

Elisabeth Paul

Elisabeth Paul (born April 25 , 1895 in Darmstadt, † February 4 , 1991 in London), nee Elisabeth Selver, was a German literary scholar and educational reformer who emigrated to Great Britain in 1936 together with her future husband , where she spent a few years in London in 1937 previously founded school and expanded it into a non-denominational and coeducational school that has been respected for decades . According to its self-image , this St. Mary's Town and Country School was a reform educational institution that can be attributed to the schools in exile.

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Elisabeth Selver's life before emigration

family and schooling

Elisabeth Paul was born on April 25, 1895 as Elisabeth Selver in Darmstadt.[1] In her curriculum vitae she only mentions her father, whose professional position she describes as "Grossherzogl. rabb ip". David Selver was born on February 24, 1856 in Chajowa, near the town of Blaszkki, in what was then the Russian Empire. He died in Darmstadt on May 12, 1926, three years after his daughter's doctorate. The mother, Amalie Selver, née Neustein, who was born in Nuremberg on August 27, 1867 and died in Rugby (Warwickshire) on May 17, 1948, is not mentioned in the curriculum vitae. Elisabeth's older brother, Paul Friedrich, was born on January 10, 1893 in Darmstadt and died in World War I ; May 27, 1915 is entered in the population register as the date of death.

In her curriculum vitae, Elisabeth Selver reports only very briefly about her school days: From Easter 1901 she attended Reineck's seminary and the Victoria School, "which I left after having achieved my school goal in Easter 1911".

The future musicologist Elisabeth Noack attended the Victoria School at the same time as Elisabeth Selver. Since then, the two have probably had a lifelong friendship, which we will come back to later.

Stays abroad and studies

The school goal achieved by Elisabeth Selver in 1911 corresponded only to the small matriculation register, which was particularly common for women at the time, which only allowed limited access to the university or training at a (primary) teacher training college. Selver initially chose neither of these two paths, but improved her language skills, first from May to Christmas 1911 and from October 1912 to March 1913 in Nancy, where she obtained a diploma from the Alliance française and a "Certificat d'études de français" from the university there. Following this, from April to October 1913, she went to Great Britain and attended the Royal Albert Memorial College at the University of Exeter. [3] The stay ended with passing the "Summer Meeting Examination" at the University of Oxford.

In the winter semester of 1914/15, 44 students began their studies at the newly founded Royal University of Frankfurt am Main, one of whom was Elisabeth Selver.

"Because of the small register, I attended lectures and seminars in the field of modern philology at the University of Frankfurt from the winter semester of 1914/15 to the end of the semester in 1917. At Easter 1918 I passed the matriculation examination at the college in Darmstadt." According to a confirmation from the then rector dated October 8, 1917, the university preparations for the matriculation examination were completed by the end of the 1917 summer semester.

In the summer semester of 1918, Selver studied at the Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität in Bonn and switched to the Ruprecht-Karls-Universität in Heidelberg for the winter semester of 1918/19. On the other hand, in her curriculum vitae she writes: "From 1918 until now I studied at the University of Frankfurt a. M." This entry is



parental home in Darmstadt

may not be correct. In the documents of the University Archives in Frankfurt there is no registration card from Selver from 1918, which confirms her re-registration, but there is a registration card from May 8, 1919. Heidelberg is named as the last university she attended. Your place of residence there at Leerbachstraße 12 is crossed out on the map and marked "cancelled".

Selver also does not write anything about the content of her studies in Frankfurt in her CV. However, the registration cards for the university state that she was enrolled in "Recent Philology". Accordingly, her oral examination subjects as part of her doctorate were "Germanic Philology", "Romanic Philology" and "English Philology". The courses that she attended to prepare for the matriculation examination from 1914 to 1917 were already in the context of this canon.

Her CV ends with a thank you to " Prof. Schultz, who gave me the idea for my dissertation". As other professors with whom she studied, she mentions Hans Cornelius in Frankfurt, Johannes Hoops in Heidelberg, Hans Naumann in Frankfurt, Fritz Neumann in Heidelberg, Julius Petersen in Frankfurt and Wilhelm Meyer-Lübke in Bonn. Her dissertation is entitled "The cyclic structure of Stefan George's poetry: from the 'Hymns' to the 'Carpet of Life'". [4] The "Protocol for Miss Elisabeth Selver's oral doctoral examination" of July 27, 1923 ended with the overall grade "good".

Stimulator and enabler

As quoted above, the Frankfurt neo-Germanist Franz Schultz is said to have provided the inspiration for Selver's dissertation. Schultz was appointed in 1921 to succeed Julius Petersen in his chair in Frankfurt. Between 1921 and 1950 his repertoire repeatedly included events on contemporary authors, also on George, Rilke and Hauptmann,[5] and in the summer half of 1922 he announced, among other things, an event on "German Poets of the Present", which in the winter half of 1922/23 the event "German Poetry of Recent Times" followed. [6] Since Elisabeth Selver had already completed her dissertation in the first half of 1923, but Schultz had only started teaching in Frankfurt in the winter semester of 1921/22, this meant that she had little more than a year to choose a topic and work on her dissertation would have been available.

Other influences than that of Schultz on the choice of the dissertation topic would therefore be obvious.

In Karl and Hanna Wolfskehl's *Correspondence with Friedrich Gundolf* a note by the editors states: "David Selver, the rabbi of the Darmstadt Jewish community, was on friendly terms and probably also had a pastoral relationship with the Darmstadt Gundelfinger and Wolfskehl families." [7] Gundelfinger is the original family name of Friedrich Gundolf .

This close relationship between the three families, which is indicated here, is also repeatedly emphasized in other sources, for example in the correspondence between Friedrich Gundolf and Elisabeth Salomon published by Gunilla Eschenbach and Helmuth Mojem. In a letter printed there by Gundolf from Darmstadt to Elisabeth Salomon dated November 22, 1918, he writes: "I lead a much quieter life here than in Berlin, only see the Kühners or Selvers and de Haans." A comment by the editors on the same page : "Kühners or Selvers and de Haans. Darmstadt acquaintances; Else Kühner, Ernst Gundolf's friend, the family of Rabbi David Selver (1856-1926), whose daughter Elisabeth (1895-1991), later married Paul, FG was friends - she was to write a dissertation on George's poetry in 1923 Conductor Willem de Haan (1849-1930), Karl Wolfskehl's father-in-law." [8]

These close family and friendly relationships lead – especially through the people of Karl Wolfskehl and Friedrich Gundolf – directly to Stefan George and into the inner circle of the George circle.

Elisabeth Selver's girlfriend, Elisabeth Noack, wrote about this on December 27, 1957: "The importance of the poet Stefan George was also recognized early on in the Selver household and contact with the George circle through Karl Wolfskehl (...) became an event. This is how it became for Dr. Elisabeth Paul-Selver found it imperative to do her doctorate with a thesis on Stefan George." [9] And Hertha Luise Busemann also assumes in the final report of the research project on the Private Forest School Kaliski that the dissertation topic "after the friendship between her father and Charles [10]

Wolfskehl, who belonged to the George circle, was probably not chosen by chance. —

In addition, Elisabeth Selver's relationship with Friedrich Gundolf must have been very close, familiar and friendly, as can be seen, among other things, from a letter he wrote to Elisabeth Salomon on April 15, 1920, again written in Darmstadt: "Yesterday I took a nice spring walk with me the beautiful Liesel S., picked primroses and sang your praises: especially the beauty of your face was praised and again the line from nose to upper lip (...) I hardly see things like that - I thought about your legs, but didn't praise them. "[11] Liesel S. is in Eschenbach/Mojem — none other than Elisabeth Selver.

The years 1923 to 1931

Elisabeth Selver's curriculum vitae from the doctoral file is the last document that provides direct information about her life for many years. Her traces ended with her dissertation. According to an entry from 1919, which documents a temporary stay in Frankfurt, the Darmstadt registration register does not mention her again until 1932. The entry is April 25, 1932, the date of her de-registration to Berlin.

On October 20, 1952, Elisabeth Paul filed an application for compensation under the Federal Compensation Act in Berlin. Three years later, on July 16, 1955, she submitted a detailed justification containing many biographical details. She writes about the time after her doctorate: "After working at the Bergschule Hochwaldhausen and at the Paedagogium in Darmstadt between 1926 and 1930, I continued my language studies at the Collège de France in Paris. In 1931 I went to Berlin and worked there at first in the Kaliski private school, where I built up the French department." [9] In a letter dated December 27, 1959 to the compensation office, Elisabeth Noack specified the time given by her friend a little more : You both worked at the Bergschule Hochwaldhausen in 1923 and 1924, and Elisabeth Selver taught French, German and cultural studies there. [9]

So it is possible that Elisabeth Selver stayed in Paris from 1926 to 1930. [12] It is questionable whether she only did language studies there. In fact, the letter from her friend already mentioned says: "At the Collège de France she was a personal student of Charles Andler, the well-known Nietzsche researcher who had written the standard French work on Nietzsche." [9] Andler had held the chair in Germanic languages since 1926 Languages and Literatures at the Collège de France.

In a letter dated May 14, 1968 to the district court of Berlin, her lawyer Dr. Karl Leonhard in her compensation case, "that she first stayed in Paris in the years 1930 to 1932 to prepare her thesis and later lived in Darmstadt from her own means". [9] Whether the time frame originally given by Paul from 1926 to 1930 will be extended as a result remains to be seen. However, the reference to their "thesis" is interesting. That would mean that she also prepared for a habilitation in Paris. However, there is no further information on this. —

In the foreword to his 1933 book on the influence of French symbolism on the poetic revival in Germany, Enid Lowry Duthie refers to both Gundolf and Karl Wolfskehl, before continuing: 'Mademoiselle Elizabeth Selver was my stubborn friend, whose advice and encouragement was the greatest help. Your concern has smoothed out many difficulties for me, and I ask you to accept my heartfelt thanks.' [13] Unfortunately, it does not appear where and when Duthie met Selver. However, it can be assumed that this took place in connection with her study stay in Paris.

The years 1932 to 1936

Between Paris and Berlin

The last entry concerning her in the Darmstadt population register dates from April 25, 1932 and officially documents her move to Berlin. However, it is doubtful whether she was living in Darmstadt at that time. In her doctoral documents in the archive of the University of Frankfurt there is an exchange of letters between Selver and the university from the period between May and July 1932. Selver asks the university to issue her with a certified copy of her doctoral degree, since she had lost the original. The sender of both letters, first a postcard and then a typed letter in July, is noted as follows: Dr. E. Selver, Zwingenberg i. H., Orbisweg, Haus Kühner. Although she was already deregistered in Darmstadt at that time, her mother still lived there at the old address. In a letter dated December 5, 1955 from the compensation office in Berlin, Zwingenberg on Bergstrasse was officially determined to be Elisabeth Selver's last domestic place of residence. [14]

Part 2 of "Karl Wolfskehl's correspondence from New Zealand 1938-1948" reveals what "Haus Kühner" is all about. In a letter from Wolfskehl to Kurt Frener dated December 18, 1947, Wolfskehl writes: "Greet everyone you know, go to Zwingenberg to see Else Kühner, don't you know her? Otherwise just move in with her and tell her a bit about me and that I, blind and senile with age, simply can't write to everyone and can only laboriously get hold of a few hours a week to dictate." [15] Else Kühner (cf. section "Stimulators and pioneers ") belonged to the circle of friends around the families Gundolf, Wolfskehl and Selver. Gundolf mentioned her in a letter to Elisabeth Salomon dated November 12, 1916. Kühner, who, according to Gundolf, is said to have lived in the house at Klappacher Straße 8 in Darmstadt, is characterized by the editors of the correspondence as follows: "Else Kühner (1870–1957), close friend of Ernst Gundolf, was a teacher in Darmstadt." [16] It is not known when Else Kühner moved to Zwingenberg, nor how close her relationship to Elisabeth Selver was. However, it can be taken for granted that Elisabeth Selver's friend and later husband, Heinrich (Heinz) Paul, also belonged to Kühner's circle and frequented h

Elisabeth Selver's mother, Amalie Selver, was also closely related to Else Kühner. This is evident from the reparations file for their estate, in which Elisabeth Selver explains that her mother lived "with a friend, Miss Kühnert, in Zwingenberg until she emigrated to England in the summer of 1937". However, an affidavit by Else Kühnert in the same file states that Amalie Selver "last lived with me in Darmstadt, Grüner Weg 37, until she emigrated to England in November 1937". [17]

The time at the private forest school Kaliski

The private forest school Kaliski (PriWaKi), founded by Lotte Kaliski, was opened in early 1932 in the grandstand building of today's Berlin Mommsen Stadium, Waldschulallee 34-42. Its director, in turn, was Heinrich Selver (born 1901 in Blaszk; died 1957 in Paris), a cousin of Elisabeth Selver. The school's founder herself pointed out "that Selver's cousin taught at the school in the early days". [18] Unfortunately, the time span "in the early days" is nowhere specified, and Busemann et al. leave this open when they write: In 1932 Heinrich Selver took over the management of the Kaliski forest school and "first he brought his cousin Dr. Elisabeth Selver from Darmstadt college. However, she soon left the Kaliski Forest School to found her own school." [19] However, Werner Fölling becomes a little more specific in his contribution to the final report of the research project on the PriWaKi. In a list of teachers, he mentions Elisabeth Selver as a teacher of German in 1932/33. [20] And Fölling gives another hint: Elisabeth Selver's fiancé was also said to have been a teacher at the PriWaKi around the turn of the year 1932/33. [21] This can only mean Heinrich Paul (see below), which is confirmed by a letter from Elisabeth Selver's lawyer Karl Leonhard. On September 11, 1967 he wrote to the district court in Berlin: "Heinz Paul was the plaintiff's fiancé at the time. He left the Kalisky Forest School, where he had also taught, in order to be legally able to transfer the Aryan students from the Kalisky Forest School to the plaintiff's newly founded Forest School, which he easily managed to do." [9]

From Elisabeth Selver, too, one learns nothing, apart from the sentence already quoted, that she went to Berlin in 1931 and worked there at first in the private school Kaliski, whose French department she had built up. She may have been in Berlin before PriWaKi was founded, but it is likely that contact with the school first came about through her cousin. And the statement that she was responsible for the "establishment of the French department" at the school is more due to the fact that her claims in the compensation procedure should be improved than to reality. The "French department" probably had hardly any other members apart from her as a teacher.

Her lawyer Leonhard commented on Selver's departure from the PriWaKi in the letter of September 11, 1967 already quoted above

difficulties would not be made. (...) The plaintiff then no longer entered the Kalisky Forest School, but immediately founded her own school with her own funds or funds from her mother and with the help of the mother of one of her students." [9] Should this withdrawal of the If the permission to teach came, then - at the end of 1932 - no racist reasons should have been decisive, but formal ones: the lack of exams for a job in the school service, which later persuaded Elisabeth Selver to catch up on the secondary school teacher exam.

founding a school and fleeing

Elisabeth Selver's official traces in Berlin remain in the dark. Unlike her later husband, Heinrich Paul, she is not listed in the Berlin address books of that time. In the years that followed, however, she set up her own private school together with Heinrich Paul (see section "The Private Forest School Heinz Paul") before emigrating to Great Britain in 1935, and she obviously lived there with Heinrich Paul. On November 29, 1956, Elisabeth Noack swore in lieu of an oath, "that Dr Elisabeth Selver, now Ms. Paul, managed the forest school in Ruhleben, Charlottenburg 9, Wacholderweg 7b, with Mr. Heinz Paul, the student assessor, and lived in the school together with her mother, Ms. Amalie Selver. On November 30, 1956, Noack made another affidavit, stating that "Elisabeth Paul had her last domestic residence before her emigration at the address of the school in Berlin-Charlottenburg 9, Am Wacholderweg 8, and also lived there". [9] There is a letter from the Gestapo dated March 3, 1942 to the chief finance president in Berlin, asset utilization

branch office. Its subject line reads: "Jewess Elisabeth Sara Selver, born April 25, 1895 in Darmstadt, last Bln.-Charlottenburg, Joachimsthalerstr. 7/8 lived there." [22] It is not known if and when Elisabeth Selver ever lived at this address, nor why there is no address book entry about it.

Despite the difficulties that the school had to contend with from the very beginning, Elisabeth Selver received the "Certificate of Qualification as a Secondary School Teacher" on August 31, 1933 after a previous examination. In her letter of July 16, 1955, already quoted above, she justified this by saying that it was important to her "to possess this qualification in addition to my academic qualifications". [9]

In this letter she also sheds light on the background to her flight to Great Britain:

"In 1935, however, the fact that I was engaged to an 'Aryan' meant that my position at the school could not be maintained. I was under constant threat of prosecution for racial defilement, the porter woman had already threatened me by shouting words like racial defilement after me. I therefore felt compelled not to come back from the long vacation that I began in June 1935. My last German place of residence was therefore Berlin-Charlottenburg." [9]

asset management and expropriation

Heinrich Paul explains in his compensation proceedings that the money to finance the "Private Forest School Heinz Paul" he opened came from Elisabeth Selver and her mother Amalie. However, no statement can be made about these assets beyond the property, which still brought in rental income up to the mid-1930s, and the mother's rabbi's pension. However, cash must still have been available, otherwise the founding of schools in Berlin and London would hardly have been possible. The bank balances, which were then asserted in the reparation proceedings (see below), were probably of less importance in comparison. However, the receivership of the residential building is likely to have led to a serious cut.

receivership

The house at Landwehrstraße 12 with a total of four apartments was given away on January 13, 1936 by Amalie Selver, notarized. The mother retained a right of usufruct, documented in the land registry, to the excess of the incoming rent after deduction of all costs. [23] At that time – and until October 1938 – "the 'sworn accountant', qualified commercial teacher J. Simon" from Darmstadt acted as the long-term administrator of the property. Rent payments continue to be made to the mother's account at the *Kann & Schack bank* in Darmstadt.

From the beginning of 1938 there was an extensive correspondence between the administrator Simon and the "Foreign Exchange Office of the Chief Finance President of Hesse" in Darmstadt and then with the "Foreign Exchange Office of the Chief Finance President of Berlin". From the latter, on April 29, 1938, Simon received approval to accept the monthly rents (of the now fully rented house) up to a maximum of 360 RM as administrator. According to the documents, the monthly surplus from this income was probably 20 to 30 RM. [23]—

On October 3, 1938, Simon wrote to the foreign exchange office in Berlin, "that the mother has also become a foreigner under foreign exchange law because she has also moved to England or will not return from a visit to England to see her daughter." informed that he had to hand over the property management due to a legal order. This will be handed over to Willy Faulmann, Darmstadt, Lichtenbergstraße 33, who has already arranged further foreign exchange transactions

take care of property management. Despite this receivership, the Selvers still retained a certain amount of power of disposal over the incoming funds, because on September 7, 1939, the foreign exchange office gave Faulmann the right to pay 25 RM a month from the excess rent to Miss Mali Goldstein, Schlageterstrasse 101, Darmstadt. This was based on a written request from Elisabeth Selver to Faulmann dated August 15, 1939; she wanted to increase her cousin's previous support of 10 RM a month.[23] [24]

Up until now, all transactions had been handled in accordance with foreign exchange regulations and the funds had been collected via an administrative account for foreigners, which formally maintained the property rights (but not the disposal), a last letter in the file indicates a serious change. On January 8, 1942, the foreign exchange office of the chief finance president in Berlin wrote to Faulmann about his request for another foreign exchange permit: "On the condition that the assets of the aforementioned fall under the Eleventh Ordinance to the Reich Citizenship Law of November 25, 1941 and thus become part of the German Reich is, a foreign exchange permit is no longer required." [23] This meant: The Selvers were German nationals and their assets been revoked.

expropriation

In an attachment to the letter from the Secret State Police in Berlin dated March 3, 1942 to the chief finance president in Berlin, 'asset utilization' branch, two items are listed as seized assets: "1.) At the conversion fund for German foreign debts, Berlin C 11, the account No. 4546.036 with a balance of about 778 RM, 2.) a residential property in Darmstadt, Landwehrstr. 12, registered with the District Court of Darmstadt, District 3, Volume 26, Sheet 1251. The property has an assessed value of 33,100 RM and is encumbered with 1 mortgage of 10,600 RM. It has already been recorded by the Reich Commissioner for the Treatment of Enemy Property and is being managed by Willy Faulmann, Darmstadt, Lichtenbergstr. 33, managed." [25] On November 25, 1942, the chief finance president of Berlin-Brandenburg issued the following decree to the chief finance president of Darmstadt, referring to the data in the land registry: "The above-mentioned property has lapsed into the Reich. I have arranged for the land register correction. (...)

I hereby transfer the management and exploitation of the property to you in accordance with Section 3 a of the above-mentioned decree Chief Finance President Berlin-Brandenburg, as the owner of the property in Darmstadt, District 3. [25]

However, the "legalized robbery", as an exhibition on the "treasury and [26] plundering of the Jews in Hesse, 1933-1945" put on by the Fritz Bauer Institute was entitled, did not end there. On February 27, 1943, the chief financial officer of the office for German foreign debts to transfer the above-mentioned cash balance of 778 RM plus interest to the upper financial office in Berlin. And even before that, in a letter dated January 13, 1943, Willy Faulmann, who was still in charge of the property, had already pointed out to the Chief Finance President in Berlin-Brandenburg that there were still valuable assets in the house. He mentions some of the Selvers' older pieces of furniture, which an appraiser estimated at 282 RM. Possibly he was hoping for a sale on his own and an extra profit to be made from it. But as early as April 22, 1943, the tax office in Darmstadt-Stadt informed the chief financial officer of Berlin-Brandenburg: "I sold the furniture belonging to the Jewess Selvers on the property at Landwehrstrasse 12 in Darmstadt. The proceeds from the sale are

582.35 RM. Today I instructed my financial office to transfer the above amount to the postal check account (...) of your upper financial office (...)." The file ends with the confirmation of receipt from the upper financial office of the Berlin-Brandenburg Regional Finance President dated May 4, 1943. [25]

The refund of the building

The land register files at the district court in Darmstadt document Elisabeth Selver's application for reimbursement dated June 26, 1948. The application was directed against the "German Reich, Chief Finance President Berlin-Charlottenburg", represented by the "Hessian State Ministry, Minister of Finance, Wiesbaden". The house at Landwehrstraße 12 in Darmstadt and the three associated parcels of land were returned to Elisabeth Selver in accordance with occupation law. The resolution was noted: "The remittance is made in accordance with American Military Government Law No. 59 by resolution of the Office for Property Control and Restitution, Darmstadt, of November 3, 1949." [27]

On March 8, 1954, Elisabeth Selver received the approval notice from the State Central Bank of Hesse for DM 2,500 "for the reconstruction or repair of the property in Darmstadt, Landwehrstr. 12". This mortgage would be entered in the land register in favor of the State of Hesse, represented by the Minister of Finance. Four years later, on April 22, 1958, the property purchase contract between Elisabeth Selver and a Darmstadt couple was concluded before a Darmstadt notary. Elisabeth Selver was represented by the head of studies Dr. Elisabeth Noack, her former schoolmate. The house changed hands for 35,000 DM. [27]

Elisabeth Paul and her life after emigration

The further life story of Elisabeth Selver, now Elisabeth Paul since her marriage on April 21, 1937, is inseparable from the story of "St. Mary's Town and Country School", of which she was a formative figure.

Die St. Mary's School

Hauptartikel: St. Mary's Town and Country School

The school saw itself as a private, non-denominational, co-educational and *progressive* school. This *progressive* stands for the British variant of what is known in Germany as reform pedagogy. Heinrich Paul had worked for some time at the Bondy schools, Elisabeth Paul, as mentioned above, at the *Bergschule Hochwaldhausen* and for a short time at the private forest school Kaliski, run by her cousin. After that, both of them founded the *private forest school Heinz Paul*. Elisabeth Paul, who was the determining force of *St. Mary's School*, also drew on the classics of reform pedagogy to flesh out her pedagogical approach, but she particularly preferred Frederick Matthias Alexander and the Alexander Technique he founded.

Elisabeth Paul managed the school through the war years and turned it into a very successful private school in the 1960s and 1970s. How far emigrant children attended school in the few years before the war and during the war can hardly be assessed conclusively, but the school obviously exerted a great attraction on parents from artistic and diplomatic circles. [28]

The school was originally a day school. Due to the war-related evacuations, it turned into a boarding school. After the war it was again a day school with a rather small proportion of boarding students. The name suffix "Country School" owes primarily to the property *Hedgerley Wood* (location) acquired in 1954 near *Chinnor* in the Chiltern Hills. To *Hedgerley Wood* which has a small swimming pool and all facilities for games and projects

had been taken over, also included a large forest area. It was a weekend home for a small group of boarding and day students and also for a Franco-British children's summer school. The lower grades ("Junior School") regularly spent a week or more there with their class teachers in the summer half-year, in accordance with the concept of school camps.

The school was popular and well frequented. While in 1951 144 girls and boys of all ages, including 17 boarders, attended the school, in 1974 there were 186 girls and boys aged 4 to 16 years.[29]

The person Elisabeth Paul

There are no concrete references to Elisabeth Paul's private life, only contradictory impressions from different generations of students.[30] She was revered as a lifelong influential influencer, but is also described as a very eccentric person.

ÿ *Main article: Elisabeth Paul's contradictions*

A film about the school can be called up on a website about *St. Mary's School*, in which Elisabeth Paul also speaks in detail. [31] Stills from this, contrasting the then 70-year-old with photographs from 1928 and 1932, can be seen on the school website.[32]

Elisabeth Paul's Compensation Proceedings

self-reparation

On October 20, 1952, Elisabeth Paul submitted her application to the Compensation Office in Berlin on the basis of the Law on Compensation for Victims of National Socialism. The procedure that was set in motion was only completed on November 17, 1969.[9]

On February 7, 1957, the compensation office granted Elisabeth Paul an advance of 2,000 DM for the first time, which was to be offset against a decision of 21 April 1961 for a total of 16,650. [33] — Elisabeth Paul was only awarded compensation for members of the higher civil service, while she insisted on equality with a member of the higher civil service, and she was denied the right to choose a pension. Due to an ongoing lawsuit, the Compensation Office offered on 11. September 1962 offered a settlement of 40,000 DM to which the previously mentioned 16,650 DM should be credited. In addition, the lawsuit should also be considered settled as a result of the settlement.[9]

However, the desired settlement never came about because the legal dispute continued, which only came to an end with a judgment by the Berlin district court on September 30, 1968. The verdict proved that Elisabeth Selver was right on many points, above all on the question of classification and the compensation payments that could be derived from this. The court is of the opinion that it cannot be determined "that she earned an annual income of 8,200 RM based on her own work during the relevant period, which is necessary for classification in the higher service." It but then executes:

"However, the social position of the plaintiff, which is determined by the validity in public life based on her educational background, her achievements and abilities, justifies the desired upgrading to the comparable civil servant group of the higher service. (...) As the director and co-owner of her own school, she enjoyed the same respect as a senior civil servant. In addition, the plaintiff at the university in

Frankfurt and obtained diplomas from the Universities of Nancy and Oxford, which increased her validity in her job as head of a private school. The plaintiff was therefore to be classified in the higher service due to her social position." [9]

Attorney Leonhard declared on behalf of his client at the end of October 1968 a waiver of appeal, whereupon Elisabeth Paul on November 17, 1969 about the decision of November 11, 1969.

On September 19, 1962, a further capital payment of DM 9,497.49 was granted in addition to DM 40,000 and the retrospective pension entitlement was confirmed, which led to an additional payment of DM 30,331 and to an ongoing monthly pension payment of DM 622. [9]

Compensation procedure Amalie Selver

Almost at the same time as her own proceedings, Elisabeth Paul, following an informal application dated April 9, March 1950 on October 18, 1952, also on behalf of her deceased mother, Amalie Selver , made a formal application for reparation under the "Law for the Reparation of National Socialist Injustice". Claims were made for damage to property and assets as well as damage to economic progress in general.

As her mother's heiress, Elisabeth Paul asserts claims for furniture left behind in Darmstadt, confiscated bank balances, a Jewish property tax and withheld rent payments.

In addition, there were claims because the mother's widow's pension was initially reduced and then completely withheld. [17] Parts of these claims had already been asserted in connection with the application for the retransfer of their Darmstadt house (see above), but had been rejected at the time.

In both cases, Elisabeth Paul was represented by Friedrich Mainzer, a former attorney from Darmstadt and now from London. dr Friedrich (Fritz) Mainzer (* March 17, 1875 in Darmstadt – † August 15, 1955 in London) was already her father's lawyer when he was dismissed as a rabbi by the Jewish community in Darmstadt. At that time, the proceedings ended with a settlement that secured David Selver early retirement with a pension entitlement. This pension entitlement in turn resulted in the claim for additional payment of the reduced or withheld widow's pension.

Mainzer's Darmstadt law practice was attacked and devastated during the pogrom night in 1938 and he was then banned from practicing his profession. In the spring of 1939 he emigrated to Great Britain and from May 1940 worked in London as a "lawyer on continental law". [34] The house in Mainz that belonged to him until he emigrated in Osannstr. 11 in Darmstadt was the center of the Jewish community in Darmstadt after 1948 and until the fall of 1988. [35]

In a decision dated May 16, 1953, the compensation authority at the Darmstadt Regional Council rejected all claims resulting from the widow's pension – DM 6,720.00. Many years of legal disputes followed before the Darmstadt Regional Court and the Frankfurt Higher Regional Court, during which Paul's London lawyer Mainzer died and her Darmstadt lawyer handed over his office to his successor. On January 27, 1955, the Higher Regional Court of Frankfurt ordered the state of Hesse, represented by the Hessian Minister of the Interior, to pay back pensions of DM 6,720.00 and to assume the out-of-court costs April 1955 another 200.00 DM as compensation for transport costs. This total of 6,920.00 DM was paid out in three installments by August 21, 1956. [17]

A decision had not yet been made on the rental income that Elisabeth Paul was withheld from during the confiscation of her Darmstadt house, the bank balances that were withdrawn from her disposal and the Jewish property tax paid, which led to an extensive exchange of letters between the compensation authorities and the lawyers.

On June 7, 1961, the Frankfurt Regional Finance Directorate decided to award Elisabeth Paul a further DM 500.00 as damages for confiscated furniture, but the dispute over compensation for the tax on removals goods and the Jewish property tax continued. The regional council demanded documents that Elisabeth Paul was apparently unable to produce, which was reflected in noticeably delaying letters from her lawyer. On November 27, 1962, ten years after filing the application, Elisabeth Paul then had her lawyer inform the district president that the outstanding compensation issues would not be pursued any further and that the proceedings were therefore over.

Elisabeth Paul's tragic end

The demise of *St. Mary's School* was arguably due in part to its autocratic nature. And nobody could or wanted to notice their "mental illness", their progressive mental illness with noticeable changes in thinking and acting. At the age of eighty-six, she still thinks she is running a school that in 1981 consisted of just seven students and just as many teachers. In 1982 the school was closed - not because of Elisabeth Paul's inability to work, but because of horrendous debts, not least tax debts.[36]

ÿ *Main article: [The end of St. Mary's School](#)*

In the last years of her life, Elisabeth Paul probably didn't notice anything of what was happening around her and her life's work fell victim to real estate speculators. According to her death certificate, she died on February 4, 1991 at the Elmhurst Residential Home in London Institution that now specializes in dementia and Alzheimer's disease [37] in pneumonia (bronchopneumonia). She was almost 96 years old.

Heinrich Paul - the man at her side

Like his later wife, Heinrich Paul also came from Darmstadt. The parents' houses of the two [38]— were only about 350 meters apart in the same district, the Johannesviertel.

According to the Darmstadt population register data and the documents in the archive of the Frankfurt University, both of them studied *modern philology* in Frankfurt for at least one semester in 1922 . By the end of the 1920s at the latest, there had probably been a close friendship between the two, which led them first to Berlin and then together to emigrate to Great Britain.

Heinrich Paul's life before emigration

Heinrich Paul (full name: *Heinrich Gustav Adolf Paul*) was born on March 8, 1900 in Darmstadt and died on August 15, 1980 in London.[14]

Paul's parents were Gustav Paul and his wife Lina, née Heil. The father ran a paper shop in Darmstadt. [39] During the Second World War, the Paul family was bombed out and then lived in Ueberau, today a district of Reinheim. [40]

The Abitur documents [41] show that Paul was a Protestant and in 1909 first attended pre-school and then from Easter 1910 to Easter 1919 the state Realgymnasium in Darmstadt (today's Georg Büchner School). In 1919 he is on the list of students who were admitted to the war readiness test, and he also wrote the corresponding written exams. At the time (June 12-19, 1918) he had already been drafted, but had not yet received an order to report. In the record of the matriculation examination, however, it was noted that Paul still needed lessons and that he should take the matriculation examination again in 1919; on March 28, 1919 he received his high school diploma. [42]

According to the register of residents of the city of Darmstadt, his parents' apartment at Liebigstraße 6 (second floor) remained Heinrich Paul's main place of residence until he moved to Berlin on September 1, 1932. His matriculation file in the archive of the University of Giessen states "that he moved away on September 6. May 1922 at the University of Giessen to study in the Faculty of Philosophy (stud. phil.) enrolled". Heinrich Paul had previously studied in Marburg, Heidelberg and Frankfurt am Main. According to the note on his matriculation file, he submitted a leaving certificate from the University of Marburg (October 12, 1920), a leaving certificate from the University of Heidelberg (4 April 1921) and a leaving certificate from the University of Frankfurt (March 25, 1922). Heinrich Paul studied at the University of Gießen up to and including the summer semester of 1923. According to the note on the matriculation file, he received his leaving certificate on June 8, 1923. [43]

Heinrich Paul obviously lived with his parents in Darmstadt during the semester in Frankfurt, because there is no entry in the Darmstadt population register for this time. And at the time when he was studying in Frankfurt, so was his future wife, Elisabeth Selver. She was also enrolled in modern philology, and if the two didn't already know each other from Darmstadt, they should have met here at the latest. Given the very manageable number of students [44] at the time, it is quite unlikely that they should not have met at lectures or seminars.

A letter from Paul dated June 10, 1954 [14] is misleading, in which he writes: "I completed my state examination as a philologist at the University of Giessen (certificate of September 13, 1926 attached) and passed my assessor examination 2 years later." In the compensation file is the copy of this document mentioned here, which gives a more differentiated picture: Paul passed the first examination for the higher teaching post on February 23, 1924 with "good" and thus qualified to teach the main subjects German and English as well as the minor subject acquired history. This was followed by the legal clerkship at the Eleonora School in Darmstadt. Two years later, on September 8, 1926, the oral state examination took place with the grade "sufficient". He also received this grade for his housework and for his "teaching skills", which resulted in the overall grade "sufficient" and the appointment as a study assessor. [14]

In Heinz Paul's compensation file there is a longer letter from a Dr. Peter. F. Meyer, London, May 14, 1968. The following stations in Paul's curriculum vitae are listed: A) 1926–1931 student assessor in a private school in Seeheim an der Bergstrasse, then in a rural educational home in the Lüneburg Heath; B) 1931–1932 director of a welfare facility in Schleswig-Holstein; C) In 1932, after a short period of work in Darmstadt, he opened his own private forest school in Berlin. [14] This information is only superficially correct.

On February 1, 1927, Paul de-registered for Seeheim, according to the Darmstadt registration register, from where he returned to Darmstadt on May 1, 1927, and then de-registered for Gandersheim on October 2, 1927. This phase ended on April 7, 1930 with the report from Dahlenburg.

The entry in the population register says nothing about the actual length of stay of Heinz Paul in Seeheim, but what is certain is that he was already in Gandersheim in December 1927. At the time relevant here, there was a private school in Seeheim where he

may have taught: the "private school for daughters (higher educational institution and boarding school G. Türk)" in the house at Bergstraße 32 in Seeheim, which existed until 1928.[45] However, whether Paul actually taught at this school must remain open.

In 1919/20 Max Bondy was a co-founder of the *free school and work community Sinntalhof* on the Sinntalhof in Brückenau. This school project failed, which is why Max Bondy moved to Gandersheim in Lower Saxony in 1923 with some of the students and staff. In collaboration with his wife Gertrud, a doctor and psychoanalyst, he founded the *Gandersheim school community* there. In 1929 she moved to Marienau, where she called herself "School community on Gut Marienau", from which today's country educational home Schule Marienau emerged.

In the "Information sheet for the Gandersheim school community" from 1928, the list of teachers teaching in Gandersheim (as of December 1927) mentions the study assessor Paul for the subjects English, [46] On and history. and returned to Darmstadt in May 1931, 1931 in Darmstadt, also in the Segeberg district, German

This is the period of time for which Noack's letter of December 27, 1959, already quoted, states that he was director of a welfare facility in Schleswig-Holstein, namely the Waldesruh home near Segeberg (Holstein) for children who are difficult to raise. Noack emphasizes that this home was "closely connected to the university for teacher training in Kiel", "whose professors for education and psychology often had consultations with Mr. Paul and sent their students to him as guest students". [9]

It is correct that in 1927 the "Verein Kinderheim e. V. Waldesruh" was founded as an independent welfare organization that had set itself the task of "educating and educating young people, children and psychopaths who are difficult to train". [47] The association, whose board also includes a professor Dr. Pflug from the University of Education in Kiel, maintained a two-class home school whose five educators are listed in the chronicle between 1927 and 1932. Not among them: Heinrich Paul. His name is also not mentioned anywhere else about the "Waldesruh children's home". The suspicion is that he stayed there at best on a probationary basis or as an intern, but by no means as a "director", as Noack claimed.

According to the population register, Heinrich Paul stayed with his parents in Darmstadt for more than a year after his return from northern Germany. There are only two photos from this period, one with Elisabeth Selver and Heinrich Paul, and one with Dr. Ludwig Rothamel, Dr. Elisabeth Selver and Heinz Paul. "Both photos were taken on the 15th of September 1931 at 5pm, near Darmstadt, Germany." This reference comes from Karl Rothamel, the son of Ludwig Rothamel. Ludwig Rothamel was an old school friend of Heinrich Paul's in Darmstadt, [48] and his son Karl himself attended the "St. Mary's School" and has contributed some information about the history of its operators. [49]

It is also not certain that Heinrich Paul actually lived with his parents at this time. In Elisabeth Selver's doctoral documents in the archive of the University of Frankfurt there is an exchange of letters between Selver and the university from the period between May and July 1932. Selver asks the university to issue her with a certified copy of her doctoral degree, since she had lost the original. The sender of both letters, first a postcard and then a typed letter in July, is noted as follows: Dr. E. Selver, Zwingenberg i. H., Orbisweg, Haus Kühner. [50] The letter of July 1, 1932, in which the copy of the doctoral certificate was again reminded, ended with the sentence "for Dr. Elisabeth Selver", to which the handwritten signature "H. Paul, Studienassessor" followed. There are doubts as to whether this letter was actually written by Elisabeth Selver herself

was written because she was already in Berlin at the time. [51] What is certain, however, is that the relationship between the Selver family and Else Kühner must have been very close, as will become clear later in connection with the reparation proceedings.

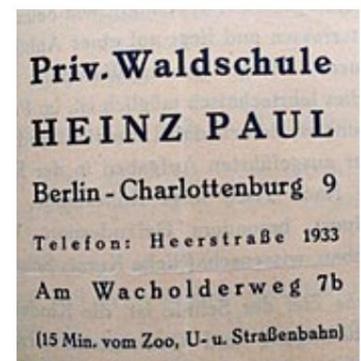
The private forest school Heinz Paul

According to the Darmstadt city register, Heinrich Paul moved to Berlin Eichkamp on September 1, 1932. According to Berlin's historical register of residents (EMK), he moved into the house "Marienburger Allee 16 near Rheinhold". [52] Very close to this address was the *Private Forest School Kaliski* (PriWaKi), where Elisabeth Selver was working at the time. In his contribution to the final report of a research report on PriWaKi, Werner Fölling writes: "At the turn of the year 1932/33, at least half of the teaching staff does not seem to have been Jewish. As far as we know, (...) and Miss Dr. Selver not Jewish." [53] This "fiancé", there is no doubt about that, was Heinrich Paul. Unlike Elisabeth Selver, Fölling no longer mentions him in his further contribution about the students and teachers of the PriwaKi. [54] The letter from Elisabeth Selver's lawyer from 1967, which has already been quoted several times, also confirms that Heinz Paul taught at PriWaKi. [9]

For Heinrich Paul there is a separate entry in the Berlin address book from 1935 for the first time: "(Paul) - Heinz Stud Assess Charlb Wacholderweg 7b". This is not far from his first address, Marienburger Allee 16. This entry is repeated in the 1936 address book, with "Heinz" now becoming "Heinrich". But there is another entry: "(Paul) - Heinz Priv Waldschule Charlb Wacholderweg 7b". Both entries also appear in the street section of the address book and are repeated in the same way in 1937. [55] In many memoirs of former students of *St. Mary's School* in London, which Heinz Paul and Elisabeth Selver acquired in 1937, there are vague references to an earlier school in Germany. This is also the case with Karl Rothamel, already quoted above, who only knows how to report: "As far that I know, Elisabeth and Heinz had a school in Berlin." [56] Busemann et al. leave the question of a school founded by Selver and Paul open when they write: In 1932 Heinrich Selver took over the management of the Kaliski forest school and "first he brought his cousin Dr. Elisabeth Selver from Darmstadt to the college. However, she soon left the Kaliski Forest School to set up her own school." [57]

Apart from the address book entries, there are no official documents about this school founded by the two of them. Its brief history can only be reconstructed through Heinz Paul's compensation file. Paul's letter of June 10, 1954, already quoted above, says:

"At the end of 1932, together with my then fiancée and now wife, Dr. Elisabeth Selver in Berlin-Charlottenburg the private forest school Heinz Paul, Berlin-Charlottenburg. Funds were provided by my fiancée and her mother, but I was the owner and director of the school, which was called Privatwaldschule Heinz Paul." [14]



inscription on the front page
des Prospect der Priv.
Forest School Heinz Paul

According to the above-mentioned letter from Elisabeth Selver's lawyer to the Berlin District Court of September 11, 1967, Elisabeth Selver's teaching license was revoked at the end of 1932, presumably because she did not have any exams for teaching, which forced her to start a new life, initially with help the mother of one of her students from PriWaKi, and then together with Heinrich Paul, who initially continued to teach at PriWaKi and then left there voluntarily. Attorney Leonhard indicated that

behind it was the plan to enable the Aryan students of the *private forest school Kaliski* to continue their education in a similar school. According to the situation, only Heinz Paul was able to run such a school, because only he had the qualifications to teach. [9] —

A school project, which is also in the compensation files, says about the concept:

"The private forest school Heinz Paul is a higher educational institution with day and full boarding school for boys and girls (...) and combines the educational opportunities of the country educational home with those of the parents' home. (...) As far as this (...) is possible, the lessons take place outdoors. (...) The educational goal of the school is to make the children fit for life through work, physical training and community education. The workload is based on the plans of the Oberrealschule and the Reformgymnasium. (...) The food is put together according to the principles of modern nutrition (plenty of vegetables and fruit). (...) The school fees are: in day boarding school including meals and supervision of schoolwork etc. 780.00 RM (...) in full boarding school 1500.00 RM annually." [14]

According to an official questionnaire from 1936 in the compensation file, three male and two female full-time teachers were teaching 52 pupils at the school at that time, eleven of whom were older than 14 years. 30 were boys, 22 girls. 15 of them were of "Israelite" faith, but according to the National Socialist rules this required further differentiation: 31 students were "German or of related blood", 15 were considered "Jewish" in the sense of the Reich Citizenship Law and six as "Jewish mixed blood" . . [14] —

At the time of this survey, Heinz Paul and Elisabeth Selver were no longer at the school, which, according to Paul, had "developed well at the beginning". The problems began as early as the summer holidays of 1933, when the Prussian Association of Philologists suggested that Paul hire an Olberg study assessor. There was an interview, and this had fatal consequences for Paul. In a letter dated September 28, 1933, "The Upper President of the Province of Brandenburg and of Berlin - School Department" informed him:

"During the conversation with the study assessor Olberg at the beginning of August ds. js so little national self-satisfaction that you cannot be put in charge of a private school." [14] —

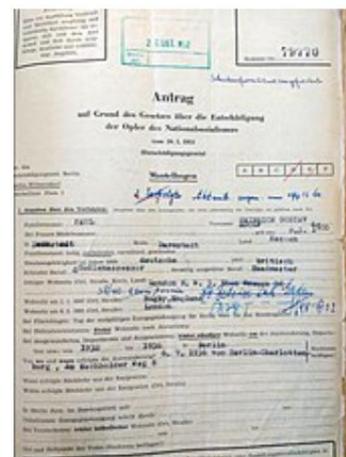
Although Paul was allowed to keep the economic management and ownership, he had to be replaced as headmaster. As Paul writes, it was only in 1935 that the "National Socialist Head of Police School Inspector Dr. Georg Nitsche" who was not up to the task, and the school therefore closed at Easter 1937. [14] —

Paul describes the situation for him and his Jewish fiancée, Elisabeth Selver, as increasingly threatening. She therefore did not return to Germany from a holiday in Great Britain in the summer of 1935, Heinrich Paul followed her on July 6, 1936. [14] However, a letter from the "State Commissioner of the Capital Berlin" dated November 5, 1935 seems mysterious in this context. With reference to a submission of October 9, 1935, he lets the "Miss Dr. Elisabeth Selver" about the "Mr. Schulrat Freitag" communicated the conditions "for the establishment of a Jewish higher private school". [9] Given the circumstances at the time, it is obvious that such an application could not have been made by the "Aryan" Heinrich Paul. What is surprising, however, are the two dates in the letter, because by then Elisabeth Selver had long been in Great Britain.

The last entry about Heinrich Paul in Berlin's historical register of residents reads: "Deregistration: on August 1, 1936 from Berlin, Wacholderweg 7 b to London, 16 Wedderburn Road." [58] Heinz Paul and Elisabeth Selver married on April 21, 1937 in exile and acquired *St Mary's School*, which they later renamed *St Mary's Town and Country School*.

The Heinz Paul compensation file

It is very difficult to get an idea of Heinz Paul in the second phase of his life. Although he was headmaster alongside his wife from 1946 to 1956, the question as to why he was no longer headmaster after 1956 was initially unanswerable. It was he who had more school experience and was familiar with reform pedagogical approaches. But his role at the school is almost incomprehensible; it seems that he has always stood in his wife's shadow.



First page of
Compensation request from
Heinz Paul

ÿ Main article: *Memoirs of Heinrich Paul*

More information about Heinz Paul and his difficulties in everyday school and private life can only be found in the file for the October 1952 based on the Law on Compensation for Victims of National Socialism. He alleges loss of assets due to the loss of the school and persecution-related ill health. With regard to the damage to health, he refers to a "vegetative dystonia", for which he submits an opinion from a British doctor. In the course of the long-drawn-out procedure, he submitted a handwritten statement on June 27, 1964, which basically repeated all the points from earlier letters. However, he concludes with the following sentences: "Panic and increasing psychoses made it necessary that, despite all my efforts, I had to give up teaching and driving a car. I would like to add that during my time in Berlin I was secretly politically active. One of my friends in this field was Harro Schulze-Boysen, who was executed in 1944." [14] Whether the latter is actually true remains an open question; the point plays no role in the outcome of the proceedings. His health impairments, on the other hand, are the subject of several statements by the doctors and psychiatrists treating him and an official report. The latter sums up most succinctly what Heinrich Paul claims to be suffering from:

"AS [applicant] has described the persecution in detail (...) He also reports that he took an active part in an anti-Nazi movement and that he was warned by this organization of the impending arrest; During the last year of his stay in Germany he had seldom spent the night in his own house because he felt threatened. Building up his existence in England was very difficult and he not only taught all subjects as a teacher for five years, but also worked as a factotum and craftsman in the school until he could no longer. His energy had diminished and around 1955 he had had to give up his job: his nerves were no longer up to teaching. Since then he has been involved in music and composition. His anxiety and tension also affected his stomach function, so that a 12-finger ulcer developed. He simply couldn't forget the time from 1933 to 1936, had to keep pondering, and even today he had nightmares about persecution." [14]

In agreement with the findings of Paul's doctors, the expert has the impression "that it is a case of a psycho-neurosis" which is more likely to be attributed to the "worsening of a hereditary psychasthenic state of failure" than to the asserted consequences of the Persecution. Nevertheless, he also advocates recognizing a reduction in employment (MdE), which ultimately happens. According to the decision of November 14, 1966, Heinz Paul was retrospectively awarded compensation of DM 35,887.57 and, from October 1, 1966, a pension of DM 1,177.17 recognition of a higher rate of reduced earnings, the Berlin Regional Court awarded him further compensation of 2,693 DM in a judgment of September 30, 1968, but otherwise dismissed the lawsuit.[14]

an addendum

The National Archives in Kew (Richmond, UK) store reports of school inspections by the "St. Mary's School" from several years. The same archive also contains correspondence between Heinz Paul and John Sturge Stephens, one from the period between 1920 and 1930[59] and one from 1952.[60] John Sturge Stephens (1891-1954) was a Quaker and is considered Cornwall's first conscientious objector due to his attitude during the First World War. [61] The same archive also contains letters from Theo Spira to John Sturge Stephens. [62] The origin of the connection between Paul and Stephens is unclear, as is the background to the relationship between Spira and Stephens.

In 1923 Spira worked at the English Department of the University of Giessen, and Heinrich Paul also studied English in Giessen in 1922/1923. Spira had previously worked as a teacher at the Odenwald School: "Spira, Theo Dr., OSO employee 1913/14; did some work on the development of English sounds, also on Shelley's intellectual history (at the English seminar at the University of Giessen in 1923) and interpreted Shakespeare's sonnets in 1929.". [63] Spira was probably also active in peace politics, as can be seen from the following quote:

"In addition, Germany, which had lost the war, was initially denied membership of the League of Nations. Over the years, however, the new Reich government received valuable support in its efforts to improve foreign relations from the German League for the League of Nations, which advocated the idea of a federation of states, and whose educational department had already started a few days before the constitution of the Weimar Republic was signed. to August 7, 1919 in Wetzlar held a conference with American and English Quakers on the ethical prerequisites for a lasting peace. The old imperial city on the Lahn was particularly suitable for this topic due to its history. From 1689 to 1806, the Imperial Chamber Court was located here, where Johann Wolfgang von Goethe and his father also worked for a time as part of their advanced legal training. The Wetzlar meeting was preceded by a conference in Heppenheim in June 1919, which was essentially organized by the 'Giessen Group for the Redesign of the Education System' around the reform pedagogues Theo Spira and Otto Erdmann and the Jewish religious philosopher Martin Buber and also the crisis management in Europe after the World War had as a goal.

However, a phase of political and economic stabilization as well as international recognition did not occur until 1924 under Reich Foreign Minister Gustav Stresemann, which lasted until the beginning of the global economic crisis in October 1929.."[64]

If Stephens was one of the British Quakers who took part in the Wetzla meeting in 1919, then everything indicates that Heinrich Paul, presumably a Spira student, also came into contact with Stephens through Spira. [65]

writings

- *The cyclic structure of Stefan George's poetry from the 'hymns' to the 'carpet of life'*. Philosophical dissertation, Frankfurt am Main 1923.
- *St. Mary's Town and Country School*. In: Hubert Alwyn Thomas Child (Hrsg.): *The independent progressive school*. Hutchinson & Co. (Publishers) LTD, London 1962, S. 136–145.

The book served as a self-portrayal for reform pedagogical schools (progressive schools) in Great Britain. Elisabeth Paul's essay in it, which touches on only a few aspects of the school's history, describes the pedagogical concept in detail. It is available online at: Elisabeth Paul: *St. Mary's Town and Country School* (<http://www.stmarystownandcountryschool.com/ips1962.pdf>). In the book, which is not available online, Elisabeth Paul's essay is followed by a contribution by AS Neill on Summerhill.

Sources

- University Archive Frankfurt am Main (UAF) (http://www.archiv.uni-frankfurt.de/39883913/UA_F?legacy_request=1). There are two files on Elisabeth Selver here:
 - UAF Dept. 136, No. 131: This contains the documents on Selver's doctoral procedure. This also includes a handwritten curriculum vitae, which, itself undated, was attached to the application for the doctoral procedure on January 1, 1923.
 - UAF Dept. 604, No. 2395: The most important documents here relate to the (preliminary) studies started in 1914 with a "small matriculation" which led to the matriculation examination passed at Easter 1918 at the Darmstadt University of Applied Sciences.
- Darmstadt city archive
 - Historical register of the city of Darmstadt on David Selver (with the entries about his daughter Elisabeth) and Heinrich Gustav Adolf Paul (stock ST 12 & ST 18)
 - Holdings ST 12/14 No. 213 & ST 12/14 No. 136
 - Written communication from the Darmstadt city archive of February 9, 2017 Hertha Luise
- Busemann, Michael Daxner, Werner Fölling, Klaus Klattenhoff, Friedrich Wißmann: "The private forest school Kaliski in Berlin-Grunewald (PriWaKi)." Final report of the research project funded by the German Research Foundation. Oldenburg, 1992 (in the library of the University of Oldenburg, call number pae 475 wal BX 0221)
- Hessian State Archive Darmstadt, inventory 15/5 (Ludwig Bergstrasser), correspondence between Pa and Pe
- Gießen University Archive (<https://www.uni-giessen.de/org/admin/dez/b/universitaetsarchiv>): Written communication from the head of the archive, Dr. Eva-Marie Felschow, February 7, 2017
- Archive of the Marienau school (<http://www.marienau.com/ueber-uns/archiv/>): Written information from the head of the archive, Jörg Blume, dated January 31, 2017 Landesarchiv Berlin [66]
- _____
 - compensation file Dr. Heinrich Gustav Paul - 81 WGA 5781/55 compensation file Dr.
 - Elisabeth Paul, née Selver – 81 WGA 5780/55 These two files themselves do not contain any useful documents, but refer to them

to which the files at the State Office for Civil and Regulatory Affairs (see below)

- Historical resident register of Berlin, stock B Rep. 021; written information dated January 17, 2017.
- The Charlottenburg-Wilmersdorf Museum in the Villa Oppenheim (<http://www.villa-oppenheim-berlin.de/>): Written information from the head of the collection, Sonja Miltenberger, dated 27. January 2017 to an inquiry about a private forest school in Wacholderweg 7b.
- Brandenburg State Main Archive (blha), Potsdam, files on the ordered asset management and expropriation of Elisabeth Selver in the inventory "Rep. 36A Chief Finance President Berlin-Brandenburg" [67] —
 - blha inventory Rep. 36 A – G 3097 (compulsory
 - administration) blha inventory Rep. 36 A II – 35461 (asset realization)
- District Court of Darmstadt. Land register file for volume 26, page 1251 of the land register of Darmstadt, District III (House Landwehrstrasse 12 in Darmstadt). File inspection on June 26, 2017 State Office for Citizen and Regulatory Affairs (LABO), Dept. I – Compensation
- Authority for Victims of National Socialism, Fehrbelliner Platz 1, 10707 Berlin. [68] Inspection of files on June 15, 2017 and July 17, 2017:
 - Compensation file Heinz Paul - Reg.Nr. 79,770
 - Compensation File Elisabeth Paul – Reg.No. 173.318
- Hessian Main State Archive Wiesbaden: Amalie Selver reparations case, HStAW 518, no. 27881 [69] —

literature

- Frank Estelmann, Olaf Müller: *Adapted everyday life in German and Romance studies. Franz Schultz and Frankfurt German Studies.* In: Jörn Kobes, Jan-Otmar Hesse (eds.): *Frankfurt scientists between 1933 and 1945.* Wallstein, Göttingen 2008, ISBN 978-3-8353-0258-7 , pp. 33-45.
- Karl Wolfskehl, Hanna Wolfskehl: *Correspondence with Friedrich Gundolf, 1899-1931.* Volume 1, Castrvm Peregrini, Amsterdam 1977, ISBN 978-90-6034-032-5.
- Karl Wolfskehl, Hanna Wolfskehl: *Correspondence with Friedrich Gundolf, 1899-1931.* Volume 2 (1905-1931), Castrvm Peregrini, Amsterdam 1977, ISBN 978-90-6034-032-5.
- *Karl Wolfskehl's correspondence from New Zealand 1938–1948.* Volume 2, Luchterhand Literaturverlag, Darmstadt 1988, ISBN 978-3-630-80002-8.
- Gunilla Eschenbach, Helmuth Mojem (ed.): *Friedrich Gundolf - Elisabeth Salomon. Correspondence 1914-1931.* De Gruyter, Berlin 2015, ISBN 978-3-11-022546-4.
- Enid Lowry Duthie: *The Influence of French Symbolism in Germany's Poetic Revival. The Blätter für die Kunst from 1892–1900.* Paris 1933. / Neudruck: Geneva 1974.
Mario Zanucchi said of this study: "The effect of the Symbolists on Stefan George was systematically examined in Enid Lowry Duthie's groundbreaking 1933 study. However, Duthie's study is not only outdated in terms of content and methodology, but also fails to recognize the central differences between George and the French Symbolists. Also unnoticed is Duthie George's Syrÿcretistic mingling of French symbolism with the German poetic tradition, as well as the attention he pays to the proto-symbolist poetry of CF Meyer." 1923)", De Gruyter, Berlin/ Boston, 2016, ISBN 978-3-11-042012-8, 978-3-11-042013-5, 9783110425192, p. 7)

- Hertha Luise Busemann, Michael Daxner, Werner Fölling: *Island of security. The private forest school Kaliski 1932 to 1939*. Publisher JB Metzler, Stuttgart / Weimar 1992, ISBN 3-476-00845-2.

The book is based on the research project on the private forest school Kaliski (see sources).

- Jochem Schäfer: *Goethe and his late work "Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre" in the light of the resistance against National Socialism. The German Hiking Day 1927 in Herborn and its consequences*. Schmitz, Nordstrand (North Sea) 2011, ISBN 978-3-938098-67-7.
- Jörg H. Fehrs: *From Heidereutergasse to Roseneck. Jewish Schools in Berlin 1712-1942*. Edition Hentrich, Berlin 1993, ISBN 3-89468-075-X.

Weblinks

- St. Mary's School: A retrospective of this unique school, by a former pupil (<http://stmarystownandcountryschool.com/>). The site lives mainly from the memories of the students who attended the school from the 1960s. But there are also many isolated references to the beginnings of the school, for example on the following subpages:
 - St. Mary's School: Mrs. Paul (<http://stmarystownandcountryschool.com/elisabeth.html>)
This site is highly recommended, especially because of the imagery.
 - St. Mary's School: The early History (<http://stmarystownandcountryschool.com/early.html>)
 - St. Mary's School: Town & Country's Demise (<http://stmarystownandcountryschool.com/demise.html>)
 - St. Mary's School: The staff (<http://stmarystownandcountryschool.com/staff.html>)
 - ST. Mary's School:Town & Country School Guestbook/Blog (<http://www.stmarystownandcountryschool.com/guestbook.html>)
- St. Mary's Town and Country School in der WIKIPEDIA-EN

itemizations

1. There is no doubt about this date of birth, it is clearly determined by the population register. However, Elisabeth Selver herself later caused confusion when she gave different information about her age on different occasions. On a website of the "St. Mary's School" several dates are listed: In a copy of her study book from Paris from 1928, a handwritten date of birth is entered, which with some effort turns out to be 25. VI. 1908 can be deciphered. In the same place, reference is made to her death certificate, which bears the date of birth March 11, 1892. And finally, there is the English marriage register, in which she was entered in 1937 at the age of 41, which refers to a birth year of 1896. (Mrs. Paul (<http://stmarystownandcountryschool.com/elisabeth.html>)). Playing with one's own age seems to have remained a lifelong trait of Elisabeth Selver. Due to the closure of the "St. Mary's School," a reporter for The Daily Telegraph visited her in 1982. According to their article, "She admits to being in her late 80's but refuses to be specific because 'if the kids knew how old I am I wouldn't be able to be a principal'". She is alluding to her absurd idea at the time of being able to reopen the officially closed school. (Margot Norman: Inspectors in row over closed progressive school. The Daily Telegraph, 27th September 1982, translated from: TOWN & COUNTRY'S DEMISE (<http://stmarystownandcountryschool.com/demise.html>))
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2. On the history of the Jewish community in Darmstadt (http://www.alemannia-judaica.de/darms_tadt_synagoge_a.htm)
3. History of the Exeter University (<http://www.exetermemories.co.uk/em/university.php>)
4. A typed copy is held by the university library
Frankfurt am Main: The cyclic construction of Stefan George's poems (<https://hds.hebis.de/ubffm/Record/HEB122163389>).
5. Frank Estelmann, Olaf Müller: *Adapted everyday life in German and Romance studies. French Schultz and the Frankfurt German Studies.* p. 36.
6. The corresponding course catalogs of the University of Frankfurt are online available: course catalogs of the Goethe University (<http://publikationen.uni-frankfurt.de/solrsearch/index/search/searchtype/collection/id/17036/start/0/rows/100/sortfield/year/sortorder/desc>)
7. Karl and Hanna Wolfskehl: *Correspondence with Friedrich Gundolf, 1899-1931.* Part 1, Note 25, p. 247.
8. Gunilla Eschenbach, Helmuth Mojem (ed.): *Friedrich Gundolf - Elisabeth Salomon. Exchange of letters 1914-1931*, p. 153, and there also note 194 9. Compensation file Elisabeth Paul
10. Hertha Luise Busemann et al.: *The private forest school Kaliski in Berlin-Grunewald (PriWaKi)*, p. 415 f.
11. Gunilla Eschenbach, Helmuth Mojem (ed.): *Friedrich Gundolf - Elisabeth Salomon. Correspondence 1914-1931.* p. 122.
12. For the year 1928, it is identified by a photocopied entry in their 'Livrett Universitaire Individual Paris'. (Mrs. Paul (<http://stmarystownandcountryschool.com/elisabeth.html>))
13. „Miss Elisabeth Selver has been a constant friend to me, whose advice and encouragement was the greatest help. Her solicitude smoothed out many difficulties for me, and I beg her to accept my heartfelt thanks.“ (Enid Lowry Duthie: *The influence of French symbolism in the poetic renewal of Germany.* S. VIII.)
14. Compensation file Heinz Paul – RG.Nr. 79,770 (source)
15. *Karl Wolfskehl's correspondence from New Zealand 1938-1948.* Volume 2, p. 915.
16. Gunilla Eschenbach, Helmuth Mojem (ed.): *Friedrich Gundolf - Elisabeth Salomon. Correspondence 1914-1931.* p. 52.
17. Hessian Main State Archive Wiesbaden: Amalie Selver compensation file, reg. no. D/00804 /95(A), inventory 518, no. 27881. Kühnert's own place of residence at the time of the affidavit was Orbisweg in Zwingenberg.
18. Hertha Luise Busemann, Michael Daxner, Werner Fölling: *Island of security.* Note 59, page 355.
19. Hertha Luise Busemann, Michael Daxner, Werner Fölling: *Island of security.* p. 187.
20. Hertha Luise Busemann et al.: *The private forest school Kaliski in Berlin-Grunewald (PriWaKi)*. p. 771.
21. Hertha Luise Busemann et al.: *The private forest school Kaliski in Berlin-Grunewald (PriWaKi)*. p. 177.
22nd blha inventory Rep. 36 A II – 35461 23rd blha inventory Rep. 36 A – G 3097 (compulsory administration)
24. Mali Goldstein is believed to be Amalie Goldstein, born in 1874 who died in 1942 was deported to Theresienstadt and murdered on June 29, 1943.
Alphabetical index of the stumbling blocks in Darmstadt (http://www.dfg-vk-darmstadt.de/Lexikon_Auflage_2/Stolpersteine_Liste_sortbar.htm)
At that time, today's Rhönring bore the name Schlageterstraße .
25. blha inventory Rep. 36 A II – 35461 (asset realization)

26. Fritz Bauer Institute: Legalized robbery (<http://www.fritz-bauer-institut.de/legalisierter-raub.htm>)
27. District Court of Darmstadt. Land register file for volume 26, sheet 1251 of the land register from Darmstadt, District III (House Landwehrstrasse 12 in Darmstadt)
28. There is enough information for children from both circles on the website ST. Mary's School:Town & Country School Guestbook/Blog (<http://www.stmarystownandcountryschool.com/guestbook.html>).
29. British History Online: Hampstead: Education (<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/middx/vol 9/pp159-169#n115>)
30. ST. Mary's School:Town & Country School Guestbook/Blog (<http://www.stmarystownandcountryschool.com/guestbook.html>).
31. St. Mary's School: Der Film (<http://www.stmarystownandcountryschool.com/sixsides.html>)
32. St. Mary's School: Mrs. Paul (<http://stmarystownandcountryschool.com/elisabeth.html>)
33. See compensation file Heinz Paul - Reg. Friedrich (Fritz) Mainzer (http://www.dfg-vk-darmstadt.de/Lexikon_Auflage_2/Justiz_SchicksaleJuedischerAnwaeltel nDarmstadt.htm)
35. On the history of the Jewish community in Darmstadt after 1945 (http://www.alemannia-judaica.de/darmstadt_synagoge_n.htm)
36. St. Mary's School: Town & Country's Demise (<http://stmarystownandcountryschool.com/demise.html>)
37. Elmhurst Residential Home (<https://www.carehome.co.uk/carehome.cfm/searchazref/10001010ELMZ>)
38. Selver: Landwehrstrasse 12; Paul: Liebigstrasse 6 39.
In the Hampstead Marriage Register, which records Paul's marriage to Elisabeth Selver on 21 Registered on April 1, 1937, he stated that his father's occupation was "Stationer and Bookseller".
St. Mary's School: Mrs. Paul (<http://stmarystownandcountryschool.com/elisabeth.html>)
40. In the files of Ludwig Bergstrasser, the first post-war government president in Darmstadt, there are several documents that deal with the Paul couple's request to create an economic livelihood again. On January 9, 1946, the "Regional Association of Booksellers from Greater Hesse Group Darmstadt Starkenburg" wrote to the regional council in connection with the "application from Gustav Paul, Ueberau, for approval as a lending library with book sales": "The Pauls have property in Darmstadt lost to air raids. Your desire to start a new business is approved." On February 13, 1946, the regional council of the Darmstadt Chamber of Industry and Commerce announced that Paul's application for approval as a lending library with book sales in Ueberau would be approved. (Hessian State Archive Darmstadt, inventory 15/5 (Ludwig Bergsträsser), correspondence Pa – Pe)
41. Stadtarchiv Darmstadt, holdings ST 12/14 No. 213 & ST 12/14 No. 136 42.
Stadtarchiv Darmstadt, holdings ST 12/14 No. 213 & ST 12/14 No. 136 43. Written communication from the Universitätsarchiv Gießen dated February 7, 2017 44. In the summer semester of 1921, i.e. one semester before Paul studied there, they studied at the Philosophical Faculty of the University of Frankfurt 359 male and 125 female students.
Official personnel directory of the University of Frankfurt a. M.: Summer semester 1921 (<http://publikationen.ub.uni-frankfurt.de/frontdoor/index/index/docId/11221>)
45. Another state-approved private school, the "Töchterheim und Schule Tannenhof" which also existed until 1928, was then located in the youth home, which was still independent. All information on the two schools by Jürgen Eck, chairman / museum director of the Museumsverein Seeheim-Jugenheim e. V., Bergstrasse Museums Seeheim-Jugenheim: Museum Burg Tannenberg + School Museum Seeheim-Jugenheim, e-mail dated July 3, 2017

46. Written information from the Marienau school archives dated January 31, 2017 47. The Wahlstedt chronicle published by the municipality of Wahlstedt (http://d-nb.info/11090_72961) is in the holdings of the German National Library and contains pages 310-311 a section on the "Waldesruh children's home".
48. Stadtarchiv Darmstadt, Bestand ST 12/14 Nr. 213 49. St. Mary's School – Mrs. Paul (<http://stmarystownandcountryschool.com/elisabeth.html>)
50. University Archive Frankfurt am Main (UAF): File UAF Abt. 136, No. 131 (Doctoral process Elisabeth Selver)
51. Hertha Luise Busemann, Michael Daxner, Werner Fölling: *Island of security*. Note 59, page 355.
52. Berlin State Archive (stock B Rep. 021)
53. Hertha Luise Busemann et al.: *The private forest school Kaliski in Berlin-Grunewald (PriWaKi)*. p. 177.
54. Hertha Luise Busemann et al.: *The private forest school Kaliski in Berlin-Grunewald (PriWaKi)*. S. 770 f.
55. Berlin address and telephone books (<http://digital.zlb.de/viewer/cms/82/>)
56. St. Mary's School – Guestbook (<http://www.stmarystownandcountryschool.com/guestbook.html>)
57. Hertha Luise Busemann, Michael Daxner, Werner Fölling: *Island of security*. p. 187.
58. Berlin State Archive (stock B Rep. 021)
59. Letters to Jn. Sturge Stephens from Heinz Paul, Darmstadt, Reference ST/ 510 (<http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/rd/56c6dda1-95f7-41af-ac4a-af66189506ab>)
60. Letter to Jn. Sturge Stephens from Heinz (Paul), Reference ST 527 (<http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/rd/82a5641a-008f-4c65-9b39-b19be88ff8ca>)
61. John Sturge Stephens (1891–1954) – Cornwall's 'first' conscientious objector (<http://www.100firstworldwarstories.co.uk/John-Sturge-Stephens/story/>)
62. Letters to Jn. Sturge Stephens from Professor Theo Spira, Wiesbaden, 1946–1949, Reference ST 523 (<http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/rd/4061616f-45c3-436f-af-c6-c3aa376b597b>)
63. Theo Spira in the Geheeb archive (https://www.ecole.ch/geheeb/GA_Korrespondenz_S.htm)
64. Jochem Schäfer: *Goethe and his late work*. p. 17.
65. This can, however, only be clarified by looking at the correspondence in the "National Archive".
66. The following files can be found in the Compensation Files (<http://wga-database.de/de/recherche.html>).
67. 36A Chief Finance President Berlin-Brandenburg Rep. 36A Chief Finance President Berlin Brandenburg, 1919–1948 (stock) (http://www.recherche.im.blha.de/detail.aspx?ID=16637_81)
68. The Compensation Authority of the State of Berlin (<https://www.berlin.de/labo/entschaedigung-from-ns-wrong/>)
69. Compensation file Amalie Selver (<https://arcinsys.hessen.de/arcinsys/detailAction.action?detailid=v2143517&icomefrom=search>)

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