

Chapter Title: Obstacles to Emigration out of Germany after 1933, Failed Escape, and Death

Book Title: *Mathematicians Fleeing from Nazi Germany*

Book Subtitle: Individual Fates and Global Impact

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Published by: Princeton University Press. (2009)

Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt7s595.9>

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## Obstacles to Emigration out of Germany after 1933, Failed Escape, and Death

The Germans—as far as I have heard—no longer let out of the country any of the dismissed professors. These are obviously too inferior to be of any service for the Germans, but too good to let other countries have them. So I am afraid the case of our colleague sorts itself out.

—James Franck 1938<sup>1</sup>

Auch Endenich ist noch vielleicht das Ende nich! [Even Endenich is perhaps not yet the End!].

—Felix Hausdorff 1942<sup>2</sup>

THE DISCUSSION of the “acculturation” of emigrant mathematicians in the foreign (in particular American) societies, which will be the focus of the following chapters 6 through 10, has to be clearly separated from the preceding process of emigration. First, the emigrants had to overcome considerable legal, bureaucratic, material, and mental obstacles both in the countries they left and in the host countries. These hurdles proved to be insurmountable in many cases, particularly for the older would-be émigrés. Therefore the present chapter also includes remarks on the fates of those mostly elder victims of the Nazi persecution who did not succeed with emigration. Several of them lost their lives in concentration camps or committed suicide, like millions of their mostly Jewish fellow sufferers. As they did not get the chance to influence and enrich mathematics in the United States or in other host countries, they are often ignored in traditional accounts of the history of science and are bound to be easily forgotten, unlike the “successful” emigrants.

<sup>1</sup>James Franck on October 16, 1938, about Ludwig Hopf (Aachen) in a letter to G. Szegő (T). Szegő Papers, Stanford, box 5, f. 17. See also below in chapter 6.D.

<sup>2</sup>Felix Hausdorff’s sarcastic play with the German word “Endenich,” a place near Bonn, to which he and his wife were to be deported as their first stop. The quote is from his last letter, dated Bonn, January 25, 1942, before the Hausdorffs committed suicide (Neuenchwander 1996, p. 263). To make the pun even clearer Hausdorff left the letter “t” out of the word “nicht.” Thanks go to Sanford Segal for pointing me to this.

Insufficient social adaptation prior to 1933 was for several older mathematicians—very apparent in the case of Robert Remak (see below)—an additional burden in the attempt to emigrate. In particular, schoolteachers of mathematics had significantly smaller chances of finding positions abroad because they could not, usually, offer an internationally “in-demand” product—namely research. Therefore the PhD in mathematics regained some of its appeal under the conditions of emigration. Young mathematicians such as Wolfgang Wasow successfully completed their doctoral theses during emigration as the teaching exam (state exam), qualifying them for the teaching profession in Germany, proved to be worthless in their new home.<sup>3</sup>

Emigrants from Hitler’s domain of power—if they held German citizenship—first had to overcome considerable problems on the German side, in particular emigration visa, payment of a “Reich Flight Tax” (“Reichsfluchtsteuer”), and the relinquishment of almost all claims on property and pensions. The conditions for emigrants worsened during the 1930s even in the economical respect, particularly after the November pogrom of 1938, euphemistically called “Crystal Night.”<sup>4</sup> The economic conditions of the prospective emigrant were important both to his chances of leaving and of being accepted in the host country (D).

The psychological problems of emigration, which in mathematics often derived from an emotional attachment to the venerable German mathematical tradition, but generally had much to do with acquiring a new language and such, will be discussed in more detail in chapter 7. Let it suffice to mention here that several dismissed mathematicians tried to put off emigration as long as possible (Schur, Toeplitz, etc.), while others (Landau, Liebmann, Jolles,<sup>5</sup> etc.) died of natural causes before almost certainly

<sup>3</sup>Wasow, who went to the United States in 1939, could not meet—on the basis of his German “Staatsexamen”—the requirements for a teaching job in France, the first step of his emigration (Wasow 1986, p. 159). In Germany, Wasow, as many others, had deliberately taken the state exam instead of a PhD because of the widespread academic unemployment around 1930.

<sup>4</sup>In 1934 Courant (D) succeeded in evading the Reichsfluchtsteuer (usually 25 percent of property to be paid cash), which had been introduced prior to Nazi rule in 1931 in connection with the German Emergency Decrees [Notverordnungen] and was later, in 1938, complemented by an additional 20 percent of taxes for Jews. See Mußnug (1988), p. 177. A. Brauer reports that his teacher Schur had to rely on a sponsor in 1938 in order to be able to pay the tax on his emigration. On pensions see some remarks in the previous chapter.

<sup>5</sup>On Stanislaus Jolles (1857–1942), who apparently tried to emigrate at one point and died under unknown circumstances, one finds the following remark from the year 1938 by H. Weyl in the refugee files of the Oswald Veblen Papers, OVP, cont. 31, f. Jolles, S.: “Last survivor of the tradition of ‘synthetic geometry’ . . . He asks whether there is a haven in America for old people like him to die quietly. Wife could give lessons in French and German” [undated 1938].

having been deported by the Nazis. However, there are moving documents that reveal failed attempts at emigration by mathematicians such as Ludwig Berwald (Prague), Otto Blumenthal (Aachen), Walter Fröhlich (Prague), Kurt Grelling (Berlin), Felix Hausdorff (Bonn), Robert Remak (Berlin), and Alfred Tauber (Vienna). These seven mathematicians were murdered by the Nazis or committed suicide under immediate threat, as was also the case with Ludwig Eckhart (Vienna), Paul Epstein (Frankfurt), Gerhard Haenzel (Karlsruhe), Fritz Hartogs (Munich), Charlotte Hurwitz (Berlin), Margarete Kahn (Berlin), Paul Lonnerstädter (Würzburg), Nelly Neumann (Essen), Georg Pick (Prague), and Reinhold Strassmann (Berlin). In one case (Fritz Noether, the brother of Emmy Noether, from Breslau) an emigrant was murdered in his host country, the Stalinist Soviet Union,<sup>6</sup> which does not, however, exonerate the Nazis from blame in his case.

## 5.D. Documents

### 5.D.1. *Obstacles to Emigration from Germany*

#### THE WIDESPREAD WISH TO EMIGRATE

Richard Brauer to Gabor Szegő in 1935:

The wish to emigrate is common among the Jews in Germany. My wife's brother and several other relatives also want to emigrate to America. It's just that it is so damned difficult to get the chance.<sup>7</sup>

#### FINANCIAL AND AGE-RELATED OBSTACLES TO EMIGRATION FROM GERMANY

In 1965 Carl Ludwig Siegel wrote about the inhibitions of his Frankfurt colleagues to emigrate:

Dehn, Epstein, and Hellinger stayed in Frankfurt until 1939. In spite of the increasing oppression of the Jews in Germany, many of the older ones among them could not decide for emigration because this would have meant leaving all savings at home and starting emigration with 10 Mark in the pocket. Moreover, many academically trained people had already gone to America in the first years after 1933, so that it became difficult for an older professor to found a new existence there. In Europe several states allowed permanent residence only when the foreigner was rich and brought his fortune with him.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>6</sup>See Appendix 1 (1.2). The list of non-German mathematicians who were murdered by the Nazis, in particular Polish mathematicians, is even longer. See the respective footnote in chapter 1. Moreover, there is clearly a lack of information about murdered schoolteachers in mathematics. See Appendix 1 (1.3). For F. Noether see Schlote (1991).

<sup>7</sup>R. Brauer to Szegő, October 19, 1935 (T). Szegő Papers, Stanford, box 5, f. 20. Brauer's sister Alice was murdered by the Nazis in a concentration camp. Cf. Rohrbach (1988), p. 147.

<sup>8</sup>Siegel (1965), p. 14 (T). To take the fortune abroad was expressly forbidden by the Nazis.

While Dehn and Hellinger finally made it to America (without obtaining adequate positions there), their colleague Paul Epstein, shortly after receiving a summons to the secret police (Gestapo) in Frankfurt, committed suicide in 1939.<sup>9</sup>

#### THE RELATIVE VALUE OF EARLIER MATHEMATICAL WORK DURING EMIGRATION

Otto Toeplitz writes 1936 to Courant:

It is one way to go immediately abroad, and seek a position based on the reputation [Geltung] I have. I am very suspicious of this way. I feel . . . that abroad one is not judged by reputation but by direct appearance [Impetus]. Given my rudimentary linguistic skills the impression I would make right now would be an unfavorable one.<sup>10</sup>

#### FINANCIAL CONDITIONS FAVORABLE TO EMIGRATION

The differential geometer Herbert Busemann's chances of emigration were good as he was the son of an industrialist. Richard Courant wrote 1935 from New York to Busemann, who was temporarily in Copenhagen:

In order to be accepted here it is very advantageous not to be forced—as a Jewish immigrant—to accept a position at any cost, but to act instead as an independent human being, to adapt and wait for a chance.<sup>11</sup>

Veblen from the IAS wrote in 1940 to C. B. Allendoerfer, Haverford College, Pennsylvania, to help Busemann get a permanent job.

He was not obliged to leave Germany because his father is in a high industrial position and is in good standing with the present Government. But he left because he disapproved of the Nazi regime. I would not guarantee that he has no Jewish blood, but I should think that if the Nazis don't object to him on this ground, no one else would. He certainly does not look like a Jew.<sup>12</sup>

John von Neumann and Richard von Mises found themselves in financial situations similarly beneficial to their emigration.

<sup>9</sup>Siegel (1965), p. 17.

<sup>10</sup>Toeplitz to Courant, March 11, 1936, CPP (T). Toeplitz eventually went to Palestine in 1939 to escape the life-threatening pressure.

<sup>11</sup>Courant to H. Busemann, September 26, 1935, CPP (T). See also below in chapter 7 the case study on the conflict between the two immigrants Busemann and Lüneburg.

<sup>12</sup>Veblen to Allendoerfer, February 1, 1940. IAS Archives, School of Mathematics, Member Applications: Busemann, Herbert. In contrast to Reid (1976), p. 153, I assume Busemann was not affected by the racial laws. Both Courant's letter above and another one by the same author to W. Fenchel, dated July 17, 1935 (CPP) and alluding to "einem nordischen Menschen, wie Busemann" seem to rule out Jewish ancestors.

In 1935 the student of the philosopher E. Husserl and emigrant from Göttingen, Moritz T. Geiger, wrote to the Emergency Committee<sup>13</sup> in New York about the “Reich Flight Tax” and about Richard Courant’s ability to avoid it:

The capital flight tax can be cancelled if the government is willing to grant the emigrant that his emigration is in the German cultural or economic interest. This favor was given to quite a few of the German scholars who left Germany, for instance to Professor Courant of Göttingen, who emigrated from Germany last summer. . . . We learned that on principle this favor is no longer given to Non-Aryans.<sup>14</sup>

#### PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS SUPPORTING EMIGRATION

Erich (Eric) Reissner reflected in 1994 on the way of his emigration:

My American existence started with a one-year student visa, after a letter by Is-sai Schur (my father’s friend) to Eberhard Hopf had led to an invitation and a fellowship at the MIT mathematics department. After several months they promised me an assistantship (1937–1939) that allowed me to obtain an immigration visa by going to Niagara Falls.<sup>15</sup>

Otto Toeplitz in Bonn in his letter to Courant on July 31, 1933 (CP, T):

I have no relationships in foreign countries, thus my future is considerably more insecure than yours.

#### 5.D.2. *Unsuccessful Attempts at Emigration, Mathematicians Murdered*

Chapter 6 will report on the failed emigration of Walter Fröhlich and Kurt Grelling who finally perished in German extermination camps. However, several of the other mathematicians murdered by the Nazis tried to emigrate as well. The information on them is for the most part scat-

<sup>13</sup>The “Duggan Committee” to be discussed in more detail in chapter 8.

<sup>14</sup>January 5, 1935 (T), EC, box 6, f. R. Courant, 1934–43. More details on Courant’s negotiations with the Nazi authorities to avoid the Reich Flight Tax can be found in his private correspondence CPP. Courant apparently succeeded in persuading the ministerial functionaries that his work abroad was important for the German publishing system, particular Springer. Courant’s good standing due to his having raised money from the Rockefeller philanthropy also seems to have made an impression, the more so since it was not yet clear at that time whether Rockefeller would stand by his promise to build a physics institute in Berlin. This was finally carried out by the foundation in spite of the regime (Macrakis 1993).

<sup>15</sup>Letter by Reissner to me, March 18, 1994 (T). Niagara Falls lies on the Canadian side of the border. Also Fritz Herzog’s student visa was converted into an immigration visa after he had stayed in Montreal for one year (*IBD* microfilm, reel 26).

tered. Next to nothing is known about two victims, Charlotte Hurwitz and Paul Lonnerstädter, of whom we do not even know the year of their death.

LUDWIG BERWALD IN PRAGUE

The Oswald Veblen Papers at the Library of Congress keep the following internal note of the IAS, dated February 6, 1942, on Berwald, who had been dismissed in Prague in 1939 after the Germans had occupied the “rest” of Czechoslovakia:

Re Ludwig Berwald and wife:

New address: An den Ältestenrat der Juden, Prager Transport C., Nr. 616 und 817 Warthegau, Franziskanerstrasse 21, Litzmannstadt [Łodz.] Ghetto Poland. Our information from April 4, 1940, that Professor Berwald was in England, was a mistake. He stayed on in Prague, and he and his wife have now been deported to Poland.<sup>16</sup>

Berwald, who had corresponded with Veblen in 1935 and 1936 on problems of projective and differential geometry,<sup>17</sup> had also sent several letters to Veblen in 1939 and 1940 announcing his dismissal and asking for expert opinions for a stipend from the British Society for the Protection of Science and Learning (SPSL). Apparently, Berwald received such a stipend but could not use it due to the outbreak of the war in September 1939. In the very same year (1942) as the note of the IAS was issued, Berwald (born 1883) and his wife, both relatively young, perished in the Ghetto in Łodz.<sup>18</sup>

OTTO BLUMENTHAL IN AACHEN (AIX-LA-CHAPELLE)

In November 1933, the intimate friend of Hilbert’s and managing editor of the *Mathematische Annalen* for many years, Otto Blumenthal,<sup>19</sup> wrote to his former colleague in Aachen, von Kármán, about his dismissal on September 22. In the same letter the fifty-seven-year-old Blumenthal mentioned his wish to emigrate and approached von Kármán in his characteristically modest way:

Sooner or later I will need the opportunity to teach again. It is through teaching that I get the most vivid stimulus for research. Therefore I need to go abroad. I do not dare think about a permanent position: that is too sweet a dream. But perhaps there is a chance for lectures or semester courses? Can you [Du] help me obtain such?

<sup>16</sup>OVP, cont. 30, f. Berwald, Ludwig, 1939–42.

<sup>17</sup>OVP, cont. 2, f. Berwald, Ludwig, 1935–36.

<sup>18</sup>Pinl (1965).

<sup>19</sup>See also Butzer/Volkman (2006). Volkmar Felsch (Aachen) is currently editing Blumenthal’s diaries, which he kept until his deportation from the Netherlands.

SOS. What I can or what I can't do, you probably know even better than I do. Lectures at a big American university are too demanding for me, but I might be of some use at a smaller one.<sup>20</sup>

Blumenthal was dismissed from his position as managing editor of the *Mathematische Annalen* since volume 116 (1938–39). In his last letter to von Kármán, Blumenthal wrote from Delft on January 10, 1940:

On July 13 we crossed the border [to the Netherlands]. We were allowed to take furniture with us but no money or valuables. . . . At first Weyl reacted very enthusiastically but it was Weylian enthusiasm without any real promise behind it. The only thing is that we got affidavits<sup>21</sup> for the USA, with which you helped us. But the affidavits could not (and cannot) help us, as our quota number is for in 10 years' time on.<sup>22</sup>

There is an application in English that Blumenthal sent to Weyl in 1939 from the Netherlands, asking for help to emigrate.<sup>23</sup> On October 16, 1940, Weyl wrote to Blumenthal about his failure to find a position for him:

Your age is against you. . . . Veblen fully shares my opinion that the mathematical world owes you—the editor of the *Mathematische Annalen* for many years—assistance of some kind or another.<sup>24</sup>

Blumenthal was finally deported from the Netherlands—where he had received temporary support from the Dutch Academic Assistance Council (Steunfonds) of fl. 100 per month<sup>25</sup>—to the concentration camp Theresienstadt, where he died from his suffering in 1944.

#### FELIX HAUSDORFF IN BONN

Richard Courant informed Weyl in February 1939 that he had received a “very touching letter” from Hausdorff<sup>26</sup> in which Hausdorff asked for a research fellowship in the United States.<sup>27</sup> Three months later, in May

<sup>20</sup>O. Blumenthal to Th. v. Kármán, November 18, 1933. Kármán Papers, Caltech, Pasadena, 3.10 (T).

<sup>21</sup>A financial guarantee by an American to be given to somebody who wished to immigrate.

<sup>22</sup>O. Blumenthal to Th. v. Kármán, January 10, 1940. Kármán Papers, Caltech, Pasadena, 3.10 (T).

<sup>23</sup>In OVP, cont. 30, f. O. Blumenthal.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid. (T).

<sup>25</sup>Ibid. Blumenthal to Weyl, July 28, 1940.

<sup>26</sup>See Brieskorn, ed. (1996) and Neuenschwander (1996). See also the epigraph in the present chapter. Currently Hausdorff's Collected Works are being edited in nine volumes in German (the Hausdorff Edition in Bonn), a worthy monument to this remarkable and versatile mathematician, philosopher, poet, and astronomer.

<sup>27</sup>R. Courant to H. Weyl, February 10, 1939. Veblen Papers, Library of Congress, cont. 31, f. Hausdorff. Hausdorff's letter is not included in this file. Expert opinions by Weyl and



1939, Weyl received a letter from his former colleague in Zurich, Georg Pólya. He was concerned about the prospects of Bernays, but also about Hausdorff:

A case which is very near to me is Hausdorff. He had written a few lines first to Schwerdtfeger, then to me. From that anybody who knows him realizes that he is in a very bad situation. One hope that I had for him based on a communication by Toeplitz, and which I was incautious enough to relate to Hausdorff as well, has proved to be totally illusory. He is over 70—and he is one of the nicest and most pleasant human beings I know—his direct and indirect students (through his book) are everywhere densely distributed [überall dicht verteilt]. Isn't there a chance of doing anything for him?

My heartfelt congratulations on your U.S. citizenship, by which you have left the combination of murderers, gangsters, and slaves of which we have the pleasure of being surrounded from three different directions.<sup>28</sup>

The emigration of Hausdorff, who was already seventy-four years old, failed. In 1942, the mathematician who had been so influential in American mathematics through his topology book of 1914, *Grundzüge der Mengenlehre*, committed suicide together with his wife when facing the threat of deportation.

FRITZ NOETHER, FORMERLY BRESLAU, LATER AT TOMSK (SOVIET UNION)

Weyl's efforts to get Noether out of the Soviet Union, where he had been arrested by the Stalinist secret police in 1937, failed. Weyl's letter dated October 3, 1939, to the Georgian mathematician N. I. Muschelischwili (1891–1976), whom he asked to involve “his friend Berija” (as Weyl wrote), the chief of the secret police, in the matter, could not prevent Noether's execution in 1941. Weyl's efforts to help were somewhat impeded by his effort not to compromise Noether in Russia because of his Western contacts.<sup>29</sup> In an interview of the EC (B. Drury) with Stefan Bergmann, who had also been in Russia, it is stated that Einstein even wrote to Stalin on Noether's behalf. Bergmann is quoted with the following remark:

Bergmann said he knew F. Noether well—a very close friend of his in Tomsk. Unfortunately, despite warnings, N. stayed in Russia too long (Tomsk); he disappeared.<sup>30</sup>

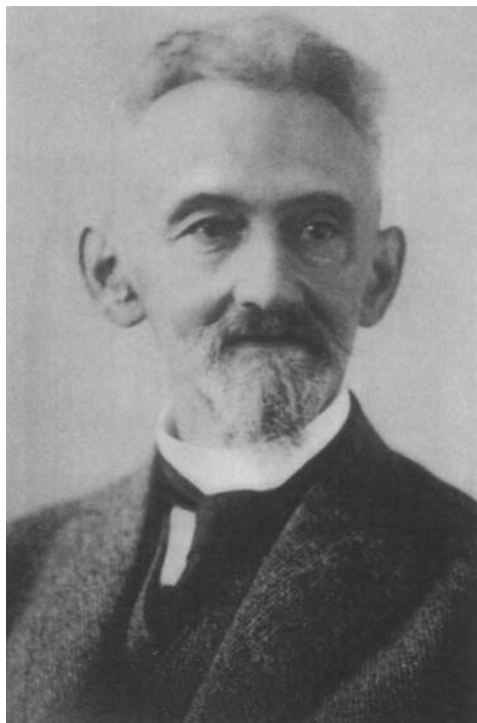
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von Neumann on Hausdorff are in the Harlow Shapley Refugee Files in the Harvard University Archives, Shapley Papers, box 6B, file: Ha.

<sup>28</sup>Pólya to Weyl, May 29, 1939 (T). OVP, cont. 30, f. Bernays, Paul, 1939.

<sup>29</sup>Veblen Papers, Library of Congress (OVP), cont. 32, f. F. Noether. See also Schapacher and Kneser (1990), pp. 37–38, and Schlote (1991).

<sup>30</sup>EC, box 84, f. Noether, Fritz. February 26, 1940.



**Figure 19** *Felix Hausdorff (1868–1942). Hausdorff was known worldwide for his book *Grundzüge der Mengenlehre* (1914). His attempts at emigration failed and he committed suicide, together with his wife, in 1942, threatened by deportation to a Nazi camp.*

#### ROBERT REMAK IN BERLIN

Efforts to save Robert Remak were unsuccessful. He was finally deported by the Germans from the Netherlands to Auschwitz. In 1936 Issai Schur, himself threatened by the Nazis, had written an expert recommendation for Remak to be used for a possible position abroad. In it he called Remak “undoubtedly (the) leading capacity in the beautiful and important field of the geometry of numbers.”<sup>31</sup> Remak’s wife Hertha repeatedly sent telegrams and letters to Weyl with requests for affidavits, apparently without even Remak’s knowledge. On December 11, 1938, she wrote to Weyl that her husband had been away for over four weeks without getting

<sup>31</sup>OVP, cont. 32, f. Remak, July 10, 1936 (T).

in touch and that she was very concerned, particularly given his peculiarities of character<sup>32</sup> that could cost him his life:

Apart from his follies which I do not want to deny, you will agree that my husband is a deeply honest and decent character and an able mathematician. I am Aryan, so you cannot interpret my letter as a Jewish impertinence.<sup>33</sup>

On January 20, 1939, Hertha Remak wrote to Weyl that Remak had meanwhile returned to Berlin from the concentration camp Sachsenhausen and that he had received a temporary permit for the Netherlands.<sup>34</sup> Weyl was informed about Remak by other sources as well. To Heinz Hopf in Zurich, he wrote on November 29, 1938, about Remak's suffering in Sachsenhausen:

About R. I heard that comrades of his, who have in the meantime been released, are saying that he is suffering more than others. One can imagine what this means, also because it is clear that due to his character, Remak is incapable of adapting in any way. It is generally known that prisoners are released if they have complete emigration papers, ship tickets etc. The poor (and very clumsy) Mrs. R. desperately tries to achieve something to this effect.<sup>35</sup>

Remak's wife was unable to withstand the persecution in the long run. Staying in the marriage would have meant for her to be sent into a Jewish ghetto at some point.<sup>36</sup> She sought divorce, thereby apparently depriving Remak of any last vestige of protection.<sup>37</sup> However, the fate of Grelling and his wife (see chapter 6) shows that life in a "mixed marriage" (the Nazi concept of "Mischehe") did not offer either partner a guarantee against the terror of the Nazis.<sup>38</sup> Thus one should be cautious with a hasty

<sup>32</sup>Described for instance in Biermann (1988), pp. 209–10. Van Dalen (2005), p. 731, writes that due to his unconventional behavior, Remak was in danger of being extradited to Germany from the Netherlands even before the Netherlands was occupied.

<sup>33</sup>H. Remak to Weyl, December 11, 1938 (T). OVP, cont. 32, f. Remak.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid.

<sup>35</sup>Weyl Papers, ETH, Hs 91:287 (T).

<sup>36</sup>The suicide in 1938 of Siegfried Samelson, father of the later famous topologist Hans Samelson, helped his family, in particular his "half-Jewish" children, to survive. See Tamari (2007).

<sup>37</sup>F. Hartogs in Munich suffered a similar fate. See H. Freudenthal to H. Hopf, July 28, 1945, in ETH Hs 621:537. Freudenthal himself was partly protected in the Netherlands due to his marriage to an "Aryan" Dutch woman, but he had to go into hiding anyway. See Dalen (2005), p. 752.

<sup>38</sup>In 1943 the insurance mathematician Reinhold Strassmann refused to use his "mixed marriage" to escape deportation to Theresienstadt. After deportation he was later sent to the death camp Auschwitz. According to Strassmann (2006), p. 293, his marriage to an "Aryan" woman had become a formal one many years before.



**Figure 20** Robert Remak (1888–1942). The gifted Berlin mathematician, student of G. Frobenius and specialist in the geometry of numbers, was deported by the Nazis from his place of refuge in the Netherlands and murdered in Auschwitz. The authenticity of the photograph, which could be confirmed only by one contemporary witness, is subject to a remaining doubt.

condemnation of Remak's wife who was, after all, also a victim of the Nazis. There is no real obituary of the important mathematician Robert Remak apart from the late and deserved appreciation by Merzbach (1992) and more recently Vogt (1998). Merzbach indicates that Remak's fate having been forgotten is mainly due to his social and partly<sup>39</sup> scientific nonconformism:

His refusal—in mathematics and everyday affairs—to compromise, or to be “realistic,” swept him out of the mainstream of mathematics and cost him his life.<sup>40</sup>

#### ALFRED TAUBER IN VIENNA

The mathematician who became known for the “Tauberian Theorems” (1897) in the theory of function series, was deported to the concentration camp Theresienstadt where he died on July 26, 1942. As late as November 1941, the nearly seventy-five-year-old Tauber had desperately tried to immigrate to South America, corroboration of which is given in the following letter to a relative:

I still want to try to get an assistant teaching post in Quito, where the university has advertised positions for European applicants. There I might have a chance as a retired university professor both of mathematics and actuarial science in spite of my advanced age.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>39</sup>Cf. Remak's work on mathematical economy, where he is considered a forerunner of “activity analysis.” In an article from 1929 he wrote: “I emphasize that I make no economic claims, only formulate problems and schemes of calculation. . . . It remains totally open whether calculation decides in favor of socialism or capitalism” (Merzbach 1992, p. 496 [T]).

<sup>40</sup>Merzbach (1992), p. 514.

<sup>41</sup>Quoted from Binder (1984), p. 160 (T). An excerpt from that quote also in Sigmund (2004), pp. 31–32.