

Interview with Mrs. Lotte Liebermann = LL

SERIES: Survivors of the Holocaust Oral History Project of Dayton, Ohio

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Q: This is the first interview with Mrs. Lotte Liebermann and it is being held in her home on October 10, 1978, at 3:00 p.m.

Mrs. Liebermann, would you mind telling me when you were born and where you were born?

A: I was born on March 7, 1907, in Opeln, Germany.

Q: In Upper Silesia?

A: In Upper Silesia.

Q: What kind of city was, or is, Opeln? Was it a large one?

A: Opeln was a county seat and a city of about 40,000 people. A small one where everybody knew everybody else.

Q: You spent your early life there?

A: I spent my early life there because my father was the owner of a store that had been in the hands of the family for 100 years. It went on from generation to generation. My brothers were already partners in the store, when they became of age. Then we left, of course.

Q: What was the business?

A: It was leather and several supplies which have anything to do with either horses or shoes, leather soles, no ready made shoes.

Q: Luggage?

A: No. Strictly shoe makers and several supplies.

Q: Is this the center of a farming region, or is it the center of a manufacturing region?

A: It is a farming region actually. There was not too much industry. In the Eastern part of Upper Silesia, there was mainly coal. Coal, you know, coal, iron, steel was the big industry, but in Opeln and around Opeln, it was rather farming.

Q: Did he sell the saddle goods, the saddle material? Did he sell that to farmers mainly, or to gentlemen horsemen?

A: No! No! Mostly to farmers! They came in with those big bags, and that is when they stole, of course, slipped it in the bag, you know; but the soles were cut to order. The farmers came in and they knew the firm so well that when the Jewish holidays came around, nobody came to town because they knew that the Jewish business would be closed.

Q: What was your maiden name?

A: My maiden name was Orgler.

Q: And what was your father's name?

A: Alfred.

Q: And you say that he had inherited the business from his father?

A: The business was in the family for 100 years.

Q: Established by your grandfather, or great-grandfather?

A: Right! They established it and every time it was built up a little more, and the store was remodeled. My father used to remodel and loved to do that. I was born in the house where the store was!

Q: You lived upstairs, in back of the store, in an apartment above?

A: In an apartment. That was the way it was done at the time. We didn't have hospitals to go to at the time. They had me there, and the twins there, and then when my little brother was born, we had moved.

Q: What was your mother's maiden name?

A: Hedwig Apt.

Q: And was she a native of Opeln also?

A: No, she came from Dresden, in Saxony. She lost her parents at a very young age. There were three sisters, and they were raised by an aunt and uncle in Breslau. (Today this city is called Wroclaw, Poland, located at 51.00N,17.00E).

Q: And you had brothers?

A: I had three brothers.

Q: Two older and one younger?

A: Younger. I was the oldest. And the twins were three years younger than I was.

Q: What was their names?

A: Heinz and Walter.

Q: And the other brother?

A: The other one was eleven years younger than I was, and his name was Helmut.

Q: You said they went into the business with your father when they came of age?

A: You know, they were groomed, it was like it was passed, you know, from generation to generation, a family enterprise. They went to school and they went to learn the trade, and then, when they were through with that, they came back.

Q: Did you work in the store yourself?

A: Yes, I did. Because I met Hans when I was seventeen years old. We knew then that we would eventually get married. So, I finished school and then I went to trade school, and I came back into the business as a secretary.

Q: Were your parents educated, well educated or did they receive the public school education?

A: No, my father went to gymnasium and my mother finished what they called "Tochterschule." That meant ten years of education with two languages. That is the background which I also had. (Tochterschule literally means school for daughters.)

Q: And this school which you later went to, the technical school, was it to train as a secretary, or as an accountant?

A: As a secretary.

Q: What we call a business school?

A: A business school, typing, shorthand, bookkeeping. I used this later on, when Hans first started out. I could use it so my way was paid to be in this school.

- Q: Would you say that you were born into an extremely religious home, moderately religious home?
- A: A liberal home!
- Q: A liberal home?
- A: Yes. I mean we belonged to the Synagogue. The store was closed on the holidays and we had religious education. My brothers were Bar Mitzvad. I would say not a very Orthodox family, but a religious one, very conscious of being Jewish!
- Q: Did you observe Kosher?
- A: No. But, I was confirmed also. I mean, even that many years ago.
- Q: Was that common at that time for women, girls, to be confirmed?
- A: At age sixteen, there were eight of us who were confirmed.
- Q: Did you go to the Synagogue on the Shabbat regularly, or on the holidays only?
- A: More, or less, only on the holidays. However, we kept all the holidays, not only Yom Kippur and the New Year.
- Q: Was German the principal language that you spoke in your house?
- A: Yes. Although we needed a little bit of Polish because, you know, a lot of those farmers that came in spoke Polish and German.
- Q: Did your parents speak any other languages, besides the Polish and the German?
- A: My father went to the Gymnasium and had Latin and Greek. My mother had French and English. At one time, we had a French governess to teach us piano and more languages; and then, of course, in 1921, when upper Silesia was occupied by the British and the French, we had the practical application of what we knew.
- Q: So that, by the time you reached maturity, you could speak some English?
- A: I could speak some English and some French. I had seven years of French and four years of English.
- Q: As well as the Polish which was needed in the business.

- A: The Polish, we only picked up the words when they came in and wanted certain things so that we would know what they wanted.
- Q: Would you say that the clientele in your store was primarily Jewish, or non-Jewish?
- A: Non-Jewish! There weren't that many Jews in the whole city, you know.
- Q: What would you say would be the population in the 1910's and 1920's? What was the Jewish population?
- A: I couldn't tell you. I am sorry.
- Q: Did you travel quite a bit as a young girl?
- A: Yes. I was very lucky because, you know, what you would call my parents here, was upper middle class. My parents were the lucky ones who always did travel and many, many times they took me along. I had been to Italy and Paris. I had really traveled by the time I settled down.
- Q: Considerably inside Germany also, I suppose?
- A: Yes, there were no distances, you know. I had an uncle, my father had a brother, who was a lawyer in Wuppertal (located 51.16N,7.11E), which is in the Rhineland. I was there for three months at one time, when my parents felt that I should really get out of the house and really see a little more of the world.
- Q: Did you ever go East toward Warsaw and into Russia?
- A: No. At that time, we went into what is now Poland, such as Katowice (50.16N,19.00E) and so forth. but, travel to Poland, or Warsaw, wasn't that important because no one really cared. You traveled to Vienna, to Budapest, to the Adriatic Sea, to Switzerland. That is what you did, you know. But, no one ever traveled to Russia and to Poland. That became modern later on.
- Q: Did you have relatives scattered throughout Germany, or were they concentrated in Upper Silesia and Breslau?
- A: No, we had relatives. I had an uncle in Bremen, and I had relatives in Dresden, and in Berlin, and in Breslau, that is about it.
- Q: You thought of yourself as among the privileged class?

- A: Yes. I believe that I did. I was very aware of the fact that we were settled, you know, we were assimilated. We had that business for that many generations. I have a family tree which goes back to 1648.
- Q: In the area of Upper Silesia? Or elsewhere?
- A: In Upper Silesia.
- Q: Yes. Dr. Liebermann has shown me that. Who traced that?
- A: My father did. When they took the store away from him, he made that his occupation, because he felt that the next generation, hopefully, would be away from all this, and it would be nice to have. He put many, many hours into it. He did it, together with a Rabbi from Breslau, who really studied and went to all the places, took pictures of the gravestones, and they really worked hard on this. I am very grateful that I have it.
- Q: Going back into the XVIII Century and the XVII Century, do you know whether your family was urban and commercial, or rural and agricultural?
- A: No. Commercial. Definitely.
- Q: Does the name indicate that there were musicians somewhere?
- A: No, there was a Rabbi in Langendorf, but no artists, except Hans' cousin, who was related to Max Liebermann. He probably told you about that.
- Q: Did your parents have much association with Gentiles? Of a social nature?
- A: No, that was not common in Germany. You had your Jewish friends and that was it.
- Q: You went to a mixed school though?
- A: Yes! Oh, yes! But, I mean, you know, that coming out of school, I had my Jewish girlfriends.
- Q: You went to their homes?
- A: And I went to their homes. It wasn't encouraged that you would get into the non-Jewish community.
- Q: I take it then that you would say that the Synagogue was not the center of your social life.

A: It wasn't this way in Germany! The Synagogue was only there for the holy days, for Shabbata, and to pray. The social life was around the Jewish friends you had.

Q: A question I did not ask Dr. Liebermann, let me ask you this question. Was it uncommon in this period, before WWI and during the war, to find - was it uncommon to find devoutly religious, highly pious German Jews? Was that an exception?

A: They were concentrated around Breslau, Berlin, Frankfurt a/Main, you know, where they really felt that they had the religious surroundings they needed. However, we had four families in Leibitz who were very religious, so we had no organ in the Synagogue, and the Jewish community supported a Kosher butcher. It was not unheard of that this be the case, he had to live and he could only live if the Jewish community would support him. So, we all bought Kosher meat, all these years, whether you lived Kosher, or not. You did without an organ in the Synagogue because these people didn't want an organ and that was that.

Q: That was in Leibitz?

A: In Leibitz.

Q: Was Opeln the same?

A: No, Opeln was a very liberal community. We did not have anybody who objected to the organ, or wanted a Kosher butcher. So we had none.

Q: What kind of associations were your parents members of? Business? Was there a Chamber of Commerce, for example?

A: Yes, sure.

Q: Made up of Jews and Gentiles?

A: I suppose together, right.

Q: Was your father more or less a passive member, or was he active?

A: He was active in the community.

Q: Do you recall his ever holding office in that kind of organization?

A: No, that was usually run mainly by paid people. The city government was staffed with paid employees; and, now for example, Sundays, the stores were closed. Nobody would even think of opening. You opened at 8:00 a.m. and you closed at 6:00 p.m. No one would keep it open five minutes longer. That was it.

Q: What about cultural associations? Singing clubs or amateur dramatics? Did your family participate in such?

A: No, no, but, we had an Opera Association, even in that small city, which we supported. There was theater, there were concerts, but, that was supported by the government. So, you see, there were no associations with volunteers like here because you didn't support them with money.

Q: Did you attend the Opera and the concerts?

A: We did! We were very shocked when we came to America and found out that in Dayton only a few upper class people even knew an Opera because they went to Cincinnati.

Q: Was music very important to you while growing up?

A: Yes!

Q: Did you take it rather casually?

A: No. It was very important. We were all trained. I was trained to play the piano, but, of course, without talent I gave that up very soon. But, Opera became very important, and concerts, and we were always taken everywhere, where anything like this could be had.

Q: Was your father politically active and involved in politics?

A: No!

Q: Member of a party?

A: No!

Q: Did he vote?

A: Oh, yes. Sure.

Q: Financially, did he support candidates of one party or another, do you recall?

A: I can't remember, but, I don't think this played such a big role in Germany.

Q: Would you be willing to say if, if we deal with the if, if your father had joined a party, say in the period 1900 to 1920, which would have been his preference?

A: What you call here Democratic! Very Liberal! My father was a very liberal man. I remember that for years and years, we had a Swiss newspaper because

Switzerland was a neutral country in Europe, and they had the news from all over. The Berner Bund was the bible in the house, more or less.

Q: How would you describe your childhood? As extremely happy?

A: Yes.

Q: Without cares?

A: Yes, without cares! Very sheltered! I was very sheltered! I was very lucky. I had access to all the good things in life, even travel, and I can only say that I had a very happy childhood.

Q: Are there any really outstanding events that stick sharply in your mind? That you remember in some detail, happy or sad, puzzling or so?

A: No!

Q: Very even kind of childhood?

A: I was born seven years before WWI, and the only shocking, really shocking experience that I can remember, my grandfather was manufacturing bricks in the country, about fifteen miles from Opeln , and he had a wagon and two horses. When the war broke out, the two horses had to go to war, and the two of them were killed. This is something that we children never forgot, you know, horses become very, very affectionate. Now, when I was a girl, about four years old, I had a pony. One Sunday afternoon, when the cars started to be on the highways, the pony got wild and scared, and we all ended in the ditch. That was the end of the carriage and the pony. You know, in this country you would probably say that I was a very spoiled brat, because I had all the good things a little girl could have.

Q: During WWI, what were your memories? You would have been seven when it started?

A: Why, I remember that my mother worked for the Red Cross and all the soldiers who came through the city got coffee or cigarettes, newspapers, you know, whatever have you. My father had a little heart ailment so he was put into an office, where he worked part-time or full-time. I remember, I remember very distinctly, that we had so little to eat during that time, so when we went to school, the Quakers would supply a roll and a piece of chocolate for a break, about 11:00 a.m. We went to school from 8:00 a.m. to 2:00 p.m., so at 11:00 a.m., at the break, the Quakers would supply a piece of chocolate. That was a big treat!

Q: Food was hard to come by, even for those who had the means to purchase it?

A: It was hard, it was kind of scarce. You know maybe they got a piece of extra liver because it was all rationed. So they got a little piece of extra liver, and they bought a little butter, or some eggs. You know, the peasants wear those great big shirts, so they always had something that they slipped in, eggs, butter, or whatever.

Q: Chocolate?

A: Chocolate, no! But food from the country.

Q: But, there was not such a shortage of food that you became undernourished, was there?

A: Yes, more or less. We all lived from turnips, cabbage, and marmalade which was made of any food possible, and with whatever we had.

Q: Was there any fighting, any battles which took place in your region?

A: No! No!

Q: Were you aware of such events as this, or were you too young to realize what was happening? Brest Litovsk and the Bolchevik revolution in 1917?

A: I don't really remember because at seven or eight it goes by you. You go to school and it kind of passes over you.

Q: You don't remember your parents discussing it in the evenings?

A: That, I don't remember anymore. I will tell you that I remember very little because I have had such a terrible experience when we left Germany by losing everybody.

Q: Yes.

A: I almost used self-hypnosis in order to survive, and I have forgotten a lot of things which I should remember; but, I could only survive and exist if I would make a real, clean break.

Q: To blot the past out.

A: So, I remember probably much less than other people, even people my age, because I didn't want to be reminded.

Q: If I ask you any questions you don't want to respond to, please?

A: No, no, no. But, I say, you may find out that I remember a lot less than Hans, for instance, you know, but, this was purposely done because in order to survive that traumatic shock, I had to look into the future and I have to live for the present.

Q: When you were growing up, and as you describe living this rather sheltered life, were you aware of Anti-Semitism?

A: Very little, because I was very well liked in school. I had contact with all the non-Jewish kids and the Jewish kids, whatever. You know, we played together. There was really very little which came to us. Either we were so sheltered that my parents were successful in keeping it away from us; but, I think that we were so assimilated. I give you an example, when Hans and I got married. We got married on a Sunday afternoon at 4:00 p.m., in the Synagogue, and there wasn't an empty seat. All these people, who were customers in the store, wanted to see me as a bride. This gives you an idea, you know. The fact that the store could be closed on holidays and my father would go to the Synagogue with a top hat, that didn't make any difference, they all said hello! Everybody did! We were very lucky, we were very, very well liked! And unknowingly, we probably had a lot of friends in the non-Jewish community. And there were quite a few, of course, who stood up and helped later on.

Q: Would you say mainly Catholics, or mainly Protestants, or both?

A: Both. My father had, for instance, an accountant for many, many years, and when he left Germany he took all the papers. He had to really leave in a hurry because in WWII, Opeln and Breslau were really in the war. He took all the important papers along and, many years later, when the war was over, we could claim some restitution because he had those papers, and he was not a Jew.

Q: When did you become aware of what was happening in Germany? For example, the inflation of the 1920's and the start of the rise?

A: The inflation, I remember that one of my girlfriends married at the age of seventeen, I think, and married a fellow in Santiago in Chile. When she came for the first time, for \$1.00 she could get a pair of shoes, while we didn't have shoes! You know, we had wooden soles and, if it wouldn't have been for our business, we would probably have had torn soles. That made a great impact, you know. The inflation was so terrible that for \$1.00 you could buy a whole pair of shoes.

Q: How easy was it for your family business to recover after the inflation?

A: Well, they did somehow, you know. I really don't know. I didn't really suffer all that much, evidently, not all as much as you could expect. The Mark was stabilized and the customers were there and things were going in what we thought was the right direction.

Q: Do you remember being hungry during the inflation, not having enough to eat?

A: No!

Q: Things being too expensive to buy?

A: Somehow, my mother managed. You know, my mother would bake. I would say the peasants would bring flour, eggs, sugar. We never really went hungry, but, many times, you know, we didn't have the right food. I know that my mother made noodles and we had potatoes. Many times we only had potatoes for supper, but we were not hungry.

Q: You were mentioning the baking by your mother. I didn't ask you, were you trained to do cooking? Were you trained in the domestic arts, too?

A: I wasn't really trained, but, I picked it up because we had to do so much. We canned the cherries - we had a big garden right with the house. We would have any kind of food from Spring on - strawberries, gooseberries, currants, and there was not a bit of food thrown away, or left. Because, that we learned. Therefore, when we came over here, it was a terrible shock to go out in a restaurant and see what was thrown out. Because, although we always did eat, we always were conscious of the fact that there were people who don't have it.

Q: Did your mother work in the store too?

A: Yes.

Q: You must have had a cook?

A: Market days, the whole family was put to work, because I think that there was a lot of stealing going on. You know, when people don't have things! So, if we were only supervising, you know, sitting at the cash register and seeing to it that people paid. We had a cook, yes, but my mother was always the head of the household. She would work with the cook, and as I said, there wasn't a morsel of anything thrown away. We kids were trained that whatever we have on the plate, we better eat!

Q: I wish that I could get that implanted into my children today!

A: They don't believe you. Do you think mine do it? It hurts me to see that. There are so many hungry people in the world, and we are throwing so much away. You know, I still keep to this old rule. Why, what we don't eat I just don't cook because I don't feel that we have a right to throw it away.

Q: You met Dr. Liebermann in 1924?

A: I met him in 1924.

Q: What was the occasion? How did that come about?

A: I was invited to a tea at his student fraternity in Breslau. There was a Sunday dance, that is where I met him.

Q: Were you invited by Dr. Liebermann?

A: No. I was invited by a girl friend. The girls were invited to meet the fraternity. This is how I met him.

Q: What is the distance between Opeln and Breslau?

A: Like between Cincinnati and Dayton. That year I was ready to go to the business school. I stayed with the Aunt of my mother's where my mother had been raised.

Q: In Breslau?

A: They had an extra room for me. When I went to school in Breslau, this is where I stayed. It was very convenient.

Q: Did you begin to date rather consistently and frequently?

A: Yes, very, very fast. We met in November and I had the first date the 16th of December, so it really was quickly. Then, the next fall, I came to school in Breslau and then, of course, we could see each other.

Q: And then you married four years later? Is that right, 1928?

A: We got married in 1928. I had about two years of school and then he did not want to get married until he had his own practice. So, I went back and worked for my father until we got married.

Q: In the decision to move to Leibitz where he established his practice, did you have any role to play in that decision?

A: Very little. I didn't know anybody Leibitz or anything else, but we both made up our minds. We wanted to be in the middle so that we can visit my parents and his parents and would still be on our own. We had a big desire to be on our own, probably due to the fact that I was so very sheltered. I felt that the time had come when I had to be on my own.

Q: Do you recall that being very traumatic?

A: No.

Q: Did you have to struggle?

A: No.

Q: Did you get homesick to see your family?

A: No. I didn't, because my parents were fortunate to have a car. So they came to see us. In 1930, we bought a car and then we could go to his parents and to my parents. We were very happy to be on our own, and still we weren't that detached, you know, because we could talk and see them. Our son was born in 1929 and that was the grandparents pride and joy.

Q: What was his name?

A: Franz!

Q: Franz? Yes. Dr. Liebermann had told me that. I had forgotten. Did you like Leibitz?

A: Yes, we found it a very pleasant place. Leibitz, at that time, did not have a Jewish ear, nose and throat man. The practice really came up much, much better than we ever dreamed it could, and would. So, we were really very fortunate, but that doesn't mean that my parents didn't still spoil me. They took me on trips, and we had help. Of course, I don't know if Hans has touched on that, you know, keeping house in Germany at that time was much more of a chore than it is here. You had just an icebox and no freezer. You went to get the butter in one place, the vegetables in another, and the meat in another. The candies and the coffee someplace else again. Keeping house really involved almost going shopping every morning for two hours before you had everything you wanted.

Q: Did you have much association with the wives of the other doctors?

A: Yes, I did!

Q: Was there a medical association or organization?

A: No.

Q: Was there a Women's Auxiliary or something like that?

A: No, because there were not enough. But, there was what they called Vaterlandischerfrauenverein (that means Society of Women from the Fatherland). They had meetings. Later on, of course, Hadassah came. Hadassah, I don't know if you know what that is? Hadassah got very active by getting children

ready to go to Israel when things were getting... (Israel at reference means Palestine).

Q: This was after 1933?

A: In the 30's, already. What they call Hachsharah. The kids were put in a camp for six weeks and Hadassah would see to it that they had their things ready by the time they were shipped off (to Israel). You know, we had to put name tags and buy jeans and shirts, whatever they needed to work in Israel on a farm. That, of course, brought us together, the Jewish women of the community.

Q: The time is up. Well, no, I believe that I have about five more minutes left on this tape.

A: Well, that is all right, whatever you decide.

Q: No, I would like to ask you in some details about these activities. So, you are talking about 1933?

A: 1930, we started.

Q: In 1930?

A: In 1930, there were a lot of children sent to, I mean they were trained to work on farms in Israel. At that time, they were mostly, I would say, underprivileged children.

Q: But, this was for a vacation or a holiday?

A: No, no, no. This was to be permanently there. But, people who really felt that there was not much of a future in Germany, Israel, at that time, was being built up. There was a need for youngsters to come in and help. Hadassah took over and got those kids whatever they needed. Whenever they needed it we shipped them off, with everything we had for them.

Q: Was it the central organization of Hadassah which would choose which children would go and arrange the papers and so forth? What should I say, the branch of Hadassah in Leibitz? What were you doing as a member of this branch?

A: Well, we were just getting the children ready. The whole thing was done out of Berlin.

Q: Were the children from Leibitz and the region around Leibitz?

- A: The ones we got ready, yes. But, at that time they started children's transports from all over. The children were picked and they were trained on farms in Germany. I think that it took about six weeks for the children to be trained.
- Q: Did parents put up, I don't know how to phrase it, did parents cooperate in getting their children to Israel, even in 1930?
- A: Well, in 1930, only children went whose parents really wanted them to go. Those kids were about 14 years old. At age 14, school was finished and instead of letting them learn anything in Europe, they felt the kids would be better off to go to Israel.
- Q: Now what would your group do? Raise money or make contributions? Provide the cloth and...?
- A: Right, our membership and parties, or whatever we had. We would collect money and it would be done. I mean, there were certain regulations of what they had to have and that was bought for them.
- Q: Would you say that this occupied a great deal of your time?
- A: Well, you could spend as much or as little time as you wanted.
- Q: You, yourself, did you get heavily involved?
- A: I did get involved because I thought that if those kids go they should really have everything that is required. As I said, we fitted them and we knitted for them, and we got them to get out. But, it was not the pressure under which we operated later. You know, this was more or less a voluntary affair.
- Q: Now?
- A: But, the Hadassah women, they were called Witzoh, at that time. Women's International Zionist Organization. These were mostly children from old Zionists, you know whose dream had been to live in Israel, sent their children to Israel. That is what happened.
- Q: Would you characterize yourself as a Zionist in this period?
- A: No! I did not because Israel, at that time, was the land for the needy who did not have it. Like every charity, you supported this project in order to give people who don't have what you have, something.
- Q: Was there any other kind of activity you engaged in besides Hadassah as far as organized work?

- A: No, that is really the only thing I worked for. Because the medical women's, you know, the physician's wives, got together and we worked for more or less good purposes; but, it wasn't done, you know, community work in Europe really started in 1933, because when it became so obvious that the pressure was put on, then we really had to get busy and organize ourselves, too.
- Q: Can you say that in the period between 1928 and 1933, when you were working in these activities, that any sort of foundation was being laid that could be built on later, after 1933, or when the pressures began to come. Did you more or less have to go into different kinds of activities using different people to be involved, different approaches, or was it some sort of continuation?
- A: Around 1933, when things got really bad, unfortunately, people became selfish, because everybody was trying to find out, is there another way? Will you go a certain way? Will you stay? Activities, except for leaving the country probably stood still, almost. You just couldn't imagine that things would get that bad that you would really have to leave everything and leave the country. You just didn't want to believe it! Today, you know I was talking to Hans the other day, and he said, "You know, if the same thing would happen today, would we do the same thing?" I said, "Yes, we would do the same thing our parents have done, because I would never want to be dependent on my children." My parents stayed there and said, "Get settled, and when you are settled and you want us, then call us and we will come." As I get older you know, I can see that very well, I would not want to be dependent on my children without having a dime.
- Q: As Hitler's activities became more known in 1929, 1930, 1931, did you begin to become concerned or did your concern really develop after Hitler's rise to power?
- A: The concern started in 1933, when there was the boycott and when it really became bad. But, then it wasn't a question of going to Israel anymore, it was question, where can you go? This is why Hans came over here and I went to Israel and spent a month there. Because you knew you wanted to go, since for your family's sake you couldn't stay. But, at the same time you wanted to go someplace where you would be able to build up. Don't forget that we were ten years older than when we first started.
- Q: Yes!
- A: We had lived in Leibitz for ten years before we left.
- Q: After Hitler came to power in late January 1933, and the really strong anti-Semitism began, and the laws began to be passed...
- A: You know, at that time, I don't know. Hans probably told you that, too, that Upper Silesia was protected and didn't have all the laws applied to it. That is why we stayed, unfortunately, five whole years longer.

Q: Did you, I did not ask him this question, let me ask it of you. Do you think this had the impact upon the Jews living in Upper Silesia, of making them think that they weren't in as much danger, that they had more time, that these pressures weren't as intense, that you didn't have to make these terrible decisions quite so much?

A: It was hoped that in five years the whole thing would be blown over and by the time the five years are over, the whole thing would be over and that's it.

Q: Did you watch the TV program on the Holocaust?

A: That I couldn't take. You know, some of it we went through, some of it we have seen in pictures, and so forth, but this I couldn't watch.

Q: The first segment of the series there was the mother, the wife of the doctor, who was very German. The doctor was Polish, but practicing in Germany, and the German wife was apparently from an upper middle-class background, very cultural, a good pianist, apparently they were fairly wealthy. The husband wanted to think in terms of emigrating, but she kept saying to him, "No, this is some madness which is going to blow over." Was that common?

A: That is what I was just telling you. And, those five extra years gave us the false hope, that in five years it can go away.

Q: But, could you say, from thinking back and thinking in the terms of women and their attitudes and concerns, as opposed to men and their attitudes and concerns, from your acquaintances and the talk you engaged in, that men were more prone to want to leave and that women were more prone to say, "It is going to blow over." This may not be a fair question.

A: At this point you left for the sake of your family! You know, unfortunately, I lost two babies due to the excitement and so forth, but you planned to raise your family in a better climate and in a happier climate because by that time it was obvious that it wouldn't be over in five years. But the five years gave us the false hope that it could be over, because Hitler was always talking about the 1,000 years, you know. And, if it would not have been for the war, who knows?

Q: I am going to stop now.

Q: This is the second interview with Mrs. Liebermann and we are in the living room of her home on Tuesday, October 17, 1978.

Now, Mrs. Liebermann, when we were talking last week, we were roughly in the period of 1935 and 1936. What I would particularly like to get at, if at all possible, are the small things, the things which you might not think very important, but which I think are very important.

A: O.K.

Q: I would like to know about shopping. I would like to know about putting a menu together, getting three meals on the table when you weren't welcomed in some stores, for example. I would like to know what you did for entertainment, what you did at home, how you entertained your child when, perhaps, it wasn't safe for him to get out on the street. Those little kinds of things.

A: You want to know? O.K.

Q: If you can give me your own perspective and a woman's point-of-view of running a household in this time of trouble.

A: Right! I will tell you that I made a few notes here. Our real troubles started in 1936, when, in February, Hans' mother died of a cerebral hemorrhage and the store of his parents had to be closed. The household had to be dissolved, because my father-in-law could not live there by himself. He was living right above the store. So the first problem we had in 1936 was to find an apartment for him in Leibitz and move him, and let him live there. The second thing that came up, about a couple of months, later was that Jews were only permitted to have personnel 45 years or older.

Q: In Jewish stores or do you mean in the households?

A: In the households. Housemaids, sleep in help or so, in order to "keep the race clean" you know. So, the housekeeper he had, moved with him to Leibitz, and this lasted just about six months.

Q: She was not Jewish?

A: No. It lasted about six months and it didn't work. She quit then and I could not get another one. So, quickly, we decided that my father-in-law would move in with us. It was a big decision, but it turned out very well because he was a very unusual person. He would never be there when we had company, unless we would call him, and he was a big help for me in doing some shopping. I gave him little chores because we had to buy the meat in one place and the vegetables in another one and the coffee and the candy in still another one. The household was no problem because Hans' patients were very nice. Wherever I came, I had no problem; but, we knew the time had come where we had to make a really big decision and leave, because it got to the point where we could see that Hitler's 1,000 years probably would not last 1,000 years, but they would last longer than we could. You could tell just by looking at it. So, in 1937, I joined my brother on a trip to Israel just to look around and see what has happened to the friends who had the same problems and left. Some of them lived outside of Upper Silesia so that the problem came closer. Well, what I found out, at that time, was that they

had more physicians than they could take in. They were really too busy in their fields, our friends were planting orange trees or they were raising chickens, and I knew that Hans would not be good for it because he is so for medicine and medicine only. They had about 40 ear, nose and throat men in Tel Aviv at that time, and, from that point-of-view the trip was very discouraging, because we knew that Israel was out and that we had to see that we could get some connections here in this country. So, fortunately, my father had a cousin in New York. I guess Hans told you about that? He decided in January 1938 to go and see and come back with the Affidavit. Then we would take it from there. Well, things were happening in a very quick way. From someone who knew the Secretary of the Consul, we got the visa in a very short time. The big problem came up. Would I be able to stay by myself because I was in danger from the moment Hans left, because they figured if the man is leaving he is taking the money along and they really kept an eye on you 24 hours a day. It was a very, very uncomfortable situation. They were burning books. Now the Gestapo could have come into the house and found one book from the many books we had, that was supposed to have been burned, and that would have been the end of me. So, I was really in a very, very sad situation because I didn't know what to do. But, we finally decided that Hans would leave and I would stay. Franz still went to school and really didn't have any problems. We had an English teacher who kept giving him lessons and giving me lessons. As I said, patients were lovely. They were really trying to ease the situation as long as I was there. When Hans left, he left in June 1938. I had to decide what I would take along and what I would leave. I had to rebuy every piece that I owned. For instance, we had to buy our own furniture. I had to come back with the original bill and pay the government the same price before I was allowed to take it along. I had to rebuy every medical book, every instrument. We had saved some money, because Hans was working for ten years, and we could not take it along. The only money we needed was for my father-in-law. He had to enter into a nursing home in Breslau because we were on the go, on the move and I didn't know how long I would stay, how long it would take, so we put him into a nursing home, a Jewish nursing home in Breslau. We had to pay so much for, let's say, for five years, because they figured that within five years we would probably have a chance to have him join us. The rest of the money I had to spend for whatever I felt I wanted to take along. We did bring a lot of things which weren't really necessities, but as long as the money lasted, we did decide to take them because there would always be a chance to sell it, anything and everything, even if we would lose money. You know, you take everything you have and figure hopefully that ultimately you would sell it. In August our little boy fell off the bicycle and I was in real trouble. The Chief Surgeon of the hospital would not set that arm, he broke his arm; the Chief Surgeon was a Catholic, he would not take care of Jewish children. I had to take him 30 miles into the Children's Hospital of Beuthan where the Chief was nice enough to take care of me. I had to go there in order to have the bandage changed. We still had a car at that time and when it got real bad I got very nervous about the whole thing. Friends of ours volunteered either to go so far or to take him. He arrived here still with the arm hanging down, doing exercises.

That was a very, very bad experience for me because when it happens to you, yourself, it isn't so bad; but, when it happens to your children and they are not being taken care of, and a physician can say I am not taking care of the child, this surgeon was something. The Chief of Staff would not touch that child. That was really a blow. Of course, my parents gave me all the support I needed because they were only 50 miles away. They were pushing us, as much as they hated to see me pack and leave, but, they were pushing because it was the time when Chamberlain was preparing to come to Munich and no one knew what would happen. My father still got his Swiss newspaper and he saw the handwriting on the wall. He said, "Hasten your move! I would rather you would go." It wasn't that easy because the German government had no intention to make it easy. I had to sell the car, and that went to one of Hans' patients who was very decent. This patient came up on April 1st when they had the boycott and insisted that she wanted to be treated by Hans. She passed through the SS Guards. So, when I advertised the car she came up and I was glad to sell it to her. I had to sell a lot of our things because even in a big lift-van, you know, you can only get that much in and you only take the things which you either want to use or sell. The personal lives, at this time, about stopped. There was no entertainment. Everybody was very busy with making plans. Whoever could make plans would like to go and you have no idea how many times you had to go for everything. For every fork you take you have to go to the Gestapo, you have to get the bills, you have to pay them. They had to see whether they were really not more than what I said. It was really a very, very difficult time. Finally, I had no help anymore, because they would not come into a Jewish home. The housekeeper didn't make it anymore because she lived elsewhere. I could stay in the apartment until about one week before we left, then friends across the street gave me a room and we stayed there and I packed. I ate with them and I lived with them. They were really very nice. Today their daughter is married to a surgeon in Kew Gardens. Every time we are in New York, or every year for the Holy Days, I hear from her. They were three girls, two of them are in England and one is here.

Q: Now, can I back up and ask some questions?

A: You know you can ask me the questions.

Q: About your son, Franz and his schooling. Was it a school run by the Synagogue?

A: No, he went to a public school.

Q: Even up to the time you left?

A: Yes, you see it was summertime, July and August are the vacation time.

Q: But through to the spring of that year.

A: For the spring he was still in school, he was 8 years old, that means it was his 3rd year in school.

Q: So they had not yet expelled or denied Jewish children the right to attend.

A: No, there were only very few left and then luckily we were in vacation time.

A: Yes.

Q: And after that, of course, we left.

Q: You frequently hear stories from the school children about how the teachers, the Jewish school children, about how the teachers made these disparaging remarks.

A: No!

Q: Did Franz come home with these kind of stories?

A: No, he was really not hurt by that. That was very lucky, because those things can do a lot of damage. I guess we were lucky that we came into the vacation time, because when it got real bad we were on the way out. And until 1938, as long as the treaty was there, they could not just discriminate against the Jewish children because the treaty specified a "normal way of life." It was lucky that we got out before it got so bad.

Q: Was the Synagogue burned before you left?

A: No. When I was all packed I went to my parent's house for one week. I left Leibitz about the 1st of October. Then I stayed with my parents and while I was there - oh, wait a minute. Chamberlain was in Munich in between, and I got telegrams from Hans: "Come later" and I couldn't. You know, I was stuck, so I sent him a telegram that I would leave Leibitz and stay with my parents. Which I did! And it was just the holiday (meaning Jewish Holy Day) season - I spent the holidays with them. They decided to take me to the boat in Bremen. We stopped in Breslau to say goodbye to my father-in-law. We went to Bremen. In the meantime the Jews were supposed to have a "J" in their passports. So, while I was on transit to Bremen. I had to stop in Berlin, go to the Gestapo and get a "J" in my passport before I could leave. I must say that the German customs people were lovely. When I was packing my belongings they would come into the house; they would sit and read the paper - they were, luckily, all patients of Hans. Would I have wanted to take anything, I could have done it easily, because they just looked the other way. But fortunately I didn't take advantage of it. When I came on the ship every one of my suitcases was broken open for a double check. They were checking the customs people before they put the luggage in the cabin. There may have been people who smuggled things, but I was afraid.

- Q: That any slight infraction of the rules would have gotten you in a great deal of difficulties.
- A: Would have gotten me in goal. When I came on the ship and found all my suitcases opened and things taken out I thanked G-d that I didn't take anything that I had not the bill for. I came here with a great big suitcase full of nothing else but bills for every dress, for every piece of underwear, anything and everything we took along had to be documented.
- Q: Before you left and while you were preparing to leave did you go out on the street very much?
- A: Yes, I could.
- Q: Did you consciously stay indoors?
- A: No. You see, as long as that treaty lasted this was all right. Things really got bad after the "Kristalnacht," the night of the "Broken Glass" when synagogues, stores, etc. were vandalized, Nov. 9 - 10, 1938. Before that you had a certain freedom. I mean, people knew me, the ones who wanted to say hello did and the ones who didn't looked away; but you know we did not suffer personal harm, except the fear that the Gestapo could find something.
- Q: After Dr. Liebermann left and while you were there by yourself did the Gestapo come, ever, to your home?
- A: They came once, to check on something we wanted to take along, but I had the books and I had the papers and they only stayed a short time. But, knowing that they could come any minute and you were careful with everything you did. In particular Hans asked me not to do anything which could give us trouble; rather to leave things and to do just what they wanted you to do.
- Q: No, had you and Dr. Liebermann made all of these decisions before you left - exactly what furniture, what pieces of furniture you wanted to sell, what you were going to bring?
- A: No, I had to do this with the movers, because we bought two lift-vans, a smaller one and a larger one. The smaller one was packed with nothing else but the office furniture and the instruments for anything, because we didn't know whether we would unpack at the same time or whenever he would open the office. So the movers had to decide how much of all the things could go into the lift and what couldn't. For instance we came here with a big piece of furniture for the dining room but the table, we couldn't get in - so we said: you know, you can always get yourself a table - rather take something else instead.

Q: Now, how did you go about selling your furniture? Did you advertise in the newspaper or how?

A: I advertised in the newspaper! And I had it in the dining room all together and people took it away. You know, they don't (hesitate) there, too, were some patients who grabbed it and some of them, who were nicer, said "could we have this?" I gave most of the stuff away, I mean. You know, funny as it may sound to you, but money at time was no object because you knew you couldn't take it. You could only spend money. Now, for instance, I was only allowed to leave the country on a German ship and, at the time when I was ready, they only had a 1st class cabin, so we came by 1st class because I didn't dare to wait for another one - wait another 2 weeks. So, whatever was available, I paid it and I paid my passage on 1st class, and that was it. We left a lot of things over there but we made changes for instance, these 2 pieces here were in my parent's house. We had a big library and I was always very much in love with that piece so my parents sent it to Liebitz and they took mine and we packed it.

Q: When you went to Israel, the year before, in 1937, you said that your brother went with you?

A: Yes!

Q: Now was he just along to keep you company and help you?

A: He was also looking around to see and you could, I guess Hans has told you, that if you went to Israel, if you had 10,000 pounds, at that time, you could get in there without taking an exam, to practice if there were patients. This is why there were so many physicians, the ones who were afraid to take an exam and start in a different country could go there, if they had the money. But, as I told you there were so many there that I knew that Hans could not practice we would have to live an entirely different life and I knew that he could not do it.

Q: What sort of prospect was your brother interested in? Leather? A leather store?

A: Yes. You know what the situation was! Unfortunately there were complications in so far as the money is concerned, and they didn't go. They didn't go, and he was killed, later on.

Q: Now, in disposing of the apartment, your home, did you sell that, or was that simply confiscated? Did you just off and leave it?

A: That was just rented!

Q: Oh!

A: That was not mine! See we had 3 rooms for the office and 6 rooms for us. The whole 1st floor in a big downtown building. But we rented it. We had no responsibility. Once we got out, that was it.

Q: The family you stayed with, across the street for a week, while you were packing, were they Jewish?

A: Yes! He was a lawyer a very well known layer, he had been in WWI, had received an Iron Cross decoration, and very German. So German, that unfortunately, he was killed because he refused to get away.

Note: Here there is a lengthy silent part in the tape. I tried to pick this up in two different tapes but both were silent at this point. That silence lasted to the end of the 1st of 2 tapes and I have no knowledge of what was lost and therefore could not be transcribed.

Q: Could you give me any sort of information or shall I say the general exodus of the Jewish community from Leibitz. Where there was an awful lot of people trying to leave in this period.

A: Everybody at this point was trying, because things were bad. Chamberlain did not make it any better. You had the feeling that Hitler was building big roads and he would be stopped one of these days and only a war would get him out of this situation because there were ... You know you can keep people off the street and give them work in munition factories, building highways, having arms (probably meaning in the army) ... When we left the Germans were armed up to here, completely ready for a war and we knew more or less we knew that it would happen in our life time, because it had to be.

Q: When other people would leave, your close friends for example, would they just leave, would there be a gathering of friends to bid them farewell or were so many leaving that...

A: When we left, you see we were very fortunate, we left about 3 weeks or 4 weeks before the "cristalnight" and then it really got to the point where everybody knew and where the exodus really started. When we were getting ready you did, I mean you did not like to live separated from your family but you weren't under such pressure, if you followed the directions you had - if you did everything the way the Nazis wanted it you could do it at your own time. You know no one would have pushed me if I had left a couple of weeks later, it was my own feeling and my parents really couldn't wait, you know, I was the only daughter. It was very hard for them, but they knew that the separation would be bad and, whatever would come, we would be able to help them and to help my brothers once we were settled. So they were also anxious to see us go at this point.

Q: So you left from Bremen and arrived in New York.

A: Yes. We left on Columbus Day and we left with an American teacher, in the same compartment,. you know to go to the ship from Berlin to Bremen. She was telling Franz about Columbus Day. That was the first history lesson for American history. You know, she was very nice.

Q: How was your English, at this point?

A: It was not good but it was better than it had been because we had had a chance to concentrate. There was nothing else to do. I had had it in school, I had a pretty good background. We had a British teacher who was still there teaching. But real English I learned by the radio, I knew every soap opera. The radio was put on early in the morning and I had it going until late at night. This is how we really learned English.

Q: I am going to ask you a question...

A: Go ahead.

Q: That may be a little difficult to answer. Before you left, I know that there was the general insecurity and the general anxiety - did you ever have a feeling of panic?

A: No.

Q: That is marvelous!

A: No, that I did not have because I guess my parents gave me a lot of support. If it would have been after the cristalnight it may have been, it would have been different because at that time the men were taken away and they were in camps - the whole situation changed, but I only had the big worry: "Would I get out in time and would I be united with Hans before anything would happen?" No, fortunately, I had a lot of stamina to take all this.

Q: Now, when you arrived in New York, Dr. Lliebermann met you and you then went on then to Dayton.

A: We stayed two days in New York and then went on to Cleveland.

Q :Now can you tell me from your perspective about the readjustment in a strange land and to a strange language.

A: It wasn't too bad in Cleveland because we had a lovely one bedroom apartment. The school was down the corner and Franz made a marvelous adjustment. He played football with the kids without knowing the game. When he went to school they put him into the 2nd grade and every 4 weeks or so they put him in a different grade, so, by the time we came to Dayton he had been in the 5th grade

and he gained the whole school year. When we came to Dayton he had just been transferred into the 5th grade and here he went into the 5th grade. He graduated from High School when he was 17 so that was nice. There was a delicatessen store downstairs and the people were very nice in telling me where to go and shop. Money, we didn't have! We came with \$4.00 each. The only thing I remember I would knit little pants for little children and from the money we bought a leather jacket for Franz. At that time the leather jackets with little shirt collars were in fashion and that was the biggest dream of his life to have a leather jacket like this for his birthday in January. I went to the May Co. and I bought a leather jacket. Otherwise I had brought a lot of clothes over for him and some of them were right, some of them were wrong. So whatever was right he could wear, and what was wrong he would not. That's all.

Q: Did you feel isolated in Cleveland or did you being to associate with people?

A: No we did not at all because Hans was working very hard - and he was working in the living room and Franz and I would be in the bedroom until 11:00 and then we would take Franz from the bedroom back into the inner bed and let him sleep the rest of the night. He had an orange box for a night table you know, a suitcase on the other side. It was improvised but it was cheap. We paid very little for the apartment. We knew that we would have debts - and the less debts, the easier it would be.

Q: How long were you in Cleveland all together before you came to Dayton.

A: Not very long. I arrived in Cleveland about the 22nd of October and by the end of January we started to move.

Q: Had all contact with Germany been cut off?

A: At that time?

Q: Were you able to write home?

A: Oh, yes, because only in September of 1939 when they invaded Poland were the communications cut off. Until then I had letters from my parents and I could write to them.

Q: Were they censored?

A: That I don't know, probably.

Q: There was nothing marked out?

A: Not in what they wrote, but in what I wrote probably.

Q: Now, in their letters to you did they comment very much on what was happening? For example did they comment on cristalnight?

A: That we only knew from the papers. I mean that I knew that my brothers were in camp and my father ...

Q: Did that happen right after cristalnight? I mean your ...

A: The morning after cristalnight. All the men were taken into concentration camps and some of them were released. My father wasn't there very long - my brothers were there much longer and then they had labour camps for them. The business of my father had to be sold immediately and was taken over by some big Nazi.

Q: Did your mother write to you about all this, or relate it?

A: Most of it we heard from people who came, or from newspaper, you know. From then on they didn't write much - they wrote only postcards - they were well and they are hoping that we would be able to be adjusted and so didn't find it too hard. There was actually very very little that they would say because I guess they felt that they were in prison with one leg anyhow.

Q: When the newly arrived Germans came to Cleveland, did you make any sort of special attempt to talk to newly arrived Germans?

A: No, I didn't, but Hans had a friend in Cleveland, who had come here in 1933, and they kind of took us under their wings. They invited us for Sunday dinner and they took care of Franz and me, when Hans was in Philadelphia. But we made no attempt to meet anyone because number 1, your thoughts were in Germany and you were trying to get around in this country and you were not very good company at this point. You learned the language. You know there were so many things that the social life just had to be put aside.

Q: You came to Dayton in January 1939.

A: That was different, you see Hans took his exam in December 1938.

Q: Yes.

A: And then went to Philadelphia - and we came to Dayton in January 1939. We were very lucky that we found somebody who gave us a few hints, you know, where to settle and what to do. Then things were different because number 1, we had to think of getting settled in the apartment, getting settled in the office and having a telephone, trying to establish a practice. For that, you know, you have to make contacts. We used to go to Friday night services, we contacted the Jewish Community Council. Not that we needed any help. They would have liked to help us with money and take us under their wings, which we did not want

because we felt that once you start you have to start being on your own and try to break into the community. They did not like that very well. They would have liked to put all the refugees together and establish a club for them. They resented very much that Hans and I would not participate. Because we felt that we have to make our own contacts and, if you want to live in a small community you have to know the people and you have to try to live with them.

Q: Were there very many refugees here in Dayton at that time?

A: There were 20 families, or so. It was stopped when the war in Europe started and Wright Field, all of a sudden had 10,000 workers imported from all over the country and the Jewish Community wasn't able to find an apartment or even a room for them. So the New York office was asked not to send anymore refugees to Dayton. I mean there were a lot of people who didn't arrive in New York and made contact when they didn't know anybody or didn't have any contacts. They were distributed to Jewish communities by the HIAS. I don't know if you ever heard of them? (HIAS = Hebrew Immigrant Association).

Q: I had not thought about this before but it strikes me that it would be very interesting to talk with people on the Community Council, there, in the late 30th and the early 40th who were working with the refugees.

A: Well, there aren't many left. Fisher died, and Bob Fitterman, who was here during this time just retired and moved to Florida. There aren't many left. They had bitter and not such good experiences with people who were sent. You know some of them did not like it here; they demanded more than the Jewish Community could offer. Human beings are human beings, you know.

Q: Dr. Liebermann had related to me in some detail the difficulties which he had with the medical society and getting started in his practice. Could you tell me, from your perspective during those months, when he was in a sense being locked out.

A: Well, it was very - you see I was helping him at that time.

Q: You worked in the office?

A: I was in the office and I worked until 3:00 p.m. I went there in the morning, got the office cleaned up. At 3:00 p.m., when school was over I would come home and then Franz and I would do the shopping. He would do the shopping, I would do the laundry and we would do things together. We never left him alone, I was always with him after he came home from school so that at least he would have the feeling of being sheltered. We became very friendly with his teacher and she was always telling us - when he first came into her class she was very nice and she was very anxious to hear a little from him what was going on. She said that, no matter what she did, when she asked him "Where are you from?" he would say "from Cleveland." She absolutely could not budge him. He wanted to...I guess he

had seen enough - he wanted to be integrated and he did not even want to tell the kids that he wasn't from here. He was very naive but I remember that there was an A&P at the corner. I gave him a grocery list and I put pepper on the grocery list. He came back and he bought me a whole pound of pepper. I looked at him, and I could not believe it. I said, "You were supposed to bring a little shaker." He said, "You know, I stood there and it is so much cheaper to buy a big bag so I thought you would need a big bag." When the war started, and no one had pepper, everyone of my friends got pepper for the duration of the war. That was the only way in which I could get rid of a pound of pepper.

Q: That is a nice story.

A: It is a true one. You know, he was so conscious of saving, and when we were in Cleveland, on Friday night, we would take a walk and on (name of street I believe) they had one of those push carts the cinnamon apple. Hans would get a bite, I would get a bite, and Franz would get the rest of the apple. The apple was a nickel. That was his Friday night treat - to give him something special before Shabbat came. We would, when Hans was busy until 5 or 6 o'clock - Franz and I would, when we were through with our house chores, we would walk down to the office and pick him up. Then the three of us would walk back home and for that nickel I saved I would buy him a Coke. You know, you can tell that to kids today, even my grandchildren can believe that this is the way we started. I never forget that there was a family here where the boy went with him to Sunday school and they picked him up. And they asked him questions how he liked America. He said, "You know, in Germany, they looked at us because we had a car and here they looked at us because we are about the only ones walking." You know these are the thoughts of a 9 year old who sees the changing from one country to another one. I remember that there is a program: "Man of the Street." You know they used to be next to the Harris Building, in front of Loews Theatre. That was before your time. Can you remember Loews Theatre?

Q: Yes, I know where it was.

A: The "Man of the Street" got hold of him. That was during the time we were fighting with the Medical Society - he went on the air with the "Man of the Street" and gave him the story of our lives: how hard it is for his father to get located here and he came up to the office with a 6 pack of coca-cola as a reward - and I could have wrung his neck. The only time in my life! He was so proud of himself that he got 6 bottles of coca-cola for his story. Just a regular kid, you know.

Q: Sure.

A: He was selling newspapers for a pocket knife. Hans and I got stuck with the magazines - so that he could get his pocket knife. He was an only child. Unfortunately I lost one baby in 1933 and one in 1935 due to all the excitement

and when I left Germany they told me that I would have to spend the entire time in bed - so we never had another child.

Q: Were they miscarriages or stillbirths?

A: The one was a miscarriage in the 3rd month or so and the other was in the 6th or so. You know the baby could probably even live, well at that time they said it was a miscarriage - the baby didn't live. But, after the war I wanted to adopt a child from Europe, especially when we heard that my niece had been killed. I had a 3 year old niece. And the organizations in New York would not give us a child. They said "the children who had lived in the camps have seen so much that they are absolutely unfit to adjust to a normal household." That was a big blow because I had made up my mind that I would like to adopt a child. But we couldn't do it.

Q: Did you have much association with the other MD's in Dayton? In this period when Dr. Liebermann was trying to get established and not having much success.

A: You know, the doctors really were very cold.

Q: And the wives were too?

A: I hardly knew them, you know. I worked for the PTA. We didn't have a membership in the Medical Society so consequently I didn't know the doctors' wives. Even the Jewish doctors were so afraid of being with us.

Q: The competition.

A: The competition because in the 30's American doctors would take their exams and open a practice. They would go to Vienna for 3 or 4 months - and they would come back being specialized. When Hans came here with a specialty of 4 years training they didn't like it and I guess he told you the story about the Medical Society. But we had 11 new patients the day after the story broke. They all said, if there is so much fuss about you, you must be good. There were a lot of Germans in the NCR; mechanics, and they all showed up. Within 24 hours we had a big, big practice of them because they said, "We know that they only go to Europe for a few weeks training."

Q: After that break came, after the story and the editorial in the newspaper and the practice was finally established - then what was your relationship with the auxiliary?

A: Very little, because Hans never went and neither did I. I mean that I worked with the auxiliary of Good Samaritan afterwards, after they gave him the break - but with the auxiliary of the Medical Society I had very little to do. You know one thing: they didn't accept us - we actually never cared to be with them.

Fortunately we didn't need it. The contacts at Good Samaritan was a much healthier one because Hans had a friendly atmosphere to work with and the people who were there were nice; the sisters were lovely. I mean at that time, there were very many there, you know it is not like today when they only have 4 or 5. They really opened the doors. If it hadn't been for the sisters at Good Samaritan and a few Catholic physicians we could have packed our bags and gone.

Q: How long did you continue to work in the office?

A: Well I worked a lot longer because when the war broke out in Germany and the Americans went into the war, the nurses were hard to get. We couldn't get nurses and everybody was asked to pitch in and to do as much as possible to release the nurses for war duty. So I worked in the office until way after the war. At that time, then, of course, Hans had an established practice. He had a lot of trouble you know they wanted him to join the war, and he couldn't, because he didn't have the citizenship. When he had the citizenship Dayton wasn't allowed to send any doctors out because there was such a shortage. So after that the practice was established and as soon as we could, we got a nurse, but I was definitely in the office.

Q: We have gone on for an hour now and I think that that is enough for today.

A: Well it depends what else you want to know.

Q: All right. I think that I would like to come back next week, for one more session and that probably would be it.

A: Fine.

Q: This is the 3rd interview with Mrs. Liebermann. We are in the living room of her home on Tuesday afternoon October 24, 1978. Mrs. Liebermann, what I would like to talk to you about this afternoon is the family you left behind in Germany. Your parents and your brothers and their families. You stated earlier, when we first started talking that you had 3 brothers.

A: Right!

Q: And that your mother and father were still alive when you left. Now had all 3 of your brothers married?

A: No! Only one. One was married in 1935 - and in 1936 they had a little girl. They named her Vera, and our oldest granddaughter had the middle name "Vera."

Q: Now you and Dr. Liebermann left in 1938. In July and October of 1938 and the plans were that when you got settled you would make arrangements for the rest of your family to come over here.

A: Right.

Q: Now, as soon as you got settled in the U.S., did you immediately turn your attention to making these arrangements?

A: I arrived in October and the cristalnight was on the 9th of November, and that changed everything, because at that time it became so urgent that regardless as to whether anybody would be settled or not we realized that they had to get out.

Q: Yes.

A: My brothers were in camp and they all had to see to it that they got out.

Q: You were in correspondence with them.

A: Yes, at that time I was, because only when this country declared war on Germany were the communications interrupted. At that time we were trying to get them into Chile, to Shanghai, whatever would be open - Cuba. It was just to get them out!

Q: I am very curious as to how you went about exploring the options which were open.

A: They did.

Q: They did?

A: They did, you could do very little from here. The only thing we did, we promised them that, whatever they would do and whatever money they would have to have, without getting it from the German government, we would try to borrow it here, and help t hem out.

Q: Was it []? I never heard anyone say this, so far but was it possible to telephone?

A: Yes!

Q: Did you?

A: We did, that is Doctor did. I was chicken, I just couldn't do it, but he talked to them. My mother had a birthday on the 13th of November. That was 4 days after the cristalnight. We did talk to them, we did call them.

- Q: And she told you at the time that all 3 of your brothers had been taken to a camp.
- A: We talked to them. That we should please hurry up, and try to help them to get out. They would let us know immediately if there was anyway open.
- Q: And your father was in a camp also?
- A: My father was only there overnight, because since they had my brothers they evidently decided that he would not have to be there. (The Nazis, at that time, put an age limit on the Jewish males they imprisoned).
- Q: This statement that you just showed me that Dr. Liebermann, the affidavit which you just showed me, that Dr. Liebermann drew up, referred to a cousin of his in Cleveland, a man by the name of Herman Praeg?
- A: Yes.
- Q: Now, were you working closely with him? Was he a close cousin? Dr. Liebermann did not mention him.
- A: No, that was actually, I don't even remember, but at that time - after the cristalnight everybody was willing to be your relative and help you. At that time they realized that they actually wouldn't be made responsible. But the quota was so small and they just couldn't make it. And they tried all these other countries. We lost an awful lot of money: they had visas for Chile and they could never get there, so they said sorry. My father-in-law was ready to go to Cuba and got sick like Hans probably told you?
- Q: Yes.
- A: We tried to reclaim the money. They said, "Sorry, the visa is still good - he could still come, that's all." They all made money on the unfortunate.
- Q: Yes, Yes. What finally happened? Your brothers were able to go on a ship.
- A: My brother got on a ship to Shanghai.
- Q: And your sister-in-law?
- A: And my sister-in-law and the baby.
- Q: Now when was this?
- A: That was in 1939.
- Q: Early?

A: In August.

Q: In August 1939?

A: In August, and on the 1st of September Hitler marched into Poland and the ship was called back.

Q: How far out had the ship gotten? Do you have any idea?

A: That I don't know.

Q: Do you know the name of the ship?

A: No. I only know that they were sent back and then they were in camp.

Q: I suppose they went back to Hamburg? Bremen?

A: To Hamburg I think they left from Hamburg. And they were put into the camp. I have no idea what happened. My parents never heard from them.

Q: What ultimately happened to your parents? Do you know that story?

A: My parents had to move out of their apartment and shared the apartment they were assigned until, in 1942 I think, they were sent to Teresienstadt. And as fate wanted, my father met his brother and sister there. And in October 1944 they were all sent to the extermination camp.

Q: Now, how did you find this out? Was it much later that you found it out?

A: After the war, see, in 1945 the war was over and I don't know whether you heard of Rabbi Baeck?

Q: Oh Leo Baeck? Yes!

A: Leo Baeck married my parents in 1906. He was Rabbi in Opeln at that time. And when he got out, of course he remembered who was there and what happened. And when he came to Cincinnati - Hans and I drove to Cincinnati in 1946 or 1947. He told us that they were shipped out before the last winter in Theresienstadt. 5000 at one time.

Q: You had had no word until you saw Rabbi Baeck?

A: I had no word because nobody could remember exactly what happened.

Q: Had you reestablished any communications with Germany after the war was over in 1945? Had you begun to try to write to anyone?

A: I had a cousin in Germany who was married to a non-Jew and her mother also died. They did everything they could to find out but there was very little left, very little. The few people who got out could only tell the horrible story. Some of them were sent to Switzerland, wherever relatives could call for them. But we never heard of anybody anymore. During the war though my father was able to correspond with a friend of ours in Switzerland and she sent chocolate and little packages which they most of the time of course did not get. But she wrote to him, that we are fine, and so forth, and I got a bunch of cards with nothing in there except "we are well, and we trust and hope that someday we will be together."

Q: Did you ever establish contact with friends in Leibitz or Opeln after the war?

A: There was nobody left. There were no Jews left, at all.

Q: What about non-Jews? Those who had been friends like that?

A: We never did.

Q: Had you ever been back to that area?

A: We were only back to see my cousin in Frankfurt. She moved from Breslau to Frankfurt. She moved from Breslau to Frankfurt. And we see her in Frankfurt. She is married, as I told you, to a non-Jew who gave up his position in order to save her and the two children they had. He was in a factory as a regular worker. He had been an officer in the Prussian army with one leg only. He had lost one leg in the 1st WW. He knew all the big shots: Goering, Goebbels. They wouldn't do one thing for him unless he would get a divorce and that he would not do. So we figured if he stood by her, and paid that kind of price they deserve a little bit. And whenever we were in Europe we visit them.

Q: So Frankfurt is the only German city you go to?

A: Right! We always stay with them for a day or two and that is all.

Q: Can you comment on any kind of feelings that you have when you get to Germany or get near Germany? Do you feel anything? Angry?

A: I don't because we only go to my cousins house and stay there. We have never been to a hotel. No, that is not true! Once we drove from Switzerland to Frankfurt and it got dark, and we stayed in Freudensstadt, which is a small resort. We stayed in a very nice hotel and they told us that in the Kurgarten - you know what this is (the garden where the mineral waters can be taken) - there would be a concert, a Mozart concert that night. We like music so we decided to go. When

we got there, it was right after the war, we saw all these Germans in those long leather coats - I could just picture them with the Swastika and I knew exactly - we left - we went to Baden-Baden, which is more international. I just couldn't take any of this. That is the 1st time I decided that I can't do it. I had bitten my teeth together many times, but for pleasure and for spending my own money. I just couldn't. But when I go to Frankfurt, of course, I am very much at ease because I have no contact with the Germans and the cousin I have, has only friends who are in the same position - mixed marriages or Jews who came back because they can finish their life easier in Germany than they could in England, or wherever they lived. You know, for instance, lawyers who never practiced in England and never got their foot in the door in England. Most of them came back to Germany where they get the restitution money and they live there.

Q: I am curious too about the details of how the restitution arrangements were made. Could you comment on that?

A: Yes! Restitution arrangements were made on that a lawyer, or a judge - let's say - who was a judge at the time, 33 or 34, and got out. If he could declare that he would have stayed a judge in Germany he gets today the restitution of a retired super grade employee because all these months back and all these years back. They get a very good hunk of the money. You had to prove that you do not earn as much as you do in Germany and that kept us out. Because, fortunately Hans always earned more than he did - or would earn in Germany. So we never did get anything. About 10 years ago - or 20 years ago - the accountant of my parents came up with some papers he had taken from the area of Opeln to the area of Hamburg. When the restitution came up he gave us the - he was on the restitution committee and we got some money for the houses and for the money which my parents had in the bank, which was very, very little because even in prison they had to pay an enormous amount for being there and for their board and room - and livelihood. I mean it was unbelievable. But quite a few people do get money.

Q: Yes, I have heard others say so but I never inquired.

A: But, you had to prove. Now we know a couple here who are old today also - I guess you have Mrs. Sander on your list - now he was employed in Germany and he was employed here also. He never made a fortune but a decent livelihood, you know, they would get much more. They did get money. We were always very happy - we didn't need it so it didn't make any difference.

Q: But the restitution which you got, based upon property loss did that require a great deal of legal work and a lot of papers to be sent to Germany to be processed.

A: Not too much, because the Germans are very correct. They had every bit on the books. They knew. If you would try to cheat for one 5 penny piece, they would

know it. They were so correct, they had everything there but they give you, I think 10% to a thousand or so, I mean it didn't amount to very much. They made it so that it dwindles down to practically nothing.

Q: I was also under the impression that Yad Vashem in Israel could do a great deal of tracing of people who had disappeared, or been executed.

A: They did, they did.

Q: Did you ever contact Yad Vashem about the fate of your brothers?

A: All you can do is give them the names and they add them to the book. I mean they are not able to trace anybody who asks for information.

Q: I am sure that this had been very painful for you now. I regret that I had to ask those questions.

A: No! No! Just ask me. Whatever I remember I will be glad to tell you.

Q: Is there anything now that you thought of, which I did not ask about that you would like to add?

A: No, I really don't. There really is very little to say because since we didn't have anybody left we didn't hear very much - you know. Some people who were lucky enough that one member of the family was saved and could tell stories - but since everybody was wiped out and, as I told you before, it was such a traumatic experience for me that I have tried to wipe out the past and I remember probably much less than any other people.

Q: Well, that is a natural reaction.

A: But I had to do it in order to survive, in order to be a good wife and to be a good mother, because you learn very early in this country that people only like you when you smile. They don't want any complaints - they don't want to hear any sad stories and you just go ahead and smile.

Q: Did you find that hard to adapt to that way?

A: Well, you know, Hans probably told you of the experience in the library in Cleveland.

Q: Yes.

A: Where this doctor, all of a sudden, turned away and never talked to him again. That was a very tough lesson. We learned it. We all knew that unless you really get into the swing of things and forget that's it. I made a lot of friends and I

became very active at that time. I became very active in Hadassah, in Youth Aliyah, in Child Welfare, which at that time was collecting money to feed kids in Israel - a bowl of tomato soup and a sandwich for lunch. I was chairman for many years. And during the war we knitted sweaters for American soldiers hoping that maybe someday, somebody would meet them or see them. I just had to make my own life all over again. It wasn't always easy.

Q: Sure. Sure. Do you have your ... you were commenting on this earlier, before I turned the tape off... I would like you to say this to be recorded: Do you have, I don't know how I am going to put this, any thoughts on how the Jews were not let into the U.S. when they needed a haven - and the way that so many people are allowed in today.

A: What! You can't call it feelings, I mean, I don't think that even Congress or the real top notch people realized that it could go that far - and the Jews also didn't realize it. No, unfortunately, human beings are always human beings, unless it touches home you don't realize things - they are too far removed. They didn't realize that this did happen and could happen - and I think that, when they finally did realize it, after the cristalnight, it was too late. No one even suggested that this country ought to be opened for all the people who wanted to come. They wouldn't give any visas except to the people who had reached the number of the quota and then it was truly ridiculous how small that was at that time.

Q: You recall what the quota was for Germans?

A: I don't remember.

Q: But it was not very large at all.

A: It was not very large and they went exactly by the numbers. But I really think that it was because they didn't realize that this could happen, you know.

Q: Do you think that we learned a lesson and that perhaps our willingness to let in so many people now without the red tape of affidavits results from that?

A: I don't know, maybe but the Jews were certainly let down.

Q: That's right!

A: The worst is really that ship of people who could not get into Cuba and were sent back. That of course was the saddest thing that happened. You know of course the Jews were always great admirers of Roosevelt's and it is coming out now. There were a lot of things we could have done and never did.

- Q: And he never did. Would you say that you are prone to associate with German Jews more than, in your social life and dinner parties? Is there a feeling of clinging together?
- A: No, that is not so. I told you that there are very few people here, maybe about 30 families, but practically everybody feels he should be integrated into the American stream of life. We didn't want to have a club, we didn't want to be separated, we did want to be Americanized early and as quickly as possible. We never had that problem because Hans and I were very lucky - we made many, many friends and we also had many good non-Jewish friends. You know he made his way into the community. We have some very good doctor friends. He had been on the board of the Jewish Community. I have been a board member. We have been chairmen of different projects. We never, never had a feeling that we were more comfortable in the company with German families. But there aren't any, don't misunderstand me - I don't want to sound snobbish - but we always felt that people from different backgrounds - just because we are thrown together here we have to be their friends here. Why in Germany they probably wouldn't want to be friends with us either. I mean, you pick out your friends in a certain circle and just because we all have the same faith didn't mean that we couldn't make any other friends but be together. Though I must say that you have a lot of these situations in New York and in other big cities where they weren't able to be integrated into the community and there for survival, because you need friends for life and you need to cling with somebody. So in New York, all these clubs grew. You have a club of Viennese Jews, and you have a club of German Jews and from here, from there, there you have that situation, but not in Dayton.
- Q: This raises the question of something I had not really thought about before. Do you think that it was easier to assimilate in a smaller city like Dayton than it was in New York?
- A: No it was easier in New York. Because you would come to New York, and you would be picked up by your friends and relatives who were there. They would tell you exactly what to do and how to do things and they introduced you - and you have already somebody. You come to a city like Dayton - we were the first ones to arrive here, didn't know a soul. Our English was passable but surely wasn't so that we could really speak it fluently. We just had to do it. In a small town it is harder to get started, but in the end it pays off because I know many people in New York who never even knew an American Jew, who never had any contact with them, except maybe at the HIAS or at the Jewish Congress office, when they needed help and so forth. In a smaller city it was harder in the beginning but it was better afterwards.
- Q: Do you and Dr. Liebermann talk about the old days? In the pre-1938 period?
- A: No!

Q: Is that done consciously or is it just that it is now so far in the past?

A: I think it is very natural, because we have a son who is married in New York where 3 grandchildren are grown up by now and the life of 1978 you know, the life we now live, people who aren't as interested are bound to look more into the past. You know you will find out during your interviews that many of these people live in the past because the past was their glory and here they are just living - living their lives out. I think that it just depends on the livelihood you make, on the friends you have now and whether you feel that you are really in the community or whether you are still an outsider. Then you think back what you had and how wonderful the times over there were.

Q: What about your son? Does he have much of a memory of the period?

A: Very little. He has memories of my parents, of course, very much because they invited him for a visit and he was allowed to help in the store which was always a big deal. But he actually doesn't remember too much because he didn't remember any hardship. You know he didn't have any hardship because we were trying to make it as easy as possible for him and he was only nine years old when we left. And until then, except for these months when I was alone with him, he didn't have any personal conflict. For him it is just a very sad memory that the kid has no family. This is the only thing his home, you know the family is so small, his children have no family. He enjoyed uncles and an aunt - you know, a child feels where he has security and gets spoiled. You know uncles and aunts are found to spoil a kid, that he misses, I am sure, for his kids also.

Q: Do your grandchildren express much curiosity about the holocaust? Do they ask you questions about it?

A: Very little! You know I haven't seen them since that picture. I just wonder whether they all saw it. Because, for some reason, they are afraid to know too much. It is a very peculiar attitude, because this is the period that is painful for them probably - you know that the parents saw it. You know that our daughter-in-law is from Vienna, she went through the same thing except that the persecution - you know that she also came over - and she came over just 2 weeks before we did. I think what affects them only is the fact that the parents had a little harder time coming over - because they are already a generation which is more removed, and I really don't know how far they go, or what they really think about the situation. Now, when we had the fire - and we told them about the fire which was 10 or 12 years ago, the first thing they asked was, what happened to grandpa? Because then comes the family and they are very proud of the family trees - they love old pictures. We have pictures of my parents, pictures of Hans and me, but they haven't talked very much to us about it.

Q: You may wonder why I am asking these kind of questions. You may say to yourself, "It is really none of my business."

A: Yes, it is.

Q: But, what I am trying to determine is ...

A: How does the young generation?

Q: Yes, especially the generation once or twice removed who had grandparents who were actually involved and who suffered.

A: I will give you an answer which will shock you. Out of the families here, there were three children who married Jewish partners - all the other ones married non-Jews. Mrs. Sander has a Jewish son-in-law. Mrs. Farnbacher has two non-Jewish daughters-in-law. There was a family here by the name of Neuberger with two non-Jewish daughters-in-law. A family by the name of Ochs, the son married a non-Jewish girl. There is a family Sussman - Leonore Sussman has a Jewish husband, her cousin, Eva Goldsmith, who lives in Milwaukee now, has a Jewish husband. Frank has a Jewish wife. That is a very, very sad situation.

Q: You, in a sense, are attributing those marriages out of the faith to ...

A: They don't want to have anything do do with it - they want to cut if off and they want to live in a non-Jewish world.

Q: I never thought about that before. I never thought about it.

A: Very shocking, it is a very shocking experience, but it is right here in Dayton. I told you the names.

Q: I never really thought about that connection.

A: I always get very shocked but this follows the line. I told you that my grandchildren now pay very little attention. Now Joani has a husband who comes from Brooklyn and is Jewish and the other two are, as yet unmarried and I don't know whether they will marry Jews. I hope that they have enough stamina to get married to Jewish partners. But the ones who aren't I am sure are doing it to cut the cloth and have nothing to do with it and live in a non-Jewish world. Now whether it will help! I mean that Hitler has proven that he is going back to the grandmothers and all in order to make you really Jewish. You know, once you are a Jewish mother you are actually Jewish, according to the Halakah.

Q: Jewish Rabbinical Law, and so forth. Yes!

A: But, and this is one question I can't answer because I have never asked, I really should have guessed.

- Q: Will you hesitate to talk to, would you be reticent in talking to your grandchildren about the hardships?
- A: When I see them, the next time, I will find out who listened to that program.
- Q: I would like to know, yes I really would like to know.
- A: I will let you know, yes, I don't know. I will see them not before May when Nancy graduates, but when I see Frank I will find out from him if he has heard any comments because now, since you brought it up it is interesting to me also. But so far it has been a very quiet past, you know the bad olden days.
- Q: The bad fades into nothingness.
- A: You know, it is amazing that they make so much money today and they are living in such luxury. When I tell them that the three of us split an apple or that we walked downtown in order to save five cents for a coke - it does not go into today's kids' minds.
- Q: Yes, yes.
- A: I don't know how your kids are but my kids can't grasp the situation. And here is only one generation ahead of it.
- Q: That is right. And mine would be the same way, about the same kind of thing.
- A: Even the quarter today isn't what the nickel was at that time. The luxuries they have today, we just didn't have.
- Q: Yes, I thank you very much.
- A: If there is anything else I can answer, if you have any questions?
- Q: There may be some follow-up questions after I sit down and listen to the tapes.
- A: Because if anything comes up that you want to know. As you interview more and more people, you will probably get more connections and get more information. But, unfortunately after we got here, we were almost cut off.
- Q: Yes, Yes.
- A: Even a postcard can not even have the truth in it. It just says that everyone is all right.
- Q: Have you saved any postcards? Do you have any of them?

A: I have one or two which I kept here. Maybe someday my son would want to have all these things, but they can't even read German today. You know the grandchildren don't read German at all.

Q: Yes!

A: And Frank and Maryanne know enough German, but I doubt that they will ever take the time to read anything like this in German. The pictures will mean something!

Q: Yes.

A: They will mean something and that will give them the story. I kept very few things. I mean it is mostly papers and things that, if they want to read that they can go ahead.

Q: Yes! Thank you.

A: Well, you are very welcome. If I can help you with anything else, I will be very glad. I don't know, but if it ever comes to this maybe this or that I can add these things.

Q: You see we wouldn't be interested in taking your originals, if it comes to that we would make copies.

A: Oh, look here, not all of that is important.

Q: Do you know that Charles Frydman, Renate's husband, has a picture of his mother in the living room of his home? It is the only thing that they got out with is that one picture.

A: Yes, it came out of the paper. And I, you know, only have stuff that I thought would be interesting for our children and grandchildren to remember because, maybe as they grow up, and grow older it might mean something.

Q: If it isn't important to them today, someday it will be very important to them.

A: It may get so. You see this is the note we got from the Red Cross - this is a postcard.

Q: This would have been your father-in-law?

A: Yes, right, that he is still in the old age home; you know Aldersheim means old age home. Here is a postcard from Switzerland that my father wrote to this - but that is German, but it is a handwritten card that is why I kept it. But, I don't know,

it is strange, you have really made me think now. I have to find out what my grandchildren really think.

Q: You know someday I would like to talk to third generation people. Someday I would like to interview your son Frank, about his memories and what he thinks is important and should it be forgotten or will he try to remember and see to it that his children remember.

A: When I see him the next time I really have to ask him.

Q: Does he come to visit here in Dayton very often?

A: He maybe will be here December 1st for just a short visit.

Q: You know we are developing, I don't know that I am quite capable of being the interviewer, but we do want to have a corollary program on the children of the survivors and that would be people like Renate Frydman and Charles Stein.

A: You know, Renate Frydman wrote a fabulous article when Joani got her degree. She was here, at Children's Hospital, you know she worked with Hans for a few weeks. Renate wrote an article for the Jewish Chronicle on it and she did a fantastic job. It takes these kids to really apply themselves to show that they haven't been able to kill everything.

Q: She is a good writer! I like Renate very much. She has been extremely helpful.

A: She is a very, very brilliant girl - and never saw a college, you know?

Q: No, I didn't know. I just assumed.

A: She met Charlie when she was 18 years old. She never went to college, she got married to Charlie and that was that. She had four kids. You know she may have gone to U.D., or some place (for one course or other.)

Q: Yes, yes.

A: But she never went away from Dayton. Her parents gave her the money that they had set aside for college and she bought a house for that and started to have her own family. She thought that it was more important to have a Jewish family.

Q: That is very good. Her husband fought with the partisans in Poland! Did you know that?

A: Yes, I did. Charlie is a nice man!

- Q: I wish you would talk to Charlie. He does not want to participate. He is the only one here, that I know of, who fought with the Polish partisans. In all the research that has been done on the partisans, what their area of operations was, what size unit they fought in. He does not want to talk about it. I don't want to push him, I am regretful that he doesn't want to but I understand. We are not pushing anyone.
- A: It is a very painful period, but on the other hand it probably should be kept for the next generation. When more time will have gone, maybe they will realize. Can I offer you a cup of coffee?
- Q: No, thank you, I must go on. Thank you so much for showing me all that. It is really very interesting.
- A: Well, if there is anything we can do or if you think of anything I forgot.
- Q: When will you be back from California? In two weeks? In one week?
- A: On the 14th of November.
- Q: I am going to call on you now after you return.