). Plauen (Saxony), 1906. (Hocken Collections, MS1493/039)

Marianne and her younger sister, Dorothée. Ilmenau, 1908. (Hocken Collections, MS1493/039)

Konrad Angermann, Marianne's father, in 1908. (Hocken Collections, MS1493/039)

Marianne as a 15 year old schoolgirl. Langenberg, 1919. (Hocken Collections, MS1493/039)

Konrad Angermann, 1923. Text on the reverse reads: “Marianne Angermann zugeeignet. K.A. Vater, nach der Entlassung as dem Zuchthaus Werden. 1923“ / “Dedicated to Marianne Angermann. K.A. Father, after his release from Werden prison. 1923” (Hocken Collections, MS1493/039)

French occupation forces leave Langenberg in 1924. (Source: Stadtarchiv Velbert. Reprinted in Degen, 296.)

As a Freiburg PhD student visiting her parents in Langenberg. Summer, 1926. (Hocken Collections, MS1493/039)

The last session of the Langenberg town council before the Nazis outlawed other political parties, 31 March 1933. Konrad Angermann, mayor, is at the front (centre-right) with his arm resting on the table. (Source: Stadtarchiv Velbert. Reprinted in Degen, 355.)

An undated photo of Marianne, possibly taken for her passport in December 1935. (Hocken Collections, MS1493/039)

Carlos Jiménez Díaz and his wife, Conchita Rábago. Undated. (Source: Conchi Jiménez Fernández,. "El Sueño Del Hijo Del Tendero. La Biblioteca De La Fundación Jiménez Díaz." *Mi biblioteca.* Verano. 10 (2007). 24)