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1	Interview with ANNEMARIE ROEPER
2	Holocaust Oral History Project  Date: June 23, 1992
3	<u>Place</u> : San Francisco, California <u>Interviewers</u> : SYLVIA PROZAN and JAKE BIRNBERG
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8	(Tape 1 of 2, both on one videotape.)
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10	MS. PROZAN: This is the Holocaust
11	Oral History Project interview of Annemarie
12	Roeper taking place in San Francisco on June
13	23rd, 1992.
14	My name is Sylvia Prozan, and the
15	second interviewer is Jake Birnberg.
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	INTERVIEW
17	BY MS. PROZAN:
18	Q. ANNEMARIE, WHERE WERE YOU BORN?
19	A. I was born in Vienna, Austria.
20	Q. WHEN?
21	A. August 27th, 1918.
22	Q. TELL ME ABOUT YOUR PARENTS. YOUR
2 3	FATHER'S NAME?
2 4	A. My father's name is Max Bondi. My
2 5	mother's name is Gertrude Wiener, W-i-e-n-e-r.
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O. WHERE WAS YOUR FATHER FROM?

- A. My father was born in Hamburg, and my mother was born in Prague.
  - Q. WHAT DID YOUR FATHER'S FAMILY DO?
- A. Well, my father's father actually came from Bohemia and emigrated to Hamburg. And his parents were bakers, I think, somewhere in Czechoslovakia. And I don't exactly have that information with me.

He came as a person who had very little money or background and became a banker in Hamburg and became very wealthy.

- O. FROM A BAKER TO A BANKER?
- A. Yeah. Well, his parents were, his father -- his background.

And my grandmother on my father's side -- you know, I have very little information, really, about my family's background. I don't know how much you want me to just start talking about.

- O. WHATEVER YOU REMEMBER.
- A. Well, I do remember -- the reason I have very little information is that my father really didn't want to be Jewish, and nothing was ever discussed about our past. There was

little connection between what happened -between his -- he was a very enthusiastic

German and volunteered in the first world war
along with many, many other German Jews.

It was really a period, especially of people from a more intellectual background who wanted to be German and gave up all of their Jewish background. So I have very little -- I don't have a Jewish upbringing at all. I didn't know I was Jewish until I was 11 years old. And then, it came as a shock to me because someone made an antiSemitic remark. And I said, "Who is Jewish around here?"

And someone told me, "You are."

That's how I found out that I was Jewish,
but I don't know.

Why don't you ask me some more questions?

- Q. DO YOU REMEMBER YOUR FATHER'S PARENTS?
- A. My father's mother died before I was born. And I remember his father very well.
  - Q. WHAT DO YOU REMEMBER?
- A. I remember that he was a very charming man. He was -- he gave my -- my father had --

my parents ran a school, ran a boarding school.

And my grandfather gave him -- gave them the

property -- gave them money so they could buy

an estate not far from Hamburg on which the

boarding school existed. And it's a school

that still exists today.

- O. DID YOUR FATHER HAVE ANY SIBLINGS?
- A. My father had four siblings. My father was the oldest. And by the time he was two, there were four children, because he had -- his sister was born ten months after he was born, and then twins were born a year after that, and then another child was born, I think, 15 years later.
  - Q. DID YOU KNOW THEM?
- A. I know all but one of the twins who died in the war.
  - Q. WERE THEY PRACTICING JEWS?
- 19 A. No --

- Q. WHY --
- A. -- except my -- my aunt married a practicing Jew, so she then became practicing. In fact, we were baptized -- I was baptized when I was six. My whole family was baptized around the time I was six.

Q. WHAT ABOUT YOUR MOTHER?

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A. My mother is my father's first cousin.

And she was born in Prague. Her -- her -- I

don't know. There is so much to tell, of

course.

Her father died when she was very young, and he had been blind ever since her birth. He had never seen her. My mother was a very beautiful woman, and she always regretted that her father had never had the chance to see her.

And they moved to Vienna. My grandmother, later on, remarried. And she lived in Vienna with my step-grandfather. And later on, they -- she also moved to Hamburg. Actually, he was a lawyer, but I think what happened was that they moved to Hamburg because they were really supported by my father's father, because -- you know, the two were sisters, my two grandmothers were sisters.

So I have what you call a lack of ancestors.

- Q. DID YOU KNOW YOUR MOTHER'S MOTHER?
- A. Yes. I didn't know my mother's

father. I knew my mother's stepfather.

Q. YES.

# WHAT MEMORIES DO YOU HAVE OF YOUR MOTHER'S MOTHER?

A. My memories of my mother's mother are that she was a very warm, loving woman. She was quite small. She had candy in every room of her house. And as children, we could just have as much candy as we wanted to, which really was one of the best educational principles you could have, because we never craved it like other children.

My step-grandfather used to have a cigarette box with chocolate cigarettes, and whenever you came to the house, he offered you this box with chocolate.

I also remember that my mother and my grandmother didn't get along. And all of the family, by the time that I have a real memory, lived in the environment of Hamburg. My mother's older sister and her husband lived there. And my grandmother was very, very close with her oldest daughter, much more so than with my mother.

Then, there was another brother

between my aunt and my mother. He and his family also lived in that area.

Q. DID YOU HAVE COUSINS?

A. I had lots of cousins. I had only male cousins, but -- my aunt had two children, two boys. My uncle had two boys, that's my mother's brother. He had two boys. They all lived in that area. My other aunt had three boys, that's my father's sister.

Actually, I guess there weren't that many, but there were a number of very close friends, family friends. And I remember, during vacation -- we were the only ones that didn't live close by. We lived a little further away because we grew up in my parents' boarding school. But I remember, during vacation, we would go to Hamburg. And I'd be surrounded by only boys, not only my own family, but all of the other friends. There were just no other girls around except for my sister and myself.

- Q. WHAT DID YOUR FATHER DO?
- A. My parents ran a boarding school.
- Q. BEFORE THAT, AT THE TIME THAT THEY MARRIED.
  - DID YOUR FATHER HAVE ANY FORMAL

### TRAINING?

A. Oh, yeah.

My mother is a medical doctor. My father has a Ph.D. He is an art historian.

When I was born, my father was "at the front," as they say, and he didn't know about my birth for a while. And then he received a telegram, which said -- and this story has been repeated I don't know how many times. It said, "Child born, sex mutilated," meaning that the telegram didn't say whether it was a boy or a girl because that part of the telegram was mutilated, the way it arrived, so that he didn't know whether he had a boy or a girl for a while.

#### O. WHERE WAS HE EDUCATED?

A. Well, he was -- he went to public school near Hamburg. And he went to different universities. In Germany, you just don't stay in the same place. But he got his Ph.D. in a little university town named Erlangen, E-r-l-a-n-g-e-n. That was after the war.

You know, all the details about both of my parents' backgrounds, I have brought you a little booklet. And they did a great deal of

research in the school -- now -- in the school of my parents, and they've got a whole little booklet about their background.

- Q. JUST WHAT YOU REMEMBER.
- A. Yeah.

- Q. WHAT ABOUT YOUR MOTHER? WHERE DID SHE RECEIVE HER MEDICAL TRAINING?
  - A. In Vienna.

She got her -- she was one of the first women doctors. And later on, she became a psychoanalyst. And she was doing her -- Oh, what do you call that when you are

O. INTERNSHIP?

at a hospital doing your training?

A. -- internship right during the time that I was born, and so she took me to the hospital. I spent the first three months in the hospital because she only could do her training if she took me along. So she -- actually, she had never expected to have any children. She had been told she wasn't going to be able to have children. And also, she had suspected that my grandfather had syphilis and that that's why he was blind, which is true, he did have. That's what he had. So she warned

all of the family that they should be -- before they had any children, they should make sure that they were safe.

And when she then had a medical examination, she was told she wasn't going to have any children. She was really going to be a professional woman. And all of a sudden, she did. I came along. And the way the story goes is that she wasn't really expecting me to be born as yet, at the time that I was born. And she was jumping on a running streetcar because she was late for her appointment at the hospital. And all of a sudden, she realized the baby was coming. So she had to somehow get to the hospital and have me.

O. BY STREETCAR?

A. Well, she got there by streetcar, right.

So then, I was born. And she just took me back to the hospital every day for three months until she realized that I had lice. And I got it, somehow, in the hospital. It was during the war. It wasn't a very good place for me, and she stopped taking me.

She nursed me until I was almost two

years old, mostly because there was very little food around in those days, and the only way she could keep me healthy was by nursing me -- you know, by continuing to give me -- to breast feed me. And I don't remember this, of course, but she said that I was already walking and just would be running up to her breast and be nursed. I guess that's my very first experience.

My father didn't meet me until I was quite a bit older. You see, I was born in August, and the war wasn't over until, I think, the end of -- I think, until September or later than that. And then it took a while before he came home.

And he wasn't too happy to meet me, I think. They had never lived together, actually. I think they got married during the war just when he came home for furlough or something. And then he came, and there was I. And so he wasn't all that interested in me.

Another story is that he always tried to put me in the wastebasket. And they were sort of living a student kind of life, especially during those years when they were in Erlangen.

There was a story about me, where

my -- I had a nurse who took care of me, and she used to take me out in a buggy somewhere. And apparently, she would leave me in the buggy and then go off with her boyfriend. So one day, my mother was walking along and found me all by myself, without supervision, in that buggy. So she took me home. And when the nurse came back, she didn't find me. And there came, of course, a big upset.

Those are the stories I've been told.

O. DID YOU HAVE SIBLINGS?

A. I have two siblings, a sister and a brother.

My sister died, when she was 49, of cancer. And we were in this country by that time, of course.

- O. AND YOUR BROTHER?
- A. And my brother took over the school of my parents after we moved here, after -my father was very ill, even before we left
  Germany. And he had a kind of illness -- and
  I'm forgetting the name now -- where you have
  too many red blood cells. And it's the opposite
  of leukemia, but it's a kind of cancer. And he
  had that for many, many years. He had to have

blood taken out because he had too much, I think.

And he finally died of that disease. And then,

my brother took over the school together with

my mother.

- Q. YOU WERE BORN IN VIENNA. AND THEN, WHEN THE WAR ENDED IN NOVEMBER, YOUR FATHER CAME HOME.
  - A. And then I lived in Erlangen for a while.
  - Q. WHICH IS WHERE?

- A. Which is in the southern part of Germany. It's a small, little town.
  - Q. AND WHY DID THE FAMILY MOVE TO GERMANY?
- mean, that's where they found a place to -- I mean, that's where they graduated. I think my mother went back to school there, and my father got his Ph.D. And I think he's always -- my father was a member of the youth movement, which was -- actually, it was, among young people, a very frequent thing at that time. It was sort of comparable to the '60s here, I think, where they were all back to nature and no drinking and very natural kind of living -- free love.

And out of that grew his idea that he was going to start a school which would live by those principles. And so he and my mother founded this school in a little town in the

southern part of Germany. At first, they had it together with another man, and the two of them separated because the other man was a communist -- I think that was the reason -- and they moved to another -- rented a place. Oh, and my sister was born in that first place where our school was. If you want the name, it was called Bruckenau, B-r-u- umlaut -- -c-k-e-n-a-u.

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And then we moved to -- and after they separated from this other man, whose name was Putz, P-u-t-z, they rented a place in another little town called Gandersheim. And that was also more in the middle of Germany. It was spelled G-a-n-d-e-r-s-h-e-i-m. My brother was born there. Both my sister and brother -- well, I don't know about my sister. I know my brother was born at home -- in the school, right in the middle of the school. And I remember I was sent somewhere to some other part of the building while he was being And somehow I remember that moment, born. that I was just standing all by myself somewhere in the front of the building and realizing that my next -- my sibling was

being born and sort of wondering about it.

And I was six at the time.

We stayed in Gandersheim until I
was about 10. By that time, the school was
about -- maybe about 30 students. And my
future husband was already a student there.
And there were very few girls. In fact,
boarding schools weren't supposed to be --

What is the word? -- not bisexual. There's another word.

#### Q. COEDUCATIONAL?

A. -- coeducational. So that whenever there was any kind of inspection, there were three or four girls besides me, and we all had to disappear, go on a hike or something, because there weren't actually any girls supposed to be there.

Actually, the school, the classes didn't really start until what would be, I think, fourth grade here or fifth grade, because in Germany, you had something that was called a preschool, which was for the first three years, three or four years.

And I went to the village school, where they didn't treat me very well at all because

they were -- they were sort of jealous of
the -- of the students at my parents' school
because they were high school students, and
they made friends with the girls in the
village. Somehow, they were more attractive
to them than the village people. So there
was a resentment against the school, which
was being expressed to me when I went to
that school.

Also, I was sick all the time. It seems to me that the classrooms were in very, very old sort of musty buildings, and I was just not doing very well there. So my parents took me out, and they took a few other children my age and started some younger classes. And after that, I was being educated at my parents' school.

It was always a strange thing to be both a student there and to be the children of the directors, because all of my life, I really -- my parents were very popular among the students. They had a totally different approach to education than people did in Germany, which was mostly -- which was, you know, much more

authoritarian than you can ever imagine here. Teachers would say you are a good teacher if your children will obey you, if they will jump out of the window if you tell them to. They weren't going to use their own judgment. Obedience was the basis of their whole education.

My parents had the totally opposite point of view. They were called by their first name. They had very close personal relationships with the students. There was a student government where children participated in all the decisionmaking. It went much beyond anything that you might find in this country now.

And from there, we moved to Marienau, which was near Hamburg. That's spelled M-a-r-i-e-n-a-u. And that was the estate which my grandfather bought for my father. That's really the place where I -- I was already ten by the time we moved there. I was old enough to really participate in the community. And I spent eight years of my life there, but I feel that -- I used to feel -- I still feel that that was where

That's where my life, I felt at home. where I really began to grow and where I had a -- it was sort of the foundation of It was a very, very happy life. my life. It was -- I never had a family life. never sat down as a family until we came to America. I was a member of the school community, and my parents were the final authority both for me and for everybody So I didn't have what other children have, that they sort of began to take the next step and relate to teachers and other people. All there was for me was my parents, which I think is a totally different upbringing than most other children have.

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But it was a true community, and relationships to teachers were also very close. I mean, not everything was always fine, but I look back on it -- and this has never changed -- as an absolutely wonderfully happy time. It was also a very beautiful landscape, which was most important for the feeling of community there. It was pretty -- it was way out in the country, far away from

most other places, and it was in the heather. Especially in the fall, you could see miles and miles of purple interspersed with birch trees and forsythia and lambs. It was an unusual landscape and sort of slightly hilly. We would take walks there a lot. I couldn't separate the landscape from my life. It was sort of integrated into everything we did.

Then, in 1933, the Nazis came.

And -- oh. Maybe I should still say, it was such a protected and happy time that, in my mind, I remember saying to somebody that war is history. "There will never be another war." Somehow, that's the way it felt to me. It was -- I mean, not that I was always happy or not that there were no conflicts. There was a normal kind of growing up, but all of this was within the context of that community and of being -- feeling totally protected and taken care of.

Then, when the Nazis came and all of that ended, for me it was a total, total shock, because these powerful parents of mine, all of a sudden, were powerless. At first my father took in another man, who was supposed to be

in charge of curriculum, but he was really supposed to take over for him -- it was a friend of his -- so that they wouldn't be running the school, wouldn't be as visibly running the school.

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One memory I have, somehow I feel that maybe that was the day that -- well, I was 15 in '33, so I must have been 16 or so. We had a festival day that was always sort of the high point, when the parents were invited. And there were plays and music and sports activities and so on. And all of a sudden, I looked out of the window and I saw this brown ocean coming toward me. And what had happened was that the SR -- you know, not the SS; they are the worst ones. The brown ones were the SR -- sturmabteilung is what they were -- sort of decided they were going to participate in that festival. They decided -- my mother was providing food for all of the guests, and all of a sudden she had to provide for 200 more people, because these people then came from the village, they were the village people, and had decided they were going to participate in And I think that image is sort of a --

probably a memory that covers a lot of how it felt to me, this total dissolving of what my life had been.

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(Ms. Roeper has tears in her eyes.)

I have another memory of that time, which I -- I had written, and I brought it here for you. I wrote it about five years ago. I think it sort of shows my feelings more than anything else. I had walked to the village by myself. There was this small village, and in order to walk there, you had to go across sort of a little country road. And I remember this walk because it was such a beautiful walk. was in spring, and they had these huge wheat fields that the wind would sort of blow over. And the wind sort of touched my cheeks, and I just loved that walk. That's the thing that I And I got to the village, and I had remember. to buy some books or something. And all of a sudden, I found myself in the middle of a I heard this voice, this loud voice. And out of this radio, this loudspeaker, came Hitler's voice. You know, he had a specific way -- all the Nazis had a specific kind of They would speak louder than their

voice box allowed them to, I think, so then it became a kind of shrill sort of thing.

Here, Hitler was speaking. And without my knowing, I was surrounded by these redneck people. And I couldn't even move. I couldn't move because they were all standing in front of that box listening to Hitler. Every few moments they would lift their arm and shout, "Heil, Hitler," and their arms would go right by my face. And then, of course, I remember thinking, "Am I going to -- am I a coward if I don't say, 'Heil, Hitler,' like all the rest? Are they going to kill me if I do or if I don't?"

I don't remember whether I did that or not, but I do remember this feeling of total evil around me -- it's funny, after 55 years.

(Ms. Roeper cries.)

Do you have a Kleenex ready?

(Ms. Roeper smiles.)

And also, the total helplessness.

You know, I remember the thoughts that went

through my mind that people did know who I

was. People knew I was Jewish. We were probably the only Jews anywhere around there. If anybody wanted to do anything to me, they probably could, and nothing would happen to them. This was early in the Nazi period, and probably it wasn't even quite true, but it sort of felt like that.

I don't know the end of the story.

I just remember the feeling of total evil and of this being surrounded by a wild animal.

That's how it felt.

And the strange thing is that when this fire happened and I wrote a letter -- a Christmas letter, actually, to all of our friends, all of the people who had been so helpful -- I described the fire as this animal coming at me which was so much more powerful than I was. And I had lost this little thing that I had written. Someone just gave it to me, actually, a few days ago. And I found that I used exactly the same words to describe that situation as I did to describe the fire.

- Q. WHICH FIRE?
- A. This -- the Oakland fire. You know, we were in the Oakland fire.

And it was -- it was just amazing. I mean, it's strange. It truly was a total repetition for me -- I mean, all these many years later. It was just the second time that I had to flee, but it was also a totally different feeling because, with the fire, I felt in control. My mind just -- and I remember watching my mind, that I think the survival instinct took totally over, and I didn't feel -- you know, usually you have a number of layers of different thoughts at the same time. There was nothing else in my mind but that I had to get my husband out from way downstairs, when he could hardly walk. I had to get the car out. I had to get my purse. And I had to be in total control, but I was. I managed it.

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And I also thought, later on, how very -- I mean, it was a repetition, but it was a very different repetition. And also, this has been several -- in our school in Michigan, which I have to tell you about later, but someone wrote an article about that, because the reality is that my husband -- and I'm not being sequential

about this; is that all right? -- had really saved me and my whole family from the Nazis in some way, because he -- he was not Jewish. And he took care of all sorts of things for us.

Among them, he saw to it, one of the important things was that you had to get a passport so you could get out. If you had a "J" on your passport, then things were much more difficult. He went for us to the passport place and somehow convinced them not to put a J into our passports. And in many ways he just -- he helped to sell the school, and he did all sorts of things.

And then, later on, after we had left Germany, I had come back to Vienna to study, because I wanted to become a psychoanalyst. And he was still in Hamburg. And he called me and said, "The Nazis are marching into Austria. You have to get out right away." So that was the second time, actually, he saved me, because I left with the last train that came out of Vienna where they didn't take the Jews off at the border. And if he hadn't called me, and if I hadn't

gone right away -- I went immediately. I mean, he called me in the morning, and I left -- then, you know, I would have been kept back.

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- Q. GOING BACK TO THE EARLIER PART OF
  YOUR LIFE, WHAT IS THE FIRST MEMORY YOU HAVE
  OF JEWS -- YOU DIDN'T KNOW YOU WERE JEWISH -OF SOMEBODY ELSE BEING JEWISH?
- Well, the first memory I have -well, a lot of other thoughts are coming to my mind, but the first memory I had was that my aunt's family, who lived right next door to my grandfather, because he had built his house and her house, celebrated Chanukah. And we celebrated Christmas right next door. But then, we would go over to have Chanakuh in her -- in her house. I still -- I don't know if I had a mental block or something, but also, it really wasn't important at that time. I should say that, too. was a period where, especially in Hamburg, there -- my first real experience with antiSemitism was outside of Germany. I didn't experience -- that's not true. mean, before the Nazis. I didn't experience

anything or hear of anything that was antiSemitism until the Nazis came. That was another reason why it was such a shocking thing for me.

- Q. DID YOU KNOW ANY OTHER JEWS OTHER THAN YOUR AUNT, YOUR FAMILY?
- A. Oh, yeah. There were some Jewish in our school. There was a young boy, with whom we are still very close friends, who was Jewish. It was not something that was ever discussed in my circles, not only with my parents, but my family never talked about it.
  - Q. WHAT ABOUT AT CHRISTMASTIME?
- A. Christmastime, we celebrated
  Christmas. I mean -- we were not religious.

  It was totally -- you know, it was a time you give presents and you had a Christmas tree, and you sang some songs, but we didn't ever -- you know, it was a free-thinking -- it was a period of free thinking. It was reason, or else you -- we had -- I mean, we used to talk a lot about "Is there a God or is there not a God?" We had a theory; we had a feeling. We learned a lot about the Eastern religions, much as they do here now. I knew quite a bit about Buddhism.

I believed that there was a God in everything and everybody and that -- it was what we called a pantheist religion. It was just -- you know, you talked about the tasks -- you had a life and how were you going to serve mankind, and what was friendship, and -- I mean, there were a lot of intellectual discussions.

My father was an art historian, and I learned a great deal about art. We had wonderful music at our school. I learned a lot about America. It was the thing you were interested in. Except I never, ever thought I was going to live here.

#### Q. ALL RIGHT.

WERE THERE ANY RELIGIOUS JEWS OR

JEWS THAT WERE OBVIOUSLY ORTHODOX THAT YOU

CAME IN CONTACT WITH OR SAW?

A. Not many. Not in my -- not in my environment. I don't know anybody that went to temple.

## Q. HOW ABOUT CHURCH?

A. Or church, no. You just didn't.

Except, that's when I was -- you know, I

told you, we were baptized. And then, after

the Nazis came, our not being Jewish took on

a different form. It became a kind of, a way of -- of trying to not be hurt. And I remember, I did -- I was -- I don't know what you call it. We were Lutherans. I mean, that was as far as we got, in terms of religion, except that I was -- I can't think of the word now.

You know, when you are 13?

Q. BAT MITZVAHED?

A. Well, confirmed, yeah.

I didn't want to have anything to do with that. And my mother insisted that I would go through with it. She said, "But you do believe in this?"

And I said, "No." And I knew she didn't. It was my first big disappointment, because I knew it was an opportunistic thing that she did. She knew it would help me.

- Q. HOW WOULD IT HELP YOU?
- A. It would help me by not being identified as a Jew. And that was not what -- that was not her reason. And I said, her reason was not that she was religious or I was religious. She felt that it would be a good thing. In those days, you really thought the Nazis were

going to be a passing thing. You thought,
"We'll just make it through it," and -but I think that this -- and actually, in
another way, my father really became rather
Christian, not in a religious way, but he
felt that the Christian ethics were what
he believed in.

It looks like all this is shocking you.

Q. YES.

A. Good.

And this, I think, has become one of the -- one of my problems of my life, because once I found out I was Jewish, I thought I should be Jewish. I thought that it was -- you know, I felt this dishonesty that my parents were -- mostly my father. My mother just went along with it, but that it was a disappointment for me. But also, I think it isolated me.

I've just now got a book from a friend of ours who described the young Jews in Germany, age, oh, 14 through 17 or something, who were being prepared to leave the country. In fact, my uncle -- oh, sure. There was my uncle, my father's brother, was Jewish. My father was

not. But as I said, it never played a great role.

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But he, I think, probably -- maybe in '34 or '35 -- started a school for emigrants, for people who were to emigrate, a school for young German Jews, who learned agriculture, who learned how to work, you know, on farms, learned farming in one of the East German -- that someone gave him a big piece of property where he educated these children for about two years before he had to leave. then, I think it existed for another year, and then this thing was closed. But I had not realized until I read this book that there were a number of places like that in Germany and that they were quite well organized in preparation for either emigration to Israel or America or other places.

What happened -- and it was then that I began to really miss the fact that I wasn't identified with that. I really didn't have what other people had, namely, the bond among them, because I had no Jewish background and no -- no Jewish community. I didn't have that at all. And yet, you know, my -- you

1 know, we were Jews, and we had the same fate that everybody else did. 2 3 WHAT DO YOU REMEMBER ABOUT THE DAY THAT YOU WERE TOLD YOU WERE JEWISH? 5 Well, I was 11 years old. And we were on a class trip. And we were in what is 6 7 now Gdansk. At that time, that was part of 8 East Germany; that was Danzig. We were walking through the streets, 9 10 and some children were throwing rocks, throwing 11 stones at us. And I was very frightened. they made some antiSemitic remarks. That was 12 13 the first time I ever heard an antiSemitic 14 remark. And I said, "My goodness," you know.

He said, "Yes. There are two Jews

boy who was next to me, "And nobody is even

I was just terrified. I said to a young -- a

Jewish in this group" or something like that.

And I said, "Who are they?"

And he said, "You and I." That was how I first found out that I was Jewish.

Q. WHAT DID YOU THINK?

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A. I was very stunned. I -- I didn't -- I don't know what I thought. I just remember

this incident as an incident.

- Q. DID YOU THINK IT WAS TRUE?
- A. Yes -- yeah.

Actually, I never doubted that it wasn't true. I probably did know it, and that's the thing I've often wondered about. It was not discussed in our family. I was baptized when I was six, all of us were, my brother was just born, my sister was three, both my parents. We were all baptized. You usually remember, six is not that young, but I don't remember anything about that.

mean, not only my immediate family, but my other relatives were all baptized, I don't know, about the same time. The reality, actually, is that all of our friends were Jewish, and they were all baptized, except for my father's sister's family. And it --well, I don't quite know.

- Q. DID YOU HAVE A DISCUSSION WITH YOUR PARENTS AFTER THIS INCIDENT?
- A. No. It wasn't very important. I mean, that's what I'm -- that must be hard to understand, but it was that we were so

totally assimilated, I mean, everybody in my environment, too. It was not very important.

And actually, probably what I remember was this incident and then I found out I was Jewish, but it didn't change anything.

O. WHEN DID A CHANGE OCCUR?

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- Probably when I saw those brown people coming in and when it became a matter of, within our school, people, students, children having to become members of the youth, Hitler youth. And, of course, you know, my family wasn't participating in that. But even that didn't seem -- it wasn't anything we wanted to do. And we were so integrated in that whole -- I think what made it different was that our identity That was, you know, was with that school. more -- and also, it was such a safe place. There wasn't -- I mean, I was frightened when people threw rocks at me, but it wasn't -it didn't really upset me at the time. I didn't see it in the same context. I think that's --
  - Q. WHEN YOU HAD THIS SENSE OF -- THIS

STRONG SENSE OF EVIL, THAT YOU WERE IN THE MIDST OF EVIL, WHY DO YOU THINK YOU FELT "EVIL"?

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- Α. Oh, by that time, that was maybe --I think this class trip -- I was 11. that was before the Nazis came. But I had the sense of evil after the Nazis were there, when I began to realize that we would be leaving. In '36, it was very clear that we had to leave the country. And my mother went to Switzerland and started a school there and took my younger brother and sister with her. And I stayed with my father in -- in the school in Marienau, because I just had one more year before -- it was my last year, and I was graduating that year.
- Q. GOING BACK TO THE TIME THE NAZIS
  FIRST CAME, WHAT ARE THE INITIAL CHANGES
  THAT YOU REMEMBER IN THE SCHOOL, IN THE
  ADMINISTRATION, IN YOUR LIFE IN 1933?
- A. That was very strange. There was the Hitler youth in there. And this man came in to help my father who was not Jewish.
  - Q. IS THAT MR. PUTZ?
  - A. No, no. This man's name was

Donandt, D-o-n-a-n-d-t. No. Mr. Putz was in that very first school, but the school went on the way it was.

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And, in fact, about a month ago, I went to Germany because the school there had built a memorial for my parents. They had built a building in the name of my parents, and it was my father's hundredth birthday -- I mean, memorial. So they had a very nice memorial service for him.

And one of the former students gave a speech about -- he called it something, a continuing democracy within -- or secret democracy within the Third Reich, because it went on the way it had. They had the school student government, the school government that I told you about, where everybody participated in all the decisions. My parents had -- their relationships were unchanged. The students would come and say goodnight to my parents every night when they were already in bed. And it just continued, for a while, the way it was. So there was little to be noticed, except there were some incidents. This is one thing that was terribly frightening to

me.

There was this -- within the school, there was this Hitler youth organization, and some money had been stolen from them. And they -- and there were some Nazis that did an investigation. We were all herded into a room, but this investigation, it was not directed particularly against us. It was all the students were herded into that room. All of their rooms were, you know, totally searched, and it was -- it was awfully, awfully frightening.

And then, my mother somehow
figured out and it turned out that the person
who had stolen that money was the leader of
that organization. And he had stolen, you
know, his own money. And when his mother -he must have been 16 or something. When his
mother heard about that, she sent him to
Africa. I remember that. She wouldn't let
him come home. She said she was dishonored
by her son having done this thing. And what
I remember is that I couldn't imagine that
a mother would be so cruel that she didn't
try to teach him that it was wrong. I don't

know. I remember feeling sorry for that boy rather than much else.

But it wasn't that much of a -it was an experience that was shared with
everybody in this community. It wasn't
something where the Jews were picked out as
being the ones who most likely had done this.

- Q. WHEN DID YOU FIRST BECOME AWARE
  THAT THERE WERE CHANGES, BECAUSE OF YOUR
  BEING JEWISH -- CHANGES FOR THE JEWS IN
  GERMANY?
- A. I think, mostly through these personal things -- I mean, that personal experience that I had. Oh, yeah. Well, I guess I'm not -- you see, I think what it was for me, it was more a difference between the good guys and the bad guys.

In the school, after a while,
you knew exactly who were the Nazis and
who weren't the Nazis, who were the people
you could talk to and you couldn't talk
to, who were the people you had to be
afraid of. And I began to be just very
scared personally -- I don't know. You
know, it's strange, because it seems to

me that there are times when I could tell this whole story quite differently.

I think that the greatest -- I guess, for me, it wasn't a problem of Jewish or not Jewish. It was a problem of evil or not evil. I just thought these people were so evil. I mean, I had always thought that you were supposed to be good to each other and helpful. And, you know, I had a whole psychoanalytic upbringing that you had to think about other people's feelings and try to be supportive of others. And I think that's -- you know, that's probably what I've done all of my life.

And it, I think -- you know, I know my husband and I were friends since I was six years old. And I knew I was going to marry him when I was 13 or something. He was not Jewish. And he -- he was very much of a hero for me.

Q. YOU SPOKE ABOUT YOUR PARENTS,
EVERYTHING ENDING AND YOUR PARENTS
BEING POWERLESS.

WHEN DID YOU ARRIVE AT THAT FEELING?

A. I'm sure that that didn't happen from one day to the next. I think, when I realized that they -- that they had to leave, that they had to -- that they could not combat this evil. They couldn't. The country was taken over by -- by insanity. That's the way it felt.

Then, I think, when it was the most impressive thing for me was that last year that my father and I were sort of left behind. My mother had already left, and we were the only ones there. He was already sick, but he was in a total, total depression. He was so -- he had become absolutely silent. And I remember a meal. And it's probably incidents that tell you the most.

We were all -- you know, the whole school was always eating together. And I remember that I was sitting at the table, at his table, with a group of other people. We were all sitting there talking, and he came in late. And his expression was so terribly sad that sort of a silence spread across the room, and not that it was the habit that when the headmaster comes in you

were quiet. He could have just come in and sat down and would have come in late, and that was it. Out of normal circumstances, no one would have stopped talking. would have continued and just said hello to him. But there was something about the expression in his face and his whole posture that was so depressed and so unhappy. And most of these students had a very close relationship to him. are about 60 of them that still do. are still around. And that's a whole extra story, how they dealt with it and with their being Germans and their, you know, realizing that my parents had to leave and all of that. And that's -- I think the thing I remember most about that year was his total depression and inability to really -- to change the situation.

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- Q. WAS HE STILL IN CONTROL OF THE SCHOOL?
- A. Yes. He was still in control of the school. But at the end of the year, when I graduated, he and I both left the school. And by that time, it had been sold

to somebody else, and we went to Switzerland.
That was in '37.

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Q. NOW, IN 1936, YOUR MOTHER WENT TO SWITZERLAND.

DO YOU REMEMBER ANY INCIDENTS AROUND HER DEPARTING? DID SHE PACK AND LEAVE AS IF SHE WERE LEAVING FOREVER?

- A. I don't remember that much about that at all. I remember my father and me departing.
  - Q. What do you remember about that?
- I remember that -- and there are some pictures of it, too -- we were leaving in the car. He had always -- there was a big place in front of the building. It was sort of like a square. There were several buildings that made the square. And he had always had the habit that he would, before he left anywhere, he would drive around a few times -- he would call it the honor round -- and sort of wave to everybody. When that happened the last time, and there were still people standing around and they were all waving goodbye, I had the feeling then that I could not bear the pain, and that I would have to just

turn off all of my feelings or else I couldn't bear it, that I would die because it was so -- it was such a -- our departure, it wasn't as a departure, it was a kind of death. That's the way I remember it.

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(Ms. Roeper has tears in her eyes.)

And the reality is that I did turn off my feelings. I remember that everything that happened after that and then emigrating here, it was like -- like -- first of all, like things didn't happen, like I wasn't really living. It's only when, many years later now, I can cry about it. I couldn't do any of that. And I felt totally alienated, also, from -- you know, I never felt at home here. Neither did I feel at home in Germany. I felt that in spite of the fact that I had a very rich and rewarding life -- and we haven't even gotten into that part -- that a lot of me was not really living. And it actually only came -- something came back to me when I finally began to sort of believe that the people who are now running the German school -- and the man who is running

it now took it on because he was impressed with my parents' theories -- he wanted to continue what my parents had started. They built -- they collected the money to build that building. And they had me speak at the dedication of that building. That sort of allowed me to, in some way, bring my life back into a circle in some way.

And what I said in that speech, then, is that I actually felt that I'd lived two lives or that my life had ended when I left Germany. That my real life began at the age of 21, which is when I came here, when I got married. And it was like I forgot -- even now, talking to you -- I -- I forgot most of everything. And I know I've heard that of other people, too, that there is a kind of amnesia that took place. And now things are coming back to me that I had forgotten about my youth.

- Q. JUST RIGHT NOW, DURING THIS TIME?
- A. No, no. During the last few years, it's been coming back to me.

And the fire brought a lot back.

The fire really awakened a lot of my early

feelings.

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And also, it actually happened before, when we left our school in Michigan and moved to California. I went through a period of a kind of panic. I -- no, I don't think it was a nervous breakdown, but I had some -- some real emotional, strange emotional reactions. And I felt then that leaving the German school -- I mean, the school in Michigan, made it possible for me to, for the first time, experience my -- my leaving the German school, that it was just, also, a repetition -- you know, moving all the way across the country, which happened nine years ago. It was like a reaction, experiencing something 50 years later. That's really what happened.

And the fire did it all over again, but in a different way, because there I really felt in charge. This leaving the Michigan school where I had had a very happy, wonderful life, really -- and then I left again -- and it was --

Q. WHAT DO YOU REMEMBER ABOUT YOUR FATHER SELLING THE SCHOOL? DID HE EVER

SIT DOWN AND TALK TO YOU ABOUT IT?

A. Actually, my husband did that.

He became very much -- he was a very -- he was one of my parents' students, but he was their favorite student. And my father was paralyzed. He couldn't do anything.

What my husband did was that he got in touch with all the -- there were quite a number of private schools who had more or less the same kind of philosophy as my parents did. And so what he did was get in touch with the other schools to see if there was somebody there who would want to buy it. It was then sold to a young teacher from one of the other schools. It was sold for very little money. And the money, as soon as it was paid out, was confiscated by the Nazis.

But there is a very interesting history connected with that because, actually, that's the reason I'm here today is because the wife of the man who took over my parents' school was the sister of one of the people who was killed in the White Rose, so she was put in prison also.

It was very -- it was real luck that they 1 were able to even continue the school, because they never -- they remained as anti-Nazi, I think, as they could possibly 5 be without being closed down. So she was sent to prison because her brother was 6 among the White Rose people. 7 8 Q. WHO WAS SENT TO PRISON? 9 Α. The wife of the man who took over 10 my parents' school. 11 There, she met another woman, whose 12 brother had also been in the White Rose. And 13 she, then, came to Marienau, and she -- Knoop 14 is the name of the man who took over the school, 15 K-n-o-o-p. And I don't know the circumstances, 16 but he divorced his first wife and married

MS. PROZAN: Okay. I just --

22 | well --

the White Rose.

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(Off the record discussion between the interviewers.)

Anna Lisa Knoop, who is now one of the leaders

of the White Rose, and who was also in prison

because her brother was one of the people in

MR. BIRNBERG: Okay.

1	Q. BY MS. PROZAN: WHAT WAS ANNA LISA
2	KNOOP'S ROLE WITH THE WHITE ROSE?
3	A. You know, after now, I think
4	the White Rose really got developed as
5	an organization after Reagan went to
6	Oh, what was that place?
7	Q. BITBURG?
8	A. Beg pardon?
9	Q. BITBURG?
10	A. Yeah.
11	What was that place? What was it
12	called?
13	Q. AFTER HE WENT TO GERMANY?
14	A. Yeah.
15	Q. THE CEMETERY?
16	A. Right.
17	That was when it became it
18	was reorganized. And I think there was a
19	connection, then, with America. And I think
20	that she was very instrumental in doing this.
21	And that's really how I got to be a member
22	of the White Rose I mean, the White Rose
23	organization.
24	And she and I became very close
25	friends. And so it was in Berkeley at the

White Rose, at this exhibit, where I met somebody from this organization. That's really how the whole -- how it came about.

- Q. GOING BACK TO THE TIME THAT YOUR FATHER SOLD THE SCHOOL AND THE MONEY WAS CONFISCATED, DO YOU KNOW WHERE YOUR FAMILY HAD THE MONEY TO EMIGRATE?
- A. My mother must have taken some.

  I know we rented this place in Switzerland.
- Q. WHAT ABOUT THE OTHER PARTS OF
  YOUR FAMILY, YOUR GRANDFATHER, GRANDMOTHER,
  THE UNCLES, AUNTS, COUSINS? DO YOU KNOW
  WHETHER THEY LEFT AT THE SAME TIME?
- A. There were no -- my grandparents weren't living. Nobody was living. My uncle I was telling you about already, he founded the school for young emigrants, and he and a group of about ten of them were in a concentration camp for about three months. And that was a -- I don't think anything -- I mean, they weren't beaten or anything, but they were living under terrible, terrible conditions. And I remember him talking about it later, saying that the only way -- these were all young students that were -- young

children; that the way he got them through this experience was by creating a very, very strong bond between them and just making them feel that they, as a unit, were going to be strong enough to withstand this.

What I also remember is that
he said he made them stay just within
themselves. And if, for instance, somebody
else, some other person in the concentration
camp was cold and needed a blanket, he
didn't allow them to give it to that person.
He felt that they had to just protect
themselves. I think I remember it because
it seemed very strange to me, and it seemed
like a strange reaction.

- Q. WHAT HAPPENED TO HIM?
- A. He was released from the concentration camp. He and a whole group of them emigrated to the United States.

  They lived in a house in Richmond, Virginia, for a while. And then, from there, they spread all over the whole world.

Everything seems to be coming in round circles now, because my brother is

now running a school in Virginia. And at the 50th anniversary of this house that this person had given them -- some rich American Jew gave them this place. And they lived there, I think, for about two or three years. And it was 50 years now, so -- there was something in the paper about it. And somehow, then, people began asking my brother if he was related to Kurt Bondi. It was sort of an interesting thing. Things are all coming back.

O. IS THAT --

A. He, later on, went back to Germany after the war.

Beg pardon?

- Q. YOUR AUNTS AND YOUR UNCLES, DID THEY REMAIN IN GERMANY?
- A. No. Everybody -- everybody emigrated, except for my step-grandfather, who died in Theresienstadt -- who died in a concentration camp. And I also have a cousin who had -- well, it's a whole long story in itself.

He and his wife -- he was also leaving the country. He and his wife were

already in London, and they arrived there in an airplane in the evening. And the people wouldn't -- and he already had a job waiting for him there. And the people would not let him -- they didn't let him come into the country, and they didn't allow him to call anybody. They sent him back to Czeckoslovakia on the next plane. And they then spent four years in a concentration camp. They were in Theresien, and they were saved. From Theresien, people were sent to the extermination camps.

My cousin was a chemist, and his specialty was disinfection. And one of the things the Nazis were terribly afraid of was disease for themselves, not for the Jews. And the circumstance under which people lived in those concentration camps, of course, would spread disease. And he knew what to do, in terms of things that just were put there to keep it from spreading. So every time -- and, you know, the people in the concentration camps, the Jewish leadership had to decide who was going to be sent to the extermination camps.

And every time their name was on the list, the Nazis would cross it out again.

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The same thing happened with her, because she took care of the children. And it's always struck me as such a terrible feeling it must have been for them. of course, I had the same feeling, too. Why did I survive and other people didn't? But in their case, other people would be substituted for them because they were more expendable, in terms of the Nazis. So they actually did survive and other people had to die. I mean, other people's names were substituted for their name. It always seemed to be like one of the terrible things to me, the strangest things, to be saved on that basis.

They came to this country.

And by that time, they were in their early 40s and then had two children.

And they actually are our closest friends.

You know, we used to travel with them quite a bit. And I have one memory when they were at our house. We had just come

back from a trip together, and they were going to leave the next morning. We lived in Michigan, and they lived in Pennsylvania. And I had already gone to bed. And they came up to say goodbye because they were going to leave at 5:00 in the morning or something before I would be up. young son was a teacher at our school and somehow -- oh. And someone had given my husband some money that was supposed to have been used in Theresien. And so, at that moment, he found it or he had it there, and he showed it to them. And he said, "Was that money actually used?"

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And that triggered, all of a sudden -- we had spent many, many vacations, much time with them, and they had never talked about their concentration camp experience. This sort of -- this was 30 years later or something. This triggered -- all of a sudden, it all poured out of them. And what triggered it was that that money had never been used. That money was just used for one day when the Red Cross came to visit. And we spent all

night talking, and they just poured out all of the experiences they had had.

And their young son was also sitting there. He must have been, maybe, 20 at the time. And I remember that his eyes literally got bigger and bigger because he had never heard any of it. He kept saying, "Why didn't you tell me? Why didn't you tell me any of this?" That was really one of the -- you know, one of the strangest experiences. I have heard that this has happened to many. And you probably have heard that concentration camp people -- that they keep it in, and then something just triggers it. And they said they had never talked about it.

- Q. WHEN YOU AND YOUR FATHER LEFT

  FOR SWITZERLAND AND YOU FELT THIS DEATH OF

  EVERYTHING, DID YOU THINK IT WAS FINAL?

  DID YOU THINK YOU WOULD EVER BE ABLE TO

  GET BACK?
- A. Oh, yes. I never thought I'd -at that time -- oh, I don't know if it was
  then or if it was finally when we emigrated
  to America, but I thought it was totally

behind us.

But we didn't -- we didn't leave together. There was something else. I had to have a slight operation. And I think we tried to do everything before emigrating, otherwise -- I don't know whether we even knew about emigration. I think we thought we might have stayed in Switzerland, but anyway, I had to have that operation.

And my husband, who -- we weren't married then. My husband and I, together with my aunt, were going to Switzerland.

And what I remember about that is only that I felt very sick. I just had an operation, and I wasn't feeling well at all, and I wanted to just get away and get over the border and get somewhere. But you see, then I went back to Vienna where I went through the same thing all over again.

- Q. WHAT CITY IN SWITZERLAND DID YOU GO TO?
- A. It was a very small place called Gland, G-1-a-n-d. It was right between Lausanne and -- there is another bigger city there -- Geneva, opposite the Mont

Blanc. Right on Lake Geneva, you could see the Mont Blanc on the other side.

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My parents -- the school actually consisted mostly of German immigrants where the parents were still living in Germany and were able to send money for the tuition. And it was run, actually, by another former student of my parents, together with my mother. And it only existed for about three years because, although there were other students -- there were some Swiss people there and there were some French people and a few Americans, I think, but most of the money came from Germany. And that dried up. People lost their money or they emigrated or -- but that -- that was -- I've talked to other people who had gone to that school, and it was -- it was -- my parents had a real ability, I think, to make people feel very much at home and very protected. for these children who all had to flee the Nazis, it was still not a bad time, still, you know.

- Q. WHAT WAS THE NAME OF THE SCHOOL?
- A. It was called Lehrion. I don't

think we gave it that name. It had been a quaker school before. That had closed, for some reason, and then we rented it from them.

- Q. LET'S GO BACK, BRIEFLY, TO YOUR HUSBAND; WHAT IS HIS NAME?
  - A. George.

- Q. AND WHEN DID YOU MEET HIM?
- A. I met him when I was six years old, when he was in -- he was a student in my parents' school.
  - Q. AND HOW OLD WAS HE?
- A. He was 13 or -- more than that,

  15. And we had become friends even then.

  Somehow, there was never a question that
  he and I were going to get married.
  - O. WERE YOU --
- A. No.

I was thinking, we tried to get
married in Switzerland. And he says -- and
I must have forgotten that, because I think
it's such a shocking thing -- that the Swiss
wouldn't allow us to get married there
because they were following the German laws
and wouldn't allow a Jew and a non-Jew to get
married. And I hadn't really realized that.

When I went to Vienna, he was still in Germany, and of course there was no -- he was not allowed to communicate, even, with a Jew. So the arrangement that we had was that he would -- his letters would be -- he would send them to me, what do you call it, post -- you know, the post office -- I don't remember the word now, where you just pick them up. And we made up a name for me. And I forgot the name, so I couldn't pick up his letters until three weeks later. All of a sudden, it came back to me. We made up an Austrian sounding name.

Q. DO YOU REMEMBER IT NOW?

2.0

A. No. I had remembered it, but I have forgotten it again.

And the way we had to do this was that I sent my letters to a Jewish friend of ours in Hamburg, who then gave them, unopened, to George. That was the only way we could communicate. We also made a habit of tearing up everything we got the minute we got it. I think I wrote such nice letters, and I've often --

Q. WHY DID YOU TEAR THEM UP?

A. Because we were afraid of -because he -- he was really in danger
because he was known for being so
supportive of my parents, for trying to
help them, for -- he tried to organize -after we had to leave the school, he tried
to organize a meeting of the former students
of my parents in some different building.
And that was seen as some kind of an act of
anti-Nazi thing. He was also of draft age
and so he couldn't -- wasn't really allowed
to leave the country.

Once, he came to Switzerland,

I think, just for a visit -- no. Wait
a minute. This is the way it was: He
bought a ticket on the Queen Mary, but
he had to buy a return ticket; otherwise,
they wouldn't have allowed him to go to
America. So up until the fire, we still
had that return ticket.

In order for him to even leave the country, he went through a whole lot of things. He -- first of all, he bought some gold. And if you burn it or something, it gets black. And he put it under the car

Then, he got himself all rigged up in mountain climbing outfits, with a rope and everything. And he decided to go over a border, over a very small border. What I should say is that he was not allowed to leave because he was of draft age, and, also, he was wanted. He was on a list to be shot on sight because of his Jewish relationships. So when he got to the border, that was the thing he had to be afraid of, that the man was going to look up that list.

and he got into -- decided to get into a discussion with the person at the border about mountain climbing. And the way he describes it is that he said to the man, he pointed up some mountain, and he said, "This is the place I want to go. How do I get up there?" And while the man was looking up and giving some kind of explanation of how you got up there, he just stepped on the gas and went through without giving that person any time to look up anything. And that is really how he got out.

HE WENT WITH YOU TO SWITZERLAND, 1 Q. AND YOU COULDN'T GET MARRIED. 2 SO HE RETURNED TO GERMANY? 3 He went to America. Α. No. this time line is a little different --5 ALL RIGHT. 6 Q. 7 Α. -- because he went with me to Switzerland at one time. Then, he was back 8 in Germany, I think, still taking care of 9 10 our affairs. He was living in an apartment 11 that belonged to my parents. After we had to leave the school, we took an apartment 12 13 in Hamburg, where I have never stayed. But 14 this description I just gave you was the 15 last time he left Germany. That must have been after I left Vienna, after he had 16 17 called me and told me to leave. And he, 18 then, started the whole thing about our 19 emigration. He got that into --20 O. ALL RIGHT. GOING BACK TO WHAT YOU JUST SAID, 21 YOU SAID YOUR PARENTS HAD TO LEAVE THE 22 SCHOOL AND THEY GOT AN APARTMENT IN HAMBURG? 23 Uh-huh.

WHEN WAS THAT?

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- A. That must have been in '37. But they never lived there, either. I think that we needed an address --
  - O. I SEE.

- A. -- in Germany.
- Q. YOU WENT TO SWITZERLAND WITH GEORGE AND YOUR AUNT AND YOUR FATHER AND MOTHER.

  AND EVENTUALLY, HE RETURNED TO GERMANY.

WHAT MADE YOU DECIDE TO GO TO AUSTRIA AGAIN?

A. Oh, I had always planned to do that.

I was going to study medicine in Vienna. And

I lived with an aunt, a kind of aunt of mine,
who was also a doctor. She actually had
delivered me. She was my mother's friend,
and she delivered me. And I lived with her.

I was going to study medicine, and I was going
to become a psychoanalyst.

I had just talked to Anna Freud and Sig- -- and her father, because she was going to give a course on child analysis the following fall. They had the rule you had to be 21 years old before you were mature enough to take that course, and I wanted very much to do it before that. So I had this long talk

with Sigmund Freud and Anna Freud. And after that interview, they decided that even though I was only 18 that I was going to be mature enough to take that course, and I was very excited about that. And at the same time, I was studying medicine. And that was going to start the next fall, I think.

- Q. CAN YOU DESCRIBE THE FREUDS?
- A. Well, my mother knew him also, because my mother had studied with him.

  It's hard to differentiate all the things

  I've read about them and what I saw that day.

What I remember is Anna Freud was one of my heroes, along with Eleanor Roosevelt and, oh, the woman in Israel --

Q. GOLDA?

A. -- Golda Meir. Those are my heroes.

I thought she was very, very kind and very friendly looking. I also thought she was very matter of fact. She asked me what I knew about psychoanalysis, what my reasons were for wanting to do that. And she wore a long, old-fashioned dress like people had worn maybe 30, 40 years before that. I lived, actually, across the street from them. And he was smoking

a pipe. And it was in their -- in their house, but -- I don't know, probably was in their waiting room or their living room, which looked the way rooms -- you know, a Viennese apartment would have looked, very warm, carpets all over, lots of knick-knacks, pictures. And he was smoking a pipe, which he always did.

And then, just a few months later, you know, he was being treated terribly, terribly. And I left probably a month before they did. And of course, nothing ever came of that course that I was going to take, but I did correspond with her later on about a child that had been in a -- that came to us that had been in a concentration camp and then later came to our school in Michigan.

- Q. WHEN DID GEORGE NOTIFY YOU THAT SOMETHING WAS GOING TO HAPPEN?
- A. It was the same day, and I'm trying to figure out -- dates are something I -- I don't remember what it was. I think it was in March '37 -- no, '38, wasn't it? Yeah.

What happened there, also, I took a train to Prague because my parents were on a trip. And they were in Prague, which is

where my mother was born. And I had -- I don't think I had ever been there before. My mother had. When I arrived at the platform in Prague, there were 30 people picking me up. All of my mother's old friends were there because they thought that it was impossible that I would get through. I mean, they were all there to pick me up, not expecting me to be there, actually. What I remember about -- I mean, I was still very young. I was about 19 at the time. And I remember a conversation.

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You see, I think, in moments like that, you are not aware of the general problem but of your own, what happened to you. Well, I had not been scared because I didn't realize that people were being detained at the border. And mine was the last train that went through where they didn't take all the Jews off at the border.

But the thing I remember about it is that I heard some of these people who had known my mother all their life saying, "Oh, Annemarie looks just like her mother." The other one says, "Oh, I don't think so. Her

1 other one says, "Oh, I don't think so. mother was always so beautiful." Now that 2 3 impressed me much more than all the political danger I was in because it upset me, I must 5 say. 6 But the other thing I remember is 7 that these were all rather wealthy people. 8 Somehow, people always think that when you 9 have money you can overcome any dangers. 10 And I remember my father telling those people 11 that they should get out, that the Nazis were 12 going to be in Czechoslovakia and that, you 13 know, it was just a matter of time. And they 14 just wouldn't believe him. They just said 15 that, you know, "Pretty soon the Nazis will 16 be gone." And they didn't see themselves in 17 any kind of danger. 18 0. DO YOU KNOW WHAT HAPPENED TO THEM? 19 Α. Most of them emigrated. 20 (End of tape 1, beginning of tape 2, 21 still recorded on the same videotape.) 22 23 INTERVIEW (Resumes) 24 BY MS. PROZAN:

WHAT HAPPENED AFTER YOU ARRIVED

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## IN PRAGUE?

A. Well, I told you part of the story.

and then, it was a matter of everybody wanting to know what happened to me, of course, but mostly I got to know -- I met, for the first time, all of these people that my mother had grown up with. And I don't know how much you know about Prague. There is sort of a -- the German speaking people are the Jews in Prague. There was a whole society who were usually the wealthier, better-educated people, who spoke Czech as a second language, and German was really what they grew up with.

I actually don't know the background, where they came from originally, but it was a very closely-knit group that my mother was very much a part of. So what I remember there is just that I think we stayed for about two or three more days, and I met all sorts of different people and sort of went from one social occasion to another.

Then, we went back to Switzerland from there in the car.

Q. WHO IS "WE"?

A. My parents and I and -- there was another girl with us, who must have been one of my parents' students. Where she came from, I don't remember, but I remember she was also in the car. And we had to sort of circle our way around Germany to avoid any place that would get us into Germany. So we drove, I don't know, through several other countries, I remember, some of them on the border. They were very, very rigid, looking for all sorts of things. And at one place, I had to get all the way undressed. And some woman was, you know, checking through everything.

And I remember -- one thing I remember about this other girl was that she kept a piece of paper in her hand.

And she said she could have -- and nobody found that, even in spite of all that thorough investigation. And somehow that really made her feel that she had really fooled them.

Q. YOU HAD LEFT VIENNA TO GO TO PRAGUE --

1 Α. Uh-huh. 2 -- AFTER YOUR FRIEND AND HUSBAND-TO-BE, GEORGE, WARNED YOU? 3 Α. Right. 5 Q. YES. 6 HOW MUCH IN ADVANCE WAS THAT? 7 Α. That was the same day. 8 Q. THE SAME DAY? 9 Α. Uh-huh. 10 Q. HOW --11 See, he knew -- he had heard that Α. 12 the Nazis were marching into Austria. 13 in fact, he remembers -- he told me later 14 that he was surprised he was able to just 15 make a simple telephone call and tell me 16 that the lines weren't closed or busy or 17 something. He just called and said, "You 18 have to get out." 19 And my aunt went and bought me a 20 golden bracelet as a farewell present. 21 And it was -- it had -- it was very pretty. 22 And it had white gold and yellow gold.

it got burned up in the fire like everything

it. And then she put me on the train. And

But, you know, I had it and treasured

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she followed -- she went to England, I think,
several months later, and then, also, came to
America.

AND WAS IT BY PREAPPANCEMENT THAT

- Q. AND WAS IT BY PREARRANGEMENT THAT YOU MET YOUR PARENTS IN PRAGUE?
- A. You know, I think that -- that part, I don't know. I don't know how they got in touch or how I got in touch with them. It seems to me that I was probably supposed to -- I think it might have been around vacation time, anyway, and that I was supposed to meet them there, probably, a few days later. I don't really remember those details.
- Q. AND HOW DID YOU GET BACK TO SWITZERLAND, WHAT MODE OF TRANSPORTATION?
- A. Car. They were in the car. My parents had driven there. They were just on a vacation trip, which you could apparently still take even in those terrible days.
- Q. DID YOU GET ANY NEWS OF WHAT HAD HAPPENED IN AUSTRIA?
- A. Not that I remember. I think most of that was -- was later. I mean, this was the very first few days. I don't remember

much about that.

- Q. WHAT HAPPENED AFTER YOU WENT BACK
  TO SWITZERLAND WITH YOUR PARENTS?
- A. I stayed there with them. And that was when I knew I wasn't ever going to go back to Vienna. I wasn't going to finish my medical studies, at least, in Vienna. I don't know if I thought I was going to finish them later on. It seems to me that's when we began, in earnest, to think about the emigration to America.

And I stayed there, and I worked. I took care of the little children at the school. We had some very young children there. There were about five or six boys that I took care of. I worked there then. I think it must have been for about a year.

- Q. AND THEN, WHAT WAS GOING ON WITH GEORGE IN GERMANY DURING THIS TIME?
- A. It seems to me that it was about that time that he then took this trip that I was telling you about and finally came to Switzerland. And from there, he went to America. He came over here a half a year before we did and was sort of preparing --

he was trying to buy or rent some kind of property so that my parents -- so that we could, all together -- all of us started a school together.

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One of the interesting things that we noticed, he was not as fluent in English as I was. My parents, as though they had foreseen this, they had hired an English woman to teach English. And when my sister was three and I was six, we had private lessons in English. So that I spoke English quite well when I came here, but my husband didn't know that much. what I remember was that he -- he learned the real estate language, because that's what he was trying to negotiate with people about, getting some property or a house or something. So he didn't know most of the social kind of daily language, but he knew all sorts of expressions that he has probably forgotten long since. And then, we came over half a year after he did.

- Q. ON YOUR GERMAN PASSPORT?
- A. On a German passport.
- Q. WITH NO "J"?

A. No J.

We came over on a boat, Amer--what was the name of it? It was a
freighter. There weren't very many people
on it. I remember getting into a terrible,
terrible storm. I also remember they were
showing a movie about a storm on the ocean,
and I just remember feeling quite seasick.
And there were all of us, both of my parents
and my brother and my sister, who were all
coming over here together.

- Q. IS THIS IN 1939?
- A. Yes.
  - Q. DO YOU REMEMBER THE MONTH?
- A. It seems to me we arrived there on April 3rd, but I'm not sure that that's exactly true, but I think so.
- Q. WAS THERE A SPECIFIC IMPETUS TO YOUR LEAVING SWITZERLAND AT THAT TIME?
- A. Just that we got the visa at the time, and we -- we were just waiting, then, to go whenever we -- whenever we'd get the transportation. You had to have an American person vouching for you, and I think George found people to do that for us. But he --

that's one of the problems is that his memory
is totally gone. And it's too bad, because
he knew much more about these things than I
did. I was just sort of going along.

Q. DO YOU REMEMBER WHEN HE LEFT GERMANY TO JOIN YOU IN SWITZERLAND?

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A. I think it was that time that I told you about. What the date was, no, I don't remember that.

I remember our last days in Switzerland. I remember when we left, I was participating in a play the night before I left, a Shakespeare play, and I was very excited about that. But I also knew, I mean, I knew then -- which turned out not to be true -- that I would never go back to Europe, that that was my very last moment there, and --

- Q. WHICH PLAY?
- A. I can't remember what play it was.

  I know it was a Shakespeare play.

And I also remember that we packed at 2 o'clock at night, even though we were packing for the rest of our lives. We had some books in boxes that we had mailed over

here, that we'd sent over here. My parents 1 2 had several boxes. And when we arrived in America, we didn't have the money to pay 3 whatever it was in order to get them, so that we never got them out. And years later, 5 I found, on some street corner, some books 7 that had the name "Max Bondi" in it that were being sold for 30 cents or something, because somehow I guess those boxes were 10 opened up then and sold. I don't know. 11 I remember being in New York, just finding my parents' books. 12 13 0. ON A STREET CORNER? 14 Α. On a street corner. 15 DID YOU BUY THEM? Q. 16 Α. I don't think I did. I don't 17 really remember that. Probably, I did, 18 but I can't remember that. 19 Q. WHERE WERE YOU WHEN KRISTALLNACHT 20 OCCURRED? 21 Α. Here. 22 Q. IN THE UNITED STATES? 23 Α. Yeah.

But that's when my father's -- my

husband's brother and his wife were still

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in Berlin then. And the story has never been quite clear whether it was

Kristallnacht or the night after that, they took 15 Jews into their apartment. One of them was my cousin, who -- I -- I don't know if they -- my cousin really was in England, and he was about my age. And somehow, he talked to George's brother, who must have -- my cousin was in Hamburg, I mean. And he talked to him, and it was expected.

Somehow, it seems to me that Kristallnacht was expected. What people tried to do is go to places where they were not known.

And he said to my cousin, "Why don't you come to us, come to Berlin, because something is going to happen."

So they took 15 Jewish people into their apartment. They were living in an apartment building that had a doorman, and they had to find ways of getting these people past the doorman. They took them up to their apartment, where they stayed, I think, for two or three days. And then they had to smuggle them past the doorman out again. I don't know how they did it. I do know that,

of course, had they been found, they would have been killed or sent to concentration camps.

My husband's brother died about

three years ago. And I remember asking him -
actually, the last time I saw him, I asked

him about this. I've always felt that this

is a story that ought to be known. You know,

I think it's important that people know that

not all Germans behaved like the Nazis did

and that there are people who really risked

their life.

and when I asked him how he could even do that, and I remember saying, "I don't know that I could have done that," he said he had no choice. He has never wanted it publicized very much. He never talked about it, but he said there was just -- he saw what was happening, and there was no way in which he could not try to help to save people. And it's one of the stories that I always felt should have been told before either one of them died. Now she died about six or seven years ago, I think.

Q. WHEN YOU LEFT SWITZERLAND TO COME

TO THE UNITED STATES, WHERE DID YOU GO TO GET THE SHIP, THE FREIGHTER?

- A. I think we went to England. We had to go from France to England, and I can't remember the port there. We left from England, I think, but first we had to take a boat from France to England. And there was -- I'm not good at remembering all those things. They somehow don't seem to -- like dates and places, they don't register very much with me, I think.
- Q. DO YOU REMEMBER THE DAY THAT YOU ARRIVED IN THE UNITED STATES?
- A. Oh, I remember that very well. That was very strange because, first of all, we got up very early in the morning, and you really do see the Statue of Liberty before you see anything else. And it does impress you, just the way one always hears of it. It really was the symbol of freedom for us.

And my husband was supposed to pick us up. And for some unknown reason -- and I can't remember now what the reason was -- he was four hours late picking us up. And that was a very strange situation, because we were just waiting around for him. In those days,

people were still taken to Ellis Island.

And I don't know why that was never even in question. Some of my other relatives had been in Ellis Island, but we were not.

And then he rented an apartment, and we were supposed to get married right away. I remember having to get -- it felt so strange, the whole thing. It was like a -- like a dream, all of a sudden being so far away, getting married -- you know, it was all happening at the same time. I remember having to get a Wassermann test. And then, we were married two weeks after I arrived here. That's why -- we did arrive on April 3rd, because we were married on April 20th, which was also Hitler's birthday. And I've never forgotten that those same --

- Q. DID YOU EVER SEE HIM?
- A. No. I think my husband did, though. No.
  - Q. DID HE CONVEY HIS IMPRESSIONS TO YOU?
  - A. He just told me that if he -- that if he could have killed him, he would have.

    My husband is a very unaggressive person, but

1	he said, seeing Hitler and I can't remember
2	what occasion that was he just said he's
3	never wanted to kill a person like he wanted
4	to kill Hitler.
5	Q. DID YOU HEAR MANY OF HITLER'S
6	SPEECHES?
7	A. No. I heard that one that one time.
8	No. I don't think one you know, you
9	avoided that, if you could.
10	Q. YOU HAD MENTIONED THAT YOUR FATHER
11	DIDN'T WANT TO BE JEWISH ANYMORE
12	A. Uh-huh.
13	Q IN GERMANY.
14	DID YOU AND HE TALK ABOUT THAT, OR
15	WAS IT SOMETHING THAT WAS JUST TOLD TO YOU?
16	A. No. I don't think we ever talked
17	about that. It was just a fact of my life,
18	I think. It was just the way it was.
19	And I think I told you, it really
20	only became important after the Nazis came.
21	Before that, it wasn't it really wasn't an
22	issue.
23	MS. PROZAN: Jake, perhaps you have
24	some questions.

## INTERVIEW

BY MR. BIRNBERG:

Q. ACTUALLY, I WAS RATHER CURIOUS AS TO THE BOY WHO MADE THE -- WHO TOLD YOU THAT YOU WERE JEWISH, THAT YOU AND HE WERE JEWISH.

HOW DID HE KNOW THAT YOU WERE JEWISH?

- A. I think everybody else knew it, except I didn't. It was a well-known fact. My family was a well-known Jewish family, really. It was just known, but it wasn't talked about.
- Q. AND SO YOU DIDN'T CELEBRATE ANY OF THE HOLIDAYS OR ANYTHING?
- A. No. No. We've done -- since we've been in this -- well, actually, since I've been in California, I've been going to a seder every year; but otherwise, it's just not been a part of my upbringing.

But it seems to me we probably would have come across other people who were assimilated as we were. Ours was just -- and I think people that lived in Hamburg, it was particularly less of an issue. As I said, it just -- people became German and wanted to be German and that was all, you know, the only language they knew. I heard Yiddish for the

1 first time when I came to America. Never 2 heard anybody speak Yiddish. 3 Q. DO YOU REMEMBER THE TIME THAT YOU HEARD HITLER SPEAK THAT ONE TIME, DO YOU RECALL ANYTHING ABOUT THE CONTENT OF HIS 5 TALK? 6 Α. About what he said? 8 YES. Q. 9 Α. I just remember his voice. No. probably didn't say very much. He probably 10 11 said -- oh, in that little story which I have over there, I did write something. I think he 12 13 said something about the Germans being the --14 the leaders of the world or something like 15 that, being -- oh, no, "We are going to conquer 16 the whole world." That's what he probably said. 17 Q. WHERE WERE YOU WHEN YOU HEARD THAT 18 TALK? WERE YOU AT THE SCHOOL? 19 Α. No. I was in the village that's near 20 the school. 21 YOU WERE IN THE VILLAGE, AND THAT'S Q. 22 WHERE YOU ENCOUNTERED SO MANY OF THESE 23 BROWN COATS?

A. That's -- what?

THAT'S WHERE YOU ENCOUNTERED THE

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## BROWN COATS?

- A. Well, no. I was telling two stories about that. One was about when they came -- wanted to come to the festival that our school had. The other time was when I went there just to buy something. I have a feeling I bought some books. I have a feeling that I had these books in my hand when all of this happened.
- Q. YOU SAID THE PEOPLE AROUND YOU WHO WERE SAYING, "HEIL HITLER," THEY WERE JUST THE PEOPLE WHO LIVED IN THAT VILLAGE?
  - A. I think so.

They -- to me, what I remember -you know, all of this is over 50 years ago.
I remember a lot of red faces and the odor
of perspiration. You know, just -- evil
passion is what I remember.

- Q. BUT NOTHING HAPPENED TO YOU?
- A. Nothing did happen to me.
- Q. AFTER THE SPEECH, YOU JUST WENT BACK TO --
  - A. I just went back.

No. Nothing ever happened to me. And I think that is something that I would

like to talk about, because I have always felt as though my fate didn't count because I never was in a concentration camp. Nobody ever did anything to me, and why should it affect my whole life as it has, and why should anybody take it seriously? And this is the reaction that I've found other people have, too. I have told a number of my relatives about this interview. And their reaction is, "But nothing happened to us. We're not the people they want to talk to. They want to talk to people who are concentration camp survivors."

And that's always, I think, given people like me a kind of in between position. It gave me the feeling that it really didn't count, what happened to us, that I had no reason to be so affected by it. And on the other hand, I had tremendous survivor guilt. All my life, I had the feeling that I had no right -- that I had no right for pleasure.

And I remember, I used to be -- my other interest, which I got from my father, was history of art. I used to be very interested in going to museums and in

learning something about art, and I used to know quite a bit about it. After I came to this country, I never went to a museum for a long, long time. And I remember when my son, my oldest son, got to be about seven or eight, and I thought, well, it's really probably time that he should learn something about art and that he should go to a museum. And there was a very good art museum in Detroit, where we lived. And it was so nice that now I had a good reason to go, because I could do it for him. I didn't have to do it -- I couldn't do it for myself. It's been a long time before I thought that anything should be done for me or that I should have -- that I should enjoy myself when, you know, other people died in concentration camps.

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And what really, I think, sort of made it possible for me to really live a normal life and a very happy life, was, first of all, that -- you know, we were a very, very closely-knit family, especially after we came here. We still all stick together quite a bit, all of our cousins

and everything.

and my husband and I were very close. And we were starting the school, which, whenever people ask me why we started it, my answer was -- and I think it's the real reason -- is that it's the only way in which you could survive something like the Nazis, by feeling that you are going to be able to create an atmosphere for young people which will give them so much inner security and so little reason for aggression that they would never have to act like the Nazis did.

And, of course, in those days, I still had hopes that this world would really become a better world, which, at this moment, I don't feel is true. I also feel that it's a mistake to think that what the Nazis did was peculiarly German. And I used to feel that way very strongly. I thought it was an operation, and we would get over this, and this world would be a better place. I don't think it's peculiarly German. I think it's an attitude that exists all over the world. The world is really filled with hostility. And I think people all over the world are capable of

1 the same kinds of things that the Nazis did. 2 And I still hope that we can change it. 3 (Inaudible discussion off the record.) 5 INTERVIEW (Continued) BY MS. PROZAN: 6 I WANTED TO TALK MORE ABOUT WHAT YOU 7 0. 8 DID IN THIS COUNTRY. 9 WHERE DID YOU GET MARRIED? 10 Α. We got married two weeks after we 11 arrived here. 12 0. WHO MARRIED YOU? 13 Well, that was a whole story in itself. 14 We were going to be married at the city hall, I 15 And when we arrived there, the man said, 16 "You have to be 21." I wasn't quite 21 at the He said, "We can't marry you." And he 17 time. said, "But if you go to Lafayette Street 1 --" 18 19 this was in New York -- "If you go to Lafayette Street 1, there is a judge, and he can marry 20 21 you." 22 So my mother had a little party at 23 the apartment building waiting for us, and we 24 thought it would be a good idea if we really

got married. And we were wandering the streets

in the rain trying to find this Lafayette 1.

And finally, when we did, we walked in there and we asked if there was someone who could marry us. And there was this man who said, "Well, if you give me something, I'll find somebody for you."

So my husband -- we really didn't have much money -- gave him \$10. Then, he introduced us to someone else. And that man said, "I'll find you a judge. If you'll give me something, then I'll see that the judge can marry you."

was some kind of a court session, and the man interrupted the court session and put this book in front of him. And so he -- then he said -- he asked my husband a question. And I didn't really understand, especially the American English. I knew English well, but American English was pretty -- was hard to understand.

And my husband said, "No." And I was a little shocked. I thought you were supposed to say, "I do." And so when he asked me the same question, which I, again,

1 didn't understand, I said, "No," too. Apparently the question was, "Is there any reason why this marriage shouldn't take place?" And then he kept on rattling off more things. And finally, I did get to say, "I do." And he said, "Kiss your bride," and

he clapped the book closed.

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And then we got some kind of a certificate, which also must have burned up now in the fire, but also, it never had a date. They didn't put a date on it. Ιt was sort of a very funny story.

- THERE WAS AN ONGOING SESSION IN COURT AND THEY JUST ADJOURNED THAT?
  - Α. Yeah. They just interrupted it.
- Q. AND YOU WENT INTO THE JUDGE'S CHAMBERS?
- No. All of the people were there. They were sort of the witnesses. I think the two fighting parties were there. And at the end of the ceremony, they all clapped. It was probably the only time they were in agreement.
- Q. YOU THOUGHT THIS WAS THE WAY ALL THINGS HAPPENED?

A. Yes.

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- Q. WHERE DID GEORGE FIND AN APARTMENT FOR YOU AND YOUR FAMILY?
- A. Somewhere in New York, I don't know, some plaza -- the Plaza Hotel? The word "plaza" comes to my mind, but I don't --
- Q. WHERE DID YOU AND GEORGE LIVE AFTER YOU GOT MARRIED?
- A. We then had a summer camp. We lived all together for a little while. I remember it was the days before air-conditioning. It was so hot. We weren't used to New York heat. And I also remember that 3 o'clock at night we would get up and go for a walk in Central Park, which is probably totally unheard of today.

Then, we had a summer camp, right away, in New Hampshire, in Wolfeboro, New Hampshire. And at that time, somehow we had gotten to know -- people were very helpful to us. We had some connections in America and had, also, some students from America in my parents' school, so we were not unknown. And people would give parties for us and introduce us to people so that when we started our summer camp, we had 30 campers.

But my father was so homesick for Germany that he went back to Germany, which still seems like the craziest thing he could have done.

O. WHEN?

- A. While we were running the camp. We didn't have the money or anything. He took a boat back to Germany. He went to Switzerland to visit the school there, and then he must have spent some time in Germany, where, as a Jew, he could have been stopped right away. Also, he got back here just a few days before the war started.
  - Q. YOU MEAN, IN AUGUST OF '39?
  - A. Yeah.
  - Q. WAS HE STILL DEPRESSED?
- A. It was very hard for him to -- to give up his German school. And also, he was sick. He had this -- this illness that I explained to you before. He was just driven to get back. He just wanted to have one last look. And so we ran the camp without him. And we had, also, mostly a lot of refugees' children.

We had become friends with the

Budapest Quartet. And they used to play there all the time, which we didn't even think was anything special, but --

- Q. DID YOUR FATHER SAY MUCH ABOUT THE TRIP?
- A. I don't think so -- no. He died in '51, and we came in '39. So he really wasn't here that long, in a way. And he never made -- he was sick, and he never made a real adjustment, I think.

But there was something about him.

Students used to love him, even though he didn't speak English very well. I was talking to my -- the same cousin who was in a concentration camp and was telling him that I was going to give a short speech about my father on May 11th of this year because of his birthday. And he said he remembered that he and his wife -- there was a group that had invited my father to speak to them. And he said -- my father always looked very sloppy. And he said he went up and tried to straighten out his tie, and he couldn't do it. And he had spots all over.

Anyway, they listened to the speech

that he gave. He was never a good speaker, and he didn't speak English very well. But they said that they remembered like it was today -- this must be at least 30 years ago -- how he had impressed the people, that they were totally quiet and that they listened to his sort of stammering English for an hour because he was a very impressive personality. And he was very, very sincere about his love for children and his philosophy of community and of simply more respect and love than people usually give.

Q. DO YOU RECALL BEING VERY ANXIOUS ABOUT HIS TRIP BACK TO EUROPE?

## A. Yes.

But I also -- you know, we were so busy. We had never run a camp. We had never -- you know, we didn't know the language too well. We had to do everything. I mean, we had to take care of the garbage and get the food and create activities for children. And we found there were things that were different.

We used to have a camp in Switzerland.

And the way we did it was that there would be,

maybe, two or three organized activities, that

you had supervision at the lake. And the rest of the day, children did what they wanted to do. And you didn't worry every moment about them. And we found out that you can't run a camp like that here. Here, you have to make sure that every minute is organized and that there is supervision every moment. It was a totally different concept that we had to get used to.

So what I remember mostly of that time was that we were worried about him, but we were too busy. You know, we just had to take care of things.

- Q. HAD YOU WRITTEN TO FRIENDS THAT HE WAS GOING TO COME, THAT SOMEONE WAS WAITING FOR HIM?
- A. You know, it was strange, because when I was in Germany right now -- and they have tried very hard to sort of restructure my parents' story -- no one remembered seeing him in Germany. One friend -- actually, the wife of the man who started the school in Switzerland with them -- remembered that he was in Switzerland, but I remember that he went to Germany. I do remember that. But nobody knows where he went, really. I'm sure

he couldn't go back to Marienau. He probably went to Hamburg.

- Q. DID HE TELL YOU ANYTHING ABOUT THE TRIP?
- A. I don't think so. He came back, and the war started. And then we got all concerned about the war. And my brother volunteered pretty soon after the war had started -- oh, it couldn't have been, because my brother then went to another -- to a boarding school after we were married. Our honeymoon consisted of taking my brother to a boarding school. And so I -- the war started in '39.
  - Q. HOW OLD WAS HE THEN?
- A. Well, he was very young. That's why I'm getting confused about it. I do know that he volunteered. He was right in the middle. He went through the worst part of the war.
  - O. WHERE DID HE SERVE?
- A. Isn't that funny how much of it is lost in my mind? I know he had training, very, very hard training. He was in the intelligence. But I also know that he crossed

the Channel. I don't really remember exactly.

- Q. HE WAS IN THE ARMY?
- A. He was in the Army, yes -- yeah.

  I mean, it was sort of a strange thing that
  he -- you know, my father fought on the
  German side in World War I and my brother
  fought on the American side in World War II.
- Q. WHERE DID YOU LIVE DURING THOSE FIRST YEARS? DID YOU LIVE IN MANHATTAN IN NEW YORK?
  - A. No.

We lived in Manhattan for a few months, and then we, my husband and I, ran the school together with my parents in a place in Windsor, Vermont, where we rented a building. And it seems to me we had about 30 students there that very first year. Then, we moved to Manchester, Vermont.

I guess we were with them for two years, and then we decided that we should leave the school. And we taught in a school in New Jersey for a year, and we lived in an apartment in a little city there.

- Q. WHAT DID YOU TEACH?
- A. Little children. Just -- it was a

progressive school, and we both assisted in a classroom. I think, probably, I worked with four- and five-year-olds.

- Q. DURING THIS TIME, WERE YOU IN CONTACT WITH A LOT OF JEWISH PEOPLE?
  - A. No.

- Q. DID YOU EVER HAVE ANY CURIOSITY ABOUT JEWISH HOLIDAYS?
- A. No. I was working. And I was young, married.
- Q. EARLIER YOU HAD MENTIONED THAT YOU'D NEVER SAT DOWN TOGETHER AS A FAMILY UNTIL YOU CAME TO THIS COUNTRY.

WILL YOU ELABORATE ON THAT, SITTING DOWN TOGETHER AS A FAMILY? HOW WAS IT?

A. It was a new experience. It was nice. We really only got very close as a family after we came here, but it was mostly a time when you had to worry about your existence. We had very little money. I remember when my brother wanted to go to the movies when he was, maybe, 14 or 15, that he would go around and collect pennies from everybody so that he would have the money to go.

And you wouldn't -- you know, it really wasn't in the center of my thinking at all. I was concerned with building up a school. I was also concerned about working with my own parents and trying to find my place. You know, I was beginning to compete with my mother. And she was a queen, and I felt I couldn't really ever find a place where she was. And that was when we decided to -- actually, we decided to move to Detroit.

We had one of our summer -- we had people at the summer camp, not only children, but sometimes whole families would come. And one family that used to come every year were the Sturbers. They were psychoanalysts from Vienna who were the only non-Jews who were surrounding Freud, but they left out of loyalty to Freud and because they didn't really want to live in a country like that. They came to our summer camp with their two children. And they were living in Detroit and had started a nursery school for their children. And I guess George and I realized that we needed to leave my parents, that it wasn't really possible, especially for me, to try and really

become somebody or be myself, since they were such domineering personalities, both of them.

And the Sturbers had been -- they had a nursery school, which was called Adetha Sturber Nursery School, in Detroit, and were looking for someone to take it over. And even though I didn't have any training, they asked me to take it over, and that's what we did. That's how we moved to Detroit.

And my husband -- I ran the nursery school, and he ran -- he had some older children, among them one of the Sturber children. So he took care of seven-, eight-, and nine-year-olds. And in fact, just recently, everything seems to be coming back.

We had the 50th anniversary of our school, and one of the students who had been one of my husband's first students came back and talked about it. He later on became a teacher at our school, and his children went to our school. That was the beginning of the school that we developed. It was later called Roeper City and Country School. We had about 500 students by the

end, and it was very much based -- and whenever anybody asked me why did we have the school, I said that it was the only way in which you could survive the Nazis. I told you that. I said that before.

And it was really -- the basic principle was that it was a very open, progressive type school based on psycholytic theory, where we thought about, talked about, and taught the teachers about unconscious motivation and about what really made a person be what they are. We worked very closely with the Sturbers all during that time. We participated in psycholytic seminars, and it probably was one of the very few schools that were based on psycholytic theory as well as a humanistic philosophy.

Later on, it was turned into a school for gifted children. This was a day school. We never had a boarding school, because we didn't really want -- we wanted to have a family life, which was the only thing that I think I missed in my childhood. And it became a school for gifted children. It also had a totally different approach

than most other schools. We had no grades. We had very, very individualized education. And we, in the end, developed a participatory democracy among the teachers, because we felt that the teachers, that -- oh, I'm getting very tired -- that the teachers could only be models for children if they really knew how to live in a democracy.

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It's been and it was a very wonderful -- it was sort of -- we were able to recreate what we had had in our school in Germany, and it was a very satisfying life. And I've -- you know, we touched probably thousands and thousands of people. recently, I'm still very -- we retired 12 years ago now, but I'm still closely involved with the school, and I'm still involved with education. I have a consultation service for gifted children now. And what I believe in now is that it's absolutely necessary that one develops a concept of global education and global awareness. And it's something that I think people have not understood yet, that this world is only going to be saved if we

understand that we all depend on each other. And I have, you know, read quite a bit about that. And it's somehow what keeps me from being desperate. But it also, I feel, goes directly back to my experience with the Nazis. It's -- it's -- I think you can only either despair or continue to believe that maybe one can do something about making this a better world.

And I think -- you know, I know you keep asking me about my Jewish -- feelings about Judaism. I don't feel Jewish. And I don't feel that any kind of nationalism of any sort is helpful at this time. I think one really needs to feel as a human being, without any chips on one's shoulder.

This is probably going beyond what this is supposed to be about, but I feel it so very strongly. It's -- you know, I was telling you in the car (indicating) that I think it would be interesting to do the same kind of thing that you are doing with people who have experienced the Nazis with people like

the Vietnamese, with other people who have had, you know -- or maybe people who live in Los Angeles, who knows, who have had some terribly cruel things happen to them. There are many, many more stories around.

- Q. BUT ON THE OTHER HAND, YOU SAY
  YOU HAVE GUILT BECAUSE YOU SURVIVED?
  - A. I do.

I don't know if it's a rational emotion. I've had guilt that I didn't -- I mean, I lived through a terrible, terrible thing and millions and millions of people died, and I didn't. I not only feel I have guilt, but I also feel that there is maybe a reason I survived, maybe that I have to help people.

But, you know, there isn't really a reason why I should feel more guilty than my husband does, just because he isn't Jewish. He survived.

- O. DOES HE FEEL GUILTY?
- A. He never shared that with me.

  No, he doesn't. I'm sure that's because

  I'm Jewish that I feel it. And I know that
  he could. For him, it wasn't the same thing.

The big difference is that he chose to leave Germany, and he chose to align himself with us, but I didn't choose it. It could have happened to me as it happened to all the other Jews in Germany. I escaped it somehow. It's a subtle, but a very important, difference.

- Q. IF YOU HAD BEEN IN A CONCENTRATION

  CAMP, DO YOU THINK YOU WOULD FEEL MORE JEWISH

  IF YOU SURVIVED THAT?
- A. If I had been in a concentration camp, I would have died in the first month. I have often thought about that, because I wouldn't have had the strength to deal with it. I can't see anything, even watching other people being mistreated. I truly think I couldn't have survived it. I don't know that I would have felt more Jewish. I would have felt I've often thought, I'm sure I wouldn't have survived it. I couldn't have. I don't think I would have had the strength to even live a life like that.
- Q. WELL, WHAT DID YOUR FATHER AND MOTHER DO DURING THE TIME THAT YOU LIVED IN MICHIGAN AND SET UP THIS SCHOOL?

- A. Oh, they had their own school.
- Q. WHERE WAS THEIR SCHOOL?

- A. In Massachusetts. They had a school -- they had a boarding school for 30 years. They had actually spent more time in this country -- my mother did -- running a school than in Germany.
  - Q. WHERE WAS THE SCHOOL?
- A. In -- oh, my goodness -- Lenox, Massachusetts.
  - Q. WHAT WAS THE NAME OF THE SCHOOL?
- A. It was called the Windsor Mountain School. It was named that because that's where it originated, in Windsor, Vermont. They had built -- they had the same type of school they had in Germany. And they had the same charismatic influence.

My father died very early. He died at 59 years of age. And my brother and my mother ran the school together. And I still meet many people who went to school there and who just absolutely loved my mother. She would know every individual child. She would speak with every child once a month for at least a half an hour. They all felt that

1	they were her special child.
2	Q. HOW LARGE WAS THE SCHOOL?
3	A. Probably, about 150. It wasn't
4	nearly as large as our school.
5	Q. AND HOW LONG WELL, LET'S SEE,
6	YOUR PARENTS STARTED IT WHEN?
7	A. '39, I think, or '40. We started
8	it together, and then we left.
9	(This concludes tape 2 of the
10	interview of Annemarie Roeper on
11	this first videotape.)
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