

HOLOCAUST ORAL HISTORY PROJECT SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

INTERVIEW

of

EVA ANGRESS

OCTOBER 28, 1991

by

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MS SILVER: I am Lani Silver. I am with Ruth Tanner. We are interviewing Eva Angress, October 28, 1991. We are in San Francisco at Michael Young Shankel Communication. We are doing this for the Holocaust Oral History Project.

Eva, I am delighted to talk to you and maybe you would start by telling me a little bit about your child hood, when you were born and where you were born.

A. Well, I will be happy to do that. I was born in August, 1921 in Berlin, in a part of the district of North Kern, where my father, who was a Rabbi in that district, functioned in that capacity.

Basically I had a happy childhood. Surrounded with love, which I think is always the key word.

I had a brother who was eight years older. I, of course, looked up to him, adored him. As we got older there were conflicts there because he had communist leanings and they were certainly in conflict with my father's views. And that is something that clouded my childhood to some degree. He made a great impression on me. I think he was the real idealist communist that we don't really see much now days anymore, because that the world has changed. We are going back to the twenties. I would learn songs that still are considered the Soviet National Anthem.

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EVA ANGRESS

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I would, of course, memorize them in German because my brother sang them. This was important. So I was considered the good little girl, the good student and things went along all right. I had non-Jewish friends, I had Jewish friends. I knew everybody in the congregation. They knew me.

To continue, where shall we go? I went to a school where my brother had gone and probably got his leftist ideas there mostly, which was renamed the Karl Marx Schule. It was originally (name in German), which means it was a high school in the German sense with Latin and French and English and real conservative curriculum. My father was teaching at the school in his capacity as a Rabbi. So he also taught in our school. The pastor would come to the school, Rabbi would come to the school. Ι don't know about the Catholics. They didn't have many Catholics. Our part of town was really quite leftist. It was in part a very poor neighborhood, not necessarily all You also had civil servants, small shopkeepers. But it was always considered officially red. Red North I will get to that later. Kern.

When I got back there on a visit just two and-a-half years ago that was borne out.

So let's see. The director of the school, very interesting man, with very progressive ideas. Since my

EVA ANGRESS 4

father was on the school board in North Kern in Berlin they knew each other. He was in favor of changing the name to Karl Marx Schule. My father advised against it. He said that wouldn't be good for publicity. I remember hearing talk like that.

They did it anyway. So after two years of high school there where we had all sorts of things that you now days have in American schools, it was that progressive at that time already, all of a sudden when Hitler came to power, of course, a different wind was blowing there and things changed radically. Dr. Carlson, who was the director, heard through the radio that he was fired. So it went. The Jewish teachers were dismissed, et cetera, et cetera.

- Q. Before we get to that, his coming into power, I wanted to know a little more about you were in a very interesting position in Berlin coming from this rabbinical family.
- A. I never thought so but I probably was in retrospect.
- Q. Who were some of your parents' friends or what was your household?
- A. My parents had a lot of the Jewish doctors.

 I don't really know why there were so many Jewish doctors there. Maybe because of the poor segment of the

EVA ANGRESS 5

population	who had, wh	nat do we ca	ll it? Soci	lalized
medicine.	They would	come to the	doctors and	the Jewish
doctors did	l well. The	ev were the :	friends.	

Then my father was active in the B'nai B'rith.

That wasn't really restricted to the district. In other words, he would also function in town, he would also teach at some other high schools in town. You know, wider Berlin area. So there were his other colleagues that I knew then who came for dinner or supper or whatever.

There were other high school teachers, as we called them studenraisen. There were through B'nai B'rith mostly business people. It was varied, really.

- Q. What was, did he have a specialty in his rabbinical work?
 - A. A speciality in his rabbinical work?
 - Q. He was a teacher?
- A. I don't think he was ever a good speaker.

 He always spoke too long. I know my mother and I would

 always look at each other. Is he finally going to finish

 this?

One of his famous quotes, and I will say that in German because a lot of people can understand.

(Insert the quotation in German)

That means he can talk about anything, but not

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EVA ANGRESS 6

beyond 20 minutes. It's a pun in German. It wouldn't read too well in English. He was aware of that. But he got so involved. He was so serious about what he felt he had to tell them. He was wonderful with children. He always organized Hanukkah plays, I remember. He would direct them and he was on the stage back and forth and it was great fun. They came from other parts of Berlin to our Hanukkah festivities. It was always wonderful. I have some current people in San Francisco who remember that.

- Q. Were there values that he tried to instill in you? Were there things that came up?
- A. Probably by osmosis. Education was the important thing. It was unthinkable I wouldn't continue schooling and get as far as the gynasium, which was the end of the high school curriculum, and go to University and pursue a profession. That was a foregone conclusion. You just didn't even doubt that. He himself had a Ph.D from Heidelberg.

He was from poor beginnings. His father had been a cantor. He was the youngest of I think six. I am not sure. I know a couple of them died early on. So I didn't know them all. I never knew my grandparents. They were already gone when I was born.

He was very good with the young people. He was

EVA ANGRESS 7

very	good	as	a	couns	selo	f	or 1	people	who	would	come	and
seek	his	cour	nse	el, ar	nd th	ney	al	l did.				

- Q. Was there a synagogue where he was?
- A. There was a temple, yes.
- Q. What was the name of that?
- A. Jewish Geimine North Kern. I revisited there. They have now Jehovah's Witness in there, which strikes you as a little odd when you come. Of course, I spent a great deal of my childhood there.

In 1935 when I was 14 things were not so much fun anymore. There were, of course, some kids of the non-Jewish children who were anti-semitic who, you know, came up with slurs. Nobody ever did me any physical harm. However, it became uncomfortable.

One day, I think he was still teaching there at that point, but he saw the bulletin board and he saw the articles from the newspaper, Der Sturmer. I can't really translate that. It was well known depicting caricature of Jews. He said that's it. Now you can't stay here any longer. If they condone this out you go.

We did have what you would call a homeroom teacher, who was one of the old group and who knew the family. He asked me every once in a while is anything wrong. And tell me about it if there is.

I can't say that I personally suffered. Because of

EVA ANGRESS 8

the fact there were so many leftist people in the school and because of the home atmosphere there really wasn't that much of a problem. Nonetheless, it was decided enough was enough. Let's put her in another school.

So I went to a school far away, clear across town in Berlin, a private school called Tesla Schule where I was very happy. At that point a lot of children from other schools had also come in. We had good teachers, because they all had to find different employment.

Now unfortunately that school ended before you could go all the way to the gynasium. Of course, there was no question you had to have the gynasium. The other school that would be in the same area, it was really a lovely location in the suburb of Berlin. I took the subway every morning, seven o'clock. Didn't think too much of it. It was a long commute, I guess, for a child but I did it. The other school I couldn't go to because they had been feuding. There was another one that opened up for six months, where I wasn't doing well and my mother told my father, don't you see the child isn't doing well there, it's not her type of school. Let's take her out.

So I went to another school called the Schule, where I had another year and-a-half of very, very good teachers, good friends and in fact the few of us who are still around, we do keep in touch. We have had reunions

EVA ANGRESS 9

and that's where in 1939, March 39, I can tell you March 3rd, 39 in front of a commission that came to the school, like a small board, I still passed the gynasium there, which was wonderful except it hasn't really done anything for my career. It would give me credit in college here, but I have for personal reasons not to have the chance to continue ever. Things then got out of control.

All right. Where are we? During all this time we knew we had to leave Germany. Now I should perhaps say that my brother early on in 1933 couldn't stay because he was known to have these leftist leanings. Of course, it was imperative that he leave. So he, through my father's colleague in Prague, was sent to Prague to study at the German University there. You see education was always the important thing. One didn't just stop at a certain point.

He enrolled for about a year I think at that point in Berlin at the University for law and economics. So that's where he went.

Then we went visiting to Czechoslovakia regularly at least twice a year or so. Sometimes my mother went alone, sometimes I went with her. We combined it with a summer vacation, went to Marine Butt, which you may know from a movie only, which was a very well known spot.

Today I don't think it's as elegant as it use to be. Had a great time there as a teenager. Learned to dance there.

EVA ANGRESS 10

We went to dances in the morning and in the afternoon and in the evening, so I had a good time, no complaints about that.

Then we went to Prague in the winter sometimes. We got to know the Chief Rabbi of Prague quite well and his daughter, who was a doctor in the Sommen Mariebrau in the winter in Prague.

So our connections were always widespread. It wasn't such in our district in North Kern.

- Q. What else did you see before 39? What else did you experience in the city of the Nurenburg Laws?
- A. Of course, one of the things that cut into the household was you had to dismiss the maid. You couldn't have a full time maid anymore, unless she had been with you for a certain time. If she was 35. Other than that, she had to be over 45. I don't exactly know how it was.

We had somebody come in during the day, but that was pretty drastic for that time when mother wasn't really use to doing that. My mother did a lot of volunteer work it was called. It was an obligation of the women who a lot of them were very intellectual women. She had to follow-up on welfare cases. I think they did that quite a bit.

I also remember, to get topical, that there was a

. 14

lot of talk about paragraph 218. I asked my brother, who was still at home at that time, who was a law student, what that meant. So he showed me the civil code, which didn't mean very much to me, being as young as I was. He explained that it had essentially something to do with if you don't want a baby you don't have to have a baby. So in other words, they were already in those days really supporting anti-abortion activities. Didn't get too far. It was still very illegal in Germany. Although I think if you were monied you could find a doctor friend who would help. That's the way it usually works, of course, as we know.

So I have little memories of that. Other than that, you didn't speak in front of the children as much as we do now. One of the famous sayings at lunch or dinner was (quote in German) "Not in front of the child." Sometimes I found out in a round about way what they were talking about, but it was not considered necessary the children should know everything. I think we were kept pretty naive in many ways. Whether that was good or not is another matter. Sometimes our kids know too much.

Where do we go on? 1939, leaving school. In between I was put to work writing letters to relatives that we did have in the United States. Of course, the object was possibly for my father to have a contract with

a congregation. That was a bit tricky because he didn't really speak English. He had some smattering of English, but it was very poor. He never really learned English well. He was the old Greek, Latin, some French scholar. That wasn't his thing at all. He was good at math and Latin and he would coach me.

EVA ANGRESS

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If I didn't want to be bothered -- I was a good student. If I didn't want to be bothered -- I mean I was a good student while he did that. When I didn't want to be bothered, well, my grades dropped. I wouldn't tell him anymore that I had a test.

Anyhow, later on after 1939, what did I do? Yes, I was enrolled in the school that this Jewish congregation in Berlin had under their auspices where you could put together your courses. I chose language courses, shorthand in German, English and Spanish. The German standard shorthand is very good in that it lends itself to application to all languages. Pretty smart. It was no problem. You could go with it all. I took intense Spanish for a year. We didn't know where we were going to end up. Languages were important. I took advance course in English to continue and I should perhaps mention the school where I was, Deutsch school, had at the same time also the Cambridge school certificate examination. could actually pass that examination.

I have to say for the record and posterity I flunked it. I took it at the time right after

Kristallnacht in December 1938 when my father was taken to the concentration camp. I am back dragging a little bit.

We heard about it through neighbors about this was planned. My father thought it would be a good idea to leave the house. He went to one of his oldest sisters, who lived alone, who was widowed I believe at that point, and he stayed there. But then, well, he wanted the comfort of home. After two days he came back. He was barely there when the doorbell rang and the Gestapo man came and said I watched across the street until you returned home. He was in Sachsenhausen for six weeks. This was not too far from Berlin. Quite a few people were there. There was frantic telephoning among the wives, because as one or the other was released — In those days they still released you from concentration camp after Kristallnacht.

In those days women hit on the idea, I don't know who advised them, if you book passage to say Shanghai or somehow show papers you would leave they would let you go, which apparently was true. So they would all constantly be on the phone with each other and consult with each other. My mother got steamer tickets on the Contabienca line leaving from Genoa sometime early in 1939.

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Well, indeed he came home after six weeks, probably on the strength of the tickets. I will never forget how he looked. He was pretty awful, pretty pathetic. You know, no hair and all his clothes stank to high heaven. They put them through some kind of disinfectant probably. It was awful. He came home, up the stairs a broken man. And was in bed a few days and our doctor came and checked him over and so forth. But then, of course, he recovered.

Then the reality set in and he said "Go to Shanghai. What am I suppose to do there?".

Well, you know what he did, he took the steamer tickets back. He said I am not going to Shanghai. Well, I don't know. He was not a stupid man. He was just afraid, I think. He was afraid. He had a family and what was he going to do? How was he going to make a living in Shanghai China? This wasn't just the way we live today where we can send a fax to Shanghai and it will be there the same instant. You have to put yourself in that position. So we didn't go. But we did give up the apartment. Furniture was warehoused. We lived in two very nice but rented, furnished rooms in the western part of Berlin because our synagogue had also been torched. It wasn't completely burned down. I think the reason was it was among apartment buildings and they didn't want to destroy them. But it was vandalized and torched to some

degree also. So there was no more service there at all.

So from then on he functioned at other synagogues that had not been damaged. It was sort of an unreal existence. I continued to go to school in my courses.

Actually, I think I am getting the cart before the horse here. Kristallnacht was November, 38. We moved in November, 39. I left school only in March, 1939. Then enrolled in language courses et cetera, et cetera.

Well, we continued to live and try to get out.

Meanwhile, my father's brother -- He had an older brother who was living in Berlin at that time with his married daughter. He had made up his mind to go to Shanghai.

They had no affidavit of support from the United States, which we did have.

The problem was that my father was on the Polish quota. Apparently at that time at least they took the year 1924. While he had a German passport and that part of Upper Silesia was German at the time he was born, after World War II and after the Versailles treaty in 1924 it was Polish. So the Polish quota applied, which of course was always very over crowded. It meant a very very long wait.

The contract negotiations had not materialized with some congregation. He could have gone outside the quota.

That was the object. My mother had a cousin in New York,

. 14

EVA ANGRESS

who was really trying to help. It was Eric Cohn, who was the President of Goodman Mansews. He doesn't live today anymore. And he finally did send a contract with a congregation. However, the American consulate in Berlin did not recognize that anymore. They thought that was a fake contract. There were too many of them already. That just didn't quite work. So here we were.

Meanwhile, my uncle left for Shanghai. I remember taking them to the train. I remember that we all in a way felt sorry for them. But then again reality came and we were corresponding with them. At that point you needed a Japanese permit already to get to Shanghai. It wasn't that you bought a steamer ticket to go.

Also, I don't exactly know what the date was when Italy got into the war. But you couldn't get out through Italy anymore either. So there was only the land route open.

If you recall we were good friends with Stalin at the time. When I say we, I mean Germany was because we were still there.

Now the question was would we go to Shanghai? We got the permit from my uncle. But lo and behold he didn't have my brothers name on it, who was still in Prague at first. Then after Hitler took over Czechoslovakia it was all arranged, he was suppose to go across the border to

EVA ANGRESS 17

join in France.

Well, it was just before the war started in July or August, 1939. His luggage went through. He could not. The men met him at the border and said it's too dangerous. We can't take you across anymore.

Well, there he was. All of a sudden he showed up in Berlin after having been in Prague. In other words out of the country for so many years. The Jewish authorities that were working on cases like that had certain labor camps where they put people like that, which were not really under Nazi supervision. You make them disappear, so to speak.

So he went to a place, a labor camp in Beitelfelt, I think it was. He was there and we thought, well, we will now go to Shanghai and try everything we can to get him another permit and have him come.

Well, it was all very confusing. Well, every day regulations changed. We needed a transit visa through Soviet Russia and we needed one through Manchuria.

Manchuria was almost entirely under Japanese control at that point. Don't quote me on the history, but I think it was at least the Fuegel plan sets out that too.

Anyhow, in order to have a visa through Manchuria you needed \$50.00 per family. Not per family. \$50.00 per person, deposited in Manchuria. Again, now days that

wouldn't be so difficult. But that meant sending a telegram, explaining in New York and having them do that. I believe there was also something required for Russia, but that really wasn't the important problem. The problem was that my father had heard that you don't get, as a Rabbi, you wouldn't get a transit visa through Russia. So when his passport was issued he had put instead of profession he put teacher, not Rabbi.

So he got up to the consulate in Berlin. They told him you are not a teacher, you are a Rabbi. We have a list of all clergy. We won't give you a visa. That, of course, meant that we wouldn't be able to leave.

He came home crushed, but not quite because that day, and this is where the miracle comes in. He told that story from the pulpit several times. In the subway he met somebody that he knew from his youth, who had come to his parents' home sometimes and had eaten there and had been a poor guy and he said what is the problem? Why do you look like that?

He said, Well, he told him what was going on. He said I know people at the Russian consulate. I will fix it. He did. So we did get the Russian transit visa, we did get the Manchurian transit visa. On the land route, of course.

We left on train at night. At that time we had air

EVA ANGRESS 19

raids in Berlin. We were actually every night in an air raid shelter. We were segregated from the gentiles in the air raid shelter, which was just as well. They had to sing and we didn't have to sing, so that was all right. But there were several Jewish families in the house where we lived at that point. So we left.

Just last night we read some notes on my trip. I made notes on the train, because I had left a boyfriend and I left other friends. It was sad. It was sad to leave. I remember that my boyfriend came to each station. There were several stations within Berlin. He always took the elevated to the next station to see me once more. I never heard from him anymore and I am sure they never got out. I doubt that they ever survived. But that was the sad part.

So it was rather unreal. The idea of going on trains and getting to a far away country in some ways, don't forget I was 19, it was an adventure. While it was sad, I also had some good times, enjoyed Moscow. We were in Moscow for a couple days. We had a grand tour of the Moscow subway, which I think they are still proud today.

Of course, all of this was paid for with German money. So the interest which today, the travel agency and all through Russia, sent a guide. She was wonderful.

Spoke fluent German. Took us all over to the things we

were suppose to see.

Then we got on the TransSiberian Express. I rather enjoyed that. We had a wonderful apartment with my parents and I and there was always one Russian soldier there. In other words, there were four. If we would have booked first class we would have been separated. There were only two in first class. So second class I think, I guess that's what it was, anyway my father made a point that we should be together at all times.

Of course, we had coupons to go in the dining room. It was fun. All of a sudden there was so much food, which we hadn't had because we didn't have much food anymore in Berlin because we didn't get as much coupons, food coupons during the war as gentiles did. Also we had to go shopping from four to five in the afternoon. The produce was gone. You maybe got some, oh, rutabaggas or something, potatoes. It was pretty rough at that point already. You really couldn't get things.

Well, back to the TransSiberian Express. I had taken three months of Russian, knowing that we were going to Shanghai and going through Russia and also probably mainly because I had a boyfriend who was Russian. So a little bit of that stuck. Today I have forgotten most of it. But I was able to converse a bit with the Russian officers on the train and they taught me to drink vodka.

. 14

They told me it would be good for us because everybody gets sick on the train, which was true. Everybody got diarrhea after awhile and I held out until the last.

My parents didn't worry about me because where could I go on the train? I went to the dining car. Drank vodka. Not over ice. Just little water glasses. It was all rather pleasant. Except for the last day when the fellow who was in our compartment stole my watch.

In other words, I had always had it next to me at the night stand and there it was. It was gone in the morning. Although the night before he said he was going to take me to Vladivostok and he wanted me to marry him. I guess that didn't keep him from taking my watch.

All right. So we got to the Manchurian border and we went on more trains. We got to Dyran, southern tip of Manchuria and boarded the ship. It was called the Santa Maru, I believe, a freighter. More food. Then we arrived in Shanghai.

My uncle was there with his family. There he had already rented a room for us. Well, when we saw the room though in the part of Shanghai that was very poor, bombed out part that we know as Hon-ku. We looked at it and we didn't know whether we should cry or laugh. It was unthinkable. Even though we didn't live in a big apartment anymore in Berlin, that you would live in a room

like that? Well, we didn't for very long. We found something a little better.

Again, I hate to say this, but I had a pretty good time because I was a young girl. I met people who were friends of my parents' friends, or their friends lived in town. There were also some very well to do people in Shanghai who had been there from 1933, 34. Some of the doctors my parents knew had gone there early on because they didn't have to study anymore to practice in Shanghai.

So I was taken around and at the same time was looking around for what would I be able to do here. I knew shorthand. My typing was marginal. My father, in his capacity as a Rabbi, called on several people that were recommended to him as being outstanding in the Jewish Shanghailander community.

Like, for instance, Mr. Khaduri. The Khaduri family, they are sopharic jews, had always done a great deal for education wherever they were, whether it was India, China. They helped build a school in Shanghai for refugee children.

When my father asked him, he paid a courtesy call, what would I be able to do? They gave me a typing test, which I flunked.

He suggested well, we really have to see she has a typewriter at home and we will rent a typewriter for her

so she can practice and see what she can do. I think this was very constructive.

- Q. What was the name of the school that he founded?
- A. He founded what was later called the SJ. Shanghai Jewish youth. We called it the Khaduri school. It had initials. It's very easy to establish what they were, except I can't right now think of the correct letters.
 - Q. Can you tell me anything about that school?
- A. That school, yes. The head mistress was
 Louise Hartwick. Mrs. Hartwick, I guess my parents knew
 her. Anyway they must have been friends. Actually the
 idea was maybe I could teach kindergarten or teach English
 and so forth. She didn't think I really had enough
 qualifications. They had enough teachers. They had quite
 a few very good teachers. Children got a good education
 there. It was a nice school. It was all built like a
 community center for performances, for weddings. Later I
 was married there, et cetera. It lent itself to many
 purposes, which was very much needed.

Of course, we were much later than the rest of the immigration. Most of them had arrived, apart from the real early ones I was mentioning, like the doctors and so forth, talking about those that came in 1938, 39. That

EVA	ANGRESS	24

was really the bulk of the immigration had come by ship.

- Q. When did you arrive?
- A. We arrived in November 1940. November 11,
 - Q. When had you left Berlin?
- A. In October. October 17, I believe.

 Something like that approximately. If you need the exact dates I can provide them.
- Q. When you landed in Shanghai what was the first thing you saw and thought?
- A. Of course, you don't get in the open ocean. You get in through the Wong Poo River, which is very dirty. You see all these Chinese junks and there is a lot of dirt all around and you see the wharf. You don't see this grandious water front. You see the so-called bund, which is big older buildings, which are today still unchanged. I haven't been back but I have seen pictures. The bund is still there. Like the Embarcadero. They call it big bund. B u n d. That I saw later when I went into town and I was taken all over.

As I say, I was trying to get some kind of a job but I wasn't that qualified. Basically I had been in school. I hadn't really ever worked. What finally happened was there was another committee, the I C, International Committee, under the auspices of Sir Victor

Sassoon. Sir Victor Sassoon and his family owned most of Shanghai real estate. He was a philanthropist as well. He founded the so-called International Committee known as the I C. They branched out doing all sorts of things. They had a group of people, good group of people who ran the office under the manager Paul Komar. K o m a r. Hungarian background. One of them, Walter Frank who lived in Berkeley, who I believe you have interviewed. He was in the office. I think he did accounting. He did a lot of other things to. He was a very bright young guy. I still have a picture of him with me.

I am getting ahead of myself again. I was hired as an English teacher of basic English. Somebody had put a bee in Kormar's bonnet, so to speak, that one should teach all these people English, which was very good, but with a special system. There was a system called basic English, which consisted of eight hundred fifty words. I had heard about that in Berlin. I don't know why but I heard about it. It was in the air, I suppose.

With those eight hundred fifty words you can really say everything you want, unless you get technical. We don't need all these grandious words. However, it was a little difficult to teach people who knew some English, no you can't use that, but you will have to use these words. Nonetheless, later on I met people who said I learned my

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EVA ANGRESS 26

first English from you and that was quite good.

It lasted a while. I don't know how long. fired under the pretense the economy was bad and they just had to lay off people, which wasn't true. The truth was that my father had given a sermon during a time when there was a hotel strike in Shanghai. In other words, people weren't really unionized, but nonetheless they wanted higher wages and better conditions. All the hotels, major hotels I should say, were under Victor Sassoon ownership. Somehow, somebody must have said that is Rabbi Doctor Kantorrosky. He gave a sermon on the high holidays that strike-breakers are really somebody to look at, that it was immoral to be a strike- breaker. Of course, he had indeed given such a sermon, but had never given it a thought how it would affect my job. I am sure that's what it was. Because there was no other excuse for it. It was almost funny actually in retrospect.

- Q. How did you react then?
- A. Well, I was somewhat shocked. I didn't have a job.

Everybody at the I C was paid equally, whether you were -- They had, they called it Schitzka. They had a few lawyers, who would decide like a small claims court on cases that came up among landlords and tenants. People lived too close together in Shanghai. There was a lot

going on. People were not angeles or saints. People fight, whether they are jewish or otherwise. So each of us got the same salary. So that was a big help.

My father, I don't think at that point was paid much or very little by the congregation. I am sure the congregation was subsidized by Shanghai Jews.

Anyway, then I looked around what can you do?

Somehow or other I got a job with what was called Heitsem, which is known as highest. The local office for the English correspondents. So that lasted for awhile. Until war broke out. I am talking now about the Pacific War after Pearl Harbor, which to me will always be December 8, which here was December 7. But because of the international date line you have a different date.

engaged to my husband, whom I had met through friends and they lived nearby. I remember in the morning we use to walk to work together into town. We turned back because we didn't really know what was happening. We didn't have a radio at the time. But we had to turn back because you couldn't even get across Garden Bridge. Garden Bridge was the connection between our area in Hon-ku, or the wayside district, as it was called by Shanghailanders, really. But we called it Hon-ku. The actual town of Shanghai, international settlement and French town. I won't go into

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all those details at this point because that doesn't really have that much to do with it.

Anyhow, here we were. Then, it slowly started to evolve that there was no more English correspondents. Our manager, Russian jew by the name of Mr. Bierman, gave me notice and said we won't have any correspondence with the United States anymore.

Here I was again without a job. I don't know at what point, but I was then rehired at the I C because Komar was not there any more because Victor Sassoon was not in charge anymore. He was an enemy alien at that point. I was rehired as secretary to Mr. Parrott. Robert Parrott was manager of the IC. Installed I believe by the Japanese, as I recall. So I worked for him for awhile. Even that didn't last that long.

I think I was still there when we got married. Bob and I got married in January 1943. January 31st. As it happened, we got married. We finally got a room on one of the streets called Dent Road. Two weeks later, I think it was February 18, 1941. No, 4th is when the war started. Must have been in 42. When the proclamation by the Japanese came out we all had to live in a designated area. The designated area was just across the street from where we were. So we were on the wrong side of the street. So of course we had no money. That became a real problem

EVA ANGRESS 29

where are we going to live?

Then one of my husband's aunts, who had exchanged her house for a house in the district, gave us a very tiny room, without key money. Key money was the key to it. If you didn't have any key money you couldn't get a room or apartment or whatever. Don't think there weren't nice apartments in Hon-ku. There were some fairly new houses. Some people who brought money with them Europe -- Some people managed somehow or other or had money abroad for some reason, business people, they could live quite comfortably. Some others were still in homes. In other words, like camps and bunk beds and so forth. The more fortunate ones, as we were, somehow had a room somewhere.

- Q. The less fortunate ones?
- A. The less fortunate ones -- Nobody was on the street. They were in camps. We called them homes. There were several of them. That is how the whole thing started I believe when people first arrived. I am sure that was all subsidized originally by Shanghai Jews.

Don't forget there was a large Russian Jewish community and large sopharic Jewish community that had been there a long time. The Russians since 1917 since the revolution and the sopharic jews had been there. They weren't all wealthy. They are weren't all Victor Sassoons or Khuduri or Ellis Heim. Ellis Heim was the one

EVA ANGRESS 30

connected with Jardan Maltisine. I was in his office once and I was in total awe. I came in and his desk was way over on the other side. I mean I wasn't use to anything that glamorous.

Now days I think we would not think this was that glamorous. I had never seen anything like that. So these people though had somehow felt a moral obligation to help. Here was this huge wave of immigration that came during those years.

How did we survive in those days? Well, I don't know. Somehow everybody managed with a little money that we made here or there. Some people sold their belongings. I remember it broke my father's heart he had to sell some books that we brought along because that was something he really didn't want to do. But he did. I remember that once my shoes were sold and I sold my camera. Somehow you managed. You don't even cry about it because it was just a matter of necessity.

- Q. What happened to your father?
- A. My father, there were at that point four rabbis that worked for the Jewish communal organization I think they were called at that point. I have papers to support all that. They are all in my trunk, but you won't want them now. You may want them at some other point.

Whatever salary it was I am sure it wasn't very

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EVA ANGRESS

much. Somehow or other he was working for them and they held regular services. I don't think they were reformed service. There was a liberal service, which was something like our conservative, I would say. Of course, there was the ultra orthodox. Then there were a lot of the shiva people who came in via Japan, as you can read in the Fuegal Plan, and was mentioned in the movie we saw recently within the framework of the Jewish film festival.

I forget what it was called, but it was quite well done. We talked about that. So there were different factions. They didn't all like each other. The Viennese and Berlin people didn't like each other. Nonetheless, we had very close friends who were our neighbors who were from Vienna and I am still in correspondence with them. They live in Sidney and we were very good friends. But people are people and they are human. They weren't always on excellent terms.

- Q. What other relationships do you know about or remember that were or were not on good terms?
- A. Well, not on good terms really isn't what I want to talk about. That is really negative. A lot of people found that they really had no skills at all. The ones who did best were the ones who knew a trade, whether they were plumbers or shoemakers or whatever else there was that you needed to know. Those people were lucky.

EVA ANGRESS 32

They managed. But there were those others that just didn't fit in anywhere.

Now we had, as I mentioned earlier, some lawyers in the so-called Skiekska, the little court we had there. It wasn't that little. At that point we were twenty thousand refugees. So there were always cases to be settled and so forth. But there were other lawyers that weren't working for the Jewish community and they really had no visible means of support.

What I was getting to was a lot of the wives worked in bars in town. Some of them maybe in some different capacity. There was always gossip, which wasn't necessarily true. But for many it was the only way really to survive, to bring some money home. There were divorces, of course. Other than that, shall I go on personally or in general?

Personally? Well, meanwhile we got married. We were very happy.

- Q. How did you meet?
- A. Oh, how did we meet? There were little groups that had formed. When we got there, which was late in the game, as I mentioned, there was already a B'nai B'rith and there was already an obersliderversein. That was the member who had come from Upper Silesia, like my father and quite a few others, who may have lived

EVA ANGRESS 33

somewhere else but came from there. They had their evenings. Particularly in the summer. It was so hot. There were out door cafes and you would sit there all evening with one. Yeah we did have Cokes. Something on that order that was locally made.

So I went along with my parents. I didn't really have anything else to do in the beginning. So then he went along with his parents and finally after a while we decided we don't really need this anymore, we can go on our own.

Before that I had dated some others and really had had a good time in that respect. When you are young you somehow get your fun where you get it.

Then, of course, eventually the letters from Germany stopped also. One didn't hear anymore about friends. So everything became very small, very concentrated.

Well, as I say, after the proclamation we moved -
(At this time the hearing was recessed)

Our life became a little more regular. My husband had at that point a job as bookkeeper. He learned some bookkeeping meanwhile from somebody in a firm in town that actually they were Russian Jews. So they were not considered enemy aliens. The parent company was Lidell Brothers. Of course, they couldn't operate anymore

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because they were British. Somehow they did a little business. I don't quite know what they did, but he had an income of sorts. It wasn't a good income but it was local currency and it was an income.

I worked for a short while then again for Highas. Some reason or other, correspondence, they needed somebody to sit in the Hon-ku office. At that point we needed a pass to get into town. The king of the Jews, you heard about Mr. Guyo dispensed the passes. At some point he probably -- I had met him before through the I C. For some reason he didn't want me to have one. He just refused it.

I was then sitting in the Hon-ku office, the

Heet-su office they call it. Heet-su is the Hebrew name

for it. I was sitting there for communication and for

collecting monies. The gentleman shiva boys had loans and

they had to pay them back. Every month they came in and

they paid. Somebody came from the town office and would

pickup the receipts and whatever else I had to tell them.

It was bitter cold that winter, I remember. We had no

heat. I had some gloves made where the fingers stick out

so you could type. It was pretty damn cold. Shanghai has

a miserable climate.

Then also the people who really had nothing at least got one meal a day through the so-called kitchen

EVA ANGRESS 35

fund, which had been founded during that time. You would go and pickup -- You would go with a caserole or something and pickup the soup that was doled out and so forth.

We pooled resources and we ate our dinner at lunch time usually. We would come home for lunch. We ate at my husband's parents. So you would pool all resources.

Resources wasn't just the food. It was also fuel.

Electricity was rationed. Obviously we had no kitchen.

We had only either a hot plate or you would have a very crude Chinese stove you would fan outside with some very inferior coal so it would burn.

It took a little -- It's hard to imagine this.

These are things maybe the boy scouts learn when they go on trips, which really became an every day matter. They weren't anything -- It wasn't very convenient, let me put it that way. You didn't just push a button. I still to this day haven't forgotten. I am always very grateful I can turn the thermostat up if I am cold.

All right. So this went on and on. We pooled resources for supper in the evening with our neighbors. Sometimes they had some coals and sometimes we had, in the winter time particularly.

Then, of course, the air raids started. While we were very happy to have the Americans come over finally and maybe get the upperhand, we also didn't want to get

EVA ANGRESS 36

killed. It was pretty unnerving. Here it was again in an air raid. Except we had no air raid shelter to speak of really.

We went downstairs or stayed in our room. What was it you were going to do? There wasn't much you could do. So it went.

Every day there were more rumors about this and about that. Somebody heard something through the Swiss consulate. Somebody heard something through a radio station from overseas. It was very often wrong.

Meanwhile, the Russian radio we somehow got -- I don't know if that was a local station or not. And they were giving their victories in Europe then. I remember the word pre-cast. That meant announcement. Pre-cast meant a victory. They had taken another town. Things were looking up a little.

They looked very, very bleek for awhile, both for the United States and in Europe. You know all that from history.

Well, finally, the night of August 6th, which happens to be my birthday, the flash came through, don't ask me how these flashes came through. One just heard somehow or other that something had happened. Obviously that was Hiroshima, but we didn't know it and the Japanese were giving up. The next day they hadn't given up. They

were again with their bayonets at the Goyen Garden Bridge. But then something else came through and all of a sudden the war was over.

I know that we sat around and drank vodka from coffee cups, because we had no glasses. Vodka was cheap. That was something we always had. Of course, it's very hard to describe that mood. Never again in my life have I felt that kind of mood. Maybe when my first grandchild was born. But the general spirit, with the war finally over after all these years, it was incredible.

Then it didn't take long and here were the good looking American boys and they were in the streets of Shanghai. I mean this was incredible. Here I was working for Highas for a very small amount of money at that point. I was working. As a matter of fact I did get paid in Swiss franc. I remember it was 50 Swiss franc a month. I imagine that came via the United States. I am not quite sure how they got the money. It was better than to be paid in Shanghai currency obviously. But then everybody started stampeding for jobs with the U.S. Army because they paid very well. Well, not to American eyes. But to us it was big money.

When Rabbi Fine, who was the chaplain of that particular troop, came to Shanghai and came to Hon-ku as well, my father met him and I went with him. He thought

why don't you work with the American Red Cross. That would probably be a good job for you. I went to see Red Crawford. He was a jolly gentleman.

I worked in the field directors office for almost a year at the fantastic pay of ninety U.S. dollars a month, which was wonderful. It was so much money, you won't believe it. Of course, Bob was working. I think at that point I had more money than he had. It was just a great, great time.

of course, there was a cloud because one didn't really know what had happened in Europe. There were rumors. But nobody really wanted to believe them. Except we feared the worst. And the worst eventually was proven right, as we all know.

- Q. What was the rumors?
- A. That people had been killed in the concentration camps in mass graves. I don't really remember details, but it came pretty close to the truth. It slowly, slowly evolved.
- Q. Do you remember hearing about it for the first time?
 - A. Oh, yes.
 - Q. What happened?
- A. Well, nothing happened. Nobody wanted to believe it. Then of course there was the frantic search

to find out what really did happen. We didn't really hear any details. It sort of all came out bit by bit.

It came to the point we couldn't even mention my brother's name in front of my mother. There was just no way. You couldn't even mention his name. His name was Hans. We called him Hansie. It was a taboo subject.

As the story unfolded in all it's cruelty, my father tried to get some information through an office that had opened in Paris. He finally -- I am not sure if he got that in Shanghai or if we were already here. He got a date that he died of pneumonia in Auschwitz in 1943, September 2nd. Germans are very thorough, you know. We heard nothing. The last thing we had heard was in a Red Cross letter in 1943 where he was still in the labor camp I mentioned earlier where he said we are leaving tomorrow, probably -- Frate was my mother. The old region, Upper Silesia, which was Auschwitz, which was later confirmed.

I not too long ago met a woman who actually was in the same transport with him and knew him quite well. So that was the other side of the coin. There was that big cloud what happened to everybody.

There was hardly anybody that didn't lose somebody.

This included also my father's relatives who had stayed

behind, other than the uncle who made it possible for us

to still leave who was in Shanghai with us.

Q. What	relatives	were	those
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- A. There were three sisters, who were all in Berlin at that time.
 - Q. Your father's?
 - A. My father's sisters.
 - Q. What was your father's name and their name?
- A. My father was Gegor, or George, as he made it later, Kantorrosky, with a y at the end.

Their names? I think his oldest sister was Ada.

Her married name was Rosenthal. She was married to

Theofil Rosenthal. They had a department store in a small town in Silesia, very well off. Because of all his gentile friends he said nothing will ever happen to him.

It did.

He had a sister who was widowed. Her name was Aurelia. They lived also in Berlin, where he had hidden prior to being taken to the concentration camp.

There was another one, Mrs. Wolff, who had also lived in a small town with her husband. I think that he wasn't alive anymore at that time. I mean the husband. My father's brother-in-law. They had a shoe business in a small town in Silesia, as well. All of these people who had small businesses in the small towns did quite well.

Very often they would send their children to the bigger towns to universities. There were children

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EVA ANGRESS 41

everywhere. The one that had survived was Heintz

Rosenthal. My daughter still visited him in Berlin. He

never did want to leave Berlin. His wife did not survive

and he later on remarried. I was hoping to still see him

one day, but I didn't anymore. He was quite ill and he is

gone.

There was another one who also in the mean while has died. Aurelia's son. He studied law and he was a lawyer. He also didn't survive. There were some nasty rumors about the latter one that he coloborated. I don't know if that was true or not. People perhaps under certain circumstances can be excused for doing all sorts of things to save their skin.

So my father's family really was wiped out. They were not younger. They were all older. My father was the very youngest. They would not today be alive anymore at all.

My mother had only one sister and one brother. The brother died as a youngster of pneumonia. They didn't have penicillin in those days. The sister was older and died still in Germany. She hadn't been well. She had a heart condition. So there wasn't anybody on my mother's side that was lost, other than some cousins.

Incidentally, an interesting point, my mother had some cousins who were in the U.S. Diplomatic Service. She

was a Nasurfelt. They had always been on friendly terms when they visited. One was at the consulate in Berlin for a while. They were not ethnically jews. They were not. They had converted. Otherwise you couldn't in those days have been in the diplomatic service. There is just no way.

They sympathized wth our plight, but they said there was nothing they could do. Whereas, the relatives on my father's side, who had immigrated from Poland, I think from Poland. There was always a border dispute anyhow in the previous century. Even though they didn't really know us, gave us affidavits of support. They lived in Arkansas. One of them was in the House of Representatives. They were very friendly.

I never unfortunately met them. By now they are all gone. My Brooklyn cousins have met them. I have some pictures. But they were helpful. There was some talk whether we should perhaps go to Arkansas after going to the United States. I think we didn't quite want to consider that.

All right. So we were still in Shanghai. I was working. There was the problem of the Polish quota to be considered, even after the war. Quota numbers were an important thing. My mother and I could have left. My husband also was born in part of Germany that was Polish

in 1924. We didn't want to separate. We didn't do that.

Of course, again we were going to wait it out. My father formed a committee and tried to promote the Polish quota. I found some letters to that effect again when I went through some old papers, and went up to the consulate and did what he could. Finally somehow or other it was resolved. I think they did away with the numbers for the group at that point. I am talking now about end of 48, early 49.

You must not forget here is history again. We were just about to be taken over by communists in Shanghai.

They weren't quite there, but they were pretty close.

Chaing Kai-shek regime was coming to an end there too. Well, finally in April, 1949 we got the American visa. Incidentally, all along my husband's parents said what are we going to do if you get a visa?

We said you must have some relative. Everybody has some relative in the United States. So my father-in-law said there was, of course, Sig Idelman, but he wasn't Jewish anymore and he became a pastor and he went to Chicago a long time ago.

Well, I said let me try and find out. At that time I worked in the Red Cross field directors office. We made inquires. Indeed I found Sig Idelman. Sig Idelman gave an affidavit for my in-laws. It was very helpful, really

quite helpful for awhile. I think that was wonderful. We were with Sig Idelman and with the affidavits that my in-laws got. So they were a little later. They got their visa a little later. We were already on the President Wilson in April 1949.

By that time I knew I was pregnant. But the rumor had it that you shouldn't tell this to the American authorities because they might hold up your visa. Of course, this was a stupid rumor and it wasn't true, but everybody is afraid. We had been afraid for so many years it became second nature and you didn't talk about it.

I didn't feel very well. But we did leave. I don't know if it was the sea sickness or if it was the baby. Anyhow, I almost lost the baby. That would have been David. But I didn't. When we docked the ship's doctor said to me, "You know, I had to give you morphine to put your uterus at rest or you would have lost this baby." I was pretty sick. If I wanted to talk to my husband I had to call the bar. That was the only way I could connect with him. But we made it.

Then we arrived here and, of course, things went along not quite smoothly in the beginning. He had trouble finding a job really. He was at that point maybe too old to be a beginner and everybody wanted a little experience, which he didn't have. I couldn't take a job anymore

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because I was expecting. So we had at that point some savings.

I had worked for a Swedish import export firm for the last three years in Shanghai. I had my salary transferred to the Bank of Canton in San Francisco. had a bit of money, which we had hoped could be put into a car, an apartment or house or whatever. But it wasn't to We really finished it with not having insurance and having a baby. It was a rough beginning. Well, it was rough for quite awhile actually.

Before we go into San Francisco let's go Q. back and do a little more Shanghai. Tell me, I have about ten questions and maybe you do too?

MS. TANNER: I wondered about the living situation in Shanghai. Was that provided by the government of Shanghai or did you find your own?

Α. No. I thought I mentioned. My husband's aunt had given us a room in her house. Those houses, you didn't really own them. They were leased. They had long long leases. Meanwhile, they were collecting rent. other words, a little house that we today would consider suitable for a small family had maybe five, six rooms and not really a kitchen or anything. They were really bare walls. That is where everybody rented a room and you paid rent.

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The people who had houses obviously had a little money somehow abroad. Somehow or other they managed. My in-laws had a house too. I always refused to move into their house, although it would have been the obvious thing to do. I said No, that's not a good idea. I think I was happier for it and I was respected for it. I would never suggest old and young live together. I don't think it's a good idea.

- Q. How much was your rent?
- A. I have no idea anymore. To tell you the truth, whether we paid anything I do not know. I didn't really concern myself that much with money matters, because, other than making it, I never did. My husband was the accountant, remember. I don't know.

MS. TANNER: Did you take any possessions out of Germany?

A. No. Since we went the land route we could not take a lift van out any more. Most of our friends who left earlier they took furniture and so forth. They took a regular lift van. A lot of them lost everything.

Somehow, either through theft or otherwise.

We packed the big steamer trunks. The important thing for my father was to have books. Guess what was in the steamer trunks? Clothes, well, we took our clothes. We didn't have too many clothes because we couldn't buy

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Just didn't get any kind of a coupon during the war to buy anything.

There was a bit of a black market just to buy some stockings. We didn't have nylons. We had silk stockings. Other than that, we had our dishes in the steamer trunks. You weeded out the most important things. Silver we didn't have anymore. We had to turn it in. Except for each of us got I think one place setting that we were allowed.

My father, this is rather interesting, a little side story, had also given his candle sticks that had been in the family and kiddish cup and little spice box that you have for hafdala and sent them in. He made an application that he needed these for his functions as a Rabbi, at weddings and et cetera. Would you believe we got them back. Totally battered, full of holes, but we got them back and we had them restored. My daughter has the candle sticks. My son has the kiddish cup. He packed it in the recent fire first. So there are little things, side lights.

I would love to know where my father buried his father's gold pocket watch, because he did. He didn't want to give it away. He buried in the backyard of the one house where we lived in Berlin at that time. I knew the house number. I didn't go there when I was back in

Berlin because I didn't know where. I couldn't dig up the whole back yard. I didn't know if the house was still there. I know people who have found things that they buried because they didn't want to give it away. I am sorry I didn't know.

- Q. What happened, what was some things that happened to your father in the nine years you told us fascinating things what happened to you. Did he become a working Rabbi?
- A. Oh, yes, he was one of the four rabbis that functioned for the communal association European Jews in Shanghai in the district. He was plenty busy. People died. We had epidemics.

Usually they had to walk all the way to the cemetery because during the war there was no other transportation. Of course, we had services all the time. People did get married. People still had babies. Life goes on under all circumstances. Just as we call the Rabbi in now for life cycle events, as we call them, they always did.

My mother was quite sick. My mother had been ill as a young woman already with asthma and an early heart condition. So she was not doing well during those years at all. She also contracted some illness that is I think perculiar to the tropics, call sprue.

One didn't realize it at first. Our doctors may
have been good doctors, but they didn't know anything
about the tropics. It took a while for them to learn.
One of the four rabbis incidentally died in one of the
typhoid epidemics and that was very, very sad. He was the
youngest one of them. Rabbi Teichner.

Q. Do you remember the other rabbis names?

Tell me again who employed the rabbis.

A. The congregation. They must have had some subsidies somehow and I can't give you detail on that. I don't know who would know really. You may find some people who know who subsidized that. Somehow or other they functioned.

There was an older man, Dr. Silverstein. Then there was another one, a doctor, orthodox man, Dr. Zietien. I thought he lived in El Paso, but I don't know if he is still alive to tell you the truth. I talked to him on the phone a few times. They are all quite friendly.

I was married by four rabbis. Believe me it was all torture. I have no idea what any of them said. It dragged on and on.

MS. TANNER: I would like to know if you had the opportunity to mingle with the people of Shanghai?

A. Where.

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MS. TANNER: While you were living in Shanghai.

A. You mean the local population? To some degree, yes. Of course, the Chinese were all around us. Some of the Chinese that worked like houseboy or alma, if they worked for to you clean house or something like that, they learned German quite well, believe me. A few of us learned Chinese too. We didn't really have, during the war years, any specific relationships with any Chinese. We had some later on. Through my husband's office we met a good group of people who were more like the mixed group, real Shanghai group, they called them half cast, if you wish, Euraseans, and I still keep in touch with some of them at this point.

The Japanese, of course, they were the ones who were exchanging houses then. We had to be in the district. So whoever had a house in the district that was Japanese gave it up for something maybe much better in town. There was a lot of going back and forth about all those things. It became a little complicated.

Other than that, during war years there wasn't too much contact with the population per se. Afterwards there was.

MS. TANNER: Were you accepted? Were the Jewish refugees accepted.

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A. Well, we were in a strange position. The white man unquote was always the ruler before. When we came all of a sudden here were these white people who had no money. Now this was unheard of. They really I am sure got a very skewed view of things. All of a sudden, what is this? All this white trash. What are they doing here? So that became confusing.

Some of them were rather loyal. Even if we had very little, somehow you managed if you were working to have somebody clean your place up. I found them very, very friendly and easy to deal with. You had to learn, the little Chinese I picked up was how to bargain for a rickshaw ride. Let's say, if you had a typhoon. We had typhoons, believe me, and everything was under water. The rickshaw guy would come to your front doorstep and you would bargain the fare.

You had your rickshaw ride all set. You got in the rickshaw and in the middle of this pond, if you will, he would turn around and he would up the fare. So what were you going to do? Were you going to be dumped?

Of course, those things didn't happen that often but they did. Of course, that was the lowest of the lowest. You were dealing with the coolies there. That is, of course, another story.

Q. Was there a consciousness, a discussion of

racism back to some of the leftist issues you had been raised around?

A. No. No, not at all. Shanghai was always a money town always. It's still today still, I believe, inspite of all these years under the different government, different from the rest of China. I don't really know the rest of China in all fairness, but that's what I understand. It was a town where morals were low, if you will. Prostitution was all over. It was known to be that way.

I think my father didn't want to go there in the first place. It always had a terrible reputation. What am I going to do in Shanghai? This isn't where we want to live.

- Q. Were there Jewish prostitutes, beyond the rumors you heard?
- A. Rumors. I don't know. If there were it was probably from need because there was no other way of employment. There were supposedly quite a few white Russian ones. But I can't really swear to that. That was the talk.

Some of the restaurants and bars in town had night clubs and had Russian women serving, you know, drinks and that sort of thing. How do you know how far this went? I was much too naive in those days.

Q. Were there criminal activities? Did the

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Jewish community get involved: was everyone so poor?
A. We had a thriving community there. We had
theater and opera and we had all sorts of things going.
We had night clubs. We had sat for afternoon tea on the
roof garden.

Q. Which roof garden? Was that the name of it?

A. Yeah. What was it called? I don't remember at the moment. We went and sat in the afternoon and went dancing. There was a lot of fun too. There were soccer games. We went every Saturday to soccer games.

MS. TANNER: Did the Jewish people speak Chinese.

A. Not really. Some of them did. If they were in touch more with jobs in town. You picked it up almost by osmosis. My husband had a cousin, still around, not in very good physical shape at this point, but they are still there. He was on the Shanghai police force, municipal police. Of course, he had to speak Chinese fluently and he did.

The other cousin who lives in Los Angeles now, were whom I have contact, he spoke very well. He was teaching. They lived in town. He was giving English lessons to Chinese and he picked up quite a bit. He spoke quite well.

EVA ANGRESS 54

Q.	What	did	the	policeman	say	about	his	job?
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- A. Jerry never talked about his job. He was always very close up about it. He was there through the war years. He was stationed in Hon-ku. He was still working for them.
- Q. Did you pickup other things, even though he wouldn't talk about it? Did you know what his job was like?
- A. I am sure it was difficult. After all, everything was under Japanese occupation forces at that point. I don't think he himself had any hardship, as far as I know. He was a lowly policeman, if you will. At least he had a salary.
- Q. Was he policing the Jewish community or the general community?
- A. General community. The Jewish community as well, of course. There were several of them. He wasn't the only one. I know of two others.
 - Q. What was his name?
- A. Jerry Schaie. S c h a i e. He is in a retirement place in Santa Rosa. Unfortunately he is not very well. He should have been interviewed long ago. But today it wouldn't work anymore. His wife is there too. I don't know what is going to happen there.

They have one daughter, who was born in Shanghai in

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1	1946. She lives in Santa Rosa. That is why they were
2	there. I think you have more questions.
3	Q. I do. You were saying what the major
4	Jewish institutions were of the city. You named many of
5	them. What were they?
6	A. Are you talking about the refugee community
7	or are you talking about the Shanghai Jewish community at
8	large?
9	Q. Let's do both.
10	A. Well, the Shanghai Jewish community at
11	large had several temples. One was Seymor-ru temple.
12	There was a Reverend Brown. I met him with my father. I
13	was always going along for interpreting also. I got to
14	know all these people.
15	Q. Reverend Brown?

- A. Reverend Brown, yes.
- Q. What was his first name?
- A. I don't remember. Somebody else might. I don't know. I don't really know why they called him reverend either. That is how I knew him.
 - Q. He was a Rabbi?
- A. I imagine he was a Rabbi, because it was a temple.

Now my cousin, the policeman, he got married, my father married them at the Seymor-ru temple. That was

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possible. They lived in town.

Until the proclamation I was talking about earlier, which was, I think it was a Japanese Army and Navy, if I am not mistaken. I think it was both. The Navy was the worst.

- Q. The worst in which way?
- A. Cruel. If you for some reason or other were brought in to confinement, there was several people that had to suffer through that.
 - Q. What happened?
- A. They were beaten and so forth. I don't know that firsthand, of course. There were also people in jail in Hon-ku itself. I knew my father visited and was allowed to visit. Conditions were rather deplorable. You have to imagine heat or cold as the case maybe, practically no food, bugs and rats and whatnot. They came out all right.
 - Q. Any other major synagogues? That was one?
- A. I think the sopharic community had their own temple. I don't know what they were called and to tell you the truth I don't know where it was. I am pretty sure there was a sopharic community. The service was slightly different. The background is different.

 Sopharic community tends to have their own cordish in the middle or center of the room. We have one here in San

EVA ANGRESS 57

Francisco on Fourth Avenue.

I don't really know what other institutions there were, specifically Jewish institutions. I think Shanghai was really quite liberal. You were a Shanghailander, you were a Shanghailander. You were accepted everywhere. We unfortunately came too late. Those people who came earlier, the doctors I was talking about, who came in 1933, 34, they did not have to move into the district. They were already considered Shanghailanders. They came early and they lived in very nice apartment buildings.

In fact, when I came down with diphtheria, I think in 1942, which wasn't readily recognized because we hadn't had diphtheria for years, my father had the glorious idea to call Dr. Glass from Bubbling Well Road, who was a pediatrician, and he, of course, had a car and came over and took one look. He said I don't care what the Health Department said. The culture was negative. You have diphtheria. I got a shot and I was all right.

These people continued to live a pretty good life. There were always doctors needed. There was, of course, a fairly large German community. Now some of them I think were all right. You are asking about relationships with our people. They didn't necessarily mix. I am sure they were afraid at that point too.

Certainly the German Consul had a lot of pressure

EVA ANGRESS 58

from Germany to get with it and he put the pressure on the Japanese and it never quite happened that we were put out to concentration camps, but it was in the works. There wasn't really prejudice in Shanghai. That was one of the things that was absent.

I think one of the things we thought about and we talked about something, communism would blow over and it would be the way it use to be, we would be American citizens by then and my husband and I thought it would be rather nice to go over again for while for an American company. The things that people do now.

Except I think it's not as enjoyable now days. Those days you could have a good time.

- Q. The fourth Rabbi, I wanted to get his name on the record. This was the one that died?
 - A. Willi Teichner.
 - Q. Was it --
- A. Rabbi Alvin Fine was the chaplain who came over and eventually became the Rabbi at Temple Immanuel, as you probably will recall being a San Franciscan. I have seen him, of course, in between and I saw him not too long ago when he was here for whatever anniversary it was that Temple Immanuel had. I talked to him. You may not remember me but my father was Rabbi Kantorrosky. Oh, Shanghai. Of course, I remember. He is retired now.

	Q.	•	Tì	ree synago	ogue	es yo	ou wei	ce la	aying	out,	was
that	for	the	old	community	or	was	that	the	refu	gee	
synag	gogue	als	so?								

- A. You are talking in town?
- Q. In town.
- A. Well, you could attend if you wished, if you lived there. Of course, nobody from Hon-ku would go to Seymor Road to the international settlement and go to services there. That doesn't seem to make sense.

A lot of people when they first came lived in the international settlement or in French town. Several of my friends did. There was always back and forth somehow. It wasn't totally restricted. Some people may think so, but it wasn't. Except later on you had to have a pass to get out of the district. We are talking pre-war, pre-Pacific war here.

- Q. Can you tell me more about Mr. Goya?
- A. Goya? So much has been said about him. I don't really want to elaborate any further. I didn't really know him any better. You may have recently heard a tape or I heard it about it on All Things Considered. I can't really add more to that. I didn't know him personally other than I had met him at one of those meetings at the I C.

They were under Japanese control at that point. He

very much took out his moods on the people who were waiting in line. I think he sort of enjoyed being the King of the Jews, as he called himself and had them at his mercy, so to speak. If you didn't get a pass you lost a job. There weren't that many jobs to begin with in the war years. So that's really where it was at. He was a very small stature, very ugly. This way he had power.

- Q. Were people grumbling about him?
- A. Oh, of course. Goya was the talk of the town, obviously. Certainly. I can't give you any further details. You heard probably interviews about him. They were more of a personal nature and I can't amplify on them at all.
 - Q. He was the head, the director of the IC?
- A. Oh, no. I don't know what his title was. He was in charge of the office in Hon-ku that would issue the passes to the refugee community, if they applied for it.

I am sure there were many that never applied because they didn't have a job to go to anyway.

No, the I C was something entirely different. The I C was the International Committee originally founded by Sir Victor Sassoon. He had Paul Komar, who had come from Hungary, but I think had been there for sometime as manager. He was then let go. And had a Mr. Parrotts

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EVA ANGRESS 61

there, Robert Parrotts, whom I worked for.

- Q. Why was Mr. Komar let go?
- A. I don't know. Probably because he was a friend of sir Victor Sassoon. I don't really know what his nationality was. I know he was a Hungarian name. May even have been a British subject. I can't tell you.

The one who would know that better would be Walter Frank. I just talked to him today.

- O. Who else worked at the I C?
- A. I just found a letter where everybody signed when we got married. I have that letter. You are welcome to look at some of the documents, if you will. There was a Mr. Guttman, there was, oh gosh, I have forgot the names. I looked at the names the other day. There was, of course, Walter Frank, who was different at the time.

Who was the woman? She was a crack- shot secretary. I think she worked in Berlin for some electricity company. She was very good, very nice person. Names are not my forte at the moment.

- Q. You have done pretty great. You have said a lot of names I haven't heard before.
- A. Good, I am glad. Then I can fill you in a little. I don't really remember all the details.

In those days her name was Olga Munheim. Today she

goes by a somewhat different name and I forget what it is. Her husband has died meanwhile, but she is here in the Bay area.

- Q. You worked for Mr. Parrott?
- A. Yes.
 - Q. Who was the director?
- later of collobation with the Japanese and who played a somewhat shady part. I don't know really how much. Let's not forget I was pretty young and completely unschooled in politics really, other than what world events had brought us. He finally discharged me at a time when I really needed a job. I think he did because he was going through a divorce or wanted a divorce and was carrying on an affair with somebody and thought that I was telling his wife. I liked his wife. I didn't really know about the affair. But these things would happen.

Here again, I lost a job because of circumstances.

Maybe it was just as well. Who knows.

- Q. What were the rumors about his shady life or was that?
- A. Actually I think some Japanese authorities must have put him in the job. I am not quite sure exactly how that all worked out. He never got a visa for the United States. He went to Australia. I don't think he is

EVA ANGRESS 63

around anymore. He tried to prevent my getting a visa, thinking that -- I was interviewed and had to go to Chinese court after the war and tell them what I knew, which really wasn't very much. Letters I typed and so forth.

The very fact that I had to appear in court, you can't always say no, I don't remember when you are in court of law. Of course, that must have made him furious. He denounced me to the U.S. consulate. My visa was actually refused at the time. I didn't get that at the time. It seemed so important. I did get it. I think it was my father went there.

- Q. What did you say in court?
- A. I don't know what I said in court to tell you the truth, it's too long ago. We are talking about the end of 1945.

He was let go. They didn't do anything to him.

They couldn't prove anything probably. I think there were some letters written that probably I remembered and they asked me about. I remember somebody came in my house. It was most unpleasant. I can't give you anymore detail. I don't really remember the detail. He didn't have that good a reputation within the community because of that.

What did they call him? A lady from Australia will remember. How do we translate it? The gray eminence.

EVA ANGRESS 64

Behind a statesman, who did things in secret. What statesman was it they were talking about?

MS. TANNER: I don't have a clue.

A. We are talking about the Austrian monarchy, of course. I don't know which statesman it was they talked about at the time.

MS. TANNER: That got that title, you mean?

- A. That's right. That was his nickname. I am sure he pulled some strings. He claimed he did all the good things for the community. Who am I to say otherwise? I don't know.
- Q. The I C was responsible for managing the Jewish community?
- A. Oh, no. You mean what was the actual function of the IC?
 - Q. Right.
- A. When they were first started I think they tried to locate people in jobs, also they ran a gift shop in town. Mrs. Alturies ran the gift shop. People brought their things they brought from Europe with them and they sold them in the gift shop, which was a service. Where else would you go to sell your things? I don't even know if we had auctioneers in Shanghai. Maybe there were.

 Maybe Butterfield. I am not sure. They must have had some other functions.

The very idea they wanted to get into education and teach people English. I don't really know what other functions there were originally. Again, I have to refer you to Walter Frank, who could probably elaborate a little more on that.

- Q. Your job was secretary?
- A. Yes. At that point. Not very long. My typing had improved by then.
- Q. Was there something comparable to a Jewish center?
- A. Community center or something like that?
 Well, as I said the school lent itself very well to that.

Well, also we had some movie theatres within the district that were rented out. For instance, for the Jewish holidays everybody would want to go and that's where you went. Wayside theatre was the one on Broadway. Broadway theatre was on Wayside. It was upside down. We had places where we could have some entertain and we had some pretty good talent. They put on good performances.

Otherwise, there were coffee houses along Chewson Road. That was the hub where you would meet everybody. There was Vienna coffeehouses, of course, whatever they were called. I don't quite remember. There was a little night club called the White Horse, with a very good piano player where you could go and sit with a Coke all evening

EVA ANGRESS 66

pretty much.

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Q. Do you remember the piano player's name?

A. Rena. Rena. But he doesn't live anymore. He died. Well, you said you had other questions.

MS. TANNER: Did anyone in the Jewish community have friends and want to say in Shanghai?

A. Well, some of us did. We talked about it quite a bit with some friends that it would be really great, except you must not forget we had again had another political faction to contend with. We didn't know what was going to happen under communist rule. We had no idea.

As it turned out at that point nobody wanted to stay and nobody did stay. We certainly entertained the thought. We were pretty comfortable at that point. Bob was working for the British company. I was with the Swedish company. We did all right. We moved into town.

The first thing I thought when the war ended I don't care where we live, but I have to a decent bathroom again. That was the first thing we did. We rented a room in an apartment that belonged to people we knew who lived in a high rise downtown, which was very convenient, Hamilton house. We didn't cook anyway. I didn't even know how to cook. Kitchen was immaterial. We had a bathroom. That was wonderful. Hot water. Tiles. It was just great. But certainly we thought about it and thought

about coming back, as I mentioned earlier.

MS. TANNER: Do you have good memories?

A. Oh, yes, except we thought maybe it's never going to be the way it was again. As it turned out it never was. Besides which, my father was very, very anxious. Again, number one, he was always fearful. There was also the threat of communism again and here we are, what are they going to do to clergy? So he was not comfortable with that. We were all on lists at that point.

Prior to our American visa, before we knew they would come through, we were on lists to go to Isreal.

Don't forget, Isreal had just become a state. We were to go to Isreal. We were on the list. My husband really wanted to go. I said it's going to be so tough again, let's not. Let's try not to. Let's wait it out. We did wait it out.

Now the cousin I mentioned earlier on the police force, he didn't wait it out, although they had relatives here. They went to Isreal under rather poor conditions for two years, living in tents, et cetera. Quite a few people did go to Isreal and stayed there. There comes a point when you finally want some creature comforts again.

English was never a problem for me. So it was more of a problem to start all over in Isreal. I never changed

my thinking over the years because of all the things that happened, but I wasn't raised as a zionist. My father was anything but a zionist. There was what we called the Central -- The Association of German Citizens of Jewish Faith, which says a lot of what they meant. They felt they were German of Jewish faith. We were taught otherwise later on. So zionism was not our credo at the time. They felt differently about it.

- Q. The Sassoon family, I'd like to hear more about that.
- A. Victor Sassoon. Well, anybody who had in any way lived abroad or in England had at some point heard that name. I don't know anything about their family per se. He just owned a lot of the real estate in Shanghai and was rather omnipotent in that respect.

A cousin of his, much younger, maybe he was a nephew, I am not sure, of the Italian branch of the family, they became friends of ours. They live in Toronto. His name was Salinas. He married a German Jewish girl. The daughter of the people where we lived in Hamilton House later after the war.

Now they were British, though also interned in the war. I know the little girl came back from internment camp and she saw a toilet she said on, this is nice. I can wash my hands here. So she had never seen plumbing.

EVA ANGRESS 69

They were in a British camp. T	hey went to Canada, because
she developed T.B. during the w	ar. Her name use to be Eva
Hunchkiss. She had married Ama	indo. That is why her
parents lived in the house of c	ourse was a Sassoon
building in the Cathy Hotel. I	don't know the details
about them, no.	

- Q. You didn't know them?
- A. Sassoon?
- Q. Yes.
- A. No. No. I didn't reach that far up.
- Q. Did your father?
- A. No, I don't think he ever met Sir Victor.

 Sir Victor, I think, lived as a bachelor for many years.

 I don't know where his family went or anything. I just knew about the Salinas family.

I just recently heard from Ted Alexander from the congregation that he visited with them and I was pleased to hear they are well and everything is fine.

MR. GRANT: You mentioned when the immigrants settled in everybody was living in close quarters there were people that functioned as dispute settlers of one sort or another. Just give us a little sense what were some of the routine kinds of disputes that they settled.

A. Well, John, I can't really tell you what disputes. I just know there were several lawyers. One

was Viennese, Dr. Leonard. He is chauffeur of Mrs.

Alexander, Gertrude Alexander, I am sure you have met. He was one of them. There was a Dr. Felbough. I have no idea if he is still around anywhere. They were employed by the congregation. I don't know what disputes there were.

Let's say, a small thing. I don't even know if ours went to this court. I think we settled it. My parents where we lived on Coping Road had a Japanese landlord. There was a problem about the pipe on the stove. There was a constant squabble about the pipe, that we were not suppose to take away for some reason or another. Search me today I don't know why. It became a household word, if you move the pipe we will go to court. They were little things.

Of course, there were divorces also. That could have happened. Or some exchange of property in some way or other. Gertrude Alexander might elaborate a little on that, if she knew. Actually, she worked with her father, but I don't know. I was not interested in law, I think. At least not at that time.

MR. GRANT: On the ship coming over can you give us some sense what a typical day was like?

A. What ship coming over from where?

MR. GRANT: Coming to Shanghai.

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A. We were only on the ship for two days. We came the land route on the TransSiberian Express which is one trip I do not have to take. Through Manchuria by several trains.

Then the last leg of the journey we boarded a small freighter for I think two nights. Just about two days. I remember that at every meal there was one curry dish. I think from that time stems my enjoyment of curry. I never had curry. You didn't eat exotic food in Germany. German food was rather blah.

- Q. Were there valued things that had Chinese on it and Hebrew? Do you remember seeing things that combined the two cultures?
- A. I don't think so. I am not aware. I can't tell you that.
 - Q. In Highas what was your job there?
- A. Taking dictation from Mr. Bierman. I am talking about the first time I worked there and trying to make an English letter out of it, which was rather difficult because he dictated essentially in Yiddish, which was something I didn't know much about. I sometimes took my dictation home and studied over it. It became rather hilarious. It was sometimes rather complicated.

Well, writing to people in the United States or writing on behalf of applicant that had come into the

office. There was an office in town, a small office where we were working. There were about six, seven of us I think. One Russian bookkeeper, older guy. At least he seemed old to me at that point. Who else was there?

Very competent secretary that made me feel very incompetent. Mrs. Fredsdorf was old. She was in San Francisco still for awhile. There is a Levi, who is somewhere on the East Coast. What was her first name? Hunt was the last name. I don't remember where she went. Everybody went somewhere. The story of the apple, all over again. Some of them you keep in contact with for awhile and some of them you meet at a reunion again.

We did have a region here in 1980. We had it in Oakland. I went to Jerusalem for the dinner three years ago, my daughter and I went to Jerusalem. I didn't join the group. I went to the dinner. It turned out most of the people there were younger than I was and I didn't know them. Just two years makes a difference. Today it doesn't seem to make much difference anymore. Talk to me in ten years. It probably will again. Then you rediscover people. We rediscovered Howard Levin, for instance, who is in New York. Who had a radio program in Shanghai. His name was Horst Levine. I think you have him on tape somewhere. He's been on several tapes and has been interviewed.

	Q. A		what	poi	nt	did	you	feel	lucky	that	you	1
were	in	Shanghai?	Did	you	ur	nders	stand	d that	you	were	one	01
the	few	remaining	Jews:	?								

A. Oh, yes, of course. Yes. Yes. We knew that. We didn't really know how it was going either. There were all the rumors something was brewing somewhere. It was. You were never really safe as long as there were all these successes in Japan and in Germany.

One thing my father always quoted, when they let him out of the concentration camp, they told him the German arm reaches far, which was very true. We hope it's not going to reach too far again.

MR. GRANT: I had one last question.

Were there any marriages between Chinese and Jews in the period you were there?

A. I don't really think so. Wait a minute. I think there was one that I know of. But not really from personally. I heard of one. Other than that I don't think there was much of that, no.

MR. GRANT: This was not one of the old timers of Shanghai, it was one of the new people?

- A. I don't think that existed much, no, inspite of the lack of prejudice. I don't think so.
- Q. Back to San Francisco. Your husband was having a hard time?

A. To find a job. Then, the first thing we did at the hotel was to start school. Inspite of having worked as an accountant he really didn't have any formal education. He had been at the Sorbonne in Paris. He left there in 1933. He lived in Germany with his parents at Brestlau, and he left for the Sorbonne in Paris and I suspect had a fairly good time, even though the parents couldn't send money. You couldn't send money abroad at a certain point. That was a real problem.

Then he joined his parents in Shanghai in 1939.

That was the first thing that he wanted. He thought this love for accounting, that he would be good at it and wanted to become a CPA and went to Golden Gate College evening correspondences right away. And looked for a job otherwise and had some part time jobs and so forth and for a while was working two part time jobs, going to school in the evening. That went on and on.

After David was born I went to work for almost a year just to help out. Then when he got full time employment he worked for a company called Ray Oil Burner Company and I gave it up. I thought I should really be home for awhile. I was home oh, about five years approximately, maybe a little longer. I don't quite remember. I started back to work when my daughter started kindergarten. We thought that would be a point to get

back to work again.

Then my husband wasn't well anymore. He was a heavy smoker, always had been. Nobody knew it was that damaging. Although his mother said What are you smoking again? He always said cigarettes, nothing more. You get fresh to your mother when she nags you. It obviously did something to his circulatory system. He died in 1960, in February.

I meanwhile had gone back to work, which was good. At least I didn't have to make the transition. I didn't have much of a salary.

- Q. What was your job?
- A. Secretarial. I thought what I could do well is working for a firm that was internationally oriented and I found something at Grace Line, a steamship line that doesn't exist today anymore. Well, the company got sold and resold, as you know. All in all different ownership and management I was there twenty-six and-a-half years. Only when they were liquidated by Crowley Maritime in 84 I left. That is when I came to Third Street and started working.

I knew about Monolytics. One of our people what was then Delta, Prudential Delta, was working for Monolytics. The contacts are very similar. We are consulting firm in transportation of cargo, so that worked

EVA ANGRESS 76

right in there.

I never did think I would have as much to do with numbers as I do. I never really was into bookkeeping.

Actually when my husband died I didn't know how to balance a checkbook. I had no idea. He took care of all of that. I think that's a very important point that women should know what it's all about and shouldn't be left to fend for themselves all of a sudden. You would be surprised how many people there are who have no idea of what is going on in their financial matters. It's very important, from personal experience.

- Q. And you were a single mother raising two children?
- A. Yes. I had two young children. I came close to remarrying a couple times but never thought it would workout, go into a merger. I am pretty much my own person. I guess I like to run the show. I was known as a child also, that I always said I want to do it myself. That's the way it's been.
- Q. Did you think your Shanghai experience made you more independent?
- A. I don't know about that. I think I probably would have been independent regardless. The Shanghai experience I think has widened our horizons. We were appalled when we first came here and people we had

known had very limited conversation. They were discussing cars and refrigerators and strictly materialistic things.

The newspapers, our local papers, had very little news about what was going on in the world.

We didn't have as much television in those days.

We didn't have a television at all for a while, as I recall. We really thought this was very strange. Maybe we should go back to China eventually when we can. It seemed very narrow-minded. I think that's what happens to a lot of people who have lived abroad. You can't go home again.

Of course, today I am as materialistic as the next guy, I suppose. We all get to be that way. You fight for survival. Now I am happy to say five grandchildren and it's nice the dining room has become too small.

- Q. What are the names of your grandchildren and kids?
- A. My son is David, who was born November 6, 1949. He will now be 42 next week. They just survived the East Bay fire. We should have a big party. When I say survived, I knew they live in Monclair. They have three children. Lisa, 16, Aaron is 13, Jason is ten. So we had the first Bar Mitzvah in the family last February. It was very nice.

My daughter, whom you know, has two little boys.

Her name is Deborah Lee. She prefers the Lee, which she has retained the name Angress. She didn't want to go by Berliner. Not because she doesn't like the Berliner name, but because she wanted to retain her independence and she wants to carry on the tradition, which I think is nice.

They have Jacob, who is six and Joshua, who is four. The second names also go after grandparents.

- Q. How did you decide what to tell the kids, your kids, about the Shanghai experience or Nazi?
- A. I don't think this is something I decided. I think it's something that has always come out over the years. Also, as they went to school, particularly in San Francisco, there were other children from similar background whose parents had been in Shanghai.

One of her buddies was Judy Deutsch, whose parents were in Shanghai and so forth and so on.

It was a matter of course. There was no decision necessary. It was never really held back. We have always talked about it. I still get a little annoyed when they are picking at their food, remembering how we had to look at the bread in the evening and think well, can we afford another slice or will we have nothing for breakfast? You can't rub it in. That is the old story of all the children in the world are starving and you are not eating your spinach.

Q.		What	ot	ther	afí	fect	do	you	think	the	Shanghai
experience	has	had	on	you	or	your	ez	kperi	lence?		

A. Well, you are what you are. You can't deny your background. I never have. I have always wanted to assimilate to American life as much as possible because I thought it would be better that way. I don't really believe in continuing to speak German at home. There was no need for that. But the background is there. It makes you what you are to some degree, plus your genes are in you and how you react to life in general.

My personal experience, of course, was a little different because I had to fend for myself as a fairly young woman. Certainly I have had different experiences in that respect.

I have dated both Jewish and non-Jewish men and I found that one hurdle you don't have when you have a relationship with a Jewish man. They will know exactly what the background is. But on the other hand, it was quite comfortable sometimes to not be burdened at all by all of that and be with somebody who didn't know or didn't understand. That plays into that too. It gets a little more philosophical.

- Q. Get more philosophical.
- A. No, I can't go into very personal matters.
- I think in relationships you take what you get out

EVA ANGRESS 80

of each person. You don't have just a relationship that one person can fulfill all your needs. There are so many needs one has and sometimes you need many people. That may get me in hot water. I think that's sometimes the case

MR. GRANT: I wanted to know about your parents. What was life for them like when they came to this country?

A. On, here. Well, it was difficult at first. My father tried right away. He tried from Shanghai to found a congregation, which he did. Congregation B'nea B'nai was his doing. He founded the congregation in 49. First service was Hanukkah, 1949. He was with them for a long, long time. Probably too long because he was quite old and sick already at that point. They always had a very busy active house, going hither and you and people were always in the house.

My mother was always hospitable. Both of them would always listen to people's problems. He was again involved with all kinds of things here. It's hard to get him away from it.

My mother and I always told him the congregation is much more important to you than your family. He kind of resented that a little. I think that was true. I think it's true for a lot of men who love their work. This is

. 14

very special work. He wasn't easy to live with. I very often told my mother I don't see how you can live with him. Well, I think that holds true in many marriages, in many families.

I think the people who are so easy to get along with are really boring. So it makes life more interesting.

- Q. What are your plans now?
- A. None. I don't really have any plans. I had a birthday recently that I wasn't looking forward to. It was a zero birthday. I didn't want a party. But the kids really tried, all of them, to make it a nice day for me and it was wonderful because we spent it at Lake Tahoe together. They unbeknownst to me had gone to a photographer and had their picture taken and not even the little one gave it away, the surprise. It was lovely. It was heartwarming.

I think that's where it's at. That's what you are getting back.

If I can I would like to continue to work, maybe eventually part time. At this point, I don't get any money from Germany like a lot of my friends do. Of course, I do get my Social Security money. As long as I am working I don't have a problem. I would just like to continue. I am grateful I am doing fairly well. I have

my ups and downs. I would like to continue this way. I really would not want to go to a retirement place if I can help it. I always promised everybody in the office that I will just keel over my desk and that's the way I would like it, which would probably be best.

Keep busy, have a structured life. I mean lunches are not my thing, unless a weekend with somebody I want to meet. Volunteer work would be fine.