

# On the relations between Heinrich Scholz and Jan Łukasiewicz

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The aim of the present study is (1) to show, on the basis of a number of unpublished documents, how Heinrich Scholz supported his Warsaw colleague Jan Łukasiewicz, the Polish logician, during World War II, and (2) to discuss the efforts he made in order to enable Jan Łukasiewicz and his wife Regina to move from Warsaw to Münster under life-threatening circumstances. In the first section, we explain how Scholz provided financial help to Łukasiewicz, and we also adduce evidence of the risks incurred by German scholars who offered assistance to their Polish colleagues. In the second section, we discuss the dramatic circumstances surrounding the Łukasiewicz's move to Münster in the summer of 1944.

## 1. Introduction

In a letter dated 21 October 1946, Alfred Tarski wrote to Heinrich Scholz:

I am perfectly aware that you did your best to help not only me but all your friends and colleagues in Poland (...); and this applied even to people whom you have never met in your life, although maintaining relations with some of them—because of their so-called racial origin—constituted a crime under Nazi regime. (...) there are few human traits which I hold in as great esteem as I do inner integrity and civil courage; that these virtues are essential elements of your character, your actions during the past few years have proved beyond doubt.<sup>1</sup>

In what now follows, we shall present a number of unpublished documents that show how Heinrich Scholz supported his Warsaw colleague Jan Łukasiewicz, the Polish logician, during World War II, and we shall also discuss the efforts he made in order to enable Jan Łukasiewicz and his wife Regina to move from Warsaw to Münster under life-threatening circumstances.

Heinrich Scholz (1884–1956) was one of the most remarkable German scholars of the twentieth century. His early research focused on systematic theology, the philosophy of religion, and German idealism. From 1917 through 1919, Scholz was professor of the philosophy of religion and systematic theology at the University of Breslau. In 1919, he accepted a professorship at the University of Kiel, where he held a chair of philosophy until 1928. His fame and prestige rest, among other things, on

<sup>1</sup> This letter is in the Scholz Archives at Münster University's Institute for Mathematical Logic and Foundational Research. Tarski's (and Mostowski's) appreciation of Scholz's character is also expressed in the famous monograph (*Tarski et al. 1953*), which is dedicated to 'Heinrich Scholz—the Scholar and the Man'. On Tarski's life, see *Feferman and Feferman (2004)*.

his early main work, *Religionsphilosophie*, which was first published in 1921 and reprinted in 1922.<sup>2</sup>

In 1921, Scholz made a discovery that, as he himself put it, was to be ‘of decisive importance for the rest of [his] life’. ‘By a stroke of luck’<sup>3</sup>, he came across a copy of Russell and Whitehead’s *Principia Mathematica* in the university library in Kiel. It was this work that aroused Scholz’s enthusiasm for mathematics and logic. Although he was already a professor, he ‘went back to school’<sup>4</sup>, as it were, and completed courses in mathematics and theoretical physics at the University of Kiel.

Scholz’s transition to mathematical logic manifested itself, among other things, in his efforts to institutionalize mathematical logic in Germany.<sup>5</sup> In an intellectual climate that was, to say the least, unfavourable to mathematical logic<sup>6</sup>, Scholz, who was appointed professor of philosophy at the University of Münster in 1928, succeeded in obtaining authorization to give special lectures on mathematical logic and foundational research (1936), and he finally managed to have his chair renamed so that he could devote himself exclusively to this new field of investigation (1943). This new chair, in a manner of speaking, formed the nucleus of what is now the Institute for Mathematical Logic and Foundational Research, the first of its kind in Germany.<sup>7</sup>

Jan Łukasiewicz (1878–1956), pioneer of many-valued logics and inventor of inverse Polish notation, was one of the most influential logicians of his age. From 1915 through 1939, Łukasiewicz was professor of mathematical logic and foundational research at the universities of Cracow and Warsaw. He was co-founder of the so-called Lwów-Warsaw School, whose members included well-known scholars such as Stanisław Łeśniewski, Andrzej Mostowski, and Alfred Tarski.<sup>8</sup> From 1949 onwards, Łukasiewicz taught and conducted research in Dublin.

At the outbreak of World War II, Heinrich Scholz was already on friendly terms with Jan Łukasiewicz. In 1932, at a time when German–Polish relations were already tense, Scholz, at Łukasiewicz’s invitation, had delivered various lectures in Warsaw and Lwów (Łukasiewicz’s birthplace). In 1938, Scholz had strongly recommended that Münster University should award an honorary doctorate to Łukasiewicz, and on 21 December 1938 this title had been duly bestowed upon the Polish logician by von Moltke, the German Ambassador to Poland.<sup>9</sup> Finally, in February 1939, Łukasiewicz, at the invitation of the Faculty of Philosophy and Science, had given four lectures in Münster.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>2</sup> On Scholz’s *Religionsphilosophie*, see Luthe (1961), Molendijk (1991), and Wimmer (2005).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Scholz’s unpublished ‘Autobiographical Sketch’. This document is in the archives of the University of Münster’s Institute for Mathematical Logic and Foundational Research.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Hermes* (1958, p. 35).

<sup>5</sup> Scholz also made plans for an edition of Gottlob Frege’s unpublished manuscripts (cf. *Wehmeier and Schmidt am Busch 2000*).

<sup>6</sup> It may not be amiss to remind the reader of the efforts made by certain scholars (e.g. Ludwig Bieberbach) to establish a specifically German brand of mathematics. Mention might also be made of the Munich mathematician Max Steck’s polemical attacks on mathematical logic and Heinrich Scholz (cf. *Menzler-Trott 2001*, chapter 4).

<sup>7</sup> On the genesis of the Institute for Mathematical Logic and Foundational Research, see Schmidt am Busch and Wehmeier (2005).

<sup>8</sup> On the Lwów-Warsaw School, see *Wolenski (1989)*.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *Schreiber (1999, p. 98)*.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Scholz’s lecture announcements and the laudatory speech he delivered on 21 December 1938, when Łukasiewicz received an honorary doctorate from the University of Münster. These documents are in the possession of the University of Münster’s Institute for Mathematical Logic and Foundational Research.

As a result of the German occupation of Poland, Łukasiewicz found himself in a precarious situation. He was out of work, homeless, and virtually penniless, his Warsaw apartment having been completely destroyed in a German air raid. According to Scholz, all Łukasiewicz had left was ‘what he had managed to rescue in a bag’ (‘nur das, was er in einer Handtasche hat retten können’).<sup>11</sup>

The present study is divided into two main parts. In the first section, which deals with the period between 1939 and 1943, we explain how Scholz provided financial help to Łukasiewicz, and we also adduce evidence of the risks incurred by German scholars who offered assistance to their Polish colleagues. Our information has been gleaned from the following sources: Scholz’s mail diary entries and correspondence dating from the years 1941 to 1943<sup>12</sup>, an unpublished manuscript by Jürgen von Kempksi<sup>13</sup>, and a letter in the possession of the University Archives of the University of Münster.

In the second section, we attempt to shed some light on the dramatic circumstances surrounding the Łukasiewicz’s move from Warsaw to Münster in the summer of 1944. Our material has been drawn mainly from two sources: (1) four letters which are in the possession of the Institute for Mathematical Logic at Münster University<sup>14</sup> and (2) documents from the National Archives in Berlin.

Peter Schreiber has recently published the aforementioned letters in German for the first time.<sup>15</sup> In ‘Über Beziehungen zwischen Heinrich Scholz und polnischen Logikern’, Schreiber presents some interesting facts regarding the relations between Scholz and some of the leading Polish logicians of these days. He also mentions some of the efforts Scholz made to support Jan Łukasiewicz during World War II and to enable him and his wife to leave Poland.<sup>16</sup> In this part of his article, Schreiber draws the following conclusion:

On the basis of the documents at our disposal, we can only guess how many people were involved in these activities, how many letters Scholz and his friends had to write, and how much trouble it took them, to provide exit permits, food ration cards, and money to the Łukasiewicz family, and, last but not least, what risks they incurred when doing so.<sup>17</sup>

The documents on which we draw in the present study help answer the questions raised by Schreiber. They (1) show that Heinrich Scholz was facing the threat of disciplinary proceedings because of the assistance he offered to his Polish colleagues, (2) specify some of the measures he took in order to enable Jan and Regina Łukasiewicz to leave their homeland, and (3) (help) identify a number of persons

<sup>11</sup> Compare Scholz’s letter of 12 April 1944 to Professor Albert Brackmann, General Director of the Publication Bureau of the East German Research Society (*Publikationsstelle der ostdeutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft*) (source: Federal Archives, Berlin, File R 153/1226).

<sup>12</sup> Scholz’s mail diary from these years is in the possession of the University of Münster’s Institute for Mathematical Logic and Foundational Research.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. von Kempksi (unpublished and undated manuscript).

<sup>14</sup> Łukasiewicz sent the letters to Scholz between December 1943 and February 1944.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Schreiber (1999).

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Schreiber (1999, pp. 98–99).

<sup>17</sup> ‘Die erhaltenen Dokumente lassen nur ahnen, wie viele Personen insgesamt an diesen Aktionen beteiligt waren und wieviel Schriftwechsel und sonstige Mühe es Scholz und seinen Freunden gekostet hat, vom Risiko ganz zu schweigen, Aufenthaltsgenehmigung, Lebensmittelkarten, Geld usw. für Familie Łukasiewicz beschaffen.’ (Schreiber 1999, p. 99)

involved in these efforts. Our material also makes it clear why the Łukasiewiczzes were eager to leave Poland.

## 2. The Period between 1939 and 1943

Between 1939 and 1943, Scholz's prime concern was to provide Łukasiewicz with adequate financial support. On the initiative of his friend, Jürgen von Kempfski, and with the aid of the German ambassador, von Moltke, Scholz managed to discover Łukasiewicz's address shortly after the end of the military campaign in Poland.<sup>18</sup> Contact between Scholz and Łukasiewicz was re-established on 15 October 1939.<sup>19</sup> In a joint effort, Jürgen von Kempfski, Heinrich Scholz, and others managed to get Jan Łukasiewicz a job as a translator at the Warsaw City Archives. After the war, von Kempfski recalled these events:

... an acquaintance of mine, Assessor Dr. Th. Viehweg, was appointed to a post in the civil administration of occupied Poland, and he was always willing to help me out. By our joint efforts—Professor Emge, whom I brought together with Professor Scholz, was also involved—we managed to get Professor L. a job as an interpreter at Warsaw City Library. Owing to the loss of his salary, he was living in straitened circumstances, but the money he earned at the library enabled him to scrape by.<sup>20</sup>

Scholz then helped the Łukasiewiczzes in various ways:

- (1) He supported Łukasiewicz by means of monthly money transfers. Since remittances to occupied territories had to be authorized during the war years, and since Scholz had evidently not obtained authorization to make such transfers, he resorted to subterfuge. His mail diary entries for the years 1941–1943<sup>21</sup> reveal that he transferred sums of money to the director of the Warsaw City Archives, Dr. Eilhart Eilers, who presumably passed the funds on to Łukasiewicz. There is also clear evidence that Scholz used his contacts with high-ranking officials in the German Red Cross to have food smuggled to Łukasiewicz.<sup>22</sup>
- (2) At Scholz's suggestion, the director of the Warsaw branch of the Institute for East German Affairs (*Institut für deutsche Ostarbeit*), Professor Heinrich Wolfrum, offered Łukasiewicz a pro forma position at the institute in the summer of 1942.<sup>23</sup> However, for political reasons, Łukasiewicz turned this offer down. At a later date, Regina Łukasiewicz worked at the Warsaw Institute for East German Affairs; this entitled her to an extra food allowance.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Łukasiewicz's address at the time was: Warsaw, Brzozowa 12. Cf. Scholz's letter to Brackmann, dated 1 June 1944, which is quoted below.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Jürgen von Kempfski (unpublished and undated manuscript).

<sup>20</sup> Cf. the aforementioned report entitled 'My activity in favour of foreign scholars during this war'. (English in the original.)

<sup>21</sup> For the source, see note 12.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. the aforementioned report entitled 'My activity in favour of foreign scholars during this war'. Since the German Red Cross documents from the period in question are, unfortunately, inaccessible, it has not been possible to obtain more detailed information about these activities.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Scholz's affidavit of 23 February 1949 (source: Scholz Archives, University of Münster). On the history of the Institute for East German Affairs, see *Kleßmann (1971)*.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Scholz's affidavit, mentioned above.

That the illegal money transfers to Łukasiewicz involved a considerable personal risk for Scholz himself is evident from the consequences of his intervention in favour of the Cracow theologian, Jan Salamucha. In November 1939, after the German invasion of Poland, Salamucha was detained in the Oranienburg concentration camp. Scholz campaigned vigorously for Salamucha's release. His appeal to the Department of Education in occupied Poland was unsuccessful, but in 1940 he obtained the Polish scholar's release with the aid of the State Secretary at the Foreign Office, Ernst von Weizsäcker. Scholz's petition to the Education Department, however, provoked the wrath of Bernhard Rust, the Minister for Science, Education and National Culture—witness the following missive:

Berlin W 8, 2 Oktober 1940

It has just been brought to my attention that you *addressed a petition to the Department of Education in occupied Poland on 14 March 1940*. In this document you advocate the release of the former Cracow theology professor, Dr Jan Salamucha, who is currently in preventive detention.

I take great exception to both the form and the content of your petition. With respect to its outward form, the document is not merely a request, such as would have been at most compatible with the duties of a German towards the authority responsible for the citizens of an enemy country; rather, it is a demand made with particular insistence. With respect to content, it is a thinly disguised accusation to the effect that the German administration has inflicted life-threatening ill treatment on the prisoner, and the consequence you fear this alleged ill treatment might have—namely the death of Prof. Salamucha—is described as a disgrace to German research, if not to the entire German race.

You have put a grave affront upon the dignity of the German nation by interfering in a matter which can only be properly dealt with if it is considered exclusively in relation to the overall interests of the German people now engaged in a war, and not at all from the viewpoint of an individual.

I most strongly disapprove of your conduct, and in order to preclude, once and for all, any further incidents of this kind, which could serve as a dangerous weapon to anti-German propaganda against the political leadership of the German people, I hereby prohibit you from presenting any further petitions on behalf of foreign scholars unless they are made through the proper channels via me. Should you contravene this order, I shall institute disciplinary criminal proceedings against you.

Berlin, 20 September 1940

The Reich minister  
for Science, Education and National Culture  
signed Rust<sup>25</sup>

<sup>25</sup> 'Berlin W 8, den 2. Oktober 1940.—Wie mir erst jetzt bekannt wird, haben Sie unter dem 14. März 1940 eine Eingabe an die Abteilung Unterricht des Generalgouvernements gerichtet, in der Sie sich für die Freilassung des in Schutzhaft befindlichen ehemaligen Krakauer Theologieprofessors Dr. Jan Salamucha einsetzen. Ich muß diese Eingabe sowohl der Form wie dem Inhalt nach schärfstens beanstanden. Der Form nach handelt es sich nicht mehr um eine Bitte, wie sie mit den Pflichten eines Deutschen gegenüber der für die Angehörigen eines Feindstaates zuständigen Behörde allenfalls vereinbar gewesen wäre, sondern um eine mit besonderem Nachdruck erhobene Forderung. Inhaltlich wird darin in kaum verhüllter Form der Vorwurf einer durch deutsche Dienststellen angewandten, das Leben gefährdenden Behandlung erhoben und die befürchtete Folge des Ablebens des Prof. Salamucha als "Schandfleck" wenn nicht für das Deutschtum überhaupt, so doch für deutsche Forschung hingestellt. Sie haben damit in einer Angelegenheit, die ausschließlich unter dem Gesichtspunkt der gesamten Belange des im Kriege befindlichen deutschen Volkes und

### 3. 1944: From Warsaw to Münster

On 13 December 1943, Jan Łukasiewicz wrote to Heinrich Scholz:

Warsaw, 13 December 1943

My dear, good Heinrich,

I am most grateful to you for the news from Z. A decision to leave our homeland would not be easy to take. But circumstances may arise that could leave us with no choice but to flee. *Nine of my wife's relatives have been deported to Asia by the Bolsheviks* and we know for certain that *some of them are no longer alive*. My wife and I do not want to suffer the same fate. Now we are somewhat reassured and hope that everything will take a turn for the better. All the same, we'd like to be prepared for an emergency. *Among my papers there is still a German exit permit that was issued in 1940*. I dare say it's no longer valid, but it could serve as a supporting document for a new visa. At the moment I do not know any of the German gentlemen in Warsaw. I have never spoken a word to the new director of the Public Records Office, Dr. H. Bramig. (...) However, before I do anything, I would like to know your personal view and what you would advise me to do. We greatly value your opinion. After all, our whole future is at stake. By the way, hasn't Mr G. said anything about the kind of employment we might be offered in Z.? (...) <sup>26</sup>

In this document, Łukasiewicz refers to a letter written by Scholz on 8 December 1943. Although this letter has been lost, we may infer from Łukasiewicz's words that the primary focus was on the possibility of Jan and Regina Łukasiewicz leaving Warsaw. Given that Scholz was in Switzerland from 5 to 30 November 1943,<sup>27</sup> it can

überhaupt nicht unter Gesichtspunkten der Einzelperson behandelt werden kann, die nationale Würde schwerwiegend verletzt. Ich spreche Ihnen wegen dieses Verhaltens meine schärfste Mißbilligung aus. Um ähnliche Vorkommnisse, die der deutschfeindlichen Propaganda als gefährliche Waffe gegen die politische Führung des deutschen Volkes dienen kann, ein für alle mal auszuschliessen, untersage ich Ihnen hiermit jegliche weitere Eingaben in Angelegenheiten ausländischer Wissenschaftler, es sei denn auf dem Dienstwege über mich. Sollten Sie dieser Anordnung zuwider handeln, so werde ich gegen Sie mit Maßnahmen des Dienststrafrechtes vorgehen.—Berlin, den 20. September 1940—Der Reichsminister für Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung—gez. Rust' (emphasis in the original). There is a copy of this letter in the University Archives of the University of Münster (File 'Prof. Dr. Heinrich Scholz/personal file no. 2656 (Registrar)').

<sup>26</sup> 'Warschau, 13.12.1943—Mein lieber guter Heinrich! Für die Nachrichten aus Z. bin ich Dir sehr verpflichtet. Es wäre für uns ein harter Entschluß, die Heimat verlassen zu müssen. Aber es können Umstände eintreten, daß wir dazu gezwungen wären. *Neun Angehörige meiner Frau sind von den Bolschewisten nach Asien verschleppt worden*, und wir wissen bestimmt, daß *manche von ihnen nicht mehr am Leben sind*. Meine Frau und ich möchten nicht ihr Los teilen. Jetzt sind wir einigermaßen beruhigt, hoffentlich wird sich noch alles zum Guten wenden. Für den Notfall möchten wir aber vorbereitet sein. *Unter meinen Papieren befindet sich noch eine deutsche Ausreiseerlaubnis aus dem Jahre 1940*. Sie wird wohl nicht mehr gültig sein, aber sie könnte mir als Unterlage für eine neue Erlaubnis dienen. Von den deutschen Herren in Warschau kenne ich jetzt niemanden. Den neuen Leiter des Archivamts, Herrn Dr. H. Bramig, habe ich noch kein einziges Mal gesprochen. (...) Bevor ich aber etwas unternehme, möchte ich wissen, was Du persönlich darüber denkst und was Du mir raten würdest. An Deiner Meinung ist uns sehr gelegen. Es geht ja um unsere ganze Zukunft. Hat übrigens Herr G. über die Art unseres Unterkommens in Z. keine Andeutung gemacht? (...)'

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Scholz's account of his journey, which is in the possession of the Institute for Mathematical Logic and Fundamental Research at Münster University. See also Scholz's letter to Max Bense, dated 28 October 1943 (source: Scholz Archives, University of Münster).

be assumed that the city referred to as 'Z' is Zurich. Scholz's account of his journey to Switzerland contains some information about his meeting with Ferdinand Gonseth in Zurich, so the 'Mr G.' referred to by Łukasiewicz was in all likelihood Gonseth. Evidently, Scholz had discussed with Gonseth the possibility of Łukasiewicz obtaining a job at Zurich University if he were to emigrate to Switzerland.<sup>28</sup> Łukasiewicz thought he stood a good chance of obtaining an exit permit because—with von Kempfski's support<sup>29</sup>—he had already been granted a visa to Italy in 1940. However, owing to Italy's entry into the war, Łukasiewicz's journey to Italy had come to nought.

Łukasiewicz's reply to Scholz's letter of 8 December 1943 is of particular interest because it details the circumstances under which Łukasiewicz would feel obliged to flee his homeland. Łukasiewicz emphasizes that nine of his wife's relatives have been deported to Asia and several of them killed, and he suggests that his wife would be in mortal danger if Warsaw were to be taken by the Red Army.

It seems safe to assume that Łukasiewicz's remarks on this subject were not made in order to avoid causing offence to German censors; rather, they are a true reflection of the Polish scholar's views. Two points need to be made here:

- (1) For the time being, Jan Łukasiewicz had nothing to fear from the German military and police authorities. As he pointed out in his letter to Scholz, Kajetan Mühlmann, the Special Representative for the Protection of Artistic and Cultural Assets (*Sonderbeauftragter für die Sicherung der Kunst- und Kulturgüter*) in Cracow, issued a document in 1940 certifying that as far as the police were concerned, there were no objections to his leaving the country.<sup>30</sup>
- (2) Łukasiewicz had good reason to assume that he and his wife would be in mortal danger if the Red Army took Warsaw. First, he had been the Polish Minister for Religion and Education in 1919. Second, he had been awarded the *Polonia Restituta* medal. Third, his wife Regina, née Barwinska, to whom he had been married since 1928, was an aristocrat.

In the light of these facts, Łukasiewicz's explanations appear plausible. The occupation of Poland by the Red Army would indeed have created a situation in which he would have been obliged to flee his homeland. Understandably enough, he wanted to be prepared for such an eventuality.

Łukasiewicz told Scholz that as far as he was aware, he did not know anyone who might be able to help him to obtain an exit permit. He was not even acquainted with the director of the Warsaw City Archives, although he had been employed there shortly after the outbreak of war. In December 1943, he worked only at home.

Łukasiewicz therefore asked Scholz for advice. He wanted to know whether he and his wife should try to obtain a permit to leave Warsaw and, if so, what steps they should take in order to achieve their aim.

<sup>28</sup> This interpretation is supported by the questions Łukasiewicz asks in a letter to Scholz dated 5 January 1944: 'Could you not let me know what sort of jobs Mr G is going to offer us? Do you think I stand a chance of being appointed to a lectureship?' (source: Scholz Archives, University of Münster).

<sup>29</sup> Cf. the aforementioned report entitled 'My activity in favour of foreign scholars during this war'.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Łukasiewicz's letter dated 15 January 1944, parts of which are quoted below (source: Scholz Archives, University of Münster.)

Since Scholz's answer was slow to arrive, Łukasiewicz wrote to his friend again on 5 January 1944:

Warsaw, 5 January 1944

My dear, good Heinrich,

Let me know if you received my long letter of 11 December.<sup>31</sup> In this letter I broached, among others things, two important questions: 1. why we want to leave Warsaw (the Eastern neighbour); with regard to this question, I said that I would do nothing, however, until you wrote to me and told me frankly what you think of our plans. (...) <sup>32</sup>

This letter clearly shows that in the mean time, Łukasiewicz was determined to leave Warsaw. If we consider this document in relation to the letter he wrote to Scholz on 13 December 1943, we may conclude that Łukasiewicz believed the Red Army was about to launch an offensive against Warsaw. His assessment of the situation was no doubt influenced by recent reports from the battle fronts, and especially by the fact that the Red Army reached the former East Polish border on 3 January 1944. Łukasiewicz evidently realized that he now had no choice but to seek refuge abroad, but he was not sure when or how he ought to contact the authorities in occupied Poland in order to apply for an exit permit.

On 10 January 1944, Scholz replied to the two letters that Łukasiewicz had sent him. Scholz's letter has been lost, but we know that Łukasiewicz received it on 14 January 1944. The following day, Łukasiewicz wrote back:

Warsaw, 15 January 1944

My dear Heinrich,

Yesterday, 14 January, your long-awaited letter arrived here. Many thanks! Since you were suffering from jaundice, I was so worried about you that I sent a letter to your friend L. in Markusstraße on 13 January. I don't know whether he got my letter or whether you'll be apprised of its contents. Among other things, I wrote: 'We don't want to take a leap in the dark unless it's absolutely necessary to do so. But here in Warsaw so many people are accusing us of being anti-Jewish and anti-bolshevistic that we dread closer contacts with the Bolsheviks. Our lives are at stake. We'd like our friend (meaning you) to tell us whether we ought to leave now. Maybe he can reassure us. And if we have to leave, would he prefer us to move to the Reich rather than to some place in a neutral country?' (...) <sup>33</sup>

<sup>31</sup> This is a reference to Łukasiewicz's letter dated 13 December 1943, parts of which are quoted above (cf. note 26).

<sup>32</sup> 'Warschau, 5.1.1944—Mein lieber, guter Heinrich! Laß mich wissen, ob Du meinen langen Brief vom 11.12. bekommen hast. In diesem Brief habe ich u.a. zwei wichtige Fragen angeschnitten: 1. Warum wir aus Warschau fort wollen (der östliche Nachbar); dazu habe ich bemerkt, daß ich jedoch nichts unternehmen werde, bevor Du mir nicht ganz offen schreibst, was Du von unseren Plänen hältst. (...) (for the source, cf. note 28).

<sup>33</sup> 'Warschau, 15.1.1944—Mein lieber Heinrich! Gestern, den 14.1., ist Dein lang erwarteter Brief hier eingetroffen. Besten Dank dafür! Ich war schon so sehr wegen der Gelbsucht um Dich besorgt, daß ich am 13.1. einen Brief an den Freund L. in der Markusstraße abgesandt habe. Ich weiß nicht, ob ihn meine Brief erreicht und ob sein Inhalt zu Deiner Kenntnis gelangen wird. Es stand darin u. a.: "Wir möchten nicht unnötigerweise ins Ungewisse ziehen. Aber hier wird uns so allgemein die antijüdische und anti-bolschewistische Einstellung nachgesagt und angerechnet, daß uns vor einer näheren Bekanntschaft mit den Bolschewisten graut. Es geht um unser Leben. Der Freund (damit bist Du gemeint) soll uns sagen: müssen wir schon jetzt fort—vielleicht kann er uns beruhigen –, und wenn wir es müssen, möchte er uns lieber im Reich wissen, als irgendwo in Neutralien? (...)'" (for the source, cf. note 30).

The man referred to as ‘your friend L.’ can be identified with the aid of Scholz’s diary. He was Herbert Link, who was a clergyman and church superintendent in Beeskow, near Berlin, from November 1941 to March 1945. Apparently, Link spent some time in Warsaw during the war, for in his letter of 5 January 1944, Łukasiewicz writes: ‘What a pity you haven’t got a friend in Warsaw (somebody like Mr L.) in whom we could confide’ (‘Wie schade, daß Du jetzt keinen Freund in Warschau hast, wie es Herr L. war, dem wir uns anvertrauen könnten’). Scholz’s mail diary entries reveal that Link assisted Scholz in transferring money to Łukasiewicz. As we shall see, Link also played a decisive part in helping Jan and Regina Łukasiewicz to obtain an exit permit.

In a letter dated 10 January 1944, Scholz apparently advised Łukasiewicz to leave Warsaw.<sup>34</sup> Scholz probably made enquiries about the names of people in Warsaw who were responsible for granting exit permits, and in all likelihood he advised Jan Łukasiewicz to consult Professor Heinrich Wolfrum or Lieutenant Colonel Felix-Ferdinand von Kamlah—witness the second paragraph of Łukasiewicz’s letter of 15 January 1944:

Professor Wolfrum is away for 8–10 days and Lt. Colonel von Kamlah is, I’m told, no longer in Warsaw. So I’ll have to wait. The bigwigs in the Warsaw authorities include the Governor of the Warsaw district, Mr Fischer (Palais Brühl) and the city captain of Warsaw, Mr Leist (Palais Blank). I don’t know any of these gentlemen, and I was wondering whether you could find some way of getting in touch with them.<sup>35</sup>

Since Łukasiewicz was unable to contact Wolfrum or von Kamlah immediately, he chose to stay put. In the mean time, Scholz wrote to Wolfrum (11 January 1944), Link (20 January 1944), and Gonseth (11 January 1944). He was anxious to elicit further information about Gonseth’s attempts to find a job for Łukasiewicz in Zurich.

Shortly afterwards, the plan to move Łukasiewicz to Switzerland was abandoned. When Łukasiewicz met Wolfrum in Warsaw on 1 February 1944, Wolfrum made it clear that if the German authorities allowed Łukasiewicz to leave Poland, the Polish scholar would have no choice but to move to the German Reich. Wolfrum offered to contact the appropriate authorities with a view to obtaining an exit visa for Łukasiewicz. In a letter dated 3 February 1944, Łukasiewicz apprised Scholz of his meeting with Wolfrum:

Warsaw, 3 February 1944

My dear Heinrich,

There are two important matters I’ll have to tell you about. First, the day before yesterday (i.e. 1 February), I finally managed to speak to Prof W., who has just left Warsaw after spending two days here. He received your letter already on 12 January. He thinks it will be virtually impossible to secure an exit permit to go to a neutral country. In his view, it would be easier to obtain a visa to the Reich.

<sup>34</sup> This can be inferred from Łukasiewicz’s letter of 3 February 1944, which will be quoted in part below.

<sup>35</sup> ‘Herr Professor Wolfrum ist für 8–10 Tage verreist und Oberstleutnant von Kamlah ist, wie mir gesagt wurde nicht mehr in Warschau. Ich muß somit warten. Zu den Spitzen der Warschauer Behörden gehören der Gouverneur des Distrikts Warschau Herr Fischer (Palais Brühl) sowie der Stadthauptmann von Warschau Herr Leist (Palais Blank). Ich kenne keinen von diesen Herren. Könntest Du vielleicht einen Weg zu ihnen finden?’ (for the source, cf. note 30).

The only problem is that there is a severe housing shortage there. He said he would put in a good word for me with the local governor, Dr Fischer, and the SS-leader, but he wouldn't be able to do anything before mid-February because he had to leave Warsaw now and it would be about a fortnight before he returned for a longer stay. (...) <sup>36</sup>

There is clear evidence that Wolfrum contacted the Warsaw authorities during the second half of February in order to discuss the possibility of Jan and Regina Łukasiewicz leaving Warsaw. Judging by Scholz's subsequent activities, the upshot of Wolfrum's discussions with the authorities was as follows: Jan and Regina Łukasiewicz would be allowed to travel to the German Reich, provided they could prove they had somewhere to live and a source of livelihood. From March 1944 onwards, Scholz's chief efforts were devoted to helping the Łukasiewiczzes to fulfil these requirements.

His *modus operandi* can be reconstructed with the aid of his correspondence and his diary entries relating to the period in question. According to these sources, the steps he took were as follows. In March 1944, Scholz asked Herbert Link to check whether Jan and Regina Łukasiewicz could be provided with accommodation in Beeskow after leaving occupied Poland.

In order to find a job for Łukasiewicz, Scholz got in touch with his friend, Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker, who enlisted the aid of a Strasbourg historian, Hermann Heimpel. Heimpel apparently knew, or was on friendly terms with, Professor Albert Brackmann, the general director of the Bautzen-based Publication Bureau of the East German Research Council (*Publikationsstelle der ostdeutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft*). After contacting the Prussian secret state archives, Heimpel asked Brackmann if Łukasiewicz could be employed as a translator at the Publication Bureau. <sup>37</sup> Brackmann replied that although the Publication Bureau was not allowed to employ Polish nationals, 'we would give him substantial jobs on a freelance basis' ('daß wir ihn aber durch grössere von uns zu honorierende Arbeiten beschäftigen würden'). <sup>38</sup>

In mid-April 1944, Heimpel apprised Scholz of this possibility. According to Scholz, Brackmann's promise played an important role in the preliminary negotiations with the Warsaw authorities concerning Łukasiewicz's resettlement in the German Reich. <sup>39</sup>

On 1 June 1944, Scholz learned that the district administrator of Beeskow had agreed to allow Jan and Regina Łukasiewicz to move to Beeskow.

Thus, both the conditions stipulated by the Warsaw authorities were fulfilled. The Łukasiewiczzes could furnish proof that if they settled in the German Reich, they

<sup>36</sup> 'Warschau, 3.2.1944—Mein lieber Heinrich! Über zwei wichtige Punkte habe ich Dir zu berichten. Erstens: vorgestern am 1. Februar, habe ich endlich Herrn Prof. W. sprechen können, der vorübergehend auf 2 Tage nach Warschau gekommen ist. Deinen Brief hat er schon am 12.1. erhalten. Er meint, daß wir schwerlich eine Ausreisewilligung nach Neutralien bekommen könnten, leichter wäre es, eine solche Bewilligung nach dem Reich zu bekommen, nur soll dort große Wohnungsnot herrschen. Er selbst würde sich dafür beim hiesigen Gouverneur Dr. Fischer und dem SS-Führer einsetzen, aber erst Mitte Februar, denn jetzt muß er wieder Warschau verlassen und kommt erst in etwa 14 Tagen für längere Zeit zurück. (...)' (Source: Scholz Archives, University of Münster.)

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Hermann Heimpel's letter to Johannes Papritz, dated 22 March 1944 (source: Federal Archives, Berlin, file R 153/1226).

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Brackmann's letter to Papritz, dated 2 May 1944 (source: Federal Archives, Berlin, file R 153/1226).

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Scholz's letter to Brackmann, dated 7 July 1944 (source: Federal Archives, Berlin, file R 153/1226).

would have a means of livelihood and a place to live. As a result, Scholz's letter to Brackmann, written the very same day, is quite optimistic in tone:

Münster i. W., 1 June 1944

Dear Sir,

Dr Heimpel, a colleague who lectures at Strasbourg University, has forwarded me your kind letter of 28 April concerning the provision of assistance to my friend, Professor Jan Łukasiewicz (Warsaw, Brzozowa 12), who is currently living in Warsaw in exceedingly straitened circumstances.

Today, at last, my intermediary in Warsaw informed me that the district administrator of Beeskow, near Berlin, has consented to allow my friend and his wife to move to Beeskow. This means that at long last our fundamental aim has been achieved. Now everything depends on the assent of the German authorities in charge of such matters in Warsaw; but these authorities have been informed in advance and are favourably disposed to the good cause. I have also taken steps without delay in order to speed up the final stages in the administrative process. It now finally looks as though we can reckon with Mr L. being allowed to move to Beeskow within the next four weeks. I should be most grateful if you could let me know what form the employment you promised is likely to assume, and how soon Mr L. will be able to take up his duties. I should also like to take this opportunity to enquire about the question of remuneration, because for the time being things are such that I shall be paying for everything else.

Yours faithfully,  
signed Heinrich Scholz.<sup>40</sup>

Scholz's hope that Łukasiewicz would move to Beeskow 'within the next four weeks' was not to be fulfilled. Thanks to the negotiations conducted by Wolfrum in Warsaw, the Łukasiewiczzes were granted an exit permit in June 1944, but they were unable to move to Beeskow as planned because, as Scholz informed Brackmann on 6 June 1944, this town had in the mean time become so swamped with refugees from Berlin that it had become impossible to find a place to live there.

Scholz therefore tried to find accommodation for the Łukasiewiczzes in Münster. A mail diary entry for 28 June 1944 records an enquiry (via the rector of Münster University) to the head of police in Münster. Evidently, the police officer could not allow the Polish couple to take up residence in Münster unless Łukasiewicz could prove he had a job. This can be gathered from a further exchange of letters between Scholz and Brackmann.

<sup>40</sup> 'Münster i. W., 1. Juli 1944—Herr Kollege Heimpel von der Straßburger Universität hat Ihre freundliche Mitteilung vom 28.4. mit Bezug auf die Unterstützung meines aufs Schwerste notleidenden Warschauer Freundes Herrn Prof. Dr. Jan Łukasiewicz, Warschau, Brzozowa 12, in meine Hände geleitet. Heute endlich erfahre ich von meinem Warschauer Vertrauensmann, daß der Landrat von Beeskow bei Berlin der Übersiedlung meines Freundes und seiner Frau nach Beeskow zugestimmt hat. Damit ist das Grundlegende endlich erreicht. Jetzt kommt es noch an auf die Zustimmung der zuständigen deutschen Stellen in Warschau; aber diese Stellen sind schon vorunterrichtet und der guten Sache günstig gesinnt. Ich habe sofort auch noch Schritte getan, um diesen letzten Akt zu beschleunigen. Es steht jetzt also endlich so, daß man damit wird rechnen dürfen, daß Herrn L. innerhalb der nächsten vier Wochen nach Beeskow wird übersiedeln können. Sie werden mich sehr zu Dank verpflichten, wenn Sie mich wissen lassen, wie die von Ihnen in Aussicht gestellte Beschäftigung sich dann voraussichtlich auswirken wird und wie bald sie in Funktion treten kann. Ich möchte mir bei dieser Gelegenheit auch eine Mitteilung von Ihnen zur Remunerierungsfrage erbitten dürfen, denn bis auf weiteres steht es so, daß ich für den ganzen Rest selbst aufkommen werde. In größter Hochschätzung Ihr sehr ergebener gez. Heinrich Scholz.' (source: Federal Archives, Berlin, file R 153/1226).

The letter Scholz received from Brackmann on 4 July 1944 did not contain the information Scholz had requested. Since Brackmann gave no firm assurances about Łukasiewicz's job prospects, Scholz wrote back:

Münster i. W., 7 July 1944

My dear colleague,

Your letter of 4 July reached me this morning. Just when I am on the point of achieving my objective, I am once again confronted with a situation fraught with mountainous difficulties. You will allow me to express my extraordinary consternation, for the confirmation sent to me by my colleague, Dr Heimpel, played an essential role in the preliminary negotiations on Mr L.'s move from Poland to the German Reich.

In order to resolve the predicament in which I now find myself, I wish to take up some points you raised in the last two sentences of your letter. Given the circumstances, it goes without saying that Mr L. will not make any special requests. He will discharge any tasks with which he is entrusted.

Would you therefore be kind enough to let me know as soon as possible that Mr L. can be entrusted with a sufficient amount of translation work (in the broadest sense of the term), and that the remuneration he will receive for this work (in the same sense) will be as generous as the fees paid for the work you mentioned in your letter to my colleague, Dr Heimpel.

Yours sincerely  
Heinrich Scholz<sup>41</sup>

On 25 July 1944, Scholz was informed that Łukasiewicz could only be offered a text about 25 pages in length, and that the fee would be three Reichsmarks per thousand syllables.

At this point, however, Scholz was no longer dependent on the assistance of the Publication Bureau, for at some time between 7 July 1944 and 11 July 1944, his friend Hasenjaeger, the Lord Mayor of Mülheim, had told him that Jan Łukasiewicz could be employed *pro forma* by the city of Mülheim.<sup>42</sup>

On the basis of this assurance, Scholz petitioned the head of police on 11 July 1944. He requested that Jan and Regina Łukasiewicz should be allowed to move to Münster. The petition was granted. On 17 July 1944 the Łukasiewiczzes left Warsaw, and the following day they arrived in Münster.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>41</sup> 'Münster i. W., 7. Juli 1944—Sehr geehrter Herr Kollege, Ihre Nachricht vom 4.7. hat mich heute morgen erreicht, in einem Augenblick, in welchem die Schwierigkeiten dicht vor dem Ziel sich noch einmal bergehoch aufgetürmt haben. Sie erlauben, daß ich es ausspreche, daß ich ungewöhnlich bestürzt bin; denn die Zusage, die Herr Kollege Heimpel mir geschickt hatte, hat in den Vorverhandlungen über die Umsiedlung eine wesentliche Rolle gespielt. In der Not, in der ich mich jetzt befinde, werde ich an die beiden letzten Sätze Ihrer Mitteilung anknüpfen dürfen. Es versteht sich, daß Herr L. unter den vorgegebenen Bedingungen irgendwelche besonderen Wünsche nicht anmelden wird. Er wird erledigen, was in seine Hände gelegt wird. Ich bitte Sie, daß Sie so freundlich sind, mir auf dieser Basis sobald als möglich zu sagen, daß Übersetzungsarbeiten in diesem erweiterten Sinne ausreichend für Herrn L. zur Verfügung stehen, und daß diese Arbeiten in demselben Sinne mit guten Honoraren verbunden sein werden wie die Arbeiten, von denen Sie in Ihrer Mitteilung an Herrn Kollegen Heimpel gesprochen haben. In größter Hochschätzung Ihr sehr ergebener Heinrich Scholz.' (source: Federal Archives, Berlin, file R 153/1226).

<sup>42</sup> Cf. *Schreiber* (1999, p. 99).

<sup>43</sup> Jan and Regina Łukasiewicz stayed in Münster until the end of 1944. On 18 November 1944, they were bombed out. On 1 January 1945, von Kempiski took them to Hemsben, where they remained until the end of the war. Cf. von Kempiski (unpublished and undated manuscript).

#### 4. Conclusion

In conclusion, it is hardly an exaggeration to say that Scholz saved his friends' lives by arranging their departure from Warsaw. Łukasiewicz believed that he and his wife would be in mortal danger if the Polish capital were to be occupied by Soviet troops, and his fears, it seems, were fully justified. When Stalin invaded eastern Poland in 1939, he practised an occupation policy that was inhumane in the extreme.<sup>44</sup>

The documents cited above throw valuable light on remarks made by Heinrich Scholz to the Dutch logician Evert Beth after World War II. When Beth asked Scholz about his publications in the National Socialist journal *Das Reich*, Scholz replied that his foundational research had been condemned as 'decadent' by the Munich mathematician Max Steck,<sup>45</sup> and that he had only published his articles in *Das Reich* because he feared that otherwise he would be unable to find an outlet for his research findings.<sup>46</sup> In order to demonstrate his disapproval of the Nazi regime, Scholz added the following remarks:

Not only did I save Mr and Mrs Łukasiewicz. I also maintained contacts between Mr Tarski in the U.S.A. and his wife, who had remained behind in Warsaw with his two children. I enabled them to keep in touch with each other by means of various subterfuges until Mrs Tarski, with my help and in a very arduous and roundabout way, finally obtained exit permits for herself and her children.

I finally succeeded in rescuing Mr Salamucha, one of Mr Łukasiewicz's best theology students. I secured his release from a concentration camp before the worst came to the worst. I shall never forget that marvellous man's tragic death, which occurred during the fighting in Warsaw in August 1943 ([a handwritten addition] It wasn't the Germans who murdered him!).

What is more, I continued to correspond with my other friends in Warsaw and Cracow although all correspondence was strictly prohibited.

I shan't enumerate all the risks I took. Suffice it to say that I received three visits from the Gestapo, and that after Mr S. was released from a concentration camp, our Minister notified me that if I were to reoffend, disciplinary proceedings would be instituted against me with a view to removing me from my post.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>44</sup> How strained Łukasiewicz's relations with the Polish communists were is shown by the fact that after World War II, he did not write to his friends in Poland for political reasons. For this information, we are grateful to Jan Wolenski.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. note 6.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Scholz's letter to Beth, 24 August 1944 (quoted in *Molendijk 1991*, pp. 60–61). See also *Peckhaus (1998/1999)*.

<sup>47</sup> 'Ich habe nicht nur Herrn und Frau Łukasiewicz gerettet, sondern ich habe auch die Verbindung zwischen Herrn Tarski in USA und seiner mit seinen beiden Kindern in Warschau zurückgebliebenen Frau auf eine unterirdische Art so lange aufrecht erhalten, bis Frau Tarski unter meiner Mitwirkung auf mühevollsten Umwegen für sich und ihre Kinder schließlich den Ausreisepaß nach USA erhalten hat. Ich habe endlich einen der besten theologischen Schüler von Herrn Łukasiewicz, Herrn Salamucha, aus dem Konzentrationslager gerettet, bevor das Schlimmste geschehen war. Es ist ein Unglücksfall, den ich nicht vergessen werde, daß dieser ausgezeichnete Mensch in den Kämpfen um Warschau im August 1943 ermordet worden ist (*handschriftlich*: Nicht von den Deutschen!). Und ich habe mit den übrigen Warschauer und Krakauer Freunden immer wieder einmal korrespondiert, obschon uns jede Korrespondenz streng verboten gewesen ist. Ich erzähle Ihnen hier nicht, was ich alles riskiert habe. Aber ich werde sagen dürfen, daß die Gestapo dreimal bei mir gewesen ist und daß unser Minister mich nach der Befreiung von Herrn S. aus dem Konzentrationslager hat wissen lassen, daß im Wiederholungsfalle ein Disziplinarverfahren mit dem Ziel der Amtsentsetzung gegen mich eröffnet werden würde.' (quoted in *Molendijk 1991*, pp. 60–61).

The material presented in this study shows there can be no doubt that Scholz saved the lives of Jan and Regina Łukasiewicz, and that he was instrumental in securing Jan Salamucha's release. There is clear evidence that Scholz corresponded with his friends in Warsaw despite a ministerial ban on such communications, and that during World War II he acted as a go-between between Alfred Tarski and the Warsaw logicians (e.g. Mostowski). If one takes account of the risks Scholz incurred, one cannot but agree with Tarski that his conduct reveals his great personal integrity and his courage to stand up for his beliefs.

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