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From German Youth to British Soldier to Canadian Psychologist: The Journey of German Émigré Dr. Hugh Lytton (1921–2002)

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Abstract

This article traces the journey and experiences of German émigré Dr. Hugh Lytton (1921–2002), who, like many German-Jewish scientists and physicians, had to leave Germany following the rise of National Socialism in 1933. After realizing that young Jews had no future in Germany, Lytton immigrated to Great Britain in 1936 and embarked on a journey that would significantly affect his personal life and career path. Initially, Lytton thought that he would become a rabbi, but his experiences in Britain put him on a path toward academia. As it did for other refugees who had to abandon their families, homes, and livelihoods as a result of Nazi persecution, living in the host country proved challenging for Lytton, but he persevered. He studied languages, and this proved useful when he joined the British military and eventually served as an interpreter. Throughout this time, he was interested in social psychology, and this interest led to a fellowship at the Tavistock Clinic to train in clinical psychology. He obtained a PhD in 1965 from the University of London, and went on to publish his internationally renowned work, *Parent–Child Interaction: The Socialization Process Observed in Twin and Singleton Families* (1980). Using Lytton's memoir, personal documents, and publications, this article traces Lytton's journey in three countries — Germany, Britain, and lastly Canada — where in 1969, he eventually settled and obtained a faculty position in the Department of Educational Psychology at the University of Calgary in Alberta. Lytton's personal story offers an important case study in the history of forced migration during the Nazi period and provides insight into how life experiences can affect an individual's path in the academic world.

Introduction[1]

"The future looked bleaker and bleaker, livelihood and even lives were threatened, and anyone who could manage to find some refuge abroad left."[2] This quotation, taken from Dr. Hugh Lytton's (born Heinz Lichtenstein) memoir, captures the feeling of many German Jews — scientists, intellectuals, and ordinary people alike — during the Nazi rule in 1930s Germany.[3] After realizing that young Jews had no future in

[1] I would like to express my gratitude to the Lytton family for sharing Hugh's story with me. A special thank you to Dr. Avram Lytton and Dr. Frank W. Stahnisch for their comments and suggestions on the earlier versions of this paper. I would also like to thank the two anonymous reviewers for their valuable comments, which helped to greatly improve this manuscript.

[2] Hugh Lytton, "From German Child to British Soldier: Youth in Two Countries" (unpublished memoir, 1999), 21.

[3] See for example, in Shula Marks, Paul Weindling, and Laura Wintour, eds., *In Defence of Learning – The Plight, Persecution, and Placement of Academic Refugees, 1933–1980s* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); Walter Laqueur,

Germany after the Nazis' seizure of political power in January 1933, Lytton eventually immigrated to Britain in 1936.[4] Although he was not an academic at the time, he embarked on a journey that would significantly affect his personal life and set him on a path toward academia. Lytton's story is not a simple one, and telling it is further challenged by a lack of sources available to historically reconstruct his story. Nevertheless, his unpublished memoir, surviving personal papers, published articles, and family interviews allow for a sufficient reconstruction of this émigré's experience of persecution, flight, and re-adaptation, capturing his life and work in three different countries. While Lytton initially struggled with his decision to leave his home country, following his departure from Nazi Germany he adapted well to life in Great Britain, and later in Canada.[5] But the consequences of the rejection and expulsion from Germany never left him, and as a result he became detached from his home country. This experience was both similar to and different from that of other émigrés, perhaps due to some of the specific circumstances of his life.

Historians writing about this particular period, and especially about émigré academics and scholars, have approached the topic from various methodological perspectives. Some have focused on knowledge transfer,[6] discussing not only the intellectual impacts of émigré researchers and scholars on their research fields in the host countries but also the effect of the new research environment in their host countries on the émigré academics themselves. Others have approached the topic through the lens of institutional narratives,[7] focusing on the work of organizations such as the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning (SPSL) in rescuing scholars who had faced Nazi political and racial oppression. Historians have also traced the effect of forced migration on individual scholars[8] and thus have provided fascinating case studies of the émigré experience and fate during the second half of the twentieth century. This article contributes to this discussion by focusing on the impact of forced migration on Hugh Lytton's formative years and its continued effect on his personal life and academic career. In Lytton's case, his émigré experience visibly contributed to his embarking on career as a professor of psychology.

Generation Exodus: The Fate of Young Jewish Refugees from Nazi Germany (Lebanon, NH: University Press of New England, 2001).

[4] David Romney and Michael Pryrt, "Hugh Lytton (1921–2002)," *American Psychologist* 58, 10 (2003): 813.

[5] See for example, Romney and Pryrt, "Hugh Lytton," 813.

[6] Compare for instance, Mitchell G. Ash and Alfons Soellner, eds., *Forced Migration and Scientific Change: Émigré German Speaking Scientists and Scholars after 1933* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Frank W. Stahnisch, *German-Speaking Émigré Neuroscientists in North America after 1933: Critical Reflections on Emigration-Induced Scientific Change* (Berlin: Max-Planck-Institute for the History of Science, 2010).

[7] Marks, Weindling, and Wintour, *In Defence of Learning*; David Zimmerman, "'Narrow-Minded People': Canadian Universities and the Academic Refugee Crises, 1933–1941," *The Canadian Historical Review* 88, 2 (2007): 291–315; Paul Stortz, '"Rescue Our Family From a Living Death:' Refugee Professors and the Canadian Society for the Protection of Science and Learning at the University of Toronto, 1935–1946," *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 14, 1 (2003): 231–61.

[8] See for example, Ute Deichmann, *Biologists under Hitler* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996); Lawrence A. Zeidman and Daniel Kondziella, "Neuroscience in Nazi Europe: Victims of the Third Reich," *Canadian Journal of Neurological Sciences* 39, 7 (2012): 729–46; Frank W. Stahnisch, "Hartwig Kuhlenbeck (1897–1984) – Pioneer in Neurology," *Journal of Neurology* 263, 12 (2016), 2567–70; Aleksandra Loewenau, "Between Resentment and Aid: German and Austrian Psychiatrist and Neurologist Refugees in Great Britain since 1933," *Journal of the History of Neurosciences: Basic and Clinical Perspectives* 25, 3 (2016): 348–62; as well as Aleksandra Loewenau in this special issue of *History of Intellectual Culture*, entitled, "Reason for Dismissal? – Jewish Faith: Analysis of Narratives in the SPSL Immigration Applications by German-Speaking Neurologists."

Hugh Lytton's Family Background in Nuernberg, Bavaria

Lytton was born in Nuernberg, Germany, in 1921 to a lower-middle-class, religious Jewish family. He was a very bright child and enjoyed engaging in philosophical conversations with his family members, particularly his paternal grandfather. Since he came from a fairly religious background, particularly on his mother's side, Lytton learned how to read Hebrew at an early age.[9] Further, some of his family members expected that he would carry on many of the family's religious traditions and duties himself. In his memoirs, Lytton described, for instance, the first time he experienced what it meant to be Jewish in inter-war Germany. While staying at a sanatorium for children suspected of suffering from tuberculosis, he misbehaved and one of the Catholic nuns snapped at him "sit down, you nosy Jew-boy!" As he recalled:

> Calling me a *Judenbub* [a Jew-boy] marked me out as belonging to a minority group, a group . . . that was characterized by unsavoury characteristics, such as nosiness. . . . The fact that I still remember the incident, 70 years later, attests to the effect her words had on me.[10]

Lytton would experience various forms of anti-Semitism over the next few years, and with the rise of Nazism in 1933 this only became more prominent.[11] In his research on anti-Semitism in Europe, historian William Brustein suggests that over centuries anti-Semitism manifested itself in various forms: religious, racial, political, and economic. "These manifestations" he argues, "would periodically erupt at moments of large-scale Jewish immigration, severe economic crisis, or revolutionary challenge to the existing political and social order."[12] While anti-Semitism certainly did flare up during these crises, intolerance was also a part of a normal experience for many Jews in Germany.[13] This experience was not always uniform. For instance, a wealthy Jewish person might experience discrimination by being barred from a social club or be denied a job, whereas a Jewish person of lower socio-economic status might be more likely to experience verbal or physical abuse. In his autobiography, Lytton's uncle, Emil Goldschmidt (1901–1982?) recalled being taunted by children on the playground in Nuernberg, who sang:

> *Jud, Jud, hep hep hep,*
> *Schweinefleisch macht fett fett fett,*
> *Schweinefleisch schmeckt gut,*
> *Bist ein stinkender Jud.*
>
> This would roughly be translated as:
> Yid, Yid, pong pong pong
> Pork will make you strong strong strong
> Pork roasted on a grid,
> Tastes good, you stinking Yid.[14]

[9] Lytton, "From German Child to British Soldier," 12–3.
[10] Ibid, 15.
[11] Richard J. Evans, *The Third Reich in Power* (New York: Penguin Books, 2005), 7.
[12] William I. Brustein, *Roots of Hate: Anti-Semitism in Europe before the Holocaust* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2003), xii.
[13] Sulamit Volkov, "Jewish Scientists in Imperial Germany (Parts I and II)," *Aleph. Historical Studies in Science and Judaism* 1, 1 (2001): 1–36.
[14] Emil Goldschmidt, "Autobiography" (unpublished memoir in Lytton family's possession), 4; Lytton, "From German Child to British Solider," 14.

This happened in 1907, and Goldschmidt accepted it as a normal occurrence.[15] Lytton's recollection of his time at the sanatorium in 1920s Germany also attests to this attitude. Perhaps for Lytton, however, his own experience at the sanatorium took on a greater significance in his mind because of what later transpired during the Nazi period.[16]

The political and economic crises in Weimar Germany created favourable conditions for the National Socialists to seize power in January 1933.[17] Almost immediately, the Nazis embarked on a campaign to expel Jews from public life. For instance, on 7 April 1933 they implemented the so-called Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service (*Gesetz zur Wiederherstellung des Berufsbeamtentums*) which provided the legal basis for discriminating against "non-Aryans" and leftist sympathizers — social democrats, socialists, communists — and for eventually purging them from the civil service, the universities, and the legal system.[18] This discriminatory campaign was extended to almost every aspect of the Jewish community in Germany, including boycotting Jewish businesses and setting Jewish quotas for university and college admittance.[19] These legal initiatives continued into 1935 with the implementation of the Nuernberg race laws (*Nuernberger Rassengesetze*) which essentially classified all Jews and racial "half-breeds" as "aliens" in German society. The laws also institutionalized racial segregation by limiting citizenship to those of pure German blood and preventing marriage and sexual relations between Germans and Jews, among others.[20] By 1938, the anti-Jewish sentiment intensified and in November the government campaign known as *Kristallnacht* (Night of Broken Glass) led to the destruction of synagogues, Jewish businesses, and innumerable Jewish homes. Many in the Jewish community were beaten, some were killed, and others were interned in early political detention camps.[21] As the situation grew more uncertain and bleak, many Jews who could obtain visas to other countries left Germany.[22]

The Emigration to Great Britain and Studies in Psychological Development and Linguistics

By the mid-1930s, many of Lytton's family members hoped that the anti-Jewish position of the National Socialists would change or that the government would collapse; others saw the introduction of anti-Jewish laws as a reason to leave Germany. In this sense, they were little different from other Jews and oppressed minorities in the Third Reich.[23] Lytton's family had contacts in Great Britain and, in 1936, he was invited to complete his education in Hull on the English east coast — with financial assistance from a Jewish

[15] Anti-Semitism was widespread in German society even before the rise of National Socialism. German Jews often found themselves made social scapegoats for many of Germany's problems, particularly after the end of the First World War. See Evans, *The Third Reich in Power*, 4–5.

[16] Compare for example, Evans, *The Third Reich in Power*; Paul Weindling, *Health, Race and German Politics between National Unification and Nazism, 1870–1945* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

[17] For more historical information on the rise of National Socialism see Richard J. Evans, *The Coming of the Third Reich* (New York: Penguin Books, 2003).

[18] Deichmann, *Biologists under Hitler*, 11.

[19] Maxine Schwartz Seller, *We Built Up Our Lives: Education and Community among Jewish Refugees Interned by Britain in World War II* (London: Greenwood Press, 2001), 26.

[20] Paul Weindling, "German Eugenics and the Wider World: Beyond the Racial State," in *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Eugenics*, eds. Alison Bashford and Philippa Levine (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 315–331; esp. 322.

[21] Seller, *We Built Up Our Lives*, 26.

[22] See for example, Laqueur, *Generation Exodus*.

[23] See for example, John Russell Taylor, *Strangers in Paradise: The Hollywood Émigrés, 1933–1950* (London: Faber & Faber, 1983), 43–55.

organization, B'nai Brith.[24] This organization was established in the 1840s with the goal of uniting Jews and protecting the Jewish identity. Lytton's interest in religion and his vocation to become a rabbi made him an ideal candidate for the organization's recruitment.[25] Almost all of Lytton's family, on the other hand, remained in Germany.

While arriving in a new country and being immersed in a completely new living and working environment must have been shocking for many Jewish refugees at the time, this experience in no way compared to the terror in Nazi Germany. While many refugees were desperate to obtain visas to any country willing to accept them, many settled in Britain. The immigration of the refugees was controlled through a partnership of the British Home Office and the Jewish community in Britain.[26] The Jewish Refugee Committee, in particular, was active in assuring the British government that the Jewish community would financially support the incoming refugees.[27] This changed in 1938, when the number of refugees from Germany increased following the government-sponsored religious pogroms. The British government implemented new visa requirements, and decisions were made case by case.[28] Jewish refugees faced obstacles because entrance into the country was granted based on the social interests of the British government.[29] This restrictive immigration policy favoured wealthy immigrants, those with business and family contacts, and well-known academics and physicians.[30]

For Lytton, having connections in Britain saved him. Upon receiving an invitation from B'nai Brith, Lytton was given a brief introductory lesson in English, a language which he had not learned in school.[31] Armed with this basic knowledge of English, he set out for Britain. Lytton was confronted with problems faced by many other refugees arriving in a foreign country: uncertainty, homesickness, loneliness, and the struggle to adapt to a new language and culture.[32] Lytton described the experience as "brutal and a shock to the nervous system," and added:

> I was totally immersed in English and I felt as if I was drowning in that ocean of sound, which I not only could not dissect into words, but which I then despaired of ever understanding, as I could not see where the first glimmer of comprehension would come from.[33]

The only German he heard was during the German lessons in school and in conversation with his mentors, many of whom were German émigré academics, such as Dr. Plaut.[34] Having these connections helped Lytton cope with loneliness and the loss of social community and family networks.

While he struggled to adjust to life in an unfamiliar country, he was worried about his family in Nuernberg. During *Kristallnacht*, the SA storm troopers (*Sturmabteilung*) broke into and vandalized Lytton's family home and assaulted his father. Luckily, his father was not arrested, and soon after this incident, his

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[24] Hugh Lytton papers, Letter from Inter-Aid Committee for Children from Germany to Heinz Lichtenstein, 1 September 1936 (in Lytton family's possession).

[25] Lytton, "From German Child to British Soldier," 18.

[26] Louise London, *Whitehall and the Jews, 1933–1948: British Immigration Policy and the Holocaust* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 25.

[27] London, *Whitehall and the Jews,* 30.

[28] Seller, *We Built Up Our Lives,* 48.

[29] London, *Whitehall and the Jews,* 2.

[30] Loewenau, "Between Resentment and Aid," 350.

[31] Lytton "From German Child to British Soldier," 18.

[32] Seller, *We Built Up Our Lives*, 55.

[33] Lytton, "From German Child to British Soldier," 18.

[34] Unfortunately, Lytton did not provide any further information on Plaut except that he served as Lytton's guardian during his early years in England, Lytton, "From German Child to British Soldier," 18.

family sought refuge in Great Britain.[35] Since Lytton was a student himself, he had unfortunately no means of financially sponsoring his parents, but members of the Jewish community in Hull offered to help. His mother arrived on a domestic work permit and was soon employed as a household maid; his father had difficulties finding employment, but eventually found a job as a warehouse clerk.[36] Some members of Lytton's extended family found refuge in the United States, South Africa, and even Palestine, but others were not so lucky. In this way, Lytton's story can be seen as characteristic of the Jewish refugee experience during and after the Second World War.[37]

The anti-Jewish policies of the Nazis, along with his refugee experience in Britain, significantly shaped Lytton's world view. His connections to secular Jewish émigré academic and scholarly mentors, and the influence of a less insular British society, allowed him to expand his intellectual ambitions. He became politically involved during those early years and regularly attended Labour Party meetings with his friends.[38] More than a decade later, he would even be arrested during an anti-war protest with the Peace Pledge Union in Liverpool.[39] He recalled of those early years:

> This "free" climate did not immediately change my inward looking Jewish attitudes and orthodox ways, but it did have its effects in the long run. . . . I became more outward looking, gave up orthodox ways and as part of this process abandoned my career ambition of becoming a rabbi.[40]

This acculturation could be explained by the fact that Lytton was still young when he migrated to Great Britain — younger people are more likely to adapt to a life in a new society and foreign culture. Further, it could be argued that experiencing oppression in the home country, as well as later losing family members in the Holocaust, contributed strongly to Lytton's lack of attachment to Germany.[41] While Lytton became less religiously orthodox as he continued living in England, the effects of Nazi anti-Semitism only strengthened his Jewish identity.[42] This is significant as it not only altered Lytton's career path and changed his outlook on religion in general, it also severed his relationship with B'nai Brith, which then refused to fund his education.[43] The lack of financial security made life difficult, but assistance from his extended family in South Africa allowed him to pursue his university education. In 1939, he entered the University of London to study for an honours degree in German and hoped to pursue a teaching career.

Unfortunately, for Lytton his university studies were interrupted in 1940, when Great Britain decided to intern all German and Austrian refugees by classifying them as "enemy aliens."[44] The start of the Second World War created anti-German sentiments in Britain, even toward German-Jewish refugees. Historian Maxine S. Sellers suggested that this problem "can be attributed to a wartime exacerbation of long-term British Anti-Semitism; for example, during the war old economic stereotypes were revisited as Jews were

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[35] Ibid, 21.
[36] Ibid, 21–2.
[37] See for example, Seller, *We Built Up Our Lives*; Laqueur, *Generation Exodus.*
[38] Lytton, "From German Child to British Soldier," 20.
[39] *Peace News* (9 June 1950), n. pag.
[40] Lytton, "From German Child to British Soldier," 19.
[41] Christian Fleck, "Austrian Refugee Social Scientists," in Marks, Weindling, and Wintour, *In Defence of Learning*, 193–210; esp. 205–6.
[42] For a further discussion of struggles with identity see Laqueur, *Generation Exodus;* Daniel Burston, *The Forgotten Freudian: The Passion of Karl Stern* (London: Karnac Books, 2016).
[43] Lytton, "From German Child to British Soldier," 22.
[44] Georgina Ferry, "Max Perutz and the SPSL," in Marks, Weindling, and Wintour, *In Defence of Learning*, 87–97; esp. 92.

accused of profiteering and black market activities."[45] This anti-German sentiment was also caused partly by British insecurities during the war and by various incidents that its security service attributed to Germany's supporters.[46] Due to these concerns, the British Home Office decided to review all cases of German and Austrian refugees living in Britain, to determine their loyalty.[47] Initially, the tribunals exempted the majority from internment, but in May 1940, with Prime Minister Winston Churchill (1874–1965) taking office in Great Britain, defeat looming in France at the beginning of the Battle of Dunkirk, and growing public pressure to do something about the "enemy alien" refugees, the government implemented mass internment.[48]

Hugh Lytton's Internment on the Isle of Man

Lytton and his father were arrested and eventually interned at Port Douglas on the Isle of Man in the Irish Sea. This must have been a terrifying experience for Lytton, one that was full of uncertainty. It was also a disruptive episode that ended his and his family's peaceful existence as they settled into their new life in Great Britain. Further, this event interrupted Lytton's university education, causing him to fall behind and putting serious pressure on him to catch up once he was released. This experience is similar to that of other Jewish refugees interned in Britain, but their reactions varied across the spectrum.[49] Some felt that internment was not unusual during times of war, others resented the British population, including British Jews, for their negative attitude toward Jewish refugees, and still others were outraged that the British could intern refugees escaping Nazi persecution.[50]

In his memoir, Lytton described the living quarters at the Isle of Man as comfortable, but the lack of freedom made conditions less than ideal as the internees were fenced in and surrounded by military guards.[51] What is more, the guards did not understand the difference between Nazi sympathizers and potential spies on the one hand and victims of Nazi oppression on the other. As a result, they were unpleasant to all internees, and this made life in internment miserable for many of the refugees.[52] Unfortunately, Lytton did not give a very detailed account of his time at Isle of Man, but a better

[45] Seller, *We Built Up Our Lives,* 66. It is important to note that anti-Jewish sentiment was not restricted to Britain and was prevalent in most Western societies prior to and during the Second World War. For instance, through immigration restrictions, both Canada and the United States blocked the entrance of Jewish refugees. These policies largely reflected the public sentiment at the time when anti-Semitism was common. Hostile attitudes towards Jews were also prevalent in Canadian universities, and unlike in Britain and the United States, Canadian academics did little to aid their colleagues who were experiencing Nazi oppression. For additional information on anti-Semitism in Canada see, for example, Irving Abella and Harold Troper, *None Is Too Many: Canada and the Jews of Europe* (Toronto: Key Porter, 2000); also Zimmerman, "Narrow-Minded People"; for further reading on American immigration policy during the Second World War see, for example, Roger Daniels, *Guarding the Golden Door: American Immigration Policy and Immigrants since 1882* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2005); Richard Breitman and Alan M. Kraut, *American Refugee Policy and European Jewry, 1933–1945* (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1987); David Wyman, *The Abandonment of the Jews: America and the Holocaust, 1941–1945* (New York: The New Press, 1984).

[46] Frank Eyck, *A Historian's Pilgrimage: Memoirs and Reflections* (Edmonton: Brush Education, 2009): 148–9.

[47] Seller, *We Built Up Our Lives,* 67.

[48] London, *Whitehall and the Jews*, 170

[49] See for example, Seller, *We Built Up Our Lives*; Walter Igersheimer and Ian Darragh, *Blatant Injustice: The Story of a Jewish Refugee from Nazi Germany Imprisoned in Britain and Canada during World War II* (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014).

[50] Seller, *We Built Up Our Lives,* 71–2.

[51] Lytton, "From German Child to British Soldier," 24.

[52] Eyck, *A Historian's Pilgrimage*, 155.

understanding of the situation can be gained from other sources.[53] For instance, Lytton's colleague and friend at the University of Calgary, the German émigré historian Frank Eyck (1921–2004), who also spent time in internment, described the experience as "far from pleasant." According to Eyck, "our letters were carefully censored. . . . any activity outside the camp was always guarded by the military. There was an intense feeling of powerlessness among the internees."[54] While they never feared for their lives, the disruption, distress, and uncertainty must have brought back memories of 1930s Germany.

During his few months of internment, Lytton became acquainted with more German émigrés scholars and academics including medieval historian Dr. Hans Liebeschuetz (1893–1978), who assumed the role of a mentor to him. Liebeschuetz had emigrated to Great Britain from Hamburg, Germany, and eventually became a reader at the University of Liverpool. Liebeschuetz introduced Lytton to Plato's *Republic*, which they read together and discussed while being interned.[55] Lytton's interactions with German-speaking émigré scholars and academics, both before and during his internment, must have had a significant impact on him, as during this period he began to contemplate a career in academia. As well, during internment social psychology first piqued Lytton's interest. Within the internment setting Lytton must have found it interesting to observe social interactions among a vast number of individuals and groups from very different backgrounds.[56]

Onward Migration to Canada and Later Years as a Psychology Professor at the University of Calgary

While some refugees were interned at Isle of Man, thousands were soon shipped from Liverpool to the British dominions of Canada or Australia.[57] These were primarily young and unmarried men, who were seen as a "threat" to Britain. As Maxine S. Seller points out, "the deportees included a disproportionate number of the very young. About one third of those sent to Canada were under the age of twenty-one and over forty percent in one of the camps in Australia were under twenty-five."[58] These journeys by ship were particularly dangerous because of the risk of attack by German submarines. In the summer of 1940, Lytton was among the young men destined to leave for Canada. He boarded a ship for Canada at the Firth of Clyde in Scotland. However, the July 1940 sinking of the *SS Arandora Star*, which carried refugees from Britain to Canada, created great apprehension. This led the captain of Lytton's overcrowded ship to offer to disembark some of the passengers, and Lytton decided to stay in England because his family was still there. He captured this experience in a piece of satire written during his time at the Isle of Man:

> Did you ever go half way to Canada and back for a pleasure trip? I thought not! — But you would like to know how to do it, wouldn't you? Well I'll tell you. . . . Firstly, you must be in the right camp — somewhere on the Isle of Man — and in the proper age group, unmarried, and strong in body and nerves. If that is the case everything will be arranged

[53] See, for example, Alison M. Garnham, *Hans Keller and Internment: The Development of an Émigré Musician, 1938–48* (London: Plumbago Books, 2011); Eyck, *A Historian's Pilgrimage;* Maxine Seller, *We Built Up Our Lives*; Jennifer Taylor, "'Something to Make People Laugh'? Political Content in Isle of Man Internment Camp Journals July–October 1940," in *"Totally Un-English"? Britain's Internment of "Enemy Aliens" in Two World Wars*, ed. Richard Dove (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2005), 139–52; Walter Igersheimer and Ian Darragh, *Blatant Injustice: The Story of a Jewish Refugee from Nazi Germany Imprisoned in Britain and Canada during World War II* (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014).

[54] Eyck, *A Historian's Pilgrimage*, 155.

[55] Lytton, "From German Child to British Soldier," 24.

[56] Ibid, 25.

[57] See for example, London, *Whitehall and the Jews,* 170; Igersheimer and Darragh, *Blatant Injustice,* 13, 92; Nicole M.T. Brunnhuber, "After the Prison Ships: Internment Narratives in Canada," in Dove, "*Totally Un-English*"?, 165–78.

[58] Seller, *We Built Up Our Lives,* 81.

> for you. You will be subjected to a 7 hour roll call with bodily examinations. Tired from waiting you will be put to sleep on the bare floor of a huge dancing-hall. . . . But since the pleasure of sleeping is nothing compared with the pleasure of queuing up for one of the two washing basins, you will get up very early indeed the next morning to do that. After a short . . . breakfast you trundle off to a small Manx steamer where other pleasure seekers are waiting for you. If you enjoy a crowd, then you will enjoy yourself on the boat, for you can seldom see a throng as dense as that one — in your joy you will even forget your hunger. . . .[59]

This passage captures the conditions in the internment camps and on the steamboat to Canada, as well as Lytton's disappointment and frustration with the British, who had allowed victims of Nazi oppression to be interned. It also points to loss of freedom, as every aspect of life in internment seemed to have been strictly managed by the British authorities. A feeling of rejection is also expressed here, as yet again young German Jews apparently had no future in the host country. Just as they had been pushed out of Germany, now they were being pushed out of Great Britain.

While some opposition to internment had already existed within government circles and the general public, it increased following the release of reports documenting inadequate living conditions at the camps. In addition, many became aware that a significant number of the internees had fled Nazi persecution.[60] Further, the sinking of the *Arandora Star* sparked a continued dialogue about the British "enemy aliens" policy. Even the home secretary, Sir John Anderson (1882–1958) — also known as the "home front prime minister" — eventually admitted that this policy reflected unfavourably on Britain. The criticism led to a number of parliamentary debates on the issue but change to the policy was not immediate.[61] At the end of July 1940, the Home Office published a White Paper on the internment policy titled *Categories of Persons Eligible for Release from Internment and Procedure to Be Followed in Applying for Release*. Some of the categories included "persons under 16 and over 70 years of age," "special cases of extreme hardship," and "the invalid or infirm." By August some internees were released from the camps, but able-bodied young men, who were still under suspicion, remained.[62]

Lytton was one of these young men, and he did not obtain his release from the Isle of Man until late 1940. Even after his release, he was still under suspicion by the British government as an "enemy alien" and was required to report to the Nottingham police once a week. Lytton returned to the University of Hull to finish his first degree, and once he graduated in 1941, he decided to "do his bit" for the British war effort by working at a munitions factory in Nottingham.[63] At this point, "enemy aliens" were exempt from conscription but could volunteer in the Pioneer Corps of the British Army. While a non-combat role was not very appealing, many joined to show their loyalty to Britain and to contribute in the fight against Nazi Germany.[64] Lytton did not join the Pioneer Corps, but instead worked at the munitions factory until 1944.[65]

In March of that year, Lytton joined the British Army and was assigned to a team where he and other German nationals translated German documents for British Intelligence. This position eventually sent him to Allied-occupied Germany, as a British soldier in March 1945. He was part of a specialist unit[66] whose goal was to search for documents from industry and institutions that could be useful to the Allies,

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[59] Hugh Lytton's private papers, "Mystery Trip," 1940.
[60] London, *Whitehall and the Jews,* 170–1.
[61] Garnham, *Hans Keller and Internment*, 77.
[62] Ibid, 78.
[63] Lytton, "From German Child to British Soldier," 26.
[64] Eyck, *A Historian's Pilgrimage*, 161.
[65] Lytton, "From German Child to British Soldier," 26.
[66] See also in Samuel Abraham Goudsmith, *Alsos: The Failure in German Science* (London: Sigma Books, 1947), 5–35.

particularly as evidence of war crimes.[67] Seeing Germany again was an eerie experience for Lytton. He was back home in a country "that maltreated and expelled us, and killed many of our families."[68] His resentment is further evidenced by an incident in Bremen, where his patience was tested by the Germans. He noted in his diary:

> One came up to me and complained that some Russians [slave labourers] had done something or other and had to be watched. I snapped back that these people hadn't come there of their free will. If I think of the concentration camp Bergen-Belsen where thousands died in unspeakable conditions, their [German] arrogance, makes even my, so gentle, blood boil.[69]

The feeling of rejection toward and perhaps even political resentment of his home country is captured in the above passage. In her work on German scientists, historian Ute Deichmann points out that "many Jewish émigrés had deep emotional bonds to Germany; even nationalistic feelings were not rare. Expulsion therefore represented a great humiliation."[70] Like many German Jews growing up in Germany, Lytton had seen himself as purely German, whose family had served Germany in previous wars, and who saw himself as no different. To be expelled from one's home must have been a devastating blow.

While the above passage suggests feelings of rejection and resentment, Lytton's memoir also contains passages taken from his wartime diary that show a clear personal detachment from Germany:

> Spring was coming into a shattered and ruined land. The splendour of blossoms and flowers stood in un-romantic contrast with the misery of humanity, the rubble and the ruins almost everywhere. It was not just a case of national unhappiness and humiliation, but a case of very personal misfortune for every German which brought home to him or her his country's doom. It is difficult for us to repress pity, because we see their suffering with our own eyes, whilst we only heard of the suffering of Poland, France and the rest. . . . We have to keep reminding ourselves of their fate and of Germany's rejoicing at that time."[71]

It must be noted, however, that when Lytton wrote the passage he was unaware of the full extent of the atrocities committed by Nazi Germany against the Jewish population of Europe.[72] What makes this passage interesting is that he was describing the situation of the Germans as an outsider, not as someone who was himself German. It also shows that the impact of expulsion and Nazi aggression led Lytton to no longer view Germany in the same way — it was no longer the home that he had left behind, but had become a very foreign country.[73]

His army service ended in 1947, and he returned to university shortly thereafter to complete his teaching degree. Yet, even then, he thought about a career in psychology. He explained his interest in psychology in two ways:

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[67] Lytton, "From German Child to British Soldier," 29–30.
[68] Ibid, 30.
[69] Ibid, 35.
[70] Deichmann, *Biologists under Hitler*, 21.
[71] Lytton, "From German Child to British Soldier," 31.
[72] See for example, Saul Friedlander *Nazi Germany and the Jews*, 1933–1945 (New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 2009).
[73] See for example, Fleck, "Austrian Refugee Social Scientists," 205.

> I wanted to go into psychology to explain myself, as so many people do, to find something out about my own insecurities. Also, I was, at that time, particularly interested in language problems, having access to fluent vocabulary. I was interested in the kind of psychological processes that went into language production.[74]

This interest put Lytton on a path toward graduate school, where he earned a Master's degree in psychology in 1953 from the University of Liverpool. His MA work linked his interest and background in languages with psychology; in this way it introduced him to psycholinguistic research. In this endeavour, he joined his classical humanities education in Germany to the more scientific one he received in Great Britain. Lytton was particularly interested in how one learns a foreign language and how that differs from learning one's mother tongue. Conducting this research proved difficult, as he soon realized that "neurological knowledge and the actual neurologic and brain connections for language production that I was looking for were not known in those days."[75] He then turned toward educational psychology and in 1955 obtained a one-year fellowship at the Tavistock Clinic in London.[76] At this time, the Tavistock Clinic was known for its psychoanalytic approaches, something that did not appeal to Lytton, who favoured more scientific approaches. Nevertheless, while at the Tavistock Clinic, Lytton was highly influenced by the ideas of British psychologist John Bowlby (1907–1990) as well as American psychologist Mary Ainsworth (1913–1999). In his interview with the Society for Research in Child Development, Lytton stated, "Bowlby . . . was important to the formation of my views and I was very attracted to his attachment theory even though this theory far outran his data. I also appreciated Mary Ainsworth's work on maternal deprivation."[77] The

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[74] Society for Research in Child Development (SRCD) Oral History Project, "Dr. Hugh Lytton-self interview," June 1994, 1–2, accessed 25 July 2016, http://srcd.org/sites/default/files/documents/lytton_hugh_interview.pdf.

[75] Society for Research in Child Development, "Dr. Hugh Lytton-self interview," 2.

[76] The Tavistock Clinic in London was founded in 1920 by a group of psychiatrists, neurologists, and general practitioners interested in neurotic disabilities during the First World War and after. This meant that a variety of different perspectives were present: "On the one hand were the adherents of [the psychoanalysts Sigmund] Freud [1856–1939, from Austria], Carl Jung [1875–1961, from Switzerland] [and Alfred] Adler [1870–1937, from Austria]. . . . On the other were a neurologically-oriented general psychiatry, somatically-oriented general medicine and a surrounding society puzzled, bewildered, intrigued and frightened by the new knowledge of the unconscious and its implications of important areas of life" (Eric Trist and Hugh Murray, eds., *The Social Engagement of Social Science Volume 1: The Socio-Psychological Perspective* [London: Free Association Books, 1990], 2). Following the Second World War, the clinic split into two, the Tavistock Clinic and the Tavistock Institute of Human Relations. During the period that Lytton was at Tavistock, the British Psycho-Analytical Society was split between the adherents of Anna Freud (1895–1982) and Melanie Klein (1882–1960). There was also an independent group that was not committed to either perspective; Lytton's mentor John Bowlby (1907–1990) belonged to this group. Bowlby was more focused on the influence of the external environment and real-life experiences in causing neurosis rather than fantasy and emotions, which were emphasized by other psychoanalysts. For more information on the debates see Pearl King and Riccardo Steiner, eds., *The Freud-Klein Controversies 1941–45* (London: Routledge, 1992), 2–3; For further reading on Bowlby see, for example, Frank C.P. van der Horst, *John Bowlby: From Psychoanalysis to Ethology* (Weinheim: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), 1932.

[77] Society for Research in Child Development, "Dr. Hugh Lytton-self interview," 3. Attachment theory deals with the bond and interaction between mother and child. Bowlby suggested that "developmental processes are the product of the interaction of a unique genetic endowment with a particular environment, and that an infant's emerging social, psychological, and biological capacities cannot be understood apart from its relationship with the mother" (John Bowlby, *Attachment* [New York: Basic Books, 1982], xii); Bowlby viewed attachment "in its evolutionary context, and [saw] it as a biological function that confers survival advantage in an 'environment of evolutionary adapted-ness'" (Hugh Lytton, *Parent-Child Interaction: The Socialization Process Observed in Twin and Singleton Families* [New York: Plenum Press, 1980], 99). Aside from Ainsworth's work on maternal deprivation, Lytton also found her styles of attachment useful for his work on attachment behaviour and socialization; see Lytton, *Parent-Child Interaction,* 99–105.

training experience and scholarly influences at Tavistock would contribute to Lytton's future research interests in relationships between children and parents and the effects of each upon the other. He explained

> I was drawn into the study of child development by my experience with psychoanalytic methodology at the Tavistock Clinic. Although I rebelled against it . . . I did appreciate the importance they attached to direct observation of children and parents. . . . We were in fact required as a part of the course to observe one mother and very young infant pair and . . . to observe mother nursing her child as this was considered a specially [sic] significant experience.[78]

At the end of his fellowship at the Tavistock Clinic in London, Lytton moved to Edinburgh and worked there as a school and clinical child psychologist while at the same time pursuing a PhD in psychology at the University of London, under the supervision of British psychologist Philip E. Vernon (1905–1987). Lytton's PhD thesis, *A Study of Certain Factors Relevant to the Effectiveness of Remedial Education*, contributed to a debate at the time as to which children could best benefit from remedial education and what was the most appropriate method of selection. The traditional view of remedial education was that children who were falling behind their age group should receive special attention and thus would eventually catch up. This approach differed from that for those children who were labelled as "dull," where the goal was to make the most of their ability rather than help them progress with their cohort. Lytton's thesis research was intended to determine whether the discrepancy between mental age and reading age was a better predictor of success than a method based on a teacher's judgement regarding the child's intelligence.[79] He found that teacher selection was at least as effective as the test selection regarding reading difficulty, but less effective regarding arithmetic.[80]

The focus on intelligence tests in his research shows a direct connection to the work of his supervisor, Vernon, whose research was rooted in psychometrics.[81] Lytton was further influenced by scholars such as statistical psychologist Derrick Lawley (1915–2012) and psychologist Albert Pilliner (1909–2003), who worked on the development and standardization of Moray House Tests in children and adolescent populations.[82] By the time Lytton had completed his PhD, he started to view himself as a British scholar. In some ways, this also speaks to his detachment from Germany. His research was very much rooted in the British and American psychological traditions, and even at the Tavistock Clinic, Lytton was more influenced by British and American psychologists who worked there than by their German colleagues in psychology and academic pedagogy.

In tracing the national research styles in psychology, scholars have noted important institutional and professional differences between the United States and Germany in psychology.[83] The field in German-speaking Europe was much narrower and influenced by philosophy, whereas that in the United States was

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[78] Society for Research in Child Development, "Dr. Hugh Lytton-self interview," 3.

[79] For more information on the history of intelligence, see Ken Richardson, *The Making of Intelligence* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002).

[80] See Hugh Lytton, *A Study of Certain Factors Relevant to the Effectiveness of Remedial Education* (PhD diss., University of London, 1965).

[81] For more information on the history of psychology, see John G. Benjafield, *A History of Psychology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

[82] Named after the Moray House School of Education (Edinburgh) the tests measured general intelligence, reading ability, and arithmetic. See Ian J. Deary et al., "The Stability of Individual Differences in Mental Ability from Childhood to Old Age: Follow-up of the 1932 Scottish Mental Survey," *Intelligence* 28, 1 (2000), 49–55; esp. 51.

[83] Mitchell G. Ash, "Cultural Contexts and Scientific Change in Psychology," *American Psychologist* 47, 2 (1992): 198–207; esp. 197.

marked by an increasing emphasis on turning psychology into a science-based profession, also as a consequence of many émigré psychologists and cognitive scientists fleeing to the United States and continuing their research and teaching work overseas.[84] As historian Mitchell G. Ash suggested, "in the United States . . . a growing university network and the rise of private research foundations offered greater opportunities for institutional independence in psychology." American institutions encouraged academic psychologists to "present their work as both a quantitative and a socially relevant science."[85] Scholars have identified three key characteristics of this development that affected German-speaking émigré academics after 1933: (1) a growing preference for "group data" in the United States, that is, studies that dealt with variation among individuals rather than behaviour of individuals (the German approach); the former was often associated with intelligence tests; (2) a change in the relation of experimenter and subject from one of equal status (German approach) to one where the experimenter was in control; and (3) "a technocratic orientation," serving as the basis for the above characteristics that was much less widespread in Germany than in the United States.[86] Due to his training in Great Britain, Lytton's work was less characteristic of the German approach, although he was likely quite aware of it.

Following the completion of his PhD, Lytton obtained a position as a lecturer at the University of Exeter in southern England. Meanwhile, Vernon had accepted a position at the University of Calgary in the Department of Educational Psychology. Eventually, in 1969, Vernon recruited Lytton to the University of Calgary because they were colleagues and worked on similar psychological problems with related methodologies, but more importantly because of the need to enlarge the department. According to Lytton, accepting the position in Calgary allowed him to "pursue research consistency and on a fairly modest but at least consistent scale . . .[,] this research . . . centered on parent–child relations."[87] His research benefited from his experiences at Tavistock where, while he tried to distance himself from the psychoanalytic tradition, he nevertheless appreciated its emphasis on direct observation of children and parents. This is evident in his internationally renowned work, *Parent–Child Interaction: The Socialization Process Observed in Twin and Singleton Families* (1980). The University of Calgary provided Lytton with a stable research environment where he went on to make significant contributions to the field of developmental psychology.[88]

Conclusion

If we compare Lytton's experiences to that of other German-speaking émigré academics, such as his colleague and friend German historian Ulrich Franz Joseph ("Frank") Eyck, we tend to see significant differences in that experience. Eyck was born in Berlin in 1921 to a secular Jewish middle-class family. He arrived in Great Britain as a refugee in 1935 and eventually went on to study modern history at Worcester College at Oxford University. During the late 1950s, he served as a research fellow at St. Anthony's College, Oxford, and in 1968, he obtained a position as a professor of history at the University of Calgary.[89] Both Lytton and Eyck left Germany in the mid-1930s, both ended up in Britain, both were interned at the Isle of

[84] Compare also the article by Vincent von Hoeckendorf in this special issue of *History of Intellectual Culture*, "On the Influence of German-Speaking Émigrés on the Emergence of Cognitive Science as a New Interdisciplinary Field."
[85] Ash, "Cultural Contexts and Scientific Change in Psychology," 197.
[86] Mitchell G. Ash, "Émigré Psychologists after 1933: The Cultural Coding of Scientific and Professional Practices," in *Forced Migration and Scientific Change: Émigré German Speaking Scientists and Scholars after 1933*, eds. Mitchell G. Ash and Alfons Soellner (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 119–20.
[87] Society for Research in Child Development, "Dr. Hugh Lytton-self interview," 4.
[88] Romney and Pryrt, "Hugh Lytton," 813.
[89] The *National Post*, "Obituary: Ulrich Eyck," accessed 30 July 2016, http://www.legacy.com/obituaries/nationalpost/obituary.aspx?n=ulrich-eyck&pid=2993721.

Man, both served in the British Army during the war, and both eventually held faculty positions at the University of Calgary. The effect of that experience varied significantly, however, because Eyck, despite everything else, still saw himself as German — and particularly as a historian of modern Germany — while Lytton over time became less attached to Germany.[90] While Lytton distanced himself from Germany, his Jewish identity increasingly strengthened,[91] and he and Eyck often had disagreements over this, especially because Eyck had converted to Catholicism, which Lytton viewed as an abandonment of his Jewish background.[92]

If we look at their life stories, one can see possible explanations for these differences. As mentioned earlier, Lytton grew up in a lower-middle-class religious family, in conservative Nuernberg, where anti-Semitism was pronounced. In contrast, Eyck grew up in cosmopolitan, liberal Berlin in a wealthy secular German-Jewish family. In his memoirs, Eyck wrote only about anti-Semitism experienced by others,[93] whereas Lytton referred directly to his own experiences of abuse directed either at him or at his classmates. This is further evidence of how socio-economic class and place helped determine an individual's experience of anti-Semitism. These diverse émigré experiences are important to study from a historical vantage point, as they often reflect the long-term effects of forced migration. They also suggest that the émigré experience was shaped as much by the individual's background as by the impact of forced migration. Lytton's story shows the complexities of the émigré experience, which sometimes led to lack of professional contact with the home country.[94] While many German-speaking émigrés transferred knowledge and ideas from the home country to the host country, this does not seem to have been the case for Lytton, as his experiences in Germany left him indifferent to engaging with the work of scholars in that country.

As a result of Nazi aggression, thousands of German-Jewish academics, scientists, and physicians sought refuge in any country that would accept them, but many went through or settled in Great Britain. Lytton was one of the lucky ones. The effect of the émigré experience on Lytton was twofold: first, leaving Germany for the safety of Britain placed him in an environment where he was free to explore educational opportunities that might not have been offered to him in Germany, since there he had already been on the path to becoming a rabbi. Although he was not an academic when he arrived in Hull, the cultural influences in Britain together with many of his experiences over the next few years pointed him toward academia. His exposure to British society and the British school system opened his mind to new career possibilities and turned him toward a secular Jewish identity. He was further put in contact with German émigré scholars who undoubtedly influenced him. Even the discriminatory British internment policy, as unjust as it was, provided Lytton with additional mentorship from academics and the setting in which he first learned of social psychology and sought to pursue a further study of it after his release. Second, the expulsion from Germany led to feelings of rejection, resentment, and bitterness, and over time Lytton became largely detached from his home country. Visiting Germany as a British soldier brought out the feeling of rejection once again. He no longer regarded Germany as his home and spoke of it as if he were an outsider. One can imagine that the revelations of the full extent of the Nazi atrocities further strengthened his detachment. In his academic career, Lytton viewed himself as a British scholar influenced by the psychological traditions of Britain and the United States, and with very little German influence. This was partly because of the pre-emigration contexts and experiences that likely created a pattern of negativity surrounding his birth country. As historians Frank W. Stahnisch and Guel Russell have recently shown, studying émigré experiences in the sciences and humanities fields allows for an emergence of a global perspective on the

[90] See for example, Eyck, *A Historian's Pilgrimage.*

[91] On a similar topic, see also the article by Daniel Burston in this special issue of *History of Intellectual Culture*, "Dust and Fog, Fire and Salt: German-Canadian Psychiatrist Karl Stern's (1906–1975) Émigré Experience."

[92] Author's interview with the Lytton family, March 2016, in the city of Calgary.

[93] Eyck, *A Historian's Pilgrimage,* 47–96. In this chapter Eyck reflects on his life in Berlin.

[94] See for example, Deichmann, *Biologists under Hitler.*

history of forced migration during the Nazi period, since many émigrés established research networks all over the world.[95] Lytton's case study shows the value of documenting the émigré experiences in the realm of the cultural, social, economic, and political influences that shaped their academic careers.

[95] Frank Stahnisch and Guel Russell, eds., "New Perspectives on Forced Migration in the History of Twentieth-Century Neuroscience," *Journal of the History of the Neurosciences: Basic and Clinical Perspectives* 25, 3 (2016); esp. 219.