

Valentina Strobl | Gerold Gruber (Ed.)

# RICHARD FUCHS

A Composer's Search for Identity



*Richard Fuchs* (1933.)







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Gerold Gruber (Ed.)

Böhlau



Exilarte Zentrum der mdw – Universität für Musik und darstellende Kunst Wien

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*Life is indomitable and inextinguishable; the struggle, the wrestling, the generation and the wasting away go on today as yesterday, tomorrow as today, and everything returns.*

*Once more: music is life, and like it inextinguishable.*

Carl Nielsen

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Portrait of Richard Fuchs, taken  
between 1940 and 1947  
Archiv des Exilarte Zentrum der mdw,  
Wien (A-Weaz)

# 1 INTRODUCTION

There is no single definition for the German term “Heimat”. According to the German dictionary Duden, it is “a country, part of a country or place in which one was born and grew up or in which one feels at home as a result of prolonged residence (often an emotionally charged expression of close connection to a particular region).”<sup>1</sup> The closest English translation of the word is “homeland” or “native land”. But “Heimat” is much more than that. Its meaning is multifaceted: home is also a social space which is shaped by relationships and emotions and which in turn creates identity. “Heimat” is a place where one has a voice and where is both heard and listened to. Home is a place where people experience appreciation and belonging. The loss of this “Heimat”, one’s homeland, entails psychological estrangement, loss of identity and even physical displacement. In the wake of National Socialist violence, people were ostracized, forced into exile, and thus robbed of their homeland and sense of identity. Some managed to flee, but countless others were murdered. One of the many people whose homeland was taken from them was Richard Fuchs.

Fuchs was an architect by profession but a musician by passion. After Nazi Germany imposed a ban on the professional employment [*Berufsverbot*] of Jews in the 1930s, he increasingly devoted himself to composing. In this capacity, he stood up not only for himself, but also for all his Jewish fellow-citizens. When he was forced into the *Kulturbund* ghetto

and required to compose ‘Jewish music’, he was compelled to address this subject and set almost exclusively Jewish texts to music. His greatest work was the oratorio *Vom jüdischen Schicksal* [*Of Jewish Destiny*], with which he won the *Kulturbund* competition. However, the authorities banned the planned performance of the oratorio at the last moment, thus silencing Fuchs. Following his arrest the morning after the November 1938 pogrom, he was imprisoned at Dachau Concentration Camp. His immigration permit to New Zealand, which arrived at the last moment, secured his release and enabled him to seek refuge abroad. However, he was considered an “enemy alien” in the British colony, so his longing for a true homeland remained unfulfilled there. In New Zealand, news of Nazi atrocities on the other side of the world eventually broke Richard Fuchs emotionally, silencing him as a composer.

Richard Fuchs continuously found himself living in the wrong place at the wrong time. His life was a perpetual search for a home and acceptance, always accompanied by pressure and tribulation. This book seeks to shed light on his life and work, demonstrating how his lifelong search for a homeland and identity – robbed from him, as from countless others, by the National Socialists – ran like a red thread through his six decades. Ultimately, the paper intends to answer the question of whether and to what extent homeland and identity also played a role in his compositions.

1 “Land, Landesteil oder Ort, in dem man [geboren und] aufgewachsen ist oder sich durch ständigen Aufenthalt zu Hause fühlt (oft als gefühlsbetonter Ausdruck enger Verbundenheit gegenüber einer bestimmten Gegend).” “Heimat”, in: Duden online, last accessed March 23, 2024 at: <https://www.duden.de/node/64751/revision/1222740>.

To this day, no published monograph dealing with Richard Fuchs has been made available. Given the limited availability of sources, extensive research was required to write the thesis. In addition to individual articles and essays, both online and in published works, the Fuchs estate was the main source for this thesis. Autograph material such as sheet music, letters, diaries and various other documents can be found at the *Exilarte Center for Banned Music* at the *mdw – University of Music and Performing Arts Vienna*, at the *Leo Baeck Institute*, and in the possession of Fuchs's descendants in New Zealand. Due to the limited number of published resources, additional online sources were necessary.

For the purposes of this biographical account, Richard Fuchs's life has been divided into three sections: Fuchs as a German; Fuchs as a Jew; and Fuchs as a New Zealander. To contextualise these sections, they are preceded by a chapter on his origins, his family, and his education. Two of his compositions are analysed in more detail in sub-chapters, which exemplify each stage of his life. A chapter examining his work as an architect and painter is also included to provide a complete picture. The purpose of this study is to restore a voice to Richard Fuchs and to oppose oblivion.

## 2 THE COMPOSER RICHARD FUCHS

In the German-speaking area, the music of the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, especially the beginning, is characterised by a marked stylistic pluralism. The variety of different movements was immense. While some preserved the tradition of the previous epoch, others broke new ground. The continuation of late Romanticism was followed with the same enthusiasm as further developments and reorientations. Romantics clashed with "Neutöner", i.e. exponents of "New Music". For composers, there seemed to be more opportunities than ever before. In "'Jewish Destiny' and the Defiance of Richard Fuchs", Michael Haas illustrates the flourishing of musical styles in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century by focusing on three composers: Hans

Gál, Ernst Toch, and Alban Berg.<sup>2</sup> Of this triad, Hans Gál was the most traditional. Drawing on 19<sup>th</sup>-century music, he developed his own style, seeing it as a continuation and development of the past. The most important influence on his personal style, to which he remained faithful throughout his life, was Johannes Brahms. Alban Berg turned to Expressionism and, as a pupil of Arnold Schoenberg, became one of the most important figures of the Second Viennese School. In contrast, Ernst Toch turned away from emotional music in favour of the reality-based New Objectivity movement, which was to become central to the German-speaking world in the 1920s.<sup>3</sup> Richard Fuchs was born in the same year as Toch. He

2 Michael Haas: "'Jewish Destiny' and the defiance of Richard Fuchs", in: *Forbidden Music*. Last accessed March 23, 2024 at: <https://forbiddenmusic.org/2019/07/21/jewish-destiny-and-the-defiance-of-richard-fuchs/>.

3 Ibid.

remained rooted in the musical language of Romanticism, especially the German tradition, which he regarded as the basis of his compositional style. In addition to Brahms, his work was also significantly influenced by Wagner, Strauss, Mahler and Bruckner. He is also described as a “romantic expressionist” with a “unique voice in a Germanic idiom, with refer-

ences to the cultural maelstrom of the age he lived in.”<sup>4</sup>

Despite their different approaches, there is one thing that connects all the composers mentioned: They and their music were to become a source of significant consternation for the National Socialists some four decades later.

## 2.2 THE FAMILY FUCHS

Richard Solomon Fuchs was born in Karlsruhe on April 26, 1887. He grew up in Southern Germany as the eldest son of a wealthy and educated Jewish family – a detail which was to have a significant impact on his later life. The Fuchs family originally came from Weingarten, a rural area near Karlsruhe. At the age of eleven, Gustav Fuchs, Richard's father, moved to Karlsruhe with his family.

*The family and their belongings were loaded onto two carts, and they set off along the country road via Durlach to Karlsruhe – twelve children, their parents, and their grandmother. [...] In Karlsruhe, the grandparents had bought a house in Zähringerstraße. This part of town was*

*disparagingly called “das Dörfle”, meaning “the little village”. It was a poor neighbourhood. Decades later, when the family had become wealthy, they did not always like being reminded that they had started out as poor immigrants in the “Dörfle”. It would be the next generation who would take pride in the family's humble beginnings.*<sup>5</sup>

His father, Gustav Gedaljah Fuchs, was a wealthy timber merchant whose successful company, H. Fuchs & Söhne, had been in the family for many years.<sup>6</sup> The company, a GmbH [LLC/PLC], was one of the most renowned businesses in Karlsruhe at the time. Based at Hansastraße 5 and 9a, the company was active not only in the timber trade, but also

4 Richard Fuchs: *The songs of Richard Fuchs. In a strange land* (Margaret Medlyn, Jenny Wollerman, Richard Greager et.al.), CD, [Wellington]: Rollover Productions, 2011.

5 “Die Familie und der Hausrat wurden auf zwei Leiterwagen verstaut, und so ging es auf der Landstraße über Durlach nach Karlsruhe, zwölf Kinder, ihre Eltern und ihre Großmutter. [...] In Karlsruhe hatten die Großeltern ein Haus gekauft, in der Zähringerstraße. Der Stadtteil hieß verächtlich ‘das Dörfle’. Es war ein ärmlicher Stadtteil... Jahrzehnte später, als reiche Leute, haben sich die Fuchse nicht immer gerne an die Tatsache erinnern lassen, dass sie als arme Zuwanderer im ‘Dörfle’ angefangen hatten. Erst die folgende Generation kommt dazu, stolz zu sein auf den bescheidenen Beginn der Familie”. Manfred Koch: “Die Epoche der Reichsgründung: Bürgerliche Gleichstellung und Emanzipationskrise”, in: Schmitt, Heinz (Hrsg.): *Juden in Karlsruhe. Beiträge zu ihrer Geschichte bis zur nationalsozialistischen Machtergreifung*, Karlsruhe: Badenia 1988 (Veröffentlichungen des Karlsruher Stadtarchivs Band 8), p. 101.

6 Gustav Gedaljah Fuchs (September 22, 1858 – September 23, 1931); “Gustav Gedaljah Fuchs”, in: *geni.com*, last accessed April 19, 2022 at: <https://www.geni.com/people/Gustav-Fuchs/6000000000598740101>.



Gustav Fuchs (1858–1931)

Archiv des Exilarte Zentrum der mdw, Wien (A-Weaz)





Timber factory H. Fuchs & Söhne  
Archiv des Exilarte Zentrum der mdw, Wien (A-Weaz)

owned a planing- and sawmill, as well as a parquet factory. Thanks to the large number of employees, "H. Fuchs & Söhne", along with several other companies, was of great importance to the labour market in Karlsruhe.<sup>7</sup> On August 1, 1938, the company would ultimately be sold as part of the "Aryanisation" process.<sup>8</sup>

The Fuchs family was large and close-knit. An important figure in the family was Fanni Fuchs, Richard's grandmother.<sup>9</sup> Her husband, Hirsch Fuchs, died in 1893.<sup>10</sup> Fanni, regarded as the "matriarch of the family", was also its heart.

*The enormous house he was born in was a lovely house of the end of the XVIII century of rose coloured sandstone, typical of the county of Baden. It had a large entrance for carriages and horses which opened onto a courtyard with stables and a garden [...]. The grandmother, who, when widowed, continued to occupy during twenty years an*

*apartment on the first floor even after it became the property of Foulkes' parents [Gustav und Sara Fuchs]; this was the family centre.*<sup>11</sup>

Sunday family gatherings, which always brought the whole family together – Fanni and Hirsch Fuchs had thirteen children – usually took place at the home of Bernhard Baruch Fuchs.<sup>12</sup> He was the eldest of the Fuchs brothers and Richard's uncle.<sup>13</sup> Soni Fuchs remembers these family gatherings:

*The Fuchs family circle was large, and its members saw each other quite often. Every Sunday afternoon, the Karlsruhe family was invited to Bernhard, Hirsch Fuchs's eldest son, for coffee and cake. We had sandwiches, apple cake and marble cake. Even as a small child, I used to go to the big flat on Haydnplatz.*<sup>14</sup>

The family members' houses were located all over Karlsruhe, especially in the so-called "Musicians' Quarter". Uncle Bern-

7 Josef Werner: *Hakenkreuz und Judenstern. Das Schicksal der Karlsruher Juden im Dritten Reich*, 2. überarbeitete und erweiterte Auflage, Karlsruhe: Badenia 1990 (Veröffentlichungen des Karlsruher Stadtarchivs Band 9), p. 23f.

8 Strauß, Wolfgang: „Fuchs, Philipp“, in: *Gedenkbuch für die Karlsruher Juden*, last accessed October 22, 2023 at: <https://gedenkbuch.karlsruhe.de/namen/1124>.

9 Fanni Fuchs (July 20, 1832 – March 1, 1913); "Fanni Fuchs", in: *geni.com*, last accessed July 23, 2023 at: <https://www.geni.com/people/Fanni-Fuchs/6000000004589981996>.

10 Hirsch Fuchs (December 24, 1824 – October 1, 1893); "Hirsch Fuchs", in: *geni.com*, last accessed December 15, 2023 at: <https://www.geni.com/people/Hirsch-Fuchs/600000000402844580>.

11 Juan Campos: "S. H. Foulkes, Pioneer on the frontiers of the groups", in: *Website von Grup d'Anàlisi Barcelona*. Last accessed December 15, 2023 at: [http://arxius.grupdanalisi.org/GDAP/SHFoulkes\\_JC\\_ing.pdf](http://arxius.grupdanalisi.org/GDAP/SHFoulkes_JC_ing.pdf)

12 Danny Mulheron (Director) / Sara Stretton (Director): *The Third Richard*, DVD, Rollover Productions 2008.

13 Bernhard Fuchs (April 28, 1856 – December 3, 1926); "Bernhard Fuchs", in: *geni.com*, last accessed April 19, 2022 at: <https://www.geni.com/people/Bernhard-Fuchs/6000000004590054898>.

14 "Der Fuchs Familienkreis war groß und man sah sich ziemlich oft. Jeden Sonntagnachmittag waren die Karlsruher Fuchse bei Bernhardt [sic], dem ältesten Sohn von Hirsch Fuchs, zu Kaffee und Kuchen eingeladen. Es gab belegte Brote, Apfel- und Marmorkuchen. Schon als kleines Kind war ich in der großen Wohnung am Haydnplatz dabei". Sonny Fuchs: "Klavierspiel, Kakao und Schweinsöhrle", in: Doris Lott (Hrsg.): *Hopfenduft und Butterbretzel. Karlsruher Kinder erzählen*, Karlsruhe: Lindemanns Bibliothek 2012, p. 44.

hard Fuchs lived on Haydnplatz, and Richard's cousin Philipp Fuchs lived on Wendtstraße.<sup>15</sup> Another cousin, Albert Fuchs, lived on Bachstraße, and Herbert Fuchs lived on Schubertstraße.<sup>16</sup> This placement would be enough to indicate that music was an essential part of the entire family, and that Richard was brought up with it more or less from infancy.<sup>17</sup> Sara and Gustav Fuchs named their five children after characters

from Wagner's operas: Siegmund, Walther, Gottfried, Senta and Richard, after the composer himself.<sup>18</sup> Gustav Fuchs even named his horse Wotan. The name Richard was chosen with great care: nicknamed "The Third Richard" by his father, he seemed destined to follow in the footsteps of Richard Wagner and Richard Strauss.<sup>19</sup>

## 2.2.1 Richard Fuchs's siblings

### 2.2.1.1 Gottfried Erik Fuchs: an Excursion

At the time, the best-known of the Fuchs brothers was probably Gottfried Erik Fuchs, who was born on May 3, 1889.<sup>20</sup> As his life and fate took similar turns to those of his brother Richard, his biography will also be discussed here. He began his career as a professional footballer in 1904 with Düsseldorf FC 1899, the predecessor club of today's Düsseldorf

SC. With this team, he became West German champion in 1907.<sup>21</sup> After spending time in England, he returned to his hometown in 1909 and went on to play for the local club, Karlsruher FV. He enjoyed great success with this team, including winning the German championship in 1910.<sup>22</sup> Alongside his career as a professional footballer, Gottfried Fuchs

- 15 Philipp Fuchs (August 20, 1888 – November 10, 1938); "Philipp Fuchs", in: *geni.com*, last accessed April 19, 2022 at: <https://www.geni.com/people/Philipp-Fuchs/6000000004590183770>.
- 16 Mulheron / Stretton: *The Third Richard*; Albert Fuchs (later: Albrecht Foulkes) (October 7, 1893 – 1972); Albrecht (Albert) Foulkes (Fuchs), in: *geni.com*, last accessed April 20, 2023 at: <https://www.geni.com/people/AlbrechtFoulkes/6000000000403285425>.
- 17 Mulheron / Stretton: *The Third Richard*.
- 18 Sara Fuchs, geb. Durlacher (June 13, 1863 – March 12, 1941); "Sara Fuchs", in: *geni.com*, last accessed April 19, 2023 at: <https://www.geni.com/people/Sara-Fuchs/6000000000398950763>.
- 19 Mulheron / Stretton: *The Third Richard*.
- 20 Gottfried Fuchs (May 3, 1889 – February 25, 1972); Gottfried Fuchs, in: *geni.com*, last accessed June 22, 2023 at: <https://www.geni.com/people/Gottfried-Fuchs/6000000000387841065>.
- 21 Founded in 1898 as the Rheinischer Spiel-Verband (RSV), the regional football and athletics association was renamed Rheinisch-Westfälischer Spiel-Verband (RWSV) in 1900, before finally adopting the name Westdeutscher Spiel-Verband in 1907. The league matches organised within this framework constituted the basis of the West German Championship at the time.
- 22 Ernst Otto Bräunche: "Gottfried Fuchs", in: *Stadtlexikon Karlsruhe*, last accessed June 22, 2023 at: <https://stadtlexikon.karlsruhe.de/index.php/De:Lexikon:bio-0503>.



also worked full-time as a businessman in his father Gustav's timber company.<sup>23</sup>

He made his debut for the German national football team in March 1911, scoring a goal in his first match against Switzerland. Although he only played for the national team six times in total, he scored 13 goals – a remarkable goal-to-game ratio that would not be bested in the team's history until decades later.<sup>24</sup> At the 1912 Olympic football tournament in Stockholm he scored ten goals against Russia, setting a record that remains unrivalled in Germany to this day and was only bested internationally in 2001.<sup>25</sup> Upon his victorious return from Sweden, Fuchs was presented with a silver cup by Crown Prince Wilhelm of Prussia in recognition of this achievement.<sup>26</sup>

His "scoring instinct" and the many goals he scored after solo runs would come to be regarded as his trademark.<sup>27</sup> In 1956, *Sport Magazin* characterised Gottfried Fuchs as follows:

*He was an outstanding player with admirable elegance on the pitch, and he was quick and accurate with his shots on goal. The KfV striker had a wonderful overview of the game and always played unselfishly. He is regarded as one of the most brilliant centre forwards ever to play for a German national team. For him, football was simply about enjoying the game.*<sup>28</sup>

During the First World War, Fuchs and his brothers fought on the front line for their homeland. Serving as an artillery officer, he was wounded four times. After the war, he briefly continued to play for Karlsruher FV, before ending his career as a professional footballer in 1920.<sup>29</sup> Although he had once been celebrated as a German football star, his fortunes changed abruptly in the 1930s. Following Hitler's appointment as chancellor in 1933, he was expelled from all clubs, removed from the official list of national players and much of his data and records were deleted from the statistics and

23 Lorenz Pfeiffer: "Gottfried Fuchs", in: *Zwischen Erfolg und Verfolgung. Jüdische Stars im Sport bis 1933 und danach*, last accessed April 19, 2023 at: <http://juedische-sportstars.de/index.php?id=190>.

24 Bräunche, "Gottfried Fuchs".

25 "Gottfried Fuchs", in: *Website des Deutschen Fußball-Bunds*, last accessed April 19, 2023 at: <https://www.dfb.de/datencenter/personen/gottfried-fuchs/spieler>; "Gottfried Fuchs", in: *Wikipedia*, last accessed April 19, 2023 at: [https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gottfried\\_Fuchs](https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gottfried_Fuchs), "Erinnerungen an Richard und Gottfried Fuchs", in: *Facebook-Präsenz des Deutschen Fußballmuseums*, last accessed April 21, 2023 at: <https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=3748514688522445>.

26 "Zum 50. Todestag von Gottfried Fuchs", in: *Website des Deutschen Fußball-Bunds*, last accessed April 19, 2023 at: <https://www.dfb.de/news/detail/zum-50-todestag-von-gottfried-fuchs-237155/>.

27 Ibid.

28 "Er war eine überragende Spielerpersönlichkeit von bewundernswerter Eleganz im Spiel und schnell und sicher im Torschuss. Der KfV-Stürmer besaß eine wunderbare Spielübersicht, spielte immer uneigennützig und gilt als einer der genialsten Mittelstürmer, der je in einer deutschen Ländermannschaft stand. Fußballsport war für ihn nichts weiter als Freude am Spiel". Ibid.

29 Bräunche: "Gottfried Fuchs".



Soccer game with Gottfried Fuchs playing  
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Fritz Förderer, Gottfried Fuchs, Julius Hirsch  
Archiv des Exilarte Zentrum der mdw, Wien (A-Weaz)

archives.<sup>30</sup> Neither Gottfried Fuchs nor his teammate Julius Hirsch appeared in a photo album published by *Kicker* magazine in 1943, despite it being intended to show all national players since 1908. At the publishers' request, the KfV chairman stated "that these two players from the 1910 championship team are non-Aryan." He expressed doubt as to whether they "should be included in the photo book. It is not necessarily desirable for the KfV to always draw attention to the formerly significant number of Jewish members."<sup>31</sup>

In 1937, Gottfried and his wife Eugenia finally left their homeland of Germany. They initially emigrated to France via Switzerland, where they stayed with relatives. In 1939, Gottfried was interned in France as an "enemy alien". However, he and his family managed to flee to Canada in 1940. There, he lived under the name Godfrey E. Fuchs until his death, having built a new career in the textile industry in Montreal.<sup>32</sup> During his time in France, he secured the escape of his elderly,

sick mother, Sara, from Germany. Like her son, she eventually found refuge in Canada.<sup>33</sup>

At the time, he and his close friend and teammate Julius Hirsch were the only Jewish players in the German national football team.<sup>34</sup> Hirsch, who together with Fuchs and Fritz Förderer, formed the famous "centre-forward trio" of the time, stayed in Germany for too long and was deported to Auschwitz in 1943, where he was eventually murdered.<sup>35</sup> As with Fuchs, Hirsch's goals and appearances were deleted from the statistics, as it was forbidden for Jews to hold German records.<sup>36</sup> Gottfried Fuchs rarely returned to Germany — the pain inflicted on him and his family was too great. Shortly before his death, the national coach at the time, Sepp Herberger, attempted to honour him. Fuchs had been a childhood idol to Herberger, whom he referred to as "the Franz Beckenbauer of [his] youth"<sup>37</sup> and "one of the best footballers of his time."<sup>38</sup> The two had been corresponding since

30 Jessica Sturmberg: "Konzert für Gebrüder Fuchs. Vertriebene Stars", in: *Deutschlandfunk*, last accessed April 22, 2023. at: <https://www.deutschlandfunk.de/konzert-fuer-gebrueder-fuchs-vertriebene-stars-100.html>.

31 "[...] dass diese beiden Spieler unserer Meisterelf von 1910 Nichtarier sind. [Er zweifle] ob dieselben in dem Bilderwerk mitaufgeführt werden sollen. Es ist für den KfV nicht unbedingt wünschenswert, dass immer auf die früher nicht geringe Zahl jüdischer Mitglieder aufmerksam gemacht wird." *Deutscher Fußball-Bund*: "Zum 50. Todestag von Gottfried Fuchs".

32 Pfeiffer: "Gottfried Fuchs"; Lorenz Pfeiffer / Henry Wahlig / Martin Wörner: "Gottfried Fuchs", in: *Niemals vergessen! Das Online-Lexikon verfolgter jüdischer Fußballer*, last accessed July 22, 2023 at: <https://www.fussballmuseum.de/juedischefussballer/lexikon/mehr/30?cHash=337e42b8b4e3f3ddf34e160d7765c8c1>

33 Ibid.

34 David Bernreuther: "Gottfried Fuchs: Der verjagte Torjäger", in: *Kicker*, last accessed December 15, 2023 at: <https://www.kicker.at/gottfriedfuchs-der-verjagte-rekordtorjaeger-891256/artikel>.

35 *Deutscher Fußball-Bund*, "Zum 50. Todestag von Gottfried Fuchs"; Bräunche, „Gottfried Fuchs“.

36 *Deutscher Fußball-Bund*, "Zum 50. Todestag von Gottfried Fuchs"

37 "Franz Beckenbauer [seiner] Jugend [und] einer der beste Fußballspieler seiner Zeit". Pfeiffer / Wahlig / Wörner: "Gottfried Fuchs".

38 "[...] Als ein Versuch der Wiedergutmachung willfahrenden Unrechts". Bernreuther, "Gottfried Fuchs: Der verjagte Torjäger".



1955.<sup>39</sup> Fuchs was to be invited to the opening of Munich's Olympic Stadium and to the match against the Soviet Union, "in an attempt to rectify the injustice suffered."<sup>40</sup> However, the German Football Association rejected this proposal, citing financial reasons, as they did not want to set a precedent that could entail considerable future financial burdens.<sup>41</sup> Fuchs died in February 1972 in Canada, his new home, shortly before the letter from the German Football Association refusing his invitation would have been delivered.<sup>42</sup>

Only in the last decade have many clubs and organisations begun to come to terms with their past. In 2010, a stele was

erected in Karlsruhe in memory of the Jewish soccer players of the KfV. The inscription: "In memory of the soccer tradition in Karlsruhe with the KfV winning the German championship and its Jewish national football players Julius Hirsch and Gottfried Fuchs."<sup>43</sup> In 2013, the City of Karlsruhe honoured him by naming a square after him – the "Gottfried-Fuchs-Platz".<sup>44</sup> And in 2016, the Baden Football Association initiated the "Gottfried Fuchs Youth Award". It "recognizes clubs that [...] stand up for humanity and tolerance and are particularly committed to combating anti-Semitism, racism, exclusion, xenophobia and other forms of discrimination."<sup>45</sup>

### 2.2.2.2 Siegmund, Walther, and Senta Fuchs

Born on September 3, 1898, Siegmund Heinrich Fuchs followed in the footsteps of the similarly-named Sigmund Freud

by becoming a psychiatrist.<sup>46</sup> Interestingly, he and his older brother both initially enrolled in architecture at the Technical

39 Pfeiffer / Wahlig / Wörner: "Gottfried Fuchs".

40 Letter by Sepp Herberger to Deutscher Fußball-Bund, as cited in: Deutscher Fußball-Bund, "Zum 50. Todestag von Gottfried Fuchs".

41 Letter by Hubert Claessen to Deutscher Fußball-Bund, as cited in: Deutscher Fußball-Bund, "Zum 50. Todestag von Gottfried Fuchs".

42 "Endstand 16:0 für Deutschland – vor 100 Jahren", in: *Website des Gemeinschaftswerks der Evangelischen Publizistik*, last accessed July 22, 2023 at: <https://www.evangelisch.de/inhalte/3974/22-06-2012/endstand-160-fuer-deutschland-vor-100-jahren>.

43 "In Erinnerung an die Fußballtradition in Karlsruhe mit dem Gewinn der Deutschen Meisterschaft des KfV sowie seinen jüdischen Fußballnationalspielern Julius Hirsch und Gottfried Fuchs." "Stele zu den jüdischen Fußballern des KfV", in: *Website der Stadt Karlsruhe*, last accessed July 22, 2023 at: <https://stadtgeschichte.karlsruhe.de/erinnerungskultur/erinnerungskultur-im-oeffentlichen-raum/steledes-kfv>.

44 Pfeiffer: "Gottfried Fuchs".

45 "[Der Preis] zeichnet Vereine aus, die [...] für Menschlichkeit und Toleranz entschieden eintreten und sich gegen Antisemitismus, Rassismus, Ausgrenzung und Fremdenfeindlichkeit und andere Formen der Diskriminierung besonders engagieren." "Gottfried-Fuchs-Preise", in: *Website des Badischen Fußballverbands*, last accessed July 22, 2023 at: [https://www.badfv.de/de/verband/engagement-soziales/jugendpreis-gottfriedfuchs/detailansicht/?tx\\_news\\_pi1%5Bnews%5D=3627&cHash=90074d6b75aca6007decdb744221ac5](https://www.badfv.de/de/verband/engagement-soziales/jugendpreis-gottfriedfuchs/detailansicht/?tx_news_pi1%5Bnews%5D=3627&cHash=90074d6b75aca6007decdb744221ac5)

46 Mulheron / Stretton: *The Third Richard*, Dieter Sandner: "S. H. Foulkes", in: *Die Gruppe und das Unbewusste*, Berlin / Heidelberg: Springer 2013, pp. 241–244.



Richard, Walther, Senta, Siegmund, Sara and Gustav Fuchs (1907)  
Archiv des Exilarte Zentrum der mdw, Wien (A-Weaz)



Hugo, Rolf, Beate, and Senta Bernd (née Fuchs)  
Archiv des Exilarte Zentrum der mdw, Wien (A-Weaz)

University of Karlsruhe in the winter semester of 1915/6, but later decided to pursue different paths.<sup>47</sup> This was reportedly because he had not yet reached the required age to be drafted into the army. The academic year therefore functioned as a way to bridge the gap before he would be ready for service.<sup>48</sup> After WWI, he began his medical studies in Heidelberg, Munich, and Frankfurt, later focusing on the special fields of neurology and psychiatry at the latter two institutions. From 1931, he was head of the clinic at the Psychoanalytical Institute in Frankfurt. He emigrated to London in 1933 and anglicised his surname to Foulkes. He developed a theory of group analysis, becoming a pioneer of analytical group psychotherapy in the process. He is also regarded as the founder of this method. Alongside his private practice, Foulkes worked as a psychiatrist for the British Armed Forces. Foulkes's concept of regarding the hospital as a therapeutic community spread quickly, particularly in the USA. This explains why he had achieved widespread recognition in the

English-speaking world by the 1950s.<sup>49</sup> S. H. Foulkes died unexpectedly in July 1976, aged 77.<sup>50</sup>

Walther, the youngest of the Fuchs brothers, was born on May 8, 1891. He worked as a lawyer. He and Richard were interned in Dachau concentration camp during the November pogrom of 1938 but were later released. He and his wife managed to escape to England, where they eventually reunited with their children. Walther Fuchs-Marx, who adopted his wife's surname, died in May 1950.<sup>51</sup> His wife outlived him by several decades. She died in London in March 2003, aged 102.<sup>52</sup> Like his brother Siegmund, Walther changed his surname in his new homeland, adopting the name "Foulkes".<sup>53</sup>

Their only sister, Senta, was born on March 19, 1888 and was a talented musician. She married Dr. Hugo Bernd, a physician, with whom she had three children: Rolf, Beate and Hans.<sup>54</sup> While all four Fuchs brothers managed to escape the Holocaust, Senta fell victim to the National Socialists. Senta and Hugo had been granted visas for China, but they did

47 "Dokumente. Dokument Nr. 18: Karlsruher jüdische Studenten an der Technischen Hochschule Karlsruhe 1852-1933", in: Schmitt, Heinz (Hrsg.): *Juden in Karlsruhe. Beiträge zu ihrer Geschichte bis zur nationalsozialistischen Machtergreifung*, Karlsruhe: Badenia 1988 (Veröffentlichungen des Karlsruher Stadtarchivs Band 8), p. 577.

48 Campos: "S. H. Foulkes, Pioneer on the frontiers of the groups".

49 Sandner: "S. H. Foulkes", p. 242f.

50 Siegmund Fuchs (September 3, 1898 – July 8, 1976); "Siegmund Heinrich Foulkes (Fuchs)", in: *geni.com*, last accessed October 22, 2023 at: <https://www.geni.com/people/Siegmund-Heinrich-Foulkes-nee-Fuchs/6000000000402748809>.

51 Walther Fuchs-Marx, also "Walter" (May 8, 1891 – May 8, 1950); "Walther Fuchs-Marx", in: *geni.com*, last accessed April 19, 2023 at: <https://www.geni.com/people/Walther-Fuchs-Marx/6000000000598740234>.

52 Anna Sarah Fuchs-Marx (March 9, 1901 – March 4, 2003); "Anna Sarah Fuchs-Marx (Marx)", in: *geni.com*, last accessed April 19, 2023 at: <https://www.geni.com/people/Anna-Sarah-Fuchs-Marx/6000000000387683658>

53 Werner Skrentny: *Julius Hirsch. Nationalspieler. Ermordet. Biografie eines jüdischen Fußballers*, 2. aktualisierte und überarbeitete Auflage, Göttingen: Die Werkstatt 2016, p. 246.

54 Dr. Hugo Bernd (1878–1943), Rolf Bernd (1913–1940), Beate Bernd (1915–1981), Hans Bernd (1929–2004); "Liste der Stolpersteine in Koblenz", in: *Wikipedia*, last accessed April 19, 2023 at: [https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liste\\_der\\_Stolpersteine\\_in\\_Koblenz#](https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liste_der_Stolpersteine_in_Koblenz#).



not use them. Hugo believed that he was safe because of his participation in the First World War and because he had been awarded the Iron Cross First Class. In 1943, the couple were deported to Auschwitz concentration camp, where they were murdered. However, it was possible to send two of their children, Hans and Beate, into exile in England just in time. They would spend the rest of their lives there: Hans Reiner Bernd, who later called himself John Rayner Burne<sup>55</sup>, and Beate Ricarda Bernd, who later became Beate Ricarda

Russell.<sup>56</sup> The couple's third child, Rolf Bernd, escaped to the USA via Italy but did not live long. According to the genealogy website 'Geni', he committed suicide in November 1940 at the age of just 26.<sup>57</sup> However, Werner Skrentny claims that he drowned "under unexplained circumstances in Lake Michigan."<sup>58</sup> In 2013, "Stolpersteine" (ten-centimetre concrete cubes bearing brass plates inscribed with the names and life dates of victims of Nazi extermination or persecution) were placed in Koblenz, their former home, in their memory.<sup>59</sup>

## 2.3 EDUCATION

As mentioned above, Richard Fuchs grew up in a very musical environment. He attended the local music school at an early age and was taught to play the piano.<sup>60</sup> His outstanding ability as a pianist remained with him throughout his life. Fuchs himself commented on his artistic talent: "From an early age I showed signs of an aptitude for music and also for art, drawing and painting."<sup>61</sup> Education was important in his fam-

ily. In addition to his regular schooling, he also received musical training. Fuchs continues in a written account:

*Since my father was an ardent music lover, the atmosphere of my youth was favorable for the development of my musical talents. I went through the usual school education and was thoroughly schooled in music at the same time. I was a student of the musical high school of my*

55 Hans Reiner Bernd, later John Rayner Burne (April 3, 1929 – October 22, 2004); "John (Hans) Rayner (Reiner) Burne (Bernd)", in: *geni.com*, last accessed September 4, 2023 at: <https://www.geni.com/people/John-Hans-Burne/6000000000350739572>.

56 Beate Ricarda Russell (Bernd) (April 26, 1915 – August 23, 1981); "Beate Ricarda Russell", in: *geni.com*, last accessed April 19, 2023 at: <https://www.geni.com/people/Beate-Russell/6000000000598740172>.

57 Rolf Bernd (December 5, 1916 – November 14, 1940); "Rolf Bernd", in: *geni.com*, last accessed April 19, 2023 at: <https://www.geni.com/people/RolfBernd/6000000000598740162>.

58 "[...] unter ungeklärten Umständen im Lake Michigan." Skrentny: Julius Hirsch, 245f.

59 "8. Verlegeaktion in Koblenz am 13. November 2013 mit 5 'Stolpersteinen'", in: *Website von Mahnmal Koblenz*, last accessed April 19, 2023 at: <https://stolpersteine.mahnmal Koblenz.de/index.php/stolperstein-verlegeaktionen>.

60 Abaigh McKee: "Richard Fuchs. 1887–1947", in: *Music and the Holocaust*, last accessed March 23, 2024 at: <https://holocaustmusic.ort.org/de/wiederherstellung-und-wiedergutmachung/richard-fuchs>

61 Richard Fuchs documents in the possession of the family, as cited in: Steven Sedley: *Richard Fuchs*, 2007, last accessed July 3, 2023 at: <https://richardfuchs.nz/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/Fuchsbiography.pdf>, p. 2.



Richard Fuchs as a 18-year-old (1905)  
Archiv des Exilarte Zentrum der mdw, Wien (A-Weaz)