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Interview with  
Frederick E. Gaupp  
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Mr. Burke: This is Kenneth Alton Burke. I am interviewing Dr. Frederick E. Gaupp at his home in Georgetown, Texas. Dr. Gaupp was born in Germany and lived there until 1935. I will be asking Dr. Gaupp about his experiences, attitudes, and impressions of the political situation from 1919 until 1935, as well as his experiences thereafter as an emigre.

A good way to begin, I think, would be with a brief biographical background. You could tell me when you were born and where and what you did until, let us say, 1914 and 1916 or so.

Dr. Gaupp: I am still a man of the old century. I am born in 1897 in Freiburg, in Baden, southern Germany, where my father was a university professor. I spent my whole childhood in Baden. I had a wonderful childhood.

Then in 1912 my father was called to Koenigsberg in East Prussia as a Director of the Anatomical

Institute there on the university. I was in Koenigsberg when the war broke out and as all young people my age did, I volunteered, of course, in the army, into a Prussian artillery regiment.

But since you start with this broader background, I personally never felt being a Prussian, although both my parents were Prussians. I felt a southern German, and my roots were much deeper in southern Germany and southern German culture, living habits. I hated Prussia and these two years in Koenigsberg from 1912 until 1914 were pretty miserable years for me.

My general background is, I come from a typical German intellectual middle-class family. From both my father's and my mother's side, several of my ancestors were professors, some pastors mostly in the Lutheran Church, a very few businessmen, teachers, lawyers, this kind of background. According to all I know, especially my direct ancestors, the Gaupps always have been, oh, let's say, liberals. My grandfather, for instance, my father's father, was an attorney at law. He hated Bismarck like the devil! But he was a good patriot. My ancestors were generally on the

liberal side, most of them showing a very strong interest in literature and the fine arts, in music particularly--this kind. I had a wonderful childhood and education almost through high school.

Burke: So you joined the German army in 1914...

Guapp: ...joined in August, 1914, yes, in Koenigsburg and from then on served in the army until the collapse in the winter, 1918-19. I was a soldier. When the war came to an end, I was a lieutenant of the reserve.

The first winter, 1914-1915, I was on the east front when the Russians were in eastern Prussia. I participated in the battle of Masurian Lakes, as it was called, in January, 1915. This was a decisive battle when the Russians were driven out of eastern Prussia again by Hindenburg.

I was lucky in early spring, 1915. With the help of an uncle, I changed regiments and entered a Rhenish artillery regiment, with a garrison in Cologne. I served in this regiment to the end of the war, and I felt considerably better. This was not so Prussian.

Burke: Were you released immediately? The war was ended in November, 1918.

Gaupp: Yes. When this so-called revolution happened in November, 1918, my battery was still in France, and we had to march back over the Rhine River as quickly as possible. In fact, I crossed the Rhine River as the commander of my battery because my captain suddenly had disappeared; I have never found out where. I was second in rank, and I brought my horses and my guns safely back over the Rhine River. Then it took a few weeks still in several camps until we were formally released and sent home.

Burke: Now did you go back to Koenigsburg?

Gaupp: No, no. In the meantime, my father had been called from Koenigsburg to Breslau in Silesia, which, by the way, was his own alma mater, and where my mother was born. There he died during the war in 1916. He was Director of the Anatomical Institute, and according to all I know, he died of overwork because medical professors had to produce as many doctors as possible for the army. He was overloaded and he died. There was not yet penicillin; he died of pneumonia in three days.

So when I returned, I returned to Breslau where my mother lived with my four--I am the oldest of five

children--with my four brothers and sisters, and she was a widow. I enrolled in the University of Breslau first thing; it was still in January or February, 1919.

Burke: How did you feel, then, now that Wilhelm II has gone into exile and a new government has taken over? How did you feel about this? Now you are living in a new Germany, a defeated Germany.

Gaupp: Please, what I am telling you is strictly my personal experience. I will try not to speak about these things with the hindsight of a history professor. What does a soldier in uniform feel? First of all, he feels we have lost the war. This was hundred times more important to us than that in the meantime the Kaiser had left the country and a group of people whose names we never had heard were in power in Berlin. We wanted to come safely home. We didn't want to become prisoners in the last thirty-forty hours of the war.

We have lost the war, and there is no doubt about this. Believe me, Mr. Burke, I was in the middle of it. We fired to the very last moment. The German Army was kaput in every respect, in spite of all the lies Hitler later on tried to tell the

German people--that the German Army never has been defeated because armistice was made when the Allies still were in France and Belgium and that no German territory had been occupied by the Allies. We couldn't have withstood no two more days.

Burke: It was over.

Gaupp: We didn't have any ammunition anymore. The barrels of our guns exploded. We had lost about half of our horses. Our guns were still pulled by horses then. The trenches had disappeared; the Allies had overrun the trenches. The infantry was fighting in foxholes, two men on a machine gun, and the machine gun was broken. We couldn't resist anymore; there was a complete military defeat.

Of course, also at home, it was a complete collapse of, well, of the home front. The economy didn't function anymore. Nothing functioned anymore; the railroads didn't run anymore. Germany was through. It was a collapse. It was a collapse, and it was not a revolution.

How did I feel? Oh, I was still in the front when we got this news the Kaiser has left and the socialists are in power. We saw here and there

other troops, infantry, artillery, whatever it was, all marching back eastwards, and many of the cars and guns had little red flags. We tore some pillow cases apart and put a red flag on our car because we didn't want to have any trouble.

Burke: What did the red flag mean?

Gaupp: Red flag meant we are socialists now, means we are in the middle of a socialist revolution. That's what we were told. But I had not heard a single case, on the front, I mean, of the fighting troops, not a single case, let's say, that the soldiers by force had taken over command or perhaps even killed their officers or something like this--nothing! It was an extremely orderly German retreat. Just we had the red flag for safety.

Burke: Now, later on, when you were out of the army and in the university, did your attitude change about the new government, or did conditions in Germany begin to change?

Gaupp: Here, of course, the inner change started. And, well, the first thing which I realized, not overnight, of course, but pretty soon during 1919, that what has happened in Germany in November, 1918, was not a



revolution. It was, as I said, a collapse with a few local riots, mostly food riots. People were hungry, stores were stormed, and such things. You know, that during the winter of 1918-19 already, from about Christmas until January, 1919, the Communists took over Berlin--Spartacists. They called themselves Spartacists. The Germans are so educated (sarcasm). But this spook ended, I think, after about two or three weeks. The army was still there. There were still enough loyal regiments who could do this little fighting in Berlin and storm the Imperial Castle. Here, I think, the bloody losses on either side were not high.

Little bit later, in 1919, the Communists took over in Bavaria, the Eisner regime in Munich which lasted for several months, I think. But it, too, was crushed by the army. The new provisional government of Berlin found some reliable generals and troops which were just sent down to Bavaria and this ended.

Burke: So the army was still loyal to the government even though the government had changed?

Gaupp: Most definitely, most definitely. In fact, this is not the right impression that the army was loyal. The army was in command! That's why I say it really was not a revolution because from the very first moment on...and old Hindenburg gave the model for this, when he pledged, "I will bring the army home safely." The army controlled the government; the government was at the mercy of the army. Without these officers and soldiers, I don't know what would have happened in Berlin or in Munich and so on.

Burke: So the new government relied upon the army?

Gaupp: ...relied on the army. And it was the same, then, during the Kapp Putsch, which lasted, I think, a week and which I personally have experienced. I was a university student at the time. We had hardly heard anything that was going on. One morning I was marching down to the university with my briefcase, and suddenly there was machine gun fire!

Burke: On campus?

Gaupp: No, not on campus. You know, the main street in Breslau--the Old Guard, it's called, a little building. I saw soldiers standing there with machine guns. I tell you, during four years of war I have not got down

so quickly on my stomach than there, hiding in a doorway. I mean, after four years of war, to be shot as a peaceful student? No! No!

But this, too, the Kapp Putsch, was crushed by the army...and wait a minute...what crushed this Kapp Putsch was the German labor because the German labor went on general strike. Of course, Hitler later on denied this. In this case, it was German labor which saved the republic.

Burke: How did you and your fellow students feel about these Freicorps units. There were many...

Gaupp: Yes, you mentioned this in your letter, these Freicorps. They were pretty active in Breslau. You know where Breslau is?

Burke: Not exactly.

Gaupp: The southeastern province, this long sausage, which had been conquered by Frederick the Great, had been Austrian before, with the Oder River running through, and in the very middle of Silesia is Breslau, the old capital, formerly, of course, a Polish city. Good, famous university. And 150 miles up the Oder River on the southern tip of Silesia, this is Upper Silesia, and here are the coal mines. These coal

mines, according to the armistice and peace negotiations, should be turned over to a large extent to Poland because the Allies were very much interested in making this new republic of Poland as strong, especially economically, as strong as possible. So the Poles should get the coal. And that's where the German Freicorps went fighting. And among these Freicorps members were many students at the University of Breslau.

Burke: They were part-time students and part-time Freicorps members?

Gaupp: Yes, yes. Suddenly one day we realized about one-third of the student body had left, were not there, were fighting in Upper Silesia. I think many of them were former officers of the reserve.

Look, most of us were still running around in uniform. We didn't have any civil clothes. We didn't have the money to buy civil clothes. We got nothing from the government, no veterans help at all, so they were still in uniform. Some officers, then, were the type of men which you find everywhere at the end of a war, people who just don't find their way back in an orderly civil life--adventurers. They

went and it was fierce fighting there in Upper Silesia in the coal mines; it was dynamite! German against Polish workers, miners, and so forth.

Of course, it ended when the Allies sent an international military force. I think there were some Italians among them, I don't know, who restored order, and the Freicorps men had to get out of Silesia. Similar things happened in eastern Prussia, where a new border had to be drawn because here, too, the Poles claimed certain parts of eastern Prussia and west Prussia. Before military international control was set up in these regions, there, too, there was some fighting.

Then the plebiscites then happened, and I think it didn't happen before 1920. In Silesia, in Prussia, there was quiet, and the voting was undisturbed, under control of Allied bayonets. The Freicorps had disappeared. Yes, many Freicorps fighters then a few months later on joined Kapp. A high percentage of these Kapp soldiers, they are, well, this kind of, really, adventurers. But a rather silly affair, this whole Kapp Putsch.

What was my attitude? My attitude was the attitude...you can compare it very, very much with our American veterans when they came back from World War II--leave me alone; get through college as quickly as possible; settle down, found a family, marry my girl; keep away from politics. Exactly this. And this was--I am absolutely sure about this--this was the overwhelming majority of students in this university and all over the country. The majority didn't give a damn.

We were extremely little interested in what was going on in Berlin. We knew nothing about our new government. When at the end of 1919, I think, the so-called Weimar Constitution was completed and was published, I never read it. I never read it! We were not interested in it. I am sure that the majority of the Germans even never read their constitution. There were no courses in civics or required courses in the university for government. The Germans didn't even know anything about their constitution. This, of course, is one reason why later on Hitler--before Hitler already, Papen and Schleicher--could violate the constitution, and the German majority even didn't know it.

Burke: People just didn't care...

Gaupp: ...did not care. We wanted to get through college and out.

Burke: In 1922 and 1923 there were some political assassinations, Erzberger and Rathenau, and there were numerous political parties. Did these events begin to affect you more, as political conditions became more unstable?

Gaupp: Yes, of course, it affected me more. But since you mention this, this is another point which clearly proves that this revolution on November, 1918, was not revolution because the mass of multiple political parties, of the typical German particularism. For a while we made a joke that everybody has his own political party (sarcasm). It was even worse than it had been before 1914. This, too, proves the new government under the new constitution was unable to unite a majority of loyal citizens behind them.

What we realized--what I realized--was simply how weak this government in Berlin was. Really, it never amounted to much more, especially during the first years, first five years, I would say, than to a government of caretakers with not a single really outstanding, constructive statesman among them.

The first real statesman very probably was Stresemann, who became a good foreign minister and a quite successful foreign minister. But this came several years later on.

Burke: Speaking of Stresemann, he encouraged Germany to pay the reparations. Many Germans, of course, said, "No, we should not pay the reparations." What was German's economic condition, not from the government standpoint, but from your standpoint, trying to make a living and go to school? What was the economic condition, the financial condition of the German people?

Gaupp: They are very bad, and they simply deteriorated from year to year. The worst year...was...(refers to notes)...was, yes, 1923 and 1924, when the inflation became rampant, and really at the very end in early 1924 when the mark was stabilized, the money was not worth the paper it was printed on. How poor we were we realized, of course, in the moment when one morning we read in the newspapers, the German mark doesn't exist anymore, it has been exchanged for the so-called Rentenmark. The day before I still had had several billions of marks in my pocket, a whole stack of paper. The next morning I had sixty Rentenmark.



Burke: Which was worth?

Gaupp: And then we knew how poor we were. Somehow, those who were lucky, still able to hold a job during these years--and I mean everybody, labor and white collar workers--who was not unemployed, somehow managed it through the inflation. When it became worse and worse, people just demanded that their salaries were paid every day. It had to be paid before twelve o'clock because at twelve o'clock all stores closed, and at two o'clock there came out the new exchange from Berlin that the mark is now worth so-and-so much.

At this time, I had a job already. We got our money at ten o'clock in the morning. Outside the faithful housewives waited, and we rushed down, gave them the money, got shopping before twelve o'clock because at two o'clock when the shops opened again, everywhere there were new posters, and the prices had gone up again so-and-so much.

Burke: Did you complete your Ph.D...go straight through, that is, when you went to the university?

Gaupp: ...straight through, but I could study only during the summer. For the first time in their history, I

think, German universities introduced summer semesters, especially for veterans. During the winter I had to work. I studied literature, with the emphasis on dramatic literature. I wanted to go to the stage, and I had a little job already in 1920. In 1922, when I married, I was on the stage, although mostly as stage director, not yet much as an actor. Later on I also had to act. I had chosen the theater as my career, and it took me five years to realize that I was not talented enough, and then I gave it up.

So I was just married when the German inflation happened. General economic situation...Mr. Burke, I was a poor student, and later on I was little theater man. I didn't know very much about the economy of the country. What we realized, of course, was that there were some tremendously rich people who had saved their money, had invested it in Switzerland or in any other country with a good currency. There was, of course, a whole class, as it is in every country after a long war, of the so-called Kriegsgewinner, those who have made the profits during the war and from the war. Little men who, through clever manipulations

had become tremendously rich, some overnight. So much about German society. This is a new kind of German bourgeoisie which had not existed before 1914. Before 1914, the German bourgeoisie was well-educated, settled, in every respect. These are the nouveau riche.

Burke: An entirely commercial bourgeoisie?

Gaupp: Absolutely, and we hated them, of course. What we realized...for instance, the occupation of the Ruhr Valley in 1923, if I'm right, and this was a horrible blunder from the side of the Frenchmen. Reparation payments were coming slow, very slow, partly because German could not pay, partly because, especially, the industry outright refused to pay. And the French government--it was Poincaré I think at this time--wanted to force the issue; he wanted to get the German coal from the Ruhr Valley. France and Belgium needed this coal because during the war the French and Belgian coal mines had been blown up by the Germans--completely destroyed. They needed the coal. But you cannot mine coal with a bayonet; you need miners! The automatic result of the occupation of the Ruhr Valley was that the miners

went into strike, and for months, which means a lot for these poor people. They had no insurances at all. I don't know how they managed. But it is another instance where the German labor class, the poor labor class, really showed more national loyalty than, for instance, the big industry. This is something what I realized at this time already--how with the inflation and the occupation of the Ruhr Valley, which increased the shortage of coal still more for the German industry, how broken down the German economy was.

May I say here something which I realized not immediately, but during the first years. These were three mistakes the Allies have made. Now some responsibility for the collapse of Germany is on the side of the Allies.

Number one, they concluded the armistice while the German armies were still in France and in Belgium. Foch wanted to cross the Rhine River; he wanted to carry the war into Germany. It's understandable that the other statesmen wanted to end the shooting, and the German caretakers were ready to sign the armistice. But the German people, the German civil

population, as a whole, never have experienced what is war. In spite of the poverty at home, the rationing system of practically everything, not only of food, the horrible losses of men on the front, in spite of all this still not a single German city has been destroyed during the First World War. Compare this with northern France and Belgium, where hundreds of big cities, of small towns, were erased, didn't exist any more! Psychologically, this was a mistake, because, as I said, later on, then, Hitler, and not only Hitler, other nationalists, could claim we have defended our fatherland.

Second mistake, I think, was mostly the responsibility of Clemenceau, the "Old Tiger." They wanted to milk the cow, but they wanted to slaughter the cow--and you cannot do both. Slaughter the cow means that Clemenceau particularly wanted to make Germany so poor and so weak that for centuries to come it would not be able to become another threat to France. After all, it was the third time the German army had marched deep into France: the end of the Napoleonic Wars, then 1870-71, and now. It is understandable why he wanted to get safe borders

in the east. He wanted to crush Germany! It is Clemenceau who insisted on these horrible...on high reparation payments, not only in money; in fact, mostly in kind, in coal, industrial products, and so on, and so on. Hundred thousands of cattle had to be delivered immediately to France and to Belgium, so German agriculture was hit.

But on the other hand, Germany was supposed to pay reparations, and it took many, many years before the Germans even were told how much reparations. The Germans had to sign a blank check. Well, how could they pay reparations? With industrial products, with nothing else. Gold? There was no gold. There was no money anymore with which the Germans could pay. With industrial products, first of all. Yes, but the industry was crippled because the coal was taken away from the industry. Germany didn't have any money to import the iron ore it needed, they always had needed, particularly from Sweden. So this is a horrible mistake. And then in 1923 to occupy the Ruhr Valley made things even worse.

And the third mistake in my opinion is that the Allies were satisfied that a republican government

of moderate, middle-of-the-road parties was set up-- moderate Social Democrats, Democrats, Centrists. These last ones are the Catholics. This government, which really had to operate under tremendously difficult conditions, should have been given a little bit of encouragement, perhaps some early credits, from the side of the Allies, as it has been done after the Second World War. No, they allowed the German economy to completely collapse.

Burke: The government did not take care of the economy, you don't think?

Gaupp: The German government? Oh, they tried, but what could they do?

Burke: Then the Allied governments should have tried to take care of the economy.

Gaupp: Yes, to give this new government some encouragement, some material help. But they couldn't care less. And when we speak about the Allies, I mean, of course, the French and the English because you know very well that the United States went off and didn't even participate in the peace negotiations.

Burke: They didn't ratify the treaty.

Gaupp: Yes.

Burke: This brings us up to the mid-1920's and perhaps after this. Conditions are just not good, and in the southern part of Germany, in Bavaria, this Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei begins to participate in elections and to win some votes. Were you still in the northern part of Germany at this time, let us say 1926 or 1927?

Gaupp: In 1926, this was my last year on the stage. I think in 1927 I gave up the theater and went to Berlin and was lucky. After a short time, I found a good position in a publishing house. From that time on, as long as I was in Berlin, I had become a redakteur, as it was called, editor, working in publishing houses, and most of the time in the biggest German publishing house at this time, the Ullstein Verlag in Berlin.

Burke: When did you first begin to hear about this Bavarian NSDAP and Hitler? For instance, to go back a few years, did anything come to your knowledge in 1923 when the so-called Beer Hall Putsch took place in Munich?

Gaupp: Very little. Look, so many other similar things were going on that it didn't make much impression on us. The most impressive thing was that even the old



General Ludendorff for a while seemed to participate in this crazy movement. The name Hitler at this time didn't mean anything to us, not at all. Really, we just didn't know anything about it, and we were not interested. In Berlin I never became active in politics. I never became very much actively interested even in politics. We went voting, of course, and we had to go voting very often. I voted either Democratic or Social Democratic or somewhere there. I never voted Communist. I never have been a Communist.

But on the other hand...look, one reason, I think, at least to people like me, members of the intelligentsia, why we didn't care so much for such local putsches or riots is that for several years we were much, much more interested in what was going on in Russia. And we were much, much deeper, especially the intelligentsia, were much deeper influenced by what we learned of what was going on in Russia after the first two years or three years, after the Bolsheviki had won the civil war and were there to stay. What happened before, we had seen as a spook: it will go over shortly. But it did not. From the very moment on, then, when fighting stopped in Russia...

in the meantime, the Republic of Poland had been formed as a buffer between us and Russia. Germany did not have any direct border with Soviet Russia. No, no, in the north there were the three Baltic republics and then came Poland. Still, we were excellently informed of what was going on in Russia. And one of the biggest things of Lenin was that even during the civil war he set up this international propaganda machine. We learned very quickly that 80 per cent of what we heard from Russia was propaganda, but it still was interesting. It was generally extremely clever propaganda.

So we were influenced. I say I personally never became a Communist. Many of my colleagues, students--some of them--became Communists. A very, very few became active Communists. Some few even, as some young Americans, by the way, went to Russia. Most of them came back very disappointed after some years. But it was interesting what happened in Russia.

I remember, for instance, one thing. One day the Commissar of Education, I think was his official title, of the Russian government paid a visit to Berlin and we went. He had announced he would speak about the

new Russian school system. We expected a man with a working man's cap and in a leather jacket or something. Mr. Lunacharsky, Commissar for Education, he looked like a German bierburgher, and intelligent bierburgher, with a black goatee and big pot belly, in a very nice cut away suit. Absolutely civil, spoke some German. I think he spoke in German. I can't remember if an interpreter was there. Anyway, he looked anything but a bloody revolutionary. And what he told us about the schools, especially the elementary schools that had been set up, and what he showed us on very, very nice textbooks for children, richly illustrated, it was impressive. There was a fresh wind in it.

And then came the Russian movies. As I said, in Berlin I had gone into the publishing business, and the biggest business in the German publishing business was not so much to publish new German writers--there were lots of them but they were not worth very much--no, translations. Suddenly, one publishing house after another translated practically the whole Russian literature. I still have it standing there (indicating the bookshelves), fifteen volumes

of Dostoevski and Gogol and Gorky and Turgenev and Tolstoy and everything--everything.

Burke: Both past and present Russian literature?

Gaupp: Oh, yes, oh, yes, present, too. I guess you know that before Stalin came to power, the Russians have produced some good writers and made their fantastic movies. All this came to an end with Stalin. But Stalin came to power in 1928. What happened especially in the field of literature, theater, and the film, the movies, it was amazing. Even today, I believe that a movie like the--Eisenstein's Potemkin, then The Mother, after the novel of Gorky--all these revolutionary movies. Oh, we knew they were propaganda, but, brother, we sat there breathless! They are fantastic movies, and Hollywood would have learned a lot from these early Russian movies--completely new technique, a completely new way to use a camera. It was fantastic! Neither Germany nor America produced anything which could be compared with these Russian movies.

Then, Russian theater. It must have been around 1928 very probably when Tairoff, the Moscow artistic theater...I don't know what was the official title,

Tairoff, so to speak, the successor of the old Stanislavski...when they toured the western world. I don't know if they ever came...did not come to the United States...but traveled through several European countries. I was an old theater man... no, it was earlier...1924 already, 1925...Tairoff came to Germany while I was still at the stage. This was something completely new, a liberation of the theatrical arts, a liberation of the actor. Every single member of this troupe was an actor and a singer and a dancer and an acrobat. They made fantastic things! Very modern, simple but extremely effective stage settings, lighting, and so on. Here was something new!

Then the books, the literature. Among them, by the way, one of the most impressive books to me was a book by the American, John Reed, Ten Days Which Shook the World. That's a fantastic book. It, too, is propaganda. Of course, it is. John Reed was a 100 per cent Communist, but, brother, is this written!

Look, during these first years the Russian revolution was heroic. It was! Even if we disagreed wholeheartedly with the kind of government, but at

least there seemed to be no censorship. On the contrary, there seemed to be terrific encouragement of all kind of culture. While in Germany, the Weimar Republic did nothing, nothing at all, for the encouragement of cultural things--partly because it didn't have the money.

Burke: You said that you were very strongly attached still to the south of Germany. When was it that your interest began to be detracted from the Russian cultural expression to the political events that were beginning to take shape in Bavaria? The Nazi Party was re-organized and beginning to become a very viable political party late in 1920. When did you begin, in Berlin, to realize and what did you realize was going on in Bavaria and in Munich?

Gaupp: We were not interested in what was going on in Bavaria. We saw the Brown Shirts in the streets of Berlin.

Burke: When did they come to Berlin? When did the Nazi Party...

Gaupp: Oh, long before the Nazis took over. I mean, the growth of the Nazi Party from Bavaria into other German Länder, it started shortly after Hitler was a free man again, had served his silly seven months, I

think, in Landsberg, and when everywhere in Germany, in the German cities, the so-called Gauleiters, district commanders, I think, of the party were created, and the volunteers were taken in. We saw the Brown Shirts in the streets of Berlin long before Hitler had come to power.

We knew about the street fighting occasionally between Brown Shirts and Communists. We knew that that fighting happened in southern Germany. Not so much even; it was much more fierce in central Germany, in Saxon country, in Thüringen, and so on, where the Nazis more and more took over the local control. In fact, in these small countries, earlier than, particularly, in Berlin...Berlin had a good police force, and the average German policeman was a Republican. He was about the most loyal man to the republic. They didn't fiddle around with the Nazis as long as they were allowed.

Burke: What happened?

Gaupp: Yes, but then came the first orders from the government to treat the Nazis friendly. After all, they are great patriots, and they protect us against the Communists. The police should stay aside, particularly,

or should even protect another march of the Nazis through the streets.

When there was a Communist, or any other radical left-wing assembly, somewhere in Berlin, you could bet, after about half an hour, the first Brown Shirts appeared. They infiltrated and started making trouble, and the police who were there did not stop them. It invariably ended then in a fight in the assembly hall, and generally the Nazis won because they had the guns! Every Brown Shirt had his pistol in his pocket. The Communist workman was not allowed to carry arms. So that's what we realized.

Burke: So you saw the party before you saw the man who was leading, or you realized...

Gaupp: I never saw the man.

Burke: ...realized the party before you realized Hitler?

Gaupp: Yes. We saw the party, and we realized, again, not so much in Berlin proper, but we heard dozens and dozens of stories. For instance, what happened in small German towns during any elections. Oh, there were so many elections in Germany. You had to go voting at least twice every year, and quite often more often. Quite often for local governments, local



representative, or whatever it was. We knew how more and more the local Nazis took over the poll stations and controlled the people who came in voting.

I know one story, and I know this as a fact, that in a nice little German town where everybody knew everybody else, there stood the solid, fat Nazi in the brown shirt. He greeted everybody and said, "We know each other so well. We are good friends. We don't have to go in the voting booth. We vote here in the open." And everybody voted for the Nazis.

Burke: Those people, there must have been some who voted voluntarily for the Nazis, who believed them. What appealed to these people?

Gaupp: This is one of the most difficult questions--what appealed to them. Hitler personally, in his speeches, promised everything to everybody. Hitler was absolutely able to speak today to a big assembly of more or less of the workingmen, working people, and promise them all kinds of socialism. And he could talk two days later to an assembly of big industrialists in the Ruhr Valley and promise them everything and tell

them, of course, we need capitalism and we are not out to destroy capitalism. We will give you work when we are in power; you will get rich through us. And so on and so on and so on.

But the people, most of them...look, the first members of the Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartie (sarcastic laugh), the Nazis, in Munich particularly, practically all of them came from one single German social class: the bankrupt low middle class. These are the people who lost everything during the German inflation. These were people who had saved through their life their money, had it on a saving account in the bank, and this money melted away like butter in the sun. They were beggars when the inflation came to an end and when the mark was stabilized. It took a long time until this bankrupt middle class, then, got some payments, some help, social security payments, from the government.

This bankrupt middle class, they were desperate. They couldn't hope to find a job. They hadn't learned anything. They had a workshop or perhaps they had been Rentners already. That means they had been in pension. Yes, but no pension was coming anymore. They couldn't look for other jobs.

Bankrupt low middle class. Among them, a high percentage of unemployed school teachers, for instance. This goes back to my own experience. Many students, even I for two semesters, thought we would become school teachers. I gave it up after two semesters. But many insisted. They got their degree, got their teacher's diploma, but they couldn't find a job. This was one of the biggest mistakes of the Weimar government: to do practically nothing for the schools, and I mean schools beginning with the elementary school through the university. Everywhere there were still the old teachers who had been teachers in 1914. The young men, very, very few women--still it was predominately men who wanted to become teachers--couldn't find a job. The money was not there to employ more teachers in the school. On the contrary, small school districts had to be put together into one district to save teachers. They were without a job. They had their diplomas, but you can't eat a diploma. This is another group of just desperate people. The German is generally an extremely stubborn man in regard to what he wants to do. He is by no means so flexible as the American, who may switch

from one job to another one. Not the German. When a man has a teacher's diploma, he has the right to ask for a job as a teacher! He demands this from society.

Burke: And Hitler promised this?

Gaupp: Yes, yes, but he couldn't hire them. So those whom I would call bankrupt, low intelligentsia were among the first members.

Then, of course, the Freicorpsmen. Men who still needed a uniform, who couldn't live without a uniform. Now they got another uniform through the party. Sometimes an outright mob, hoodlums, and every large city in Germany has, of course, some hoodlums.

Practically not a single organized workman from the trade unions at this early time joined the party. In fact, even through his whole government, Hitler never completely conquered German labor. They had to give in, but they did not become enthusiastic members. The military and labor, these were two groups which were not affected by the growth of the Nazi Party for many, many years to come.

Burke: How about this group of people, these Kriegsgewinner,

these new bourgeoisie? How did they react to this growing Nazi Party, and how did the Nazi Party react to them?

Gaupp: They made dirty jokes of them. As long as they themselves made money, they couldn't care less. Well, a certain percentage of the nouveau riche were Jews, and, of course, they were affected. They felt a threat. And after a short time, they were threatened physically, economically, socially, in every respect.

And then came the moment...look, I think the people all over the world, but particularly the Germans, are affected tremendously by success. A man succeeds in what he is doing, a group, a party succeeds, and if they like the man or the group, and if they agree with the program, they admire the success. The Nazis were successful, quite often with terror. Well, this was a conscious policy of Hitler. He used terror whenever necessary. People were impressed. From the moment when Hitler became chancellor and was officially in power, from this moment on, of course, the infiltration into the higher intelligentsia, into the universities, grew rampant.

Burke: This began to affect you now personally after 1933?

Gaupp: It affected me in a negative sense, of course. It affected some of my colleagues--not too many--but some in a positive...

Burke: How do you mean, positive?

Gaupp: Look, this Ullstein Publishing House in which I worked was strictly a private family enterprise, was owned by five brothers--Ullstein--and they were Jews. This does not mean that the whole publishing house was Jewish, no. But the percentage, particularly of people in my position--of directors, redakteurs, editors and so on--the percentage of Jewish people was somewhat higher. Higher, I say, but by no means 50 per cent. I would figure approximately 30 per cent, and they are Jews. Ullstein, by tradition, always had been democratic, liberal, not militaristic. His publications, his newspapers and magazines and books--and I worked in the book department--were intended first of all for the bourgeoisie, for the higher, sophisticated bourgeoisie, as well as for the lower, for the common people. This was a spirit in the Ullstein House. So I say the intellectual infiltration of the Ullstein Verlag from the side of the Nazis, from the side of Mr. Goebbels as propaganda minister, was

slow and not very successful until the day came when the party bought the Ullstein House.

Burke: They bought it outright?

Gaupp: They bought it outright. The Ullstein brothers got some money, and from this moment on, of course, the party commanded that all Jews have to be fired.

Burke: Do you think the Ullstein brothers sold it willingly, or did they sell it at the point of a gun or with a threat?

Gaupp: It was not point of a gun. Fright, fright.

Burke: Just fright.

Gaupp: Yes, fright. People got afraid more and more.

Burke: Because of the power of the Nazi Party?

Gaupp: Yes, yes, yes, and because of this terrific censorship, of course, which then was set up. Nothing worse can happen to a big publishing house than censorship. It affected, of course, my personal work. My work was first of all to read lots of manuscripts for the book department and for the...particularly fiction, but also to some extent popular science and so on. Before the Nazis came to power, my only yardstick was, "Is it good, or is it bad? Second, in which magazine or paper in the book department can we perhaps use

this manuscript?" But now it changed, and I had to ask myself with everything I read, "Can we publish this or not?"

Burke: Who set up the criteria?

Gaupp: I did. I knew the criteria.

Burke: But when the Nazis came to power?

Gaupp: You learn this very quickly, what you can say and what you cannot say, under a system like this.

Burke: Was there a formal criteria set down, or was it more informal?

Gaupp: For the newspapers, regarding the news which the newspapers were allowed to print, there was a formal criteria. Yes, beginning in 1933 already, Goebbels, the propagandaminister, had meetings every morning, nine o'clock in the propaganda ministry, and every newspaper had to send a representative, quite often the chief Redakteur or anyone to these. They got mimeographed sheets about the important news and events, internal and foreign, with instructions, "This may be printed on the fourth page of the newspaper. This has to go on the front page. No commentary allowed. Just bring the news." So the control of the newspapers became very formal. To us, I'm a poor literary man who wanted to publish still readable books. We knew the criteria.



Ullstein had a particularly bad mark on the list of the Nazi Party. We had published Erich Maria Remarque, All Quiet on the Western Front, and I was one of the first people who read this manuscript. We fought a battle and we won because the five brothers Ullstein told us, "Who wants to read a war novel? Nobody wants to." Well, we won the battle, and the first millions of books were sold in the first year.

Burke: What did the Nazi Party think of that book?

Gaupp: Well, they condemned it, of course, It was forbidden, outlawed, of course. Ullstein had published several other pretty outspoken liberal books and had published German translations of rather radical Russian books, for instance. So we were earmarked. We had to be re-educated at Ullstein (sarcasm).

Burke: I see. Did you begin to notice any effect in your personal life after 1933?

Gaupp: Oh, yes. Oh, yes, very, very much. Very, very much. First of all, we were just afraid. I'm not ashamed to say it. Everybody was just afraid. I am not a hero, and after a rather short time--not only for Jews, but also especially for people who had been active in one or another way in politics--but even

in a broader sense of the people like me, we were put before the alternative. If we did not want to cooperate with the party and with the regime, we could do only two things. Either we could go into the underground and fight, or we can emigrate. We can leave the country. When we resolved to stay in the country, we knew sooner or later that we would become completely under their control. I had a very good job. I've never made so much money here in the United States as I did in the last years at Ullstein. But I quit. I quit in 1935 because one and a half years of living under the Hitler regime was enough to me. So I quit, and I left Germany with my wife and two children voluntarily. I had not been fired.

Burke: Was it difficult? Was it difficult to leave Germany?

Gaupp: Not yet in 1935, especially not for a person like me who was not a Jew. I had a valid German passport and my wife, too, by the...no, we went on vacation to Italy and never returned, period. I never emigrated legally.

Burke: I see. So you went to Italy and lived there illegally as far as the government is concerned.

Gaupp: Yes, yes. I got two friendly invitations from the SS and the secret police in Berlin to appear in their

offices because they knew, of course, that Dr. Gaupp is not living in Berlin anymore. He's living in Italy.

Burke: How did they find that you were there? How did they know where you were?

Gaupp: They knew everything about everybody.

Burke: Did you tell anyone where you were?

Gaupp: No. I mean, that I lived in Italy, this was not a secret, of course. In fact, I managed still to work for the publishing house in Berlin. I had some good colleagues who looked to it that the Dr. Gaupp in Italy still got some manuscripts which he read and wrote critiques about it and sent it back, and I got some money. This was no secret. But, of course, I lived a little bit too long in Italy, and the police wanted exactly to know what I'm doing there.

Burke: The Italian police or the German?

Gaupp: The German Gestapo.

Burke: They came into Italy?

Gaupp: So I got two invitations. One invitation I got while I was just in Berlin. The next twelve hours I was back over the border, of course. I never followed this invitation.

Burke: But did you go back into Germany?

Gaupp: I had to go back several times to get out money. We lived as tourists, and since the relation between

Germany and Italy--Hitler and Mussolini--were very, very friendly, German tourists got an excellent exchange in lira when they lived in Italy, a much, much better exchange than, for instance, a businessman. But I had to go back to Berlin every few months to show...yes, I had to go to the police, my local police station in Berlin, "Here I am." I kept my apartment in Berlin. I subrented it. But this was still my official residence, and I had to show from time to time, "I'm still here."

Burke: You traveled freely back and forth between Italy and Germany at this time.

Gaupp: Yes, yes, yes. I could take out as a tourist so and so many hundred marks which I had earned in the meantime again. I still sold a few things in Berlin to get money out. You could live with very, very little money in Italy at this time, as we did. It was risky. It was risky. But I had to do it.

Okay, why did I leave? Well, I couldn't do it anymore. I mean, this is my upbringing. When the moment comes that you cannot look into a mirror anymore without pulling out your tongue at you and spit in your face because of all the horrible things you have to do against your conscience.

Burke: What kind of horrible things faced you daily?

Gaupp: For instance, to recommend a silly nationalistic novel, that it be printed. That's something horrible to me. But I had to. I had to raise my hand and say, "Heil Hitler" when I stepped into the elevator at the Ullstein House. There was this fat janitor who operated the ...and I knew he was a "Sozi," a Social Democrat. He made you "Heil Hitler." We all did. These are little things.

Burke: But they were important on a daily basis.

Gaupp: There came the moment when no person in Berlin couldn't be sure if his telephone is bugged or not. You couldn't be sure. You were absolutely sure that the janitor who lives down in the basement of this big apartment house knows exactly what is going on in these eight or ten apartments in his block. He knows about every visitor, when he comes, when he leaves.

My wife's sister lived in the same street, just opposite the street in another apartment. When the two ladies wanted to talk something private with each other, they phoned to come down, and they met in the middle of the street to talk with each other. I'm not exaggerating. This was the situation in 1934, 1935, the last two years. If you went along, you still had your good job. Many people managed it.

This touches another problem. Why did the German intelligentsia not cry out and not stand up against Hitler? Well, it didn't. Some left Germany, of course, and I repeat, not only Jews. Some left. But you need a little money to leave, especially when you have a family. I have realized this. When we left in fall, 1935, and I had to go back in 1936 and '37 and '38 even, yes, and, of course, I visited still the Ullstein House. Some of the old colleagues were still there. Others had disappeared. To realize how these men and women with whom I had collaborated through many, many years--twelve years I had worked there--some had become rather close friends. We knew each other. I mean also some secretaries, women. To realize from visit to visit how they had softened and how they had made their compromise and their peace and still worked! Most of them.

Burke: Did this disappoint you?

Gaupp: Yes, yes. 1936, already it was, I think in the fall, when I was back in Berlin, and two of my colleagues told me, "You have been wise." When I left, nobody could understand it, in 1935. A year later they told me already, "You were wise to do that." I told them,

"You can still do it today." The borders were still open in 1936. "You can."

Burke: Why didn't they?

Gaupp: "The job is good. I have a house in Potsdam." Economic, quite often. They did not all become Nazis. I don't say that. But they cooperated.

Something else. It started in '33 already. Every year on the first of May, there were the big Nazi processions and the big assembly down at the Tempelhofer Feld. This is the airport of Berlin, south of the city. Everybody had to appear there, and Hitler gave his speech. Everybody, I mean. Not only the men in uniform. No, all business had to close. Everybody beginning with the director down to the little apprentice had to march there, and there were several millions who stood there! I always got toothache (chuckle). I never went. See, I realized more and more, they went. Oh, they told me jokingly, "Oh, yesterday night we had to go to a Bierabend. It was extremely democratic. The director was there and everybody was all together. It was quite nice." See?

Burke: Yes. When you decided that you had to leave, and a year or so while you were living in Italy, you must

have had some doubts if you did the right thing because you made a decision, and other people who had the same option did not make that decision. You went back to see them. You must have had some doubts as to whether or not you had done the wrong thing or put yourself in jeopardy.

Gaupp: No, honestly, I never doubted this. I was by no means sure how we would manage to live the next years. But that I personally had done the right thing for myself and for my wife and for our two boys, I never doubted this, no. But on the other hand, I have never tried to tell other people to do the same. But in this-- I still believe today--everybody had to make up his own mind, and everybody's living conditions, familial conditions, are somewhat different.

Burke: How was this affecting your family, this Nazi regime? How was it beginning to affect your wife and your two sons?

Gaupp: They were the most wonderful years of our life we had, these four years in Italy, believe me.

Burke: Before this though.

Gaupp: Before?

Burke: Before you left, how was your family affected by the Nazi regime?



Gaupp: Oh, yes. Oh, yes, it was. The older boy had to go to school. There came the moment when he was old enough--wait a minute--yes, 1934, he was ten years old. He was supposed to enter the Hitler Youth. We sent the boy out of Germany. We sent our older boy down to Italy already a year before we followed.

Burke: He had no choice?

Gaupp: He wouldn't have a choice, no. But he didn't want to become a "Hitler Youth," and we didn't want to. No, he hated it. He hated the Italian Fascists, too, later on (chuckle). But still, it wasn't so bad as the German Nazis. How did it affect? Well, I told you. My wife is Jewish. Or I say she was born Jewish. In the sense of the party, of course, she was Jewish. She had been christened as a little girl, but she was Jewish. Later on, she got the "J" stamp in her passport. Her sister lived in Berlin. Most of our--at least 50 per cent--of our closer friends in Berlin--closer friends--were Jews who were directly affected. Some were working in the publishing house. About the only good friend I had in Berlin who was an old school friend--who had gone to school with me in Freiburg--was a Jewish

dentist. He committed suicide one day after Hindenburg had been elected president. This was in '24?

Burke: 1925, I believe.

Gaupp: Right, '25, yes. He committed suicide and left a note, "Germany's lost."

Burke: That early?

Gaupp: Yes. He realized this. He was a Jew. He had been an officer in the army as I had been. Another very close friend committed suicide, but this was at the time that we lived already in Italy. A few hours before he would have been deported to a concentration camp. So, see, we couldn't live anymore. We couldn't breathe anymore!

Besides all this, yes, in 1935, it became already ...the possibility appeared already that Hitler would go into some military adventures, and he may get away with it. It started with the build-up of the German army again. The Allies could have interfered. They did not. General military draft was introduced in Germany again. They could have gotten me. I was a lieutenant in the reserve. Physically, I was still fit. In fact, they wanted to draft me later on. Now where were we?

Burke: We were. . .

Gaupp: Dangers, yes. As I say, my wife is Jewish. At the time when I quit at Ullstein, I still had my job. But there were rumors that people who lived in a mixed marriage, half-Jewish, may also be fired. Later on this became a fact. One very good colleague of mine did what many people did. He was married to a Jewish woman. They got a divorce. She agreed in a divorce so that he could keep his job. He kept his job for one year, and then he committed suicide.

Burke: Yes, I see what you mean.

Gaupp: I can go on for hours and talk about this, but I think we should switch to something else.

Burke: When did your travel back to German become restricted?

Gaupp: Restricted?

Burke: Yes. You were living in Italy, and you were able to go back into Germany. But then you began to get letters from the SS.

Gaupp: Yes, they didn't disturb me so much. But in 1938-- wait a minute--yes, spring, 1938, Hitler visited his friend Mussolini, and this was the only time during these glorious years that I was put behind iron bars.

Burke: While you were in Italy?

Gaupp: I was arrested. I was arrested in Florence where we lived together with about seventy-five other German emigrants who lived in Florence and were put into prison. As long as Hitler was on Italian soil, we were hostages. If anything should have happened to our beloved Führer (sarcasm), I don't know what would have happened to us. We were released from prison at the moment when he had crossed the border back to Germany. So from this moment on, of course, the situation in Italy, too, became less and less pleasant, and we tried to get out of it. But we never, never considered going back to Germany.

Burke: You knew that you could not return.

Gaupp: No, no, no. No, no. No, no, out of the question. We had a few--very, very few--contacts in England, and we managed through the international Quaker organization, Society of Friends, to send our two boys to England in the summer of 1939, a few months before the war broke out. Our boys have spent the war years in England. My wife and I hoped to follow. But we needed, of course, passports, and the only passports we had was still our German passports. At first we got an English visa in the passport, and when

things became too critical in the spring of 1939, our visas were canceled again, and we could not go to England. So we managed with the very last train to cross the border to Switzerland.

Burke: You were able to go freely from Italy to Switzerland?

Gaupp: Free to go from Italy to Switzerland. We needed a medical certificate for my wife that she had to go to a resort place in Switzerland. Anyway, the Swiss let us in, and the next morning the war was on. We had to go to the Swiss authorities and had to declare, "Here we are. We are not going back. We are refugees." It took the Swiss about three months until they realized, yes, we were refugees, and we got the permit to stay in Switzerland. So we spent the war years in Switzerland, and our two sons in England under the German bombs.

Burke: How did you live in Switzerland?

Gaupp: As a refugee supported by the church.

Burke: Which church?

Gaupp: The policy of the Swiss government was to grant asylum. That is an old Swiss policy--asylum to all kinds of refugees. But that's all. The refugee has to live, has to make a living, yes. But when we came to Switzerland, we were not allowed to work because we

would have been competition to Swiss labor. So it was the policy of the Swiss government to divide the refugees up into Catholics, Protestants, and Jews and assign them to these church organizations and relief works and so on which took care of these refugees. We were accepted, my wife and I, by a wonderful, wonderful Protestant pastor who really in more ways than one has saved our lives. We got our little pay check every first of the month as if it was a salary. This was not government money. This was money collected exclusively from his church congregation.

Burke: Did you do some work or something for him?

Gaupp: For him, yes. After about two years, he asked me to--we lived in southern Switzerland, in the Italian-speaking part--to represent him there and to take care especially of newcomers. We understood each other excellently. Although officially, I was not allowed to make a penny; Only a very, very few exceptions were made. The very specialized . . . German, Austrian, or Czech doctors, for instance, were allowed to work in hospitals, or some engineers and so. But men like I who . . . what was I? A writer! I still was a writer. I was not allowed to publish anything for money. I did

it anyway under another name, of course. You learn cheating during these years, believe me. I've cheated the German government out of much more than the Swiss government. But okay, maybe I could make a few francs privately. The attitude of the Swiss population as a whole towards us, the refugees, was wonderful, marvelous. Much, much more lenient and tolerant than the official attitude of the government in Bern, which, of course, had to be strict. I understand it. It's a small country. They had to preserve their neutrality. On the north is German. On the south is Italy. For a short time, a few weeks, it almost looked as if the Axis Powers would invade Switzerland. It would have been a bloody battle. We were prepared for this, and we had been prepared by the government for that.

Burke: The Swiss government was going to fight?

Gaupp: Oh, they would. They would. Of course, not in the lower lands. The northern lowlands would have been overrun by the German army. But the Swiss army would have gone into the mountains. Every tunnel through the Alps and every bridge or railroad was dynamited. We knew it. They would have blown up everything. High up somewhere in the Alps, there were

prepared camps for us, the refugees. Okay, a peaceful, producing Switzerland turned out to be more useful for Hitler than a conquered Switzerland. So they did not invade then.

We lived in a golden cage, we called it later on. It's not pleasant, of course, to live on charity. You get fed up with charity up to here (gesture), believe me. But we always had enough to eat. I could work. I became a historian, and I started writing. Oh, I even could publish my first article in an English historical review. I got a little money from England.

Burke: What publication was that?

Gaupp: History, I think it was called. The editor was a good, old Professor Gooch. It was Professor Gooch who took care of our boys because he was married with a cousin three times removed of my mother.

Burke: A friend of mine, whom I go to school with, has written an article for The Contemporary Review which . . .

Gaupp: Contemporary Review. You are an editor of the Contemporary Review for . . .

Burke: A friend of mine has written an article for The Contemporary Review which will be published this month, I think.



Gaupp: Yes, yes, yes?

Burke: It's about Mr. Gooch.

Gaupp: About himself?

Burke: It's a bibliographic essay about his writings. Of course, this friend of mine . . .

Gaupp: I would like to read this.

Burke: This friend of mine never met him, but he's studied his writing. He's written an essay.

Gaupp: He was a profuse writer, fantastic what the old gentleman wrote. Through his wife, of course, he was always particularly interested in Germany. A very rich man. In fact, he never was a professor, Dr. Gooch. Gooch was one of those wonderful rich men who through his whole life could do what he wanted to do. He has helped--I never found out how many--many, many people, refugees, during this war. He fully paid for our two sons during these years from 1939 to '47. We came to the States in '46. Next year, 1947, our boys could join us and could come from England. Professor Gooch paid for everything. Fantastic!

Burke: How did you get to Southwestern? I'd been interested in this.

Gaupp: I had a letter from President Score, who had heard about me, that I, after the end of the war, that I still sat in Switzerland, wanted to come to the States, and, okay, that I was a historian.

Burke: How did he hear about you?

Gaupp: He heard from a man with whom I was in prison in Florence, another former German who managed to come to the States before the war and was a professor at Yale for a while and then became a language professor here at Southwestern, Dr. Lenz. He died in Austin some years ago. We had met in prison, and he had told Dr. Score about me. There was obviously a shortage of teachers here at Southwestern, so I got an invitation to see him. He couldn't offer me a job. But when we came over, we immediately went into the Texas Special train down to Georgetown, and I got a job. This was the end of October, 1946, yes.

The difficulty for me was, as for so many emigrants, we wanted to come to the United States, but at this time, the immigration laws were pretty stiff, and particularly you needed an affidavit, a financial affidavit, for five years. You needed a sponsor who had so much money that he could take the guarantee that

for five years this emigrant would not become a burden on society. Okay, I did not have a rich uncle in the United States. In fact, I did not have any relatives in the United States.

I met a Swiss businessman who had a Swiss and an American passport and was in the fur business, big, rich, international fur firm, with a branch in Zurich, with a branch in New York, with a branch in Paris and in Rome--big, rich firm. This man had helped several people over. We met and we talked for about half an hour about what I'm doing and what I have done. After thirty minutes, he told me, "I will give you an affidavit." And he did. I'm very happy to say that I never needed it. I had never to ask this man for a penny, thank goodness, because right from the beginning I made some money here at Southwestern. This was one of the other lucky things which has happened to me. But it took quite awhile before I found this man.

Burke: Well, I certainly thank you. This has been absolutely fascinating.

Gaupp: Listen, don't you have still one or another more?

Burke: Oh, if you want to say anything in particular. I have no particular questions other than that. But is

there something that you wanted to say that you haven't gotten a chance to?

Gaupp: I could tell you briefly what I think about German anti-Semitism, which, of course, has touched me very closely. As I told you, not only because of my wife, but also because of some very close friends I always have had.

The Germans have always been anti-Semites to some extent, always, and the Austrians even more. The reason for this is--and here you have to go back a little bit into history--that the emigration of Russian and Polish Jews increased numerically more and more through the nineteenth century. In 1900 and the first years of the twentieth century, there were several pretty bad pogroms in some Russian-Polish cities. This trickling--sometimes it was more than a trickle--it was a flood of Russian-Polish Jewish people westwards. They came at first to Germany or to Austria, and many of them remained there. A few traveled on and went to France, and a few even traveled on and went to the United States. But a high percentage remained in Germany. In Germany, again, especially the mostly northern Germany--that means Prussia--the

percentage of Jews in Prussia was much higher than the percentage of Jews in the south, Baden, Württemberg, Bavaria.

Okay, you know that all over the world, Jews always have been particularly strongly represented in certain professions. If the Jew could get halfway an education, he went either into business--and in business particularly either banking or anything what has to do with textiles. Very favorite field for all Jews, business. Second, medicine or dentistry, and third, law. It's still the same all over the country, also here in this country. In these professions the percentage of Jews is higher. It always has been higher than the overall percentage of Jews in the population. I think I am correct in saying that the overall percentage of Jews in the whole of Germany never was higher than 5 per cent. But among the doctors and lawyers and businessmen in German and Austrian cities, and exclusively the cities . . . Jews are not farmers, never. In cities, in these professions, the percentage was sometimes 20 to 25 per cent. Nobody minded it because the Jews were generally first-class doctors and businessmen and so on. Some of the great men in modern science have been Jews.

This German-Austrian anti-Semitism was partly . . . it is born out of jealousy because quite often . . . no, not quite often, I would say invariably, a poor Jewish boy who can immigrate to Germany or Austria. He may be a young pianist like Arthur Rubenstein. Or he may have a chance to enroll in the university. Believe me, he's a good student. He works hard. He works much harder than the drinking average German or Austrian student to whom the university quite often was just a playground. So they were more successful. They got earlier positions. They advanced faster in the university, in the professions, and the same in business. So it is partly just jealousy, economic jealousy against the Jews.

Then part of this Eastern European, Russian-Polish Jewish immigration, they're extremely orthodox Jews, Jews who emigrated because of religious persecution. Neither the Prussians nor the Austrians liked the orthodox Jews in their long black caftans and their curls on the side, people who lived very much for themselves. Even after the ghettos had disappeared, this kind . . . orthodox Jews, of course, still lived together, yes. Well, this is more a psychological reaction to them. They just disliked them.

Burke: Yes.

Gaupp: The young Hitler, before 1914, in Vienna--we learned this later on--had some very unpleasant encounters with such Viennese Jews and so on. But as I say, anti-Semitism is much, much older and was always pretty strong. One of the most outstanding and most radical German anti-Semites was Richard Wagner. You know this?

Burke: Yes, and Hitler loved Richard Wagner.

Gaupp: Oh! Did he! Why, it's outrageous! And it makes me pretty mad when I realize that right now it seems Richard Wagner is living through a renaissance here in the United States. Everybody performs Richard Wagner's operas.

Burke: Was Wagner more of a German nationalist or an anti-Semite, or can he be both?

Gaupp: He was both. The "Ring der Nibelungen," this cycle of operas, celebrates the Nibelungen, the Teutonic race, which is, of course, superior to everything else, even to the gods. The Nazis later on sang in their song, "Es muss die Welt in Flammen stehen, wenn die Germanen untergehen." "The world has to burn down when the Teutons are destroyed." The world has to go down, yes?

It goes down in the "Götterdämmerung" in the last part of the "Nibelungen." The whole world collapses.

Burke: So Hitler and the Nazis took up something that was already there and used it. They exploited it.

Gaupp: Yes, yes. Yes, yes, of course. Then, but it was not limited to . . . but one of the greatest admirers of Richard Wagner and of the German people was Houston Stuart Chamberlain. He became a hero to the Nazis-- the Englishman. Yes, when Hitler started persecuting the Jews, either forcing them out of the country, or with those that didn't want to go or couldn't go, he put in concentration camps. He killed more or less the German intelligentsia because what was left of the German intelligentsia which was not Jewish was so terrorized or had become so slavish to the party that they couldn't produce anything. Some made their peace with them. It has been Bismarck, who had said, "You can buy whores and professors." He knew it. You can buy them.

Burke: And Hitler knew it.

Gaupp: Yes. I have not much respect for German university professors, in spite of the fact that my father was one. But he didn't . . . thank goodness, he died.



Yes, to me who always has been more interested in the intellectual happenings and developments than the strictly political ones, to me this complete disintegration of German culture which happened during these years, this, I think, was somewhere in the back of my head which forced me out of the country. I have always said, "I have not run away from Hitler. Hitler hadn't hurt me a bit, not at all. I have run away from the German people." I mean it. The German people as a whole.

Burke: The German people began to collapse internally themselves?

Gaupp: Yes, yes. Some people, I think Shirer among them, in his Rise and Fall of the Third Reich has written quite some pages on this subject, that, in the last analysis, Hitler and German National Socialism was a logical result, a logical last chapter, to the whole of German history. I agree with it. I agree. I know many other people don't. But I agree. I see a logical consequence developing from that. To call this German history is perhaps exaggerated because what has happened since about 1848 or '49--there were revolutions in Germany up to Hitler--was Prussian.

This is Prussian history. Not so the rest of Germany, especially the southern countries, but also the Catholic Rhinelands, were forced to follow this Prussian policy. This Prussian policy is a policy of Frederick the Great and, well, and later on of Bismarck. A logical step farther is National Socialism. The Holenzollern Dynasty came to an end for the same reason why the Hapsburg came to an end. They were worn out, too, these dynasties, as rulers. The whole twentieth century, of course, were more and more opposed to the idea of them, inherited, and especially the inherited, absolute monarchy. Okay, but it didn't change the German character, when instead of the kaiser, now they had at first Ebert as president and then old Hindenburg as president and then later Adolph Hitler.

Burke: They were still looking for a leader?

Gaupp: It didn't change the German character. It didn't change the fundamental German political ambitions. This deep-rooted conviction, which is much older than Hitler, that the German race is a dominant race and that Germany is something better, something more than France or Russia or any other European country . . .

Burke: They were a people looking for a leader, perhaps?

Gaupp: Yes, of course. Of course, this looking for a leader, you wrote in your letter here, "Is the characterization correct that the Germans always have needed and have looked for strong authority?" Yes, to some extent it is correct. If this is a biological factor, if this is the result of German history . . . it has something to do with Martin Luther, certainly. It has something to do with the fact that, after all, the Holy Roman Empire of the German people produced at least 200 years of really glorious history, when these German emperors . . . the emperors of the world, so to speak, at least in theory, are something what the Germans have not forgotten.

But the trouble . . . and I cannot fully explain why did it happen that when toward the end of the . . . no, through the eighteenth century, through the eighteenth century, the Germans woke up again and developed again a national feeling. It begins, of course, probably in Prussia with Frederick II. Yes, but then at the time of the French revolution, we have this German awakening in Germany. We have Lesing and Schiller and Goethe and the sturm and drang. Then came the Napoleonic Wars, and during the fight against

Napoleon, for the first time again the Germans as a whole stood up and drove the Frenchmen out of the country. It started in the east, of course, in Prussia, but really the others had to cooperate.

Okay, this was the moment when a new Germany could have been formed if the parts would have been willing really to come to a union, a federation, a confederation, however you call it. But you know what a pitiful picture Germany was after 1815. The center was still in Vienna, still the Viennese Congress, which made not only peace with Napoleon, but which put up a new order in Germany. All they put up was an extremely loose confederation with after a short time everybody working against each other.

Then came 1848. The Germans cannot make a revolution. The Germans never have been able to make a decent revolution. In 1848 there were local uprisings here or there against the military, mostly in the south against the Prussians. The working class, of course, was not yet organized in 1848. They could be easily crushed by the military. But for a short while, there was this assembly in Frankfurt in the Paul's Kirche. There the representatives from all the German people

came together to form a stronger German unity, and they were drowned by the babbling of the university professors. They were all too well-educated, these representatives in Frankfurt. They all talked about the high ideals, and in the meantime, the armies in Berlin sent them down and broke up the rule.

Burke: This is about what Louis Namier says.

Gaupp: What?

Burke: Louis Namier says about the same thing in his writings.

Gaupp: Yes, yes. This was the one great chance the Germans missed to really to become a reich. Okay, a reich. Perhaps even under an emperor, okay. But a confederation in which, well, like here in the United States, the individual state plays a very important part and does not accept with any positions whatever comes down from Berlin. Berlin is Prussian. It's Prussian. The Prussians could never understand what has happened in southern Germany and along the Rhine River. They never understood it. But it's on the south and it's along the Rhine where German culture has flourished-- there. There is Nürnberg and Augsburg and Frankfurt and Cologne. Goethe is born in Frankfurt. Schiller is born in Württemberg, yes? What has Prussia produced?

Emmanuel Kant, who with his philosophy of moral duties has contributed so much to the Prussian character: duty, duty, duty.

Burke: A Prussian characteristic.

Gaupp: Yes, yes. You just have to go back to this. You set up this fantastic Prussian civil service system, for instance, which was the best civil service system in the world. Everybody in a uniform, directed. Very probably one of the most honest civil service systems which ever has existed in the world. They didn't cheat, the tax collectors and so on and so on, the policemen, and all this. This is something what the Americans, or what the American students particularly, never can understand. I try to teach it to them that in Germany it was considered to be an honor to serve the government. If it was in the lowest possible position in any government office, it still was an honor. You were a public servant in the true sense of the word. One should not forget this. It's not only the military, but it's the civil service which has made Prussia strong, sure, and which, of course, was imposed on the other German countries. When war came in 1914, there was no difference between a Prussian

regiment and a Bavarian regiment or something. Same kind of discipline. There was no difference in the civil service. It, too, worked, the duty, which has to be performed to the very best of a person, and that's the reason why always a high percentage of young people studied or took training with the purpose to enter the civil service, pass examinations, or whatever it is. It is something that America still needs, badly (chuckle).