

# Michael Lütge

## Life and death of Clara Immerwahr

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These considerations arose from my work on a biography by my grandfather Hermann Lütge. He was from 1913-1933 workshop manager in the KWI and with Haber and Clara Immerwahr very familiar. As he likes to be used as a testimony to suicide from jealousy, I consider it urgently necessary to evaluate this source more carefully in its life-historical context than has hitherto been the case. I have experienced him up to the age of seventeen, especially in his rather disrespectful ambivalence towards women.

Thanks to Gerit von Leitner, who supported me in a fantastic way with your knowledge and inquiries with the grandchildren and great-grandchildren of Clara Immerwahr, my father's patron. Thanks to Petra Schröder, with whom I could discuss the morbid dynamics of the Haber relationship. And thanks to Simon Nobis and Susanne Uebele from the MPG Archives for their patient care with ever new letters and pictures.

### ***On the marriage of Fritz Haber and Clara Immerwahr***

Something unlike Stoltzenberg and Szöllösi-Janze, I see the first Haber marriage also from the point of view of the psychotherapist, which can enrich the historical perspective and immanently also exists in every attempt to understand it. The et al. von Jaenicke In 1956, the history of the MPG and its staff, inspired by the planning of a Haber biography, is interwoven with memory gaps and document losses, despite all the efforts to achieve exactness. After 40 years, a glorification develops in which Jaenicke reverses everything under the carpet, which

harms Haber's reputation.<sup>1</sup> The texts of Hermann Lütge spring from such glorification of Haber as a kindly paternal boss. All the more critical are his few critical remarks.

Historiography about the KWI-FHI history is not free from glorifying trivialization of the crimes. In 2003 Matthias Scheffler briefly discusses the entanglement in the gas war as a small episode of 4 years in a nearly 100-year history. It is only Hubert Markl, who is the President of the Max Planck Society, who is very important in the process of embedding the entire sciences into genocide. In the meantime, there is a group for research into the history of the MPG, which is headed by MPIWG, Carsten Reinhardt (Bielefeld) and Jürgen Kocka (Berlin) at the MPI for the History of Science. The operative project management was conducted by the investigative Florian Schmalz (MPIWG). A generational change has melted the power of the former preventors.

The dynamic of the marriage of Clara Immerwahr and Fritz Haber was highly complex. Both



Jewish roots and converted to evangelical denomination, both from Breslau or the surrounding region, both chemists and families, whose relationship to chemistry was strong, he only two years older, both very ambitious, highly intelligent, talked and promoted. So a great pool of similarities. The then society defamed Jews and women. This leads to an even stronger incentive to prove that they can take it with the German national bourgeoisie. Clara fought for her place of study in a male domain, which denied women the competence.<sup>2</sup> Fritz fought for his status in a sectoral subject area, which was dominated by individual research variables, for interdisciplinary competence associations to gain recognition in Karlsruhe. In 1914, at the beginning of the war, he was struggling for a status in the military, which was to surpass all the Jewish advances, but only

after Yperns was appointed headmaster for Falkenhayn's pleasing guest-rate as a result of the costly, boring, and jealous hostility training in Breslau.<sup>3</sup>

For both, loyalty was a central value. Clara would have had to leave Fritz in the divergence of mutual demands in 1909, but that was unthinkable to her. He postmortem her ashes to his grave in Basel.

Clara wanted to work as a chemist and continue the career of the first chemist of Germany, promoted on 22.12.1900 after her promising doctoral and assistant period with Richard Abegg in Breslau after marriage and relocation in Karlsruhe as many her fellow students, Otto Sackur. The discrimination in the Küsters laboratory in Clausthal was so humiliating that there was

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<sup>1</sup> VA 5,260,20

<sup>2</sup> "I have nothing to do with intellectual Amazons," the Professor of Experimental Physics, Privy Councilor Meyer, Clara, receives an interview. She manages to persuade him nevertheless.

<sup>3</sup> Szöllösi-Janze 1998,45ff: No promotion to reserve officer after volunteer year due to missing Christian baptism, only vice-master

another trauma for the sensitive young woman, after the initial refusal to study in Breslau was not the first. The pregnancy and maternity duties in Karlsruhe gradually stifled her dream as a chemist.

### *Youth love in dance and marriage*

Charlotte Haber, born Nathan (1889-1976) wrote her book about 1968 about 80 years ago. She relied heavily on her own memories, which are often decker memories in the sense of Freud, so beautified and guilty, also the guilt of her ex-husband, who still wanted a testamentary life, the remnants of Claras may rest alongside his own to unite in death to become. By the time she knew that Haber had ultimately decided for Clara, she had to destroy her as a rival, emphasizing what appears unfavorable to her in her eyes. She later relocated her residence to Basel in the vicinity of the grave. The competition never stopped.

Charlotte Haber writes: "His wife Clara, a born, was his love of dancing and two years younger than him. As a seventeen-year-old high school graduate, Fritz was determined to marry Clara."<sup>4</sup> After studying in Berlin, he had returned to Breslau in order to be able to contact Clara, who was promoted there, after studying in Berlin not succeeded. She was at Clausthal near Küster on research. On 22.12.1900 with Otto Sackur as her opponent, she was a celebrated social event in Breslau. On March 28, 1901, she again presented a lecture on "Chemistry and Physics in the Household" before women in the Breslau Magdalenen-Gymnasium.

<p><b>Verein Frauenwohl.</b>          Donnerstag, d. 28. März, Abds. 8 Uhr, im Magdal.-Gymnas.:  <b>Vortrag von Frl. Dr. Immerwahr:</b>  <b>„Chemie und Physik im Haushalt.“</b>          Eintritt für Gäste (Herren und Damen) 20 Pf. Mitgl. u. Angehör. frei.</p>	1880
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<p>* Verein Frauenwohl. Am Donnerstag, den 28. März 8 Uhr, findet im Magdalenen-Gymnasium ein Vortragabend statt. Fräulein Dr. Clara Immerwahr wird über „Chemie und Physik im Haushalt“ sprechen. (Siehe Inserat.) Auch solche Damen und Herren, die nicht Mitglieder des Vereins sind, haben als Gäste Zutritt gegen ein Eintrittsgeld von 20 Pfennigen, das zum Besten des Mädchenorts erhoben wird. Für Mitglieder ist der Eintritt frei.</p>
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At a Freiburg congress on April 17-20, 1901, accompanied by Haber's friend and their doctor, Richard Abegg, both meet again, and Fritz stops for her hand. "Very moved, she could not make up her mind, but only noticed that she was not suited to marry. It was only true that she had spoken!"<sup>5</sup> At least Haber was the wrong husband, as Clara wrote Abegg in 1909. She agreed, after a day of reflection, because she hoped to find a fulfilled life in marriage, to taste all that life can offer in experiences.<sup>6</sup> In her letters, which were filled with gracious frankness, she expressed the suffering of resistance she as a woman in the laboratories. She needed all her not inconsiderable force to cope with life at all, stricken by migraine as a result of this tension. During her research on the dissertation with Prof. Küster in Clausthal - she knew him well from his Wroclaw lectureship - she was bullied by fellow students as a woman.

Abegg cheers them a little awkwardly, apologizing to their big cutting. Your answer is clear and self-assured: "I received Mr. Professor's posting this morning. But I can not thank you for it, because address and verses have hurt very much. I am well aware that my professor wants me to do it well, but in this case, as is so often the old saying, the satte does not understand the hungry. And a sad one, too, is hardly made more cheerful by saying to him, "Have mercy." I scarcely believe that it is up to me when pain and pain make life difficult for me, but

<sup>4</sup> Charlotte Haber 1970,82

<sup>5</sup> Charlotte Haber 1970,86 Seite 124 she portrays Haber's lack of fitness for marriage from her own failure

<sup>6</sup> VA 5, 813,17

rather in life itself-at least in my destiny. I am always acquainted with the life of cheerfulness, in fleeting moments, and may well say that each of them has stirred me up for years full of heavy things. How am I supposed to have cut and fresh courage when I need all my not inconsiderable force to cope with existence at all? It is not the failure of SO<sub>2</sub>, which has brought me into this mood. This alone was a long way off. But it was, so to speak, only the drop which brought the measure to overflow.<sup>7</sup>

She confirms Abegg's words about her "unhappy softness," which she seldom lets unhappy. "The professor is right in saying that I have an unfortunate softness that makes things harder for me than other people. But it seems to me that I can not change this, and sentimentality is not at all because I feel deeply deeper at any time than I know it publicly."<sup>8</sup> This softness makes her defenseless in a robust men's domain of laboratories as a woman. She is a bullying victim because she can not go offensive about the hidden points against her. This softness, however, is by no means a depressive disposition. It leads to this only in a little loving social context, in which the most defenseless offer ideal victims. With extraordinary clarity and self-assurance, she keeps herself against patientizing etiquettes, and sees the exogenous source of her misfortunes in the gross treatment of the men's world. When Abegg from Wroclaw is sued by a call, she panics; when she smashes, she reacts with an exuberant letter, at the end of which she embeds Abegg's address "Mademoiselle Fraulein", and opens her heart: "If I am cheeky today, it only comes from the fact that I was so stupid!"<sup>9</sup> It is fascinating how she can break the formal expression with a childlike clean sincerity. Their "awareness" is clearly conscious.

What she longed for in marriage was understanding and acceptance for these her softness. Haber's speech of "Prince and Princess" suggested precisely this at the end of April on the trip to the Immerwahr estate in Polkendorf. Four months after this hand stop ride to Dr. Philipp Immerwahr is already married. This is equivalent to an attack, especially when Claras brother-in-law Siegfried Sachs, who takes her from the train station, dies of a heart attack on the way home.

Father Siegfried Haber considers the everlasting to be "degenerate". "As my lawyer explained to me later, he did not want to see his only son as a man of a woman who came from a degenerate family, where women had forcibly ended their lives and men had become alcoholics. For this reason, he opposed the planned marriage with a categorical "no" and did not appear to be a wedding."<sup>10</sup> Fritz had been estranged from his son's first marriage. His relations with his daughter-in-law were not harmonious, for he had known, no, that this marriage with Dr. Clara Immerwahr would take a bad end. Once the old gentleman had described his Filius as a "greyhound." Now he was proud of his scientific rank.<sup>11</sup> Charlotte does not see the fault of Haber's father, the town councilor in Breslau, who probably guessed how his "Greyhound" had gradually led Clara into this suicide. Schmidt-Ott, on the other hand, later confessed to Fritz that he had accused Clara of treason.

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<sup>7</sup> VA 5, 812,10 Letter to Abegg from 31.3.1900 from Clausthal, cf Leitner 1993,57f

<sup>8</sup> VA 5, 812-814 contains the entire correspondence Immerwahr-Abegg, in which he always encourages her and praises her strength and her courage during the promotion. He was, at last, her confessor and pastor.

<sup>9</sup> VA 5, 812,16f Letter to Abegg from 2.5.1900

<sup>10</sup> Charlotte Haber 1970,83f

<sup>11</sup> Charlotte Haber 1970,120

Haber's rough and paternal care for his students led to the founding of the Order of the Rusty Knife, which satirized Haber's obstinacious blame in the mistakes of his students: "You robbers and criminals, I'll thrust a rusty knife upright in the belly!"<sup>12</sup> In every joke there is truth, and the unconscious potential for aggression, which Haber could have brought to the genius of the poison gas at first, was worthless. Anyone who is so joking can easily hurt the subtleties of his highly intelligent and highly sensitive woman.

### *The first years of marriage in Karlsruhe*

On 3.8.1901 they marry. The four-week honeymoon on an East Frisian island was disappointing for Haber. Haber's insistence<sup>13</sup> overcame Clara, one would believe her competitor Charlotte: "According to his romantic inclination, Fritz Haber had rented a cottage for the honeymoon on one of the Frisian islands. Even during the honeymoon the marital community failed. The new-married woman felt every physical touch as agony. How right Siegfried Haber, the father had had with his warning! The signs that Clara was psychologically stressed increased. For the passionate Fritz, an almost unbearable time began. An initial pregnancy disturbed the mental balance of the growing mother even more. The life which the young couple led at home in Karlsruhe at the time did not correspond in any way to Haber's expectations. The woman lived only the household, which she did not control at all. The household dominated them. Every scientific work of her own refused her, and showed no interest in her husband's research."<sup>14</sup> Almost every sentence is colored. This representation reflects a position of Fritz Haber's Clara, which may correspond to the situation of 1914, as Lütge describes it a posteriori.<sup>15</sup> The son alone is proof that the honeymoon was not so despotic. It is Charlotte's wish that this was so a priori. From Clara's letters, initial physical rejection does not emerge, as little as disinterestedness for Haber's research. Had Fritz Clara so much defamed his lover? Then it was a move to win her by abjuring the ex-wife. James Franck wrote, Fritz always tried to converge with Clara's opinions. So is Charlotte, too?

Clara's dream was originally to do research together with Fritz. Her letters to Richard Abegg<sup>16</sup> show her in 1901 as a committed, competent and sovereign chemist who is in her element here and not in housework and childcare. The still scarce income and the expensive new apartment do not allow any servants. Clara goes into "business and sewing" and can only listen to her husband in his thermodynamics book. "We are already quite well equipped, have already had the visit of my father and Fritz's Leipziger relatives and still tolerate us well. For the time being, I am so absorbed in business and sewing that I can only listen if Fritz explains something to the textbook. I can understand the least, since he has just the first chapter, the thermodynamics. That means I can understand it already, but I am without any criticism. Later I can certainly help him, but I will scarcely get to work in the laboratory, for my day is filled with labor amply. Maybe later, when we are millionaires and can hold us "a service".

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<sup>12</sup> Charlotte Haber 1970,85

<sup>13</sup> Charlotte Haber 1970,80ff describes how Haber seduced her for the first time. It is unparalleled without equal.

<sup>14</sup> Charlotte Haber 1970,87f

<sup>15</sup> VA 5,260,12ff

<sup>16</sup> VA 5,812,22ff; VA 5,923 Letter 29.10.1901 cf Leitner 75-87; Szöllösi-Janze 1998,130f

For I can not dispense with it myself.“<sup>17</sup> Without any criticism - from feminine awe, from initial admiration, or from the taboo, with the same knowledge of knowledge? It was only when she was able to correct his manuscripts a little later and "illustrate" them with drawings.<sup>18</sup> During this time of her pregnancy, she is quite the passionate chemist who asks Abegg to brand Ladenburg in Halle on Fritz as an ideal new chair Fritz is afraid of clogging after many refusal experiences: "because Fritz says I should start now" proud ". ... I now work at the institute every afternoon and read and make drawings. Now I feel much better again. For a very long time, I was again profound, but I think this time was purely physical. I have grown so much stronger and thicker that I cannot carry any of my clothes - even the whole new ones. Would you have thought of that?"<sup>19</sup> There can be no talk of worn clothes in these years. The fact that she has a "profound" crisis about her physical thickenings of pregnancy also shows a certain pride in her hitherto extremely charming figure. "With the pride, it is always such a lazy thing with me and rather I will probably stop again after the first start, with you. ... What did Küster say to my marriage? I must cease because eight gentlemen, the dinner party, come to us this evening, and I have much to do. We have not been a week without one or two visits. It's almost too much for me. Fritz is horribly cold, so I do not let him write, he's just sleeping for a moment.“<sup>20</sup> Clara is seen here as a housewife, chemist and advocate for Fritz's professional career in full action. She mixes very actively at all levels. For 11 people cook, cover, wash off, clean the apartment, sew new clothes for the pregnancy, discuss with his husband about his book, look after Paul Krassa and Hermann and cultivate the ever-hurt and depressed workaholic Fritz the reader of these lines.

The pregnancy becomes agonizing towards the end, the pelvis seems too tight and Clara knows about the danger. Women were still able to die at birth. Fritzens mother Paula, cousin of his father Siegfried, died with 24 years 3 weeks after his birth. Clara is afraid. On 13.2.1902 she learns from the childbed death of the wife of an employee from Clausthal. "I just wanted to tell you how terribly I felt the message from Mrs. Bose's death that Bose sent us directly. I could not even write to him. I have always thought that she would not surrender the birth of a child; I once talked with your wife and hoped she would get nothing ... I am not at all able to scare myself, but I believe Fritz does it, and since recently more, but not everything with me so without any reservations. I said to Fritz the other day that I would rather have 10 doctoral theses, instead of having to torture myself like that.“<sup>21</sup> Fritz's fear increases their own legitimate fears in the 6th month. The birth is actually as hard as feared.

How much of the "affectionate anxiety about woman and child“<sup>22</sup> the father and husband had left real outside his letters from America is not tangible. Haber had as early as 1901 stress-induced gastric mucosal inflammations. "But he got excited not just about professional matters, especially about alleged attacks or debasement of his person. The excitement led to a week-long gastritis, so that at the time of the birth of his son Hermann on 1.6.1902 he felt

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<sup>17</sup> VA 5,812,22 Letter to Abegg 15.9.1901 = Leitner 1993,78f. This was shortly after the honeymoon.

<sup>18</sup> VA 5, 812,23 Letter to Abegg 15.10.1901 cf Szöllösi-Janze 1998,130; Leitner 1993,80

<sup>19</sup> VA 5, 812,23 Letter to Abegg 15.10.1901

<sup>20</sup> VA 5, 812,24 Letter to Abegg 18.10.1901 Fritz had at this time Influenza.

<sup>21</sup> VA 5, 813,1 Letter to Abegg 13.2.1902

<sup>22</sup> Charlotte Haber 1970,88

himself as a patient.<sup>23</sup> The irritation problems persisted. "Haber suffered" from his old stomach-digestive nervous-skin affections "and had to visit a gastric specialist this time because of the severity of the attacks."<sup>24</sup> During the severe pregnancy and birth of Hermann, he is desperate about his failed vocation in the same Hospital with gastritis and digestive disorders, which makes him more fuss than the freshborn "frog" on the 1.6.1902. "I hope, dear Richard, you have been less than I have on my nerves, nurses and nurses cause nervous night and overproduction in the stomach."<sup>25</sup> The woman after her life-threatening birth and her own alleged concern for her survival for 4 months to leave without need, can hardly be surpassed in egocentrism. He only sees his own feelings and career chances at this time. The honeymoon was the first serious mutual injury, the birth circumstances the second, the Americas the third. "Just out of the inharmonic domestic atmosphere!"<sup>26</sup> The four months during the American Coliseum, Clara and her baby, live with her father in Breslau. Stöcker builds a dairy warming machine for Hermann's train ride.<sup>27</sup> The fact that Clara is reporting American chemistry to Habers from the chemistry education over there - so Charlotte at least - with sobriety and a reminder to thriftiness, shows beside her real tight financial situation knowledge about his extravagant way of life, which also every side the biography of Charlottes. This scourges Clara's modesty and domestic qualities because she has nothing of the sort. The fact that Clara Fritz does not pick up from the ocean-steamers in Hamburg as a matter of course, shows frustration and care for Hermann, as well as the disappointment that Fritz had left him in this exhausting time. "Clara did not come to Hamburg. Having returned to Karlsruhe, he found her bed moved from the common bedroom into the nursery. The child, she explained, needed the mother's constant presence. She did not want to disturb him either. She remained. Outwardly, the appearance of a good marriage was preserved."<sup>28</sup> Separate bedrooms are not an indication of sexual abstinence. Charlotte wants to arouse this impression. Paul Krassa, who often stayed with Habers at home, energetically denied Jaenicke's conjecture "that Haber and his wife had had serious differences during this time."<sup>29</sup>

However, both have diametrically different life rhythms: Clara got up early at 6 o'clock and went to bed at 9 o'clock in the evening, Fritz worked or celebrated in his "convivial house".<sup>30</sup> until after midnight and woke up at around 8 o'clock at the earliest. Already during his studies, he stayed up until two o'clock in the morning. The bed separation was adequate. The sickness of little Hermann makes the move of Claras into the nursery. He is often a cold and a child with children, a constant source of infection for Clara. Once a month she has measles. Through the complete concentration of Habers on his university work and the contacts there, Clara is left alone with the child and the house. This is worse in Berlin later: he avoids the common meals, where possible, by plunging into work. By the way later, Charlotte.

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<sup>23</sup> Szöllösi-Janze 1998,131

<sup>24</sup> Szöllösi-Janze 1998,193 cf VA 5,813,9f Clara to Abegg 23.+26.9.1907; Ch. Haber 1970,88: bilious attack

<sup>25</sup> VA 5, 924,10 Letter to Abegg vom 26.6.1902. There is no word about Clara's condition after a severe birth.

<sup>26</sup> Charlotte Haber 1970,88 So Charlotte presents the first few weeks with the baby. She knows best how Fritz makes a holiday in Sils-Maria during the birth of her Ludwig-Fritz. Cf aaO 150ff

<sup>27</sup> Leitner 1993,91

<sup>28</sup> Charlotte Haber 1970,89

<sup>29</sup> VA 5,1470,3 Krassa to Jaenicke 15. März 1958

<sup>30</sup> ebd

When Charlotte recounts Fritz's discomfiture on Clara's alleged prohibition, the reform dresses, and maternalness, she described Haber's profile of requirements, which Clara contrasted with the lifestyle of the reform movement. Clara does not like it when Haber suddenly shows up with colleagues and can not handle them perfectly. Their cooking is universally appreciated. He often comes home depressed and can not bear his worries about Hermann and his household.<sup>31</sup> Krassa: "As I wrote to you, I often spent evenings in his house. Most of the time, he himself came late and tired, and then he liked to play a chess game, or, particularly in the later period, when I was already working as an assistant, to talk about events in the laboratory and possibly also in the faculty Clara, when the men play chess in the cigar-drenched salon."<sup>32</sup> What can a self-exhausted but tender and sensual woman still wake up from a man who is tired of tiredness? Pontresina is the star of this marriage, and this is not due to Clara's lack of sensuality, but Haber's egomania. He is later to bed with Charlotte, after his initial exhilaration, just as betwixt as with Clara.

Clara has little free capacity for the research of the household and her sick Hermann. She corrects his thermodynamics book of the gases in the institute and makes drawings, is praised 1905 in the dedication for the "silent co-operation". Just as later in Berlin, Fritz Clara also published in Karlsruhe with a harsh "you see, I have to do" from his institute.<sup>33</sup> In the winter term 1905/1906, Clara again gave 6 lectures on "Chemistry in the kitchen and house" in the Volksbildungsverein in front of 100 participants.<sup>34</sup> "Dear Professor, attached to the long-promised image of the boy, he is, in fact, more handsome. [...] I hold 6 lectures before about 100 listeners: chemistry and physics in the household. The ladies are enthusiastic!"<sup>35</sup> By acquaintance with RA van Aken, Habers received in June 1907 in their villa in Moltkestr. 31 in Karlsruhe Hardtwaldviertel a large ground floor apartment. "I had a bird of prey from the 9th - June diphtheria, had to move on the 19th and do everything by herself, since Anna Hamburger was afraid of the possible contagion and did not come here, and now, Hermann has had a strong cough for five weeks, so that I only get to and in Breslau has to recover. And right now, it would be so interesting to be in England!"<sup>36</sup> Children's diseases are cured in Polkendorf. She is driving around during this time. Her interest in her husband's research is unbroken.

The summer freshness begins in the 50-room Hotel Alberti Rainalter in Madonna Di Campiglio in Trentino near Lake Garda. From the Hotel Weisses Kreuz in the Swiss town of Pontresina near St. Moritz in the summer holiday, she writes on the conscientiousness of Jüttner on 26.8.1907, who is now working on a study aid of 1000 marks at the time, organized by Clara, after his father's death Donors (Abegg, Immerwahr, Goldschmidt, Sackur, Riesenfeld, Cramer and others), but has enough social need in his family that Clara is already considering a new distribution plan for the money. The letter ends: "Fritz, who sits above the electromagnetic light theory and asks me about the differences of lax, which I also consider lax, still

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<sup>31</sup> VA 5,215

<sup>32</sup> VA 5,1470,4 Krassa, Haber as an examiner and as head of the laboratory work

<sup>33</sup> v.Leitner in personally Mail from 5.11.2016 to Michael Lütge. Ähnlich Ch. Haber 1970,124

<sup>34</sup> GLA 235/30756 Chairman of the National Association of Ministers 16.5.1906 cf Szöllösi-Janze 1998,750

<sup>35</sup> VA 5, 926,9 Clara as the conclusion of a letter from Fritz to Abegg without date, presumably early 1906

<sup>36</sup> VA 5, 813,3 Clara to Abegg 25.7.1907



wants to write, so conclude with many cordial greetings.<sup>37</sup> In addition to their student solidarity and their Proud of the correct assessment of Jüttner is how they and Fritz are in constant professional dialogue. She is still a chemist and the marital contact is very loving and humorous. Clara's niece Detta Sachs, Ellis's daughter, spent a considerable time at Habers in Karlsruhe in the late summer of 1907.<sup>38</sup>

### ***Stress illnesses and cures in the style of the reform movement***

The fact that Clara has retired more and more from laboratory chemistry since her collaboration with Haber's thermodynamics in 1905, and that she joined the reform movement, may be connected with the constant illnesses of Hermann and with the stress-induced psychosomatic disturbances of Haber. It is not just a resignation to be unwelcome in the men's world of chemistry institutes.<sup>39</sup> It is also the departure from Habers Chemie, which is increasingly linked to patent battles with BASF, Höchst, Bayer and other industries, and has been paid for fees in bargains business enriched. James Franck sees this as a protest against Haber. Clara is experiencing, as Habers's ambition, the whole family becomes sick. "Haber's war was hard. But the man who had no objection to the new means of warfare was a man of rich, strong sentiment, of a kind, tender heart. In his younger years the attacks of Nernst had deeply wounded him on the reliability of his theoretical basis of ammonia synthesis, namely, his determinations of the equilibrium of ammonia."<sup>40</sup> How the gentle soft heart fits into the harsh tone and poison gaside, Willstätter is unimportant.



Haber did not get the chair in Vienna in June 1905, with Bunte in an increasing power struggle, an ordinariat in Frankfurt and one in Stuttgart were beaten quickly, perhaps because of Jewish roots. Le Blanc was rejected in Gottingen, and was called to Ostwald's chair only in June 1906, so that the announcement of Engler and Bunes to invoke Haber on Le Blanc's chair is only a fear of always hovering hopes must have been transferred to Clara, who always tried to do everything possible for an Ordinariat of Habers. After many questions from the commission, Fritz, instead of Foerster, received the Chair of Le Blanc's as an ordinarius at the annual sum of 5200 Marks as of 1 October 1906. A long anxiety will end.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>37</sup> VA 5,813,8-14,14

<sup>38</sup> „Some days, Clara Sachs is also on the way to Paris, Ellis's sister-in-law. Clara Haber is fascinated by her calm, harmonious face. She is eight years older than Clara, a painter, unmarried, and yet respected in Breslau ... Her art and musical admonitions are known to the city.“ v.Leitner 1993,137

<sup>39</sup> VA 5,260,18 Lütge: „Yes, Frau Haber was often sad, especially when she was pushed back with her too much mother-wetting. [...] the boss has sometimes been very violent in his words. But I have never noticed that Frau Geheimrat had answered with a vehement word.“

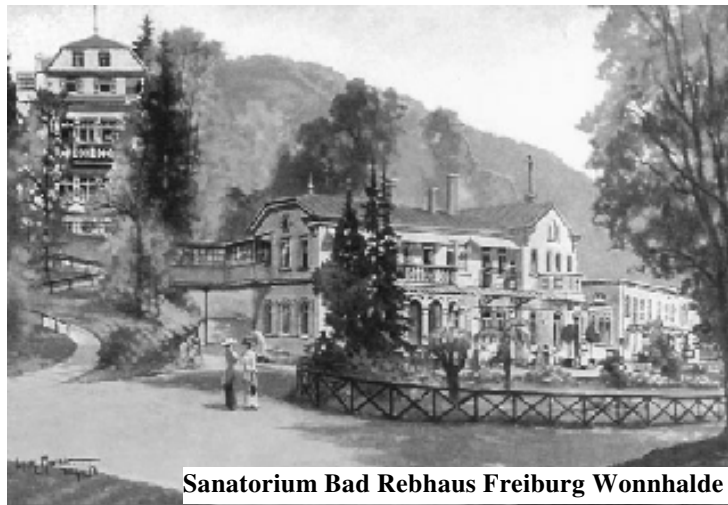
<sup>40</sup> Willstätter, Aus meinem Leben. Von Arbeit, Muße und Freunden, Weinheim 1949,266

<sup>41</sup> Szöllösi-Janze 1998,142-154

When, for the first time, a household aid was hired, on the fairground in 1906 (picture above) a lady in the same function can be seen on the right. The care of Hermann will have taken over her, when Clara, who is directly looked at the exhaustion, goes to the cure in Freiburg. She goes there into the Elite sanatorium of Dr. Lasker, "Bad Rebhaus" at the Wonnhalde.

The gigantic villa of the former leather manufacturer was rebuilt as a "water sanatorium after the pastor's Kneipp's system" with health resort uphill and bathing house north, which housed the medical facilities, "medico-mechanical machines", as well as a huge glass building with a flourishing restoration company. The Kneipp cure with water casts, water tread, barefoot running in corset-free clothing, whole-food, phytotherapy by medicinal plants are used to treat cardiovascular diseases, orthopedic disorders, defensiveness and vegetative disorders.

The fact that this cure was directed to the nervous system can only be inferred from Habsburg's letter to Ernst Riesenfeld of August, 1906, which also reflects Strasser Haber's view of his appointment as an ordinator.<sup>42</sup> In its objectives, the cure corresponds entirely to Clara's favored reform movement, of which Fritz, he always relies on hard drugs such as heavy sleep tablets. This sanatorium stay can be



**Sanatorium Bad Rebhaus Freiburg Wonnhalde**

described as wellness and certainly not as a psychiatric treatment due to a stated indication. Clara often complained about migraine. The water cures and medicinal herbs could have been a relaxing algae therapy. The mixture of endurance sports and relaxation techniques is quite efficient after evaluation studies.

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<sup>42</sup> „My wife, in accordance with the opinion of all the doctors who know her more closely, needs a stay at a recreation center or a sanatorium.“ Von Leitner 1993,111, Szöllösi-Janze 1998,193 und 750 Anm.207 adapts this.

The reform movement with the first reform house at Potsdamer Platz went back to Carl Braun, who in autumn 1887 in Berlin opened a retail business with the auspicious name of "health center". Naturheilverfahren after Emanuel Felke, Sebastian Kneipp or Vincenz Prießnitz, vegetarianism after Maximilian Oskar Bircher-Benner, antialcoholism and corset-freeness for the organism had arrived at Clara. The simple self-styled reform dress Clara saves cost for exclusive fashion in the style of Charlottes, whose book is a singular praise to the luxurious middle-class travel life. Clara gave lectures on chemistry in the household at Breslau Margarethengymnasium and later in Karlsruhe 1905f and 1910 series of lectures in front of 100 women, which shows how much she as an educated teacher understands generative topics, the mediation of the laboratory and kitchen. Natural food is a counterpart to the artificial fertilizer industry, which is subject to agriculture with its patent rights and carbs groundwater with nitrates carcinogenically.



When Clara came to the institute in 1913, she took care of Haber's health, which for many years had become increasingly angina due to its irritability and "miserability."<sup>43</sup> There was also gastritis, neurodermatitis, psoriasis, coronary stenosis made him ripe for the cure in Karlovy Vary in July 1913.<sup>44</sup> He complained about "exertion and depression".<sup>45</sup> Today one would speak of burn-out. Again and again there is evidence of Haber's depression. It was seldom thought whether the Clara attest to melancholy not primarily a reflex on that of Habers, motivated by her empathy. She could not adequately protect herself against his depression, cried empathically with the weeping, and was humiliated by Haber with his pre-adipal governess-noxe, where she was concerned about her caring for regular food. Karlovy Vary with its water applications from over 70 healing springs with mineral water from partly to 72? C is similar to the Kneippen in the Rebhaus Freiburg. It was especially indicated in liver and gall bladder, but also in the reduction of blood pressure.<sup>46</sup> Life in Karlovy Vary was highly luxurious. But it does not correspond to Haber's expectations of immediate healing. He does not take the natural healing process seriously. The doctors will surely have banned smoking. The relaxation, which is aimed at with hot envelopes, triggers Haber's archaic fears, which he plays with sarcasm. For him relaxation and falling down are so threatening because of a lack of mother-mothered basic trust that he hopes his salvation incessantly in struggle, in exertion, in research projects. Probably the idea of such a cure was due to Clara's orientation towards the reform movement, and Fritz can not get into this relaxation and make fun of others.

<sup>43</sup> Rudolf A. Stern, Fritz Haber. Personal Recollections, in: LBI Year Book 8/1963,70-102,102

<sup>44</sup> Leitner 1993,179; Szöllösi-Janze 1998,238

<sup>45</sup> VA 5, 1803,11f Haber to Krüss 4.1.1913

<sup>46</sup> Oscar Simon, Die Karlsbader Kur im Hause. Ihre Indikationen und ihre Technik, Berlin/Heidelberg (Springer) 1936,62ff

### ***Male attractiveness of Haber and narcissistic disorders of childhood***

Stomach problems and the "Beertable" cause unappetizing mouth odor. For this he was a chain-smoker with his half-caked Graf-Moltke cigars, which might have aggravated the odor of a non-smoking woman who had become a reformist. A loving woman may also ignore the balding of the young woman who is still full-bodied at the beginning, as well as the progredient obesity attested by Paul Krassa.<sup>47</sup> "The discussions were almost always continued at the Biertisch, where the closer circle coincided with Haber in the evening. Here, too, he told of his experiences of mundane and cheerfulness."<sup>48</sup> The hotdog food and beer drinking set in. During the visit to Argentina for the discovery of megalo research, Nov. 1923, Krassa states: "He had already become very strong as a result of his illness."<sup>49</sup> All of these repulsive effects might have affected the honeymoon, at that time potentiated by Haber's overwhelming "passion". "He was not very skilled, too, but he did not want to let it be true."<sup>50</sup> This can be repugnant to love. Undoubtedly, there was a time of a brief upsurge in erotic love in the early days of marriage. As late as 1907, the letters of Claras sounded good. This changes only two years later.

Clara writes to Richard Abegg after the end of his eight years on tragedy paper on April 23, 1909: "My dear professor, that I reply to your card letter only today has its reason for the fact that this answer is more like an envelope and how 1/2 hour, and I did not have both in stock. Just Fritz has sailed to Berlin, my boarding trip went out, and, of course, one of my two men took my sixth pencil. But if I want to use this precious time, I have to use the pencil. The first part of your letter is self-explanatory. All your feelings were at least as strong on my part, and as for the evening bread, I was only sorry that I had to eat the good things alone. On the other hand, our intentions seem to have come directly to the last part of your letter. But since it was not possible to talk to us for an hour (which was my burning desire), just let me reply to your comments to me, to whom I am keenly aware: Remember the other part as well ! What Fritz has gained in these eight years has lost-and more, I have lost, and what is left of me is filling me with the deepest dissatisfaction. It was always my view of life that it was only worth living if one had developed all his abilities to the summit and lived through everything that a human life can offer in experiences. And so, at last, I finally decided with the impulse that I would marry a decisive page in the book of my life and a string of my soul. The upswing which I had had, however, had been very short, and if I had to push a part of the minus facility to secondary circumstances and a special arrangement of my temperament, the main part is undoubtedly Fritz's overwhelming attitude for his person in the house and to push in marriage, in addition to which simply any nature, which does not even more recklessly at its expense, perishes. And that is the case with me. And I wonder if the superior intelligence is enough to make the one person more valuable than the other, and whether there is not much in me, what the hell is, because it has not come to the right man, is more value than that most important

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<sup>47</sup> VA 5,1470,7: Still in 1906 "at that time quite slim figure"

<sup>48</sup> VA 5,1470,8

<sup>49</sup> VA 5,1470,10 Cf Hermann Lütge in VA 5,1479,23: "By the way, in the bath, when the chief was older and more agitated, a little misfortune had taken place, which, however, still proceeded well. It was still difficult for Herr Geheimrat to get out of the bathtub at a later time."

<sup>50</sup> Krassa, VA 5,1470,4 Haber as an examiner and as head of the laboratory work

theory of electron theory? My relationship with the child is on a different leaf, and although it is always shaded by cruelty with the strenuous care, the essential is nevertheless quite in order. But it does not develop my inner man either, and so it really means for me a kind of salvation that I'm with Dr. Askenasy, if only in the flight, here and there an opportunity, from which I profit some inner "elevation". And now a hint to Fritz Nature himself. If I wanted to sacrifice even more of the birthright of life which has remained to me here in Karlsruhe, I would let Fritz be allowed to dry up to the one-sided, albeit the most important, researcher. Fritz's all human qualities besides this one are close to shrinking, and he is, so to speak, old before the time. On such occasions as the days of Zurich, a youthful train may be re-opened, but whoever is around here can not escape this impression. He himself is not righteous enough to seek the ground in himself, but rather pushes him chiefly to me and, incidentally, to our circle of traffic, and last but not least he would be ruining his health in spite of my really "chicanous" care, as is already the case. Everyone must be allowed to go on his own path, but, so to speak, "famillies," and a sovereign contempt for every, even the most ordinary regularity, the genius, in my opinion, can only legitimately allow itself alone on a desolate island. What do you mean?«<sup>51</sup>

Clara describes Fritz as a ruthless power-man, who, without her female influence, would also lose the last remnant of tender feeling. Your situation analysis is measurable. She suggests that she would have more to offer if she had come to the right man, not just as a scientist, but as a woman. Their abhorrence of sex (if Adelheid Noack was supposed to be correct with this assertion for this early period of marriage) is due to Haber as a man, to his engaging, even clumsy urgency. He can not feel her need for playfulness. He does not fulfill his longing for tenderness. He is lacking any empathy, even though he is described by some men as kind, soft-hearted and sensitive. He can only shine when he has worshipers at his feet. Opposed to a strong woman, who rarely withheld her clear opinion, he reigned in the fight against the paternal governess. Clara is seldom clearer in her desire for satisfying sexual sensuality than in this letter.

The professor and friend from Breslau's time, Paul Askenasy, who had just graduated in Karlsruhe in 1908, is able to make these strings in Clara sound by his prudence. She feels herself seen and respected in her innermost heart. Today this short-term healing effect would be understood as resilience. In his presence, she feels again and feels at first how many of her facets as a mature woman have been amputated by Haber's tenderness in his career and ammonia patent battles. Askenasys Margarete, b. Lewy, died in 1907, Susanne was just 8 years old. He would marry Louise König already in 1910, then a lecturer and publisher of the journal for electrochemistry and applied physical chemistry, in which Haber publishes a great deal. He is currently untied. It might have been the right thing for Clara, a man who does not stifle her temperament.

She also speaks of Habers view, who does not seek the fault of his inner neglect in a narcissistic disorder, but projects him to Clara, who mothers him and takes a part of his sovereignty through her paterness in nutritional questions. Haber suffers from a governess noxious: he grew up motherless, cared for by aunt and maternal aunts, the "Bernstädter Habers". Aunt Ida

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<sup>51</sup> VA 5, 813,14 Letter to Abegg from 23.4.1909

was 22 years at his birth, Aunt Ulrike probably already in England, only an Uncle Hermann mentions Haber himself as a protector. There is nothing to be found about his replacement mother for the first 6 years. Paul's mother Johanna Warschauer had a horde in Breslau with her 9 other children and led a resolute regiment. Father Siegfried, however, marries the beautiful 19-year-old pianist Hedwig Hamburger, with whom he still has three children, Else (later Freyhahn), Helene and Frieda.<sup>52</sup> Especially small children who do not feel comfortable often do not want to eat. Then the helpless governesses try to push the food with pressure and the stomach is automatically raised to rebellion against this compulsion. Haber had never experienced the intimate development of a toddler within a protective-estimating mother-child dyad.<sup>53</sup> The daughters of the rigid Grandma Johanna, who are constantly changing in his care, should not have been spoiled with him. His stepmother Hedwig could scarcely compensate for this precarious delinquency. This depravation explains both the ontological uncertainty, the lack of self-consciousness, the fear of intimacy, and the rebellion against female paterness, which Clara and Charlotte have painfully felt. Precisely because Haber himself is deeply uncertain as a lovable human being, he is incessantly gaining recognition of all kinds through all kinds of troubles. Therefore, he also experiences any rejection as a life-threatening situation and responds to gastritis somatizing. That is why he fled before these resolute women into the men's societies of all kinds, although he had no less rejected his father.

It was not Haber's kind to wait patiently for anything. He went on purposefully towards a project. He always had to fight for everything. One can imagine that the penetrating impetuosity of a sensitive tender young woman is painful and stifles pleasure. He might not be tender enough to excite Clara. At that time sexual mockery of the man was not a rarity. Such awkwardness, ignorance of feminine pleasure, soon results in a juicy discharge. Possibly the femme fatal from the series has developed bad lovers of a demanding beauty in their quest for a finally satisfying happiness experience. Clara's letter of April 23, 1909 at any rate testifies to a self-assured knowledge of the virtues of her femininity, which she counteracts with her successes in ammonia synthesis. Haber was insufficient for her femininity and sensuality. A man like Paul Askenasy would have been the better alternative. The initial flight of love was short. She was such a sincere woman that he would have said it in a body language, if not *expressis verbis*. This was the narcissistic insult to his depraved masculinity, which drove the "soft, kind, sensitive"<sup>54</sup> husband of his marriage into work and company with his co-workers. He demonstrates to Clara that there are people who like to have him around and love his effusions. That is why he talks to Abegg in his own eyes, and leaves Clara alone before her dinner, knowing that she would like to have poured out her heart to her souls' mind, knowing that no eulogy would come to him. That is why he often comes unannounced with a small group of admirers to the apartment and celebrates into the night. It is at the same time the message to Clara that even without her she has a fulfilled life. She uses her as a cook and auxiliary for his performances. She sees Haber's unpredictability as a risk factor for his health when he is eating and celebrating. From the medical point of view it is right. At the same time, as a house-

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<sup>52</sup> Stoltzenberg 1994,5-13

<sup>53</sup> Heinz Kohut, Narzißmus, Frankfurt (Suhrkamp) 1973,129-147,334-46 to Greatness and Mother-Internalization as the basis for love and empathy.

<sup>54</sup> Willstätter, Aus meinem Leben. Von Arbeit, Muße und Freunden, Weinheim 1949,266

maid, she leads a self-conscious socialization matriarchy against both men, a completely coordinate form with a Wilhelminian Spirit of time.<sup>55</sup> This reminds him of the strict aunts of childhood and makes him rebellious because he always reigns in the helplessness and feels attacked.

The niece of Clara's sister Lotte, Adelheid Noack, excellently analyzes: "Clara Haber was a gentle, gentle, almost girlish woman with a tender voice, a soft lisp, which sounded very touching. She was very sensitive, a man thirsting for tenderness. But she had a horror of what you call sensual. This was probably the dissatisfaction between the married couple that the form of the claims were different. He did not have what he really needed. She was a fan of truth. Nothing could be left unspent, everything had to be cleansed. What made the two bourgeoisies was their immense urge to correct them, to make "inner cleansings". My uncle (Hauptmann, Fritz Meffert) often said: "If she took him by the head, and kissed her, she would be so different, so easy with him."<sup>56</sup> But there were the fronts of mutual denials too hard. There was only loyalty and loyalty. If Clara were concerned about the clarity of all inconsistencies, it would be very surprising if you had only shown pride in his participation in the great policy of the gas war. There are, of course, logs of the internal debates and political disputes between the two partners.

### *Claras lectures and migraine*

On 21.10.1910 in Karlsruhe Claras begin 4 lectures in the Workers' Education Association on natural sciences in the household. She speaks in the auditorium of the Chemical Laboratory, 90 applications are a proud interest. Fritz had never had so many listeners in his lectures. The lectures were postponed because Clara was prevented by nursing, migraine, and Abegg's death. She writes to Krassa

on March 21, 1910: "Dear Paul, Your letter pleased me; I would have written you again, but Mendel (her son Hermann) had first measles and now catarrh, in between I suffer a lot of migraines, so it was not. Your Conterfey I have wanted to hang up all sorts of people, but now I will let you pack it and send it to you tomorrow by H. Kirchenbauer. As for the other question, do you remember Dr. Dr. Cramer, Breslau, Zimmerstr. 11, you will be called upon me. However, I do not know whether the Cramerehe standard of life is such that one could recommend it to a child. However, you have a good school here in this regard, but just ask. Best regards Your Clara Haber / ps. Mendel is already asking if you already have a wife."<sup>57</sup> He later married in the Dahlemer Habervilla.

**Der Kurs „Naturwissenschaften im Haushalt“** unter Leitung von Frau Professor Dr. Haber verspricht sehr interessant und lehrreich insbesondere für unsere Frauenwelt zu werden. Der Kurs sollte bekanntlich schon im Frühjahr 1910 seinen Anfang nehmen, mußte jedoch wegen Verhinderung der Leiterin verlegt werden. Schon damals machte sich ein großes Interesse geltend und ca. 90 Frauen und Mädchen zeichneten sich in die Teilnehmerliste ein. Wir laden auch heute zur Teilnahme freundlichst ein, die bekanntlich unentgeltlich ist, und bitten um Einzeichnung in die beim Hausmeister und im Lesezimmer anliegende Liste. Dieser Kurs erstreckt sich auf ca. 4 Abende und findet stets Freitag, abends 8 Uhr, im Hörsaale des chemisch-technischen Laboratoriums der technischen Hochschule, Eingang Schulstraße, statt. Beginn Freitag, den 21. Oktober 1910.

<sup>55</sup> The same is true of Walter Brünner's graphical report I /1955: „Susceptible, fuerte tendencia a obstinación autoritaria dominante especialmente en circulo estrechos familia.“

<sup>56</sup> Adelheid Noack to Jaenicke, 19.11.1959, VA 5, 310

<sup>57</sup> VA 5,814,2

The nervous system of the migrator runs on high tours, he is a particularly conscientious person, who can process a great deal of information per time. But the nervous system reaches a time at which it takes a rest. And she takes it in the form of migraine attacks. The anxiety about the sick Hermann, so often sick, causes her to get up to the top of his sickbed, and as soon as he heals, she collapses, exhausted by fear and anxiety.

On April 4, 1910, Abegg fatally kills his balloon at landing in a storm in Ticino near Rostock. For Clara the deepest soul-friend is torn away; it has just become quite stable again and then this catastrophe. She falls into a severe crisis of tragedy and goes for months to Freiburg in Dr. Laskers Rebhaus-Sanatorium. Fritz seems to have hindered in this mourning process for the replacement father Abegg. The deep relationship between them was more a thorn in his eyes. Clara had cooperated with Abegg in close scientific cooperation with Haber. And she could pour her heart out of her childish childhood and was appreciated. For him the sadness around Abegg was only a confirmation of how much more Clara loved this friend.

Obviously, the lectures of 1905 were so well received that they were repeated. (Photo above) Clara has found a way to translate her understanding of chemistry as an aid to everyday life in the household and thus achieves a remarkable resonance.

### ***The change to Berlin and the isolation of Claras in Dahlem***

The contrasts of both intensify with the move into Dahlem in a huge villa with three service women and frequent visit of economic and government officials. Haber expects the proud representation of his wife in fashionable women's clothing. Clara refuses to do this by wearing wide body-friendly reform dresses, and is always wearing an apron, so that she is sometimes considered a servant. The apron symbolized: she was not standing over the house, but drank coffee with them in the kitchen. Hermann Lütge describes her as "housewife", expressing the displeasure of Habers, who hoped for Charlotte Nathan the erotic innovation of an extravagant femme fatal. She loves the modest, simple appearance without any pomp. The more Haber's extravagant femininity, the greater love for worn-out old clothes is developed by Clara. She is opposed to Haber's bombasticism and his typical attempt at a new riches to be able to keep up with the capital<sup>58</sup>, the secret council scene, and the high government officials. She opposes these nocturnal amusement societies which replace the Karlsruhe Beertable: "Clara Haber was helplessly opposed to both the move and the establishment of this difficult household to manage. On top of that, she never found suitable and capable staff. She left no one in her kitchen, boiled alone. She overworked, worked too much, and was almost always tired. As Professor Haber, on socializing, the intellectual exchange with his colleagues and friends, placed an always hospitable house high, the embarrassing condition arose that the woman of the house had already taken leave of the guests at nine o'clock in the evening with the explanation that she must change At six o'clock in the morning, to get up to the right, and now too tired to follow the conversation. Her appearance neglected her more and more; the Haber marriage became a Strindberg marriage."<sup>59</sup>

As Haber loved celebrating, Charlotte described impressively: "Sauerbruch and Willstätter were good friends. Thomas Mann was the third in the federation, and when Fritz Haber came

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<sup>58</sup> the institute's founder Leo Koppel, BASF, Höchst, Bayer, the Auerwerken, etc.

<sup>59</sup> Charlotte Haber 1970,89



to Munich, the four sizes of exquisite meals and exquisite wines were combined to serene and clever talks. The symposia were still going on until the deep night, indeed until the dawn of the morning, and when the hunger was at an end, Willstätter's cook had still to prepare a snack.<sup>60</sup>

The Habervilla was a hospitable house. Koppel also arrived without Haber's presence, Paul Krassa and James Franck were often guests, Setsuro Tamaru traditionally celebrated Christmas with the Haberfamily.

Haber is unimportant regular healthy eating. He only comes to dinner when all the projects are done. Clara is all the more anxious to get a vitamin-rich healthy diet. So she strengthens his back. The more Haber forgets the regular food or refuses, the more often Clara interferes with the breakfast or telephone calls. She raises this up to rage outbursts the husband, where Haber publicly humiliates them as a "woman".<sup>61</sup> The triumph of tantrum has also been experienced by the successor, Charlotte.<sup>62</sup> Her role as a house-mother makes Clara a counterpoint against Haber's desire for a real lady. The harsh insults add to her injuries. As clear as their self-consciousness was at first, the rage about such injuries leads them to themselves, goes into the retroflexion, typical of educated women of the bourgeoisie. She can not let the anger go to the right place, she cries "not all too well" (Lütge) in the last dispute with Haber, after which she shoots herself with all this redirected anger into the heart.

Paul Krassa writes to Jaenicke on 2.11.1957 from Santiago: "It is much more difficult for me to write to you about Haber's first wife Clara, born Immerwahr. As I told you at the time, she was my second cousin, and at the age of twenty-one she came to Karlsruhe as a relative. As she said, she was a highly intelligent woman, full of heart. Surely she fully recognized the superior talent and personality of her husband, but it was certainly not easy for her to be the wife of a "great man." She has brought him the sacrifice of the task of her profession and has probably not found the necessary replacement in her family life. She had nothing to do with Representation, but she was by no means gifted. On the other hand, he had been completely absorbed in his work, especially since his move to Berlin, but also in his Karlsruhe period. She is therefore not surprising that their state of mind has been adversely affected in recent years. However, I would like to believe that the expression "melancholy" is already going too far, and that one can certainly not speak of depression as a result of an inherited strain. A few days before her death, she was with my wife, with whom, despite the differences in age, she had an intimate sympathy. She was desperate about the dreadful consequences of the gas war, whose preparation and trials on animals she had seen. As far as other circumstances, apart from the conviction that they were not able to live harmoniously together in Haber, were decisive for their decision, I would not like to decide. Can and should one speak of guilt in such sad cases? The most cordial friendships have connected me with both of them, and they con-

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<sup>60</sup> Charlotte Haber 1970,110f

<sup>61</sup> VA 5 260,13: „Mrs. Privy Councilor came with a tray, she heard his voice, came to me and said, "Mr. Lütge, my husband is there, please go inside, I will not disturb, and bring him to eat and drink. But take care that he really takes the food." I took the tray, went inside and was looked at by the boss in amazement. He asked: Must my wife ask you now? Can not the woman leave me alone?“

<sup>62</sup> „According to Charlotte Haber, in the 1920s, when she knocked on nicely, Fritz was thrown with a black inkwell that immortalized itself on the wall and on her dress. He was just at the booth with Fritz Born (the only chemist who refused to co-operate in the group) and just continued the conversation. Both women have swallowed various overlaps.“ Gerit v.Leitner, Mail to Lütge 5.11.2016

tinued to exist with him even after Clara Haber's death. For my opinion that it was by no means sad or even hereditary was a series of letters, from the years 1909 to 1915, which are purely personal, of which I will send you a few. The last news of 15/25 must have been written a few weeks before her death, the date of which I was deprived. The last visit to my wife, who was then ill, of whom I had just written, must have taken place after her journey to Haber. At that time she also brought copies of a series of letters Haber had written to her from the front. Unfortunately these are lost to me, if they had left them to my wife. I do not know what happened between this last visit and their death, and hardly believe that anyone knows who still lives today. Her sister, Lotte Meffert, is certainly no longer today.<sup>63</sup> On March 15, 1958, Krassa again interjected with Jaenicke's question of hereditary depression: "I am happy to accept that you took photocopies from the letters sent to you and leave it to you To make any use of them. As for Clara Haber's personality, I really do not know whether and how far I and my wife are biased. I must be willing to admit that she was, as I have already written, very nervous at the last time of her life. But there seems to be no sign of a hereditary burden, despite all this. It is true that her brother Paul, who had been a long time in a leading position with the Auer society (before so much as I know with Henckel Donnersmarck) was a somewhat difficult character. But this was chiefly due to a gall bladder, which he had suffered from his youth. On the other hand, her two sisters, Elli Sachs and Lotte Meffert, were particularly calm, balanced natures.

Finally, I would like to make an impression which you seem to have obtained from my earlier report, namely that Haber had suffered in Karlsruhe under the sorrow of a woman mentally estranged from him. At that time I was still too young to notice any inconsistencies, but even in the memory I do not have the impression that Haber and his wife had had serious differences during this time.<sup>64</sup>

Unfortunately, neither Clara's letters nor Jaenicke's letter have been preserved in this file, but Jaenicke's letters to Lütge<sup>65</sup> reveal how strongly he was imbued with an allegedly hereditary melancholy and life- The "ethical rigorism" of Clara's made her depressed. Now, however, she is by no means alone in the horror of Haber's active participation in the disgusting gas war<sup>66</sup>, but in a series with many generals, who were deeply "unprincipled"<sup>67</sup> to this Habsburg invention under Falkenhayn's patronage, and against the Hague Land Warfare Regulations of 1907.“

The questions of Jaenickes to Hermann Lütge already specify a goal, which he would like to hear, even if he invites a whole bubbly. All that Lütge writes about the "boss" from the years 1913-15 reveals by no means a withdrawn depressed lady, but a very health-conscious and responsible housewife who starts the day at 6 o'clock in the morning while her husband is still

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<sup>63</sup> VA 5 1470,2

<sup>64</sup> VA 5,1470,4

<sup>65</sup> VA 5, 260, S. 16 Punkt c-f

<sup>66</sup> ebd

<sup>67</sup> Generaloberst Carl von Einem to his wife, 1.2.1917: "But I am angry at the gas and its use, which has been disgusting to me from the beginning. We are indebted to the introduction, in the warfare of Falkenhayn, of this means, which is so unchivalent, and which is only used by villains and criminals, to Falkenhayn, whose adventurousness believed that he could win the war by this means. Now our enemies have ...“ cit. by Szöllösi-Janze 1998,325 from Wild von Hohenborn, Briefe, S.167

working or having company and in the morning at eight o'clock in the tub, then to rush without breakfast to the institute.

Haber had to apologize to Willstätter. The shepherd's dogs of both villages defended their gardeners, and at the same time Willstätter's "Bobbi" Clara's "Griffin" paused without a stop, whereupon Clara hurried to Willstätter for Charlotte's representation and gave him a booth: "She was conspicuous. Haber had no choice but to go over to the Willstättervilla and beg his pardon for his wife, who had been too energetic for the supposed rights of her beloved Mol. On this occasion, the two scholars came into a long conversation and understood each other so well that in the further course of the evening, with a good bottle of wine, Fritz Haber, as the elder, offered his friendly friend to his little younger colleague, "It is much better to say you donkey than you donkey" (,du Esel'[personally] als ,Sie Esel'[formally officially]).<sup>68</sup> Charlotte's choice of words "conspicuous", "supposed rights" puts Clara in the wrong without proper knowledge of the actual event. Eyewitnesses Willstätter portrays the incident more credibly: "Frau Haber was offended because my dog Bobbi had mocked her grasping sarcastic remarks, which were by the way justified, over the fence, even in her presence. But we were grieved because their evil grasp leaped over our high fence and gave the friendly, albeit loud Bobbi heavy bite-wounds."<sup>69</sup> The Bernardine Mol is here an evil shepherd's griffin, who jumps over a tall fence masterfully and sends the friendly Bobbi off whose sarcastic remarks were so violated that they became much more "justified". A violation of Willstätter's Bobbi by Haber's griffin is more the reason for an apology visit than Clara's dissatisfaction with the perpetual Bellerei, which Charlotte builds up as a "susceptibility". Haber was afraid of burglars and it was also broken in.<sup>70</sup> A Saint Bernard is not a guard dog. The purchase of a shepherd dog makes sense. Then, Clara's alleged "slowness" was not the reason for the apology. All accounts of Clara portray these as prudent. The perspective of Rival Charlotte is obvious.<sup>71</sup> She sees deviations in all she writes about her, even though she is involved in disagreements. Compared to the post mortem of Haber's guilt-conscious and punishably sanctified childhood love Clara, Charlotte had despite her elaborate effort for attractiveness ultimately little chances.

### ***Clara's unhappiness and Haber's flourishing as the main man***

Charlotte describes the suicide of Clara's without the admission that she herself was the most important trigger by her amorous encounter with habitual hours: "From the suicide which the mother of his son had chosen, and all the other oppressive circumstances surrounding him, which expressed itself in an almost exaggerated love for his son, led to a deafness, a mutual and oppressive dependency relationship. Nearly friends of Clara Haber, who later became my friends, always emphasized me against the noble character of the unfortunate woman."<sup>72</sup> Charlotte even diagnoses this feeling of guilt, which she considers "exaggerated." "There is little doubt that the housekeeper has identified her as the lady in the "entangled situation," and

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<sup>68</sup> Charlotte Haber 1970,109. At Charlotte, the shepherd's griffin is the beloved Saint Bernard dog Mol

<sup>69</sup> Willstätter 1949,204

<sup>70</sup> cf VA 5,260,36

<sup>71</sup> Otto Lummitzsch, VA 5, 1480,8: "A few days after his departure, Frau Haber took his life. Geheimrat Haber was deeply shocked and never completely overcome the loss of his first life companion."

<sup>72</sup> Charlotte Haber 1970,90

that she could do so precisely after two years later, when new Mrs. Haber moved into the villa.<sup>73</sup> It is more likely that Charlotte would remember this to a successive night, or to show the readers of their book their own irreproachable conduct. It is less credible that she first visited the "dashing headman Haber" in March 1917 for the umbrella delivery and married seven months later. At the age of 49, a widower does not marry again after such a short period of time, when the feeling of guilt, of which Charlotte writes, existed at all. If we assume, for example, that she is not lying, there is no reason for jealousy for Clara's suicide. Shortly before his departure to the Eastern Front, Haber telephoned to Clara's death day to Schmitt-Ott: "She has no longer endured life."<sup>74</sup> He implicitly denies any complicity in her death. It is a platitude: every suicide can no longer endure life. This initial denial of the debt is the negation of the school by negationem et regressu. You hear the little boy saying, "I was not that!" Haber himself later claimed to Schmidt-Ott that he had accused her of this company on May 1, 1915, because she had counted his failures in the gas battle in March 1915 in Dahlem and as a result the generals had not commanded any troops to advance to the gas cloud, so the whole action was a flop. She was supposed to leave the position war and she did not. The letters of farewell, which Haber has never published, will have made their decision, and this was a sufficient reason for Haber's feelings of guilt, which went to the front, where he hoped for heroic death.<sup>75</sup> To Engler he wrote six weeks later: „I have almost doubted for a month that I would endure. Now the war with its cruel pictures and its incessant demand made me quieter. I had been fortunate enough to have to work again at the Ministry for eight days, so that I could see my son. Now I am back at the front ... I must live with all the strangers through all the endless frictions of the war and have no time to see right & left, to think and to sink into my feelings. It is a good thing for me, when I am a few days ahead of time, where the bullets are going. There the moment counts, and what can be done in the narrowness of the ditch is the sole duty. All the heroic ideas received by the poets are growing up, and one feels the piece of soldiering that every man has hidden somewhere. But then you sit back at the command post, chained to the telephone, and hear in the heart the words that the poor woman has spoken, and there she sees her commands and telegrams appearing in the vision of the tension."<sup>76</sup>

If one sees this reaction as a penitential process, the logic behind it is that he has to pay for Clara's death, for which, in addition to eroticism with Charlotte, this severe charge of treason was a spiritual annihilation. Thus the eroticism, complying with the year of mourning, was demanded by fronts, and Hermann's pain for his mother was taken into account by two years. She may also have been canceled in the shock of Clara's Suicide until the suppression of this first love night. After the comparison of both dog anecdotes one can well imagine that once again an autogloricatory remembrance was presented by Charlotte Haber.

The swarm of land concoction and heroic ideals in the ball-and-shower show an almost playful joy of war. Many soldiers swarm about their supposed adventures. For Haber as a discriminated deputy master, the dream has now come true to really belong to no longer being sub-

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<sup>73</sup> VA 5,260,13f

<sup>74</sup> F. Schmidt-Ott, *Erlebtes und Erstrebtes 1860-1950*, Wiesbaden 1952,124

<sup>75</sup> Gerit v. Leitner suspects Fritz Meffert, who was the first to be on the scene, as the destroyer of the farewell letters.

<sup>76</sup> VA 5,856; Szöllösi-Janze 1998,399; Stoltzenberg 1994,356; Leitner 1993,11ff

human. Finally, he not only plays the leading role in the group's merchant club, but in the highest court of the mansion: the war. He destroys enemies with the best poisonous gases of his research groups, French, English, Canadian. He has arrived at the summit of his ideals and is treated by the generals as one of theirs. He feels as superior to him as Ostwald in Leipzig, who did not think of him at first, dismissed him, and finally had to experience how Haber made the ammonia synthesis patentable and industrially usable with more pressure. Clara as "poor woman" - what arrogance is hidden in this term. He can not yet realize that he has made her poor, to one who has "no longer endured life". At the moment, she is only one of the many who fell in the war, as Sackur had done before. More compassion, more unhappy softness, the soldier Haber can not and can not afford in the heroic bullet.

It is the multiple narcissistic insults as a Jewish volunteer in Breslau and as a Jewish aspiring scientist at various chemical institutes.<sup>77</sup> The refusals Haber has experienced, Nernst's allegations have seriously injured him. His whole ambition is for a lifetime to demonstrate to these doubters, by his superior intelligence and competence, that he is better than them. He wants to defeat them. As the dispute between the faculties required interdisciplinarity and knowledge-networking as a problem-solving solution, Haber succeeded in the military as well, with the threefold synergy between strategy and science and economy. Its optimization of the warfare with gunpowder, artificial fertilizer and poison gas has improved the fighting power horrendous. The war can be sustained for three years against three allies - among the largest mass of human resources ever to date. It is all superlatives that Haber has achieved. The fact that Clara criticizes this orgy of the gratification of an internally starved man is to be regarded as a treason of the country, as a damaging undermine of his national heroic deeds. He and his institute are searching for the fastest poison, the least long-lasting gas-fueled gas, the most humane and painless destruction of the enemy. It is not the pleasure of the ringlets of the enemies; it is the hope of a mild euthanasia, if the enemies have to die, which is the goal of the war. With Cyklon A, Cyanide, Haber comes later this idea even closer. The inevitable death is to be embellished. An almost romantic idea of human dying is behind Haber's entire toxic gas research. The addiction to recognition shows how almost irreversibly the narcissistic insults caused by his Jewish descent led him to his research.

The founder of the Gestalt therapy of Fritz Perl was also affected by this development, when he was given a painting in 1914 and taken out of the study. "I had already reached a certain degree of hardness and insensibility, but there were two forms of death that I could hardly bear. One was the commandos after the attacks. After the gas cloud was drawn over the enemy lines, they climbed out of their trenches. They were armed with a long, flexible hammer, with which they slew everyone who gave a sign of life. I have never figured out whether they did this to save ammo, or not to attract attention, or pure sadistic pleasure. The other happened only once. We had our gas masks tested with tear gas in the morning. They seemed to be all right. That night we made another gas attack. A final inspection of the steel bottles. The meteorologist examines the wind speed, wind strength and wind direction. (...) Finally, the wind conditions seem to be right. Open the valves! The yellow cloud creeps towards the trenches. Then a sudden whirl. The wind changes its direction. The trenches run in zig-zag lines. The

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<sup>77</sup> Szöllösi-Janze 1998,142ff; Frucht/ Zepelin 1995,71ff

gas can pull into our own trenches! And so it was and with many the gas masks did not work. And many, many suffer mild to severe poisoning, and I am the only doctor and have only four small oxygen bottles, and everyone desperately desires for some oxygen, clings to me, and I have to snatch the bottle from him to relieve another soldier to provide.«<sup>78</sup>

### *Clara's critical position on the gas war*

Adelheid Noack, niece of Clara's sister Lotte Meffert, writes: "There are several more or less pathetic readings about their suicide, For example, she had summoned him to refrain from the gas war. This reading is not true. The aggravations and difficulties between the marriages were not of a petty nature; they were fundamental."<sup>79</sup> Adelaide's father, Fritz Meffert, was one of the leaders of the first gas regiment and the gas war. It is not surprising if the daughter finds it "pathetic" and "petty" to be against the gas war. However, both the sustained disruption of marriage and the lack of incantation to abandon the gas war are right. Clara was much too realistic to summon Fritz, and she also saw the immense dimensions of the gas war. She could assess how little a moral appeal against Haber, on the other hand, had morally legitimized him as a "war-shortening" and could have helped Falkenhayn ordered gas war. She suspected that a peace demonstration in Dahlem would have had little effect.<sup>80</sup> The women's associations would in any case not have entered. They supported the war.<sup>81</sup>

Thus she founded a nursery for poor children whose fathers had to work at the offices and their mothers instead of the fathers who had been commanded, in the still second floor of the KWI.<sup>82</sup> „The management of this was transferred to a deaconess nurse Ida Help stood an older Fr. Wurknitz. I must remark here that Frau Geheimrat Haber has often been very active in furnishing the rooms. There were probably 80 children at the age of 2 1/2 - 12 years.“<sup>83</sup> Such a commitment would hardly be conceivable for a depressive.

How little she publicly criticized her husband is shown by her letter of January 15, 1915 to Setsuro Tamaru<sup>84</sup> and from Lütge's assessment that she could not think about the repugnance

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<sup>78</sup> Perls, *Gestaltwahrnehmung Verworfenen und Wiedergefundenes aus meiner Mülltonne*, Frankfurt (Flach) 1981, 164f

<sup>79</sup> VA 5, 301,2 am 19.11.1959

<sup>80</sup> Angelika Ebbinghaus, Rezension Gerit von Leitner, *Der Fall Clara Immerwahr*, in: *Zeitschrift für Sozialgeschichte des 20. und 21. Jahrhunderts*, 8. Jahrgang, Oktober 1993, Heft 4, 125-131,130: „She set up a kindergarten for 80 children at the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute, whose fathers were on the front-not exactly an active struggle against the war, but more social housework for the war, as we would say today. Clara Immerwahr had now felt completely excluded from the events at the institute, which had meanwhile been subordinated to the Ministry of War.“

<sup>81</sup> Leitner 1993,210f

<sup>82</sup> Clara to Tamaru 15.1.1915: „That we have not yet written to you, you must not regard as a sign of deficiency. My husband works 18 hours a day, almost always in Berlin, I took 57 poor children in care and Hermann is almost always sick since November. The last 14 days so hard that he only slowly recovered. We did not find a quiet hour.“ Hideko Tamaru Oyama, Setsuro Tamaru and Fritz Haber. *Links between Japan and Germany in Science and Technology*, in: *The Chemical Record* 15/2015,540; Bretislav Friedrich / Dieter Hoffmann, Clara Haber, nee Immerwahr (1870-1915) ; *Life, Work and Legacy*, in: *Zeitschrift für anorganische und allgemeine Chemie* 2016, 642, (6), 437-448,445

<sup>83</sup> Lütge VA 5,1479,18f

<sup>84</sup> „And besides, the horror and the dull pressure is upon us all, and paralyzes every emotion to help itself otherwise than to help the country in the few free hours. [...] God grant that you may return to us. I should like to say nothing to the political disputes which were very interesting to us all; I am too immature in foreign policy to be able to answer you. Certainly you have in many respects, but in some respects, decidedly a somewhat unilateral judgment. Now many greetings from all of us. Your Clara Haber“

of the gas war.<sup>85</sup> This loyalty has perhaps abandoned her since Cologne-Madness in mid-January. How much time Clara had ever had to argue about the use of gas with his 18-hour-day or absence in Belgium is as unclear as the question of who should have listened to such discreet discourses. The staff does not know the issue, but only the volume: moderato. This remained as incognito as the farewell letters, which had never been carried forward (on the advice of Fritz Meffert, who was the first at the scene). It was not "all-screaming"<sup>86</sup> also, that earlier disputes were conducted more spiritedly. Lütge, however, never knew about the strife and temperament of Clara. "As I said above, the boss has sometimes been very violent in his words. But I have never noticed that Frau Geheimrat had answered with a vehement word. Her whole life was set in care for her husband and for her son Hermann. However, if there was a need to help alleviate, Mrs. Geheimrat was immediately at hand, and she was not afraid of any dirty work."<sup>87</sup> This assessment reveals once more to Clara's highly moral loyalist. Only a few confidants open it at all.

### ***Indication of evidence: pacifism in the marital crisis and accusation of the treason***

Would it be conceivable that they had merely stepped over food or Hermann, or too few letters from the front? Would it be conceivable that Clara had only one in mind, the danger to life and limb only by Fritz in front of the front? Though the thousandfold death of the gas victims seems irrelevant to her? Would such an exclusion of the deadly "success" of Habers be imaginable with such a prudent woman with "pronounced views"? Clara has become a little tighter in the last dispute. An acoustic harbinger of the self-abandonment of a former fighter for women's rights and reform movement? There is a ridiculous controversy among Haber biographers as to whether the designation of the gas war as "perversion of science" was literally pronounced by Clara.<sup>88</sup> There is no written proof of this.

But what is the scientific interest in recognizing a well-founded pacifist public opinion? What is the cognitive interest in the search for evidence for a psychiatric diagnosis of family-related depression and suicide? One wants to invalidate a possible criticism of Haber by this suicide. They no longer want to be accepted as a serious voice. Is it also a question of discrediting the negative assessment of poison gas or war as an unscientific one? Is the restraint in evaluating poison gas as a "perverse" insignia of the neutrality of the historian? Is a completely free science history semiotically imaginable?

No. In each sentence there is already a mostly unreflected sum of evaluations, which are not particularly noticeable because they are shared by the majority of the listeners. The better Haber has destroyed all of Clara's death documents, the more we are dependent on interpretations, and all we have are interpretations and collective riddles. However, we do not come to

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<sup>85</sup> VA 5, 260,17f: "Mrs. Geheimrat, although she had 3 or even 4 girls auxiliary staff in her home, was simply unable to think about the reprobation of the gas war intensively. The boss may have been proud of her husband's achievements. Surely, but her whole attitude to life was that of an embracing house-mother." Lütge knows Clara only from the artisans' meeting.

<sup>86</sup> Lütge VA 5,260,17

<sup>87</sup> Lütge VA 5, 260,18

<sup>88</sup> Szöllösi-Janze 1998,18,394ff,795 Anm. 609: "Very suggestive" The first spoke of "perversion" Morris Goran, The Story of Fritz Haber, Norman 1967,71f

the conclusion that a picture, which is always in the guesswork state, is composed of the few-est traces and fragments. It goes beyond evidence.

"In the spring of 1915, Haber's first wife, who came from a Jewish Wroclaw family, who was inclined to eccentricities, ended her life with the service of her husband. The reason for her suicide has not been known. In the case of the woman's vulnerable mental disposition, the motif is probably most likely to be found in the desperate disapproval of the gas warfare inaugurated by her husband. This was at least the version circulating in Habers Institute. Haber has always maintained strict silence, which is not broken even by the family and can be respected by the outside world."<sup>89</sup> This is a big hit.

"Le Rossignol, a Karlsruhe employee, was a gifted designer of valves, which made ammonia synthesis possible at all. In the 1950s, in contrast to Jänicke, he surrendered to the fact that the reformist spirit of Mrs. Haber had been mistaken in addition to the lifeless Haber - as did other employees. Many of the Jewish scientific staff in Berlin emigrated to the United States during the Nazi period, and only now have I learned that they were mostly convinced that the reason for Clara Haber's suicide was their unprotected defense against the gas war."<sup>90</sup>

James Franck, who was with Haber in Ypres in the gas war, writes: "HABER's first wife was a good, gifted person with pronounced views, often in hard contrast to those of her husband. He liked to represent, she surrendered simply, even dressed badly - as a protest? (When I made my first visit, a woman, whom I thought was the maid, opened the door to me, and I thought that in such a fine house the woman would have to wear something better - it was the Privy Councilor [Frau Geheimrat] herself). She was a good man-child, wanted to reform the world. **The fact that her husband had been involved in the gas fight must have had an influence on her suicide.** However, such a thing must have been in the family. HABER has made an immense effort to bring his political and human opinions into agreement with them. He was very tormented to be guilty of their suicide."<sup>91</sup> James Franck was frequent in the House of Haber in 1913-15. He had an insight view. „Franck's opinion was shared by most of the scientists at Haber's institute."<sup>92</sup>

Haber became very sick and depressed after his retirement in 1933. With him, none of the biographers asks for any hereditary preoccupation. It is not patientized. Willstätter thinks that Haber was only half a man without stress.

The fact that both have increasingly fought bitterly over their leading role in the gas war is certainly an important factor for the suicide. Franck's lines confuse: A) Suicide was in the family. B) Clara had very dedicated political opinions, "pronounced views," which Haber had also acknowledged and appreciated. - Your letters indeed give an eloquent testimony. C) Clara took her life because she could not bear to see that her husband was engaged in the gas battle, saying that he was a war criminal. D) Haber felt guilty about her death, which is con-

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<sup>89</sup> Jaenicke to Zierold 16.3.1966, Bundesarchiv Berlin R 73, Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft Nr. 74 Blatt 53 mitte

<sup>90</sup> Gerit von Leitner, Mail to Michael Lütge from 25.10.2016; cf Daniel Charles, *Master Mind. The Rise and Fall of Fritz Haber, the Nobel Laureate Who Launched the Age of Chemical Warfare*, New York (Harper Collins) 2005, 69-71, 155, 166-167, 178-179

<sup>91</sup> VA 5,1449,3. Erna Wöhler, Gattin von Habers Kollege Lothar Wöhler in Karlsruhe, refers Jaenicke (VA 5,1512,1f) in April 1958 on the lack of "certain dignity" in Claras simplicity.

<sup>92</sup> Susan Meschel, *A Modern Dilemma for Chemistry and Civic Responsibility: The Tragic Life of Clara Immerwahr* in: *Zeitschrift für anorganische und allgemeine Chemie* 2012, 638 (3-4), 603-609



firmed by many, and which confirms the connection of her death with his gas-murderers, even though he initially feigned that she could no longer endure her life and thus her despair and depression as a reason and put a complete information barrier on her suicide motif. From all this it may and must be concluded that the reason for his reputation, which is known to him by the farewell letters, would have been an immeasurable danger. Then come the question: A) disapproval of gas war B) adultery with Charlotte Nathan C) Haber's unorthodox accusations of treason in the dispute after the poison-gas victory-festival in the Villa of Haber.

This deadly point is, in fact, the accusation of treason against a woman who did everything she could to help in the war. "Years later, Haber confessed to the Ministerial Director, Schmitt-Ott, that he had quarreled with his wife that night. He was desperate that the first gas attack of history was a military failure, and had accused his wife of treason of the country because she had counted everything in Dahlem. As it turned out later, a defector from his own ranks had warned the opponents on the west front of the gas attack. The twelve-year-old Herrmann was the only one to hear the shot at dawn, which was used by his mother's service to kill herself. He woke the father, who used to sleep with heavy sleeping-bags at night. The father did not refuse to go to the eastern front the next day to prepare an even greater use of toxic gases. He left the son alone with the dead mother, although he would have been allowed to stay in Berlin longer in this family disaster. But Haber was always indispensable."<sup>93</sup> It was precisely this strategic uselessness of the gassings on April 22, 1915 in Ypres, the absurdity of the "success"<sup>94</sup>, which confirms the lack of trust of the generals in the effectiveness of a poison attack. Already the March attack was an own goal. "The commander-in-chief, Excellency Deimling, was very disappointed with the outcome of this undertaking, which had also brought some losses to the troops. He came with our adjutant to our command, and I can still see before him Colonel Peterson and Privy Councilor, pale and exhausted, stood before him, and he terrified the two gentlemen, who, indeed, could not help God. He described them as charlatans, who ought to have made false statements to the head of the army, and others."<sup>95</sup>

If Haber had reported Clara to him in March 1915, which was so terribly depressing, it may be that she did not completely conceal this in Dahlem. Certainly, she will have been asked everywhere, as the famous husband in the field does. She probably knew his reports of the first blow-offs in Belgium, in which, in March 1915, 20 Germans were suffocating as a result of artellerie hits on gas bottles, and on the 16th of April, 1915, three companies of the posthorn-hunters were hired.<sup>96</sup> „Once (on the second attack) the gas came back into the Ger-

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<sup>93</sup> Adolf-Henning Frucht, in: „Hälfte des Lebens – Femina Doctissima Clara Immerwahr“ Hörfunkdokumentation WDR 3 at 18.10. 1990 von Gerit Kokula - v. Leitner. He refers to an oral tradition Haber -> Friedrich Schmidt-Ott -> Schmidt-Otts son. "Frucht had the most idea, he was the first to order the Jaenicke collection in the Max Planck Archive for a year, which helped me a lot with my radiofeature. In the appendix, I am sending his interview in this feature, which I first recorded, because fruit was already sick at the time." Gerit von Leitner in her Mail to Michael Lütge from 1.11.2016 Cf Leitner 1993,215; Szöllösi-Janze 1998,397. Adolf-Henning Frucht / Joachim Zepelin, "Die Tragik der verschmähten Liebe". Die Geschichte des deutsch-jüdischen Physikochemikers und preußischen Patrioten Fritz Haber (1994), in: Mannheimer Forum 94/95,63-111, 101: „In the World War he put all his energy, his institute and his colleagues at the service of the fatherland - and sacrificed his international reputation, not least his marriage to a chemist who saw an abuse of science in the gas war.“

<sup>94</sup> Lummitzsch VA 5, 1480,7

<sup>95</sup> VA 5, 1480,5 Cf Szöllösi-Janze 1998,324-26 with documents 778ff

<sup>96</sup> Otto Lummitzsch, VA 5, 1480,5f: " terrible effect of the gas weapon "

man positions, just in the section where GEIGER was lying. We had a lot of losses.<sup>97</sup> If Haber had mentioned this in his letters from the Belgian front to Clara, this had been even more strengthened since March 1915 in her rejection of the gas war. Blow off, because of his wind direction dependency, is unsuitable for a pre-war period and habituates the position war he wants to break up. The gas attack of April 22, 1915 has not brought any terrestrial gains, but just 1000 dead and 4000 seriously injured with subsequent hospital death or at best lifelong suffering without compensation. That the rector of Hermann's school, OStDir Dr. Kremmer, 20 years later claimed in the letter of condolence to Haber's death that Clara had told him the gas attack of Habers on 22.4.1915<sup>98</sup>, speaks for around counting in Dahlem, whereby the evaluation as "success" comes rather from the rector and not from one Clara's jubilation by Dahlem.<sup>99</sup> After his victory on May 1, 1915, Haber Clara made the accusation that her reports of Ypres in Dahlem had caused Deimling to doubt his gas weapon, and thus not to place the necessary advance troops into position, thereby rendering his "lossy" gas attack strategically obsolete has been. This accusation was paranoid. Deimling was certainly not to be advised by Clara, but she herself saw disaster. "But I've been told that the generals thought the counter-attack would take place elsewhere, so they'd put their reserves there and not in the right place. The generals had the greatest mistrust, did not believe HABER."<sup>100</sup>

### ***Erotic victory party with Charlotte Nathan on 1 May 1915?***

If the "catchy situation" came with Charlotte, this double trigger for Clara's suicide might have been more than enough. Whether or not the champagne flirtation or more, as Henning claims<sup>101</sup> is ultimately unimportant. For some women, a covetous look is enough to make a statement. Since Clara had no longer any ambitions in Haber in this direction, it is not jealousy, but the "catchy situation" just a further proof that Haber has now only a shadowy death, destroying her by ignoring, day after day something more, the greater its national task of extermination.

Max Meyer betrays Haber: Women "are like the butterflies for me. I admire their colors and their grace, but I am not capable of anything more."<sup>102</sup> Charlotte knows this well:" Fritz Haber often said jokingly-and how much seriousness is in a joke! - that he regrets not having lived in King Solomon's time. At that time the women could not have appeared ungifted. When they

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<sup>97</sup> James Franck, VA 5, 1449,5

<sup>98</sup> VA 5, 1222,33f Dr. Kremmer to Hermann Haber 2.2.1934

<sup>99</sup> „Already at table is something in the air. The waiters know something about a captain, whom his "wife consort" from Berlin had telegraphed. As if the wife consisted in the general staff". Helene Lange, [Hg.]: Die Frau. Monatsschrift für das gesamte Frauenleben unserer Zeit, Berlin, W. Moeser Buchhandlung, 23/24 Jahrgang, Heft 6, 1915,4xx. Cit. from Gerit von Leitner, Mail from 5.11.2016 to Michael Lütge

<sup>100</sup> James Franck, VA 5, 1449,5 The entire supreme military service with Hans Tappen, Crown Prince Rupprecht of Bavaria and Erich von Falkenhayn saw the Ypres gas attack only as an experiment. Cf Szöllösi-Janze 1998,324-26

<sup>101</sup> Henning, Freitod in Dahlem. Unveröffentlichte Briefe von Edith Hahn und Lise Meitner über Dr. Clara Haber geb. Immerwahr, in: Zeitschrift für anorganische und allgemeine Chemie 2016/642(6),432-436,434

<sup>102</sup> Haber zit. von Max Meyer in VA 5,1483 Interview Jaenicke from 9.11.1958 S.4. Cf Szöllösi-Janze 1998,405; Bretislav Friedrich, Master Mind. The Rise and Fall of Fritz Haber. Von Daniel Charles. in: Angewandte Chemie 2006,118,(25),4157-4159,4157

were needed, they only had to wave to them, and then put them back into the corner after use. If they came unguarded, they would have been made shorter by a head."<sup>103</sup>

Hermann Lütge, who is regarded as a witness to the alleged flirtation with Charlotte Nathan, has a very special focal point. He wrote these memoirs on the 9th of January, 1958..<sup>104</sup> He was just married to the 20 year younger Frieda Krupp in Berlin, three months after his wife's death, he had already moved to Bonn, there he lived with a young woman named Mrs. Prigert. He understands Haber's "passion" too well. "The loneliness around me grew. Then I reached to a tried and tested means and that helped. Half a year ago I got married again. I have found a simple, but 20 years younger woman."<sup>105</sup> Is it by chance that he betrayed this probable means in the close context of Haber's reorientation to the young blood Charlotte Nathan? That this aspect, for him, must account for the giant proportion of the boss's last dispute, and that he was rightly seeing a central crux of marriage in the sexual rejection of Haber, did not need to consider further motives for suicide. In accordance with Charlotte, he emphasizes Haber's impulsiveness and pleasure in sexual irritation. At the time, not one of the witnesses was against the gas war. Lütge also built gas masks under Willstätter, so that Germans would surely surpass the attack. Everyone came along. The abomination was only realized much later. For this reason, on 2.5.1915 it was not possible for any of the persons concerned to be concerned at the "gloom" of the boss about the consternation about the impulse of her husband and his extras. In the search for a plausible suicide motive, only the broken marriage with the rumor of a flirt remained. Every housekeeper would be unbearable to see the beloved one with eroticism with another. But they are the only witnesses to the "catchy situation". They did not hear the argument, it was too quiet. They could only believe that it was about eroticising. That perhaps Haber had accused Clara of having fallen into her back, and even more so offending her reproach with her almost limitless loyalty, could never have known her. The letters will not have opened them. It may be that Clara Fritz insulted Charlotte. Was it still there? As a retour coach, Haber counters it meaningfully: How could you count down in Dahlem that the gas attack does not function as it should, only by this Deimling did not trust me anything and the storm troops did not put into position.

### *Animal experiments with toxic gases in the institute*

Otto Lummitzsch also attests Clara also abhorrence against the gas war: "We lived in the Domhotel in Cologne. Geheimrat Haber was accompanied by his first wife, a nervous lady who had already been keen-



*Versuchstierfütterung in Baracken hinterm KWI*

<sup>103</sup> Ch. Haber 1970,124

<sup>104</sup> VA 5, 260,12-14

<sup>105</sup> VA 5, 260,19

ly opposed to the intention of Privy Councilor Habers to accompany the new gas formation to the front."<sup>106</sup> He does not understand the "nervousness" of Claras with the planned gas war and the experience of animal gassings in delusion. He sees only the intention to keep the husband out of the war. The fact that their sharp rejection against the gas war is generally true is not understood, since the dead are ordinary daily losses and no terrible catastrophes. However, Clara was delighted and deliberately reacting to what she saw there. Such a reaction is highly realistic and humane.

How little Haber himself was actually at the front, Franck writes: "That HABER was only a captain, was indifferent. A number of the officers were quite ready to negotiate with a man who was much superior to them mentally. He had an elite of people around him. Downstairs it was different. But HABER did not know this side at the time. He came in from above. One could do with the high officers. They were educated people, and with them HABER had it."<sup>107</sup> Haber usually held back from the bullet more than his front letters suggest.

Like in the case of the SS veterans or the Nazis in the Nuremberg trial in 1945, no repentance is recognizable in any gas warriors. The fact that such persons do not take Clara's protest seriously and void them as mentally ill is part of the defensive strategy. Otherwise they would have to feel themselves to be war criminals and would have been devoured by guilt. The marshaling order and the collective obedience of all Frontsoldaten with Iron Cross, as Weihehaber personally handed over by the Emperor, who even dreamed of exterminating whole cities with poison gas, sanctioned the mass killings. Anyone who criticizes this is sometimes nest-polluters, sometimes military-force decompressors, times simply "nervous"..



Frau Levy spielt mit Affe Fips

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<sup>106</sup> Lummitzsch VA 5, 1480,3

<sup>107</sup> Franck VA 5, 1449,5

The perhaps most important evidence comes from a visit to Paul Krassa's wife Zinaide, a few days before the suicide: "She was desperate about the dreadful consequences of the gas war, whose preparations and examination on animals she had watched. As far as other circumstances, apart from the conviction that she was not able to live harmoniously together with Haber, were decisive for her decision, I do not wish to decide ... For my opinion that she is by no means burdened by a grievous or hereditary burden was a series of letters from the years 1909 to 1915."<sup>108</sup> Clara's nephew and Haber's co-worker in Karlsruhe Paul Krassa, who was very often a guest in Haber's house, decisively rejects his repeated question of hereditary melancholy in his second letter to Jaenicke.<sup>109</sup> He even produced a graphical report in which it is confirmed in Spanish that this writing does not indicate any psychological defects.<sup>110</sup> In barracks behind the institute, dogs, cats and monkeys were gassed and dissected under the direction of Ferdinand Flury. This is just as gruesome for animal lovers as human gassing.

Jaenicke asks Lütge: "(c) On the occasion of suicide, the view that the wife of Haber's active participation in the disgusting gas war had been so horrified that she no longer wanted to live by his side had been so far reported. Has something come to your ears? (d) This ethical rigorism is said to have resulted from a depressive disposition due to hereditary burden. Have you noticed such an onslaught of melancholy or life-overs?"<sup>111</sup> It is interesting

how he rejects the rejection of the gas war as an ethical rigor on endogenous depression, poaching the opinions of the unnamed third. Can one also be against the war without being depressed by depression? Are war opponents just psychopaths? Victor Frankl and the dream therapy of war refugees come to the opposite conclusion: war makes you mentally ill if you have survived it. It remains frightening with which ideological eyeglasses "historians" drape facts and with what mistakes chemists practice psychiatric diagnostics.<sup>112</sup>



<sup>108</sup> Paul Krassa, VA 5, 1470,2

<sup>109</sup> VA 5, 1470,4f

<sup>110</sup> Brief Clara Haber an Dr. Krassa –Graphologisches Gutachten von Walter Brünner I /1955: „Character affective-emotional: lightness (flowing), oscillating and ambivalent feelings. Strong emotional fluctuations in view of vitality. Emotions and dissatisfaction; Commute between sensual enjoyment of life and rigid concepts. Fluctuations between agitation and languor.“

<sup>111</sup> VA 5, 260,16

<sup>112</sup> Michael Lütge, Wachstum der Gestalttherapie und Jesu Saat im Acker der Welt. Psychotherapie als Selbsthilfe, Frankfurt (Lang) 1997,645, cf 688-701; Hans Stoffels/ Ralph Patrick M. Beigel/ Nahid M. Freudenberg/

Edith Hahn writes to her Otto about three days after Clara's suicide: "Of course, the woman was sick, how strange it was in her - everyone has been upset about her - and yet I will not let go of his fault. I have the feeling that she was very attached to him and that he has treated her badly - at least completely indifferently, and that she has suffered more than you know. The other day, when Mutter [mother Clara Haber] and I were in the apartment, and I was with her at a hour - she was just packing the boxes for him - then she complained that he never wrote to her - that came out unintentionally Consolation, you rarely wrote, but her husband would have much less time. [...] But who knows what makes them so wonderful? [...] she made an unspeakably nervous impression. And the state of things has long been prepared. The event with Sackur is said to have gone very near to her. And that Haber was recently introduced into the gases, she did not need to know."<sup>113</sup> She sees very well how Haber Clara treated herself as if she were air, destruction by not seeing. He now has to fulfill more important national tasks. She is not even worth a regular letter from the front. On the other hand, Clara's feelings about Otto Sackur's death were that she had brought him to Berlin as a good friend of old times, knowing that war was already working in the laboratory, and the picture of Sackur's torn-out skull is likely to follow Clara's dreams depressed more than on the 4.4.1910 Richard Abegg's deathly crash with his hot-air balloon.<sup>114</sup> Then the quivering test animals right next to their garden. And lastly, the care for the husband, who had excellently retreated poison gas with a good gas mask - unlike the simple soldiers in the trenches with which Haber never came in contact and whose masks were sent to the KWI in large contingents for check ups: "Dead" or "injured".

Lise Meitner writes to Edith Hahn from Dahlem on 6th May, 1915: "She has always made a very excited impression and has left many remarks that can be interpreted as unhappy in her marriage. And he is probably not a great soul-man either."<sup>115</sup> Lise Meitner to Edith Hahn from Dahlem on 9 May 1915:" Dear Mrs. Hahn! [...] Frau Haber has been burned in silence on Thursday and a short message in the newspapers on Friday morning. The gap left behind is so small-I find it most saddened by the whole sad story."<sup>116</sup> The impression is overwhelming. What Clara wrote about her marriage to Abegg is that she grows smaller and smaller as he grows up, the central line of development of this marriage seems to be. She was also more socially isolated than all other professors. It was clear to Edith Hahn und Lise Meitner that the stream was not an endogenous depression, with only a small trigger triggering the suicide, but a series of massive and invariably war-induced injuries accumulating and mutually reinforcing each other.

In fact, Haber tries everything to kill Clara's death and motives with conceal. He was trivializing that she could not bear life, the poor woman. The trouble of the historians rightly admits to him. She was not a pacifist, made not a heart-shot for peace; she was a soft, delicate, and

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Niklas M. Schmitt, *Schicksale der Verfolgten. Psychische und somatische Auswirkungen von Terrorherrschaft*, Berlin u.a. (Springer) 1991,12

<sup>113</sup> Edith Hahn an Otto Hahn am 5./6. Mai 1915 aus: Henning 2016, 642, (6), 432-436,433

<sup>114</sup> Clara, Letter to Tamaru from 15.1.1915: „And there is also the horror and the dull pressure on us all. [...] In the institute, a misfortune happened 5 weeks ago. An explosion, which could not be foreseen, killed Professor Sackur and demolished Prof. Just's right hand. The latter is still here in the Lichterfelder Hospital.“

<sup>115</sup> Lise Meitner to Edith Hahn aus [Berlin-] Dahlem, den 6. Mai 1915, aus Henning 2016,433

<sup>116</sup> Lise Meitner to Edith Hahn aus [Berlin-] Dahlem, den 9. Mai 1915, aus Henning 2016,433f

weakening woman who lived on every level, as she no longer meant anything to her husband, with her doubts about his heroic gas war.

### ***Structure and Psychodynamics of the Relationship Clara - Fritz***

It is clear from an initial, proud joy of Clara that Fritz could play such a central role in the commencing war. Even Clara still thinks very patriotic and reacts to the need of the orphaned war children with emergency aid, the nursery at the institute. On Dec. 17, 1914, her friend, Otto Sackur, dies in the cacodyl chloride mixture for new shells in terrible ways and she feels guilty to have brought him to the institute. Then she experiences the animal experiments with Chlorgas at the institute and also in Cologne Wahn and probably also the first failure on the Belgian front at Langemarck and Ypres. She is becoming more alarmed and radicalized from time to time. She can read the telegram on April 22, 1915 as a success, but when she learns how many thousand people are suffocated with this success, the last pride of the ounce is lost on her husband. She becomes desperate, in which one's own death is more tolerable than the further carrying away of the murder.

External factors such as Prussianism, Judaism, anti-Semitism, the bourgeoisie, machismo, and the movement of reforms have an effect on the inner love dialectics of denials and mutual delinquency. The result is a polyvalent Wirnetz.

1. The ethos of the Prussian military-educated man goes to order, cleanliness, jaggedness, fearlessness, obedience, patriotism, and repression of his own feelings. According to this ethos, a man must not show himself weak and playful. He tends to the commandant and the landlord. As a lover, he considers empathy unmanly and produces almost compulsively a woman who is inclined to migraine, which he can optionally attest to hysteria or frigidity.
2. Jewish scholars were reluctantly tolerated in chairs of anti-Semitism in Germany. They were rarely allowed to express resentment explicitly, and always gave untrue grounds for their rejection. Nevertheless, the real reasons were clear.
3. The forms of intercourse of the bourgeoisie, with the appreciation of wealth, cultural education, representative furnishings of body and home, responded with contempt to persons who were not fit for these requirements or did not wish them. While Fritz tried to make a name for himself here, Clara was rather disgusted by this scene because she could not endure the mendacity and duplicity of these people with her love of truth. It was always *Nomen et Omen*.
4. Clara saw as an alternative to this costly and resource-consuming lifestyle the reform movement with its revert to natural sources, healing methods, dietary forms, clothing styles. The gentleness of this ecological renewal movement, her appreciation of feminine qualities, her basic democratic impulse corresponded to her own feminine feeling and empathic tenderness.

Since the wedding night, both partners have experienced a plethora of mutual narcissistic injuries, the two of them are in no way compromising their sensitive vulnerability. What makes a sensitive narcissist, when the woman whom he loves since the hour of dance, who is equally sensitive and intelligent, finds him as an enthusiast after initial attempts to be increasingly repugnant and disgusted with him, but not without a sense of guilt whether

her sexual refusal mothers like a little sickly second boy, who is to be spooled with organic food from the reform house. What power she had in her refusal also over him! She is the only one who refuses to follow him with all marriage. In all her "unhappy softness," spoken with Abegg, she is more powerful than Haber, who brought thousands of the most severe death. In her judgment she is incorruptible, insistent, unyielding. Presumably, she feels like a lot of "lusty" women as a failure and wants to do so at the hearth and in the household more industrious abdication and delight him. He also feels like a failure, who has not managed to ignite her love glow. Both seek guilt for the failure of common pleasure in themselves, but also in the other. He feels his persistent lust castrated by the dream-woman of his life. She kills his desire, his desire. This leads in the unconscious to anger, which has its measure of the power of its passion. Where to go with this rage? And does not she also have anger in not having an empathetic and exciting excitement in her, instead of a patient who is always sick, sick and sick again? So where? There are at least 5 ways of compensation, sublimation and channeling the rage:

1. Depression. The one way of anger is in mourning over the unchanging, resignation, disappointment, despair. Everyone feels a failure as well as the other. Everyone feels alone and deserted by the other with this despair. Everyone feels incomprehensible, not seen, not loved, and can not love the other.
2. Self-efficacy. The other way is sublimation of anger in work. One tries to get to work professionally. Haber hopes, if he can prove Clara how brilliant he is, she would admire. But none of these proofs can bring him closer to her. She remains with admiration and marital fidelity, but neither tenderness nor desire increase. All his kick-offs will answer her with the tights. The housemother's care makes him laughable before the admirers in the lab and so he gets angry and makes her ridiculous. According to Lise Meitner, he wanted to be "the best friend and God at the same time". "Employees who had something to do in the evening usually escaped through the windows to the ground when they 'saw the old man' lost their way through the garden to their labs".<sup>117</sup> The grandiosity fantasies God has in his poison gas act as master of the death of almost 1 million people. "Dear Dr. Weizmann, I was one of the most powerful men in Germany. I was more than a great army leader, more than an industrial captain. I was the founder of industries; my work was essential for the economic and military expansion of Germany. All the doors were open to me."<sup>118</sup> Very different Clara: After the household and son have used her as a successful chemist, she wants to be a perfect housewife and mother in the style of the reform movement. The main reason of her concern, however, is his sickness, anger sublimation strategy No. 3. To promote his health, she wants to educate him to regular eating, which puts him into the role of the little boy. On the other hand, he is interested in the festivals which he has already celebrated as a youth and whose scenario has brought him back to his youth. She does not understand that this is a fountain for him, and she cannot celebrate, because the intellectual pomp cultured there is diametrically opposed to her ideal of finishing. At the

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<sup>117</sup> Friedrich 2006,4158 citates Charles 2005

<sup>118</sup> Haber to Chaim Weizmann, cit in: Chaim Weizmann, Memoiren. Das Werden des Staates Israel. Zürich 1953,517, cf Stolzenberg 1994,620



same time, she feels as if she has been set back from the festivals and has been marginalized. He is embarrassed by her apron in reform dresses, because she bridges the bourgeoisie to whom he wants to present herself. At the same time, her reform movement also contrasts sharply with his chemistry, which hopes to solve all the problems of the world by chemical solutions, from ammonia to poison gas and gold in the sea. Clara, on the other hand, insists on naturopathy, on the self-healing powers of the organism. That is why healthy diet is more important to her than Habers' bedworms, which were certainly not his only remedies. For angina pectoris he took Nitroglizerin.<sup>119</sup>

3. **Somatization.** The third way is the flight into illnesses of every kind. They both react to bullying (with her as a woman, with him as a Jew and dangerously clever competitors) with depression, burn out. There is a co-dependency in depression. Above all, Haber is looking for shelter and confirmation at Clara in difficult times. She is too much filled with her mother's breast to comfort him so that he falls into his old scheme and expresses his despair somatizing over the stomach, bile, skin, and heart tone. Thus he experiences medical consolation in cures such as in Karlovy Vary. In turn, she is also twice in a Freiburg-based sanatorium-Kneipp cure.
4. **External steering.** Haber's rage against the dream woman can also be patriotic to the world war enemies. How the poisoned atmosphere in the villa becomes a poisoning idea, after the ammonia has already worked for gunpowder, can only be guessed. To take the legitimation of lethal phosgene gases from French tear gas is disproportionate. After all, the enemy or the external threat consolidates the inner cohesion. At the same time, the poison gas number Haber's great career jump into the big policy after he had already moved with considerable commercial skill faculties and corporations. In Cologne-Wahn, he wants Clara to present his delusion in the war laboratory shooting range and hopes that the common enemy France and England will both join the patriotic mission. The shot went backwards.
5. **Ignore.** Haber treated his wife as if she were air. She feels more and more deported. It is a form of annihilation, of contempt, of not respecting others. Obviously, Clara has not mastered this form of anger derivation and has felt less and less. You can see revenge for sexual rejection in disrespect by disregard, harsh remarks, newspaper reading at dinner, missing letters from the front, eroticizing Charlotte, while Clara grabs the crates for the next frontset. He makes her ever smaller, unimportant, irrelevant. The smaller she gets, the less humiliating is his sexual no to her. The solidarity of front-line comrades with their super-ascetic self-sacrificing morality provides him with the legitimation of his contempt for women. The denial to the eternally feminine strengthens the fighting power. At last he can leave Clara with the high ethic of patriotism and make him descend from the height of this sacrifice for the nation. At last he

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<sup>119</sup> Rudolf A. Stern, Fritz Haber: Personal Recollections, in: LBI Year Book 8 (1963), S. 70-102, 90: "In the summer of 1927, Haber underwent a "Kur" in Kissingen, with only indifferent results. He used to send me full - and often delightfully satirical - accounts of the various treatments, and also wrote me that the nitroglycerin which I had prescribed for him gave him immediate relief."

can triumph that he no longer needs her. He has defeated her all along the line, having substituted his erotic addiction for her completely by the morality of soldier.

She staged what he had just done with her before: he killed her with the word. The accusation of the treason of the state required capital punishment under the jurisdiction of that time. She executes the judgment which he has made about them. His army revolver shoots them. If her criticism of the poison war was already a treason for the country, and so deadly, she would not live in this country, in this world.

This death has a terrible dignity. He cancels the world of poison gas, wars, and the lies. It could not have been prevented by antidepressant therapy. "It would have to be considered whether therapy should in any case restore well-being, or whether the truth and freedom are also a matter of horror as a disease in an infected society whose therapeutic and systematic desensitization therapies are more painless, but also deceptive."<sup>120</sup> My father Karl-Friedrich Lütge got the offer from Haber as the spouse of his godmother Clara Immerwahr, to study chemistry at Haber's expense. He refused, and studied theology, as a priest, to help man in his needs.

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<sup>120</sup> Michael Lütge 1997,689

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