

INTERVIEW OF EVELYN FIELDEN:

SB = Sandra Bendayan

Q = Sandra Bendayan

A = Evelyn Fielden

SB This is Sandra Bendayan. I am here with Evelyn Fielden on behalf of the Oral History Project of the Holocaust Center. Today is December the 5th, 1988. Okay. Would you introduce yourself?

A Yes. I'm Evelyn Fielden. Sandra's going to interview me for a change since I do most of the interviewing with Sandra interviewing other people. But today's she's turning -- what do you call it?

SB Turning the tables on you.

A Turning the tables on me. I was born in Berlin, the 7th of February, 1921. And my mother gave me the name Evelyn Valerie, which was at that time a very foreign name and on my birth certificate they didn't even know how to spell Evelyn. Mostly in German it's spelled i-n-e at the end and she wanted it spelled with a "y" so that when I would leave Germany, which she was quite sure I would eventually, I was all set to live abroad with a foreign name and to be assimilated. Also my parents baptized me when I was about, oh I don't know, six months old or so in the Emperor Memorial Church in Berlin, which was the biggest church they had then, I was baptized Lutheran, in the Lutheran face -- faith, not face, faith. And...

Q Was this like -- was this usual for a parent in 1921 to have these kinds of...

A No, my father, as I found out later, was very anti-semitic. That is he himself was not a practicing Jew anymore, he didn't want to have anything to do with the Jewish religion or Jewish community and my mother sort of tagged along and did what he wanted to do, although she did feel strongly about it. In fact he was very anti-semitic, let's face it. He was a German, like so many, you will find that very often in Germany, a German first and a Jew -- hopefully not a Jew second. He served in the first World War and considered himself very much a German. All his friends were non-Jews. He was a very successful businessman. He had factories in Czechoslovakia and Salicia(ph), he was very well to do and could pick and choose whatever he wanted to. So anyway I grew up...

Q But your mother foresaw that you were going to leave German? That you wouldn't be...

A Yes, she had the feeling. She told us that many a times. My sister's name is Ingabor(ph), which is Swedish, and Bianca, which is Italian, I think. And she gave both of us these names so that if we had to leave Germany -- she was quite sure we would have to leave Germany, that we were all set to go. And so I grew up blissfully ignorant of my heritage and of course not knowing I was a Jew.

Q You thought you were Lutheran?

A Yes. When I got a little older we had governesses and

they took us to church every Sunday. Now my parents wouldn't go that far, they would not take us to church, they always told the girl who was with us, the governess, that we had to go to church. And sure enough she took us. I got to know all sorts of churches because we changed governesses very often, sometimes they were Catholic and sometimes they were a different kind of Protestant, so I got to know a lot of churches in Berlin and I enjoyed it. I wasn't particularly religious I would say, but I believed in God and the governesses told us to pray at night, a very simple little prayer and that went with me throughout my life, that little prayer. So...

Q What about other relatives? Did you have...

A Yes.

Q ...other relatives that you knew were Jews?

A Yes. I knew they were Jewish for some reason but I did not connect them with us. That to me Judaism was something quite different. Nothing, nothing to do with us. That they were Jewish, well that was their business. I didn't, for some reason, it didn't dawn on me, why am I not Jewish and they are Jewish. And, in fact, I had an aunt, she lived in Hanover and she kept a kosher house and she explained to us the different -- the two kitchens she had and I thought it was wonderful. It was exciting, two kitchens. But it was all far removed from me. I would -- it would never occur to me to ask my parents, you know, why don't we have a kosher. Why don't we have two kitchens. So I found it very exciting and I liked to go to her and be with her

and that was fine. And my closest aunt, who lived in Berlin, she kept a Jewish house, not kosher, not religious, but they were just average Jews, but it just didn't make sense to me.

Q Was there any tension you felt about...

A No.

Q ...the fact that your family (unintelligible).

A No, I was too young I think to, to -- I suppose I was never bothered by that. I didn't concern myself with that sort of thing. I figured that was just the way it was and -- cause you see, I adored my parents. And to me my parents couldn't do wrong. And if they did that, that was it, it must have been right. In fact that's how we were brought up. We were brought up very strict and by the time I was registered for school my parents picked a girls school, a very private, very classy girls school, where all the best people went. And when my mother registered me she said my name, Evelyn Bendix(ph) and the headmistress, who by the way was a daughter of a theologian, Momson(ph), who was quite well known in Germany, she said what, only Bendix, no title, no nothing. I don't know. If I would have been my mother at that time I would have walked out and chosen another school, but she did not, so I went to school and I was the only Jew -- I know I was the only Jew in that class because they were all titled from, you know, there was a Bismarck relative there and there was a General Slizer's(ph) daughter, the one who got killed in the very early beginning of the Hitler regime, he and his wife were shot down. And there were no -- and

generals daughters, they all had blonde hair and these braids hanging down, (unintelligible), you know, type faces. But I was kind of happy there, but when it came to religion I was excused for some reason or another. I did not know why, but she sent me out. And I wasn't, I wasn't quite sure why I was sent out. She never explained it to me, so I always was sent to attend a different class, although I was registered a Protestant, you see, but she -- the headmistress I'm talking about, considered -- she knew I was Jewish. To her I was Jewish, no matter how much I was baptized, how much holy water came over me, you know. I was -- in her eyes I was -- it didn't make sense, but I never attended the religion, the religious classes.

Q You mentioned you had one sister, that's your only sister?

A Yeah, my only sister. And she went to the same school and the same thing was done with her. She was a carbon copy of me. And so I grew up in, in great comfort and I had everything I wanted and -- but I, I was violently in love with sports. I really liked to do all the sporty things, horseback riding and, and did the athletics and everything and one day I came home and I asked my mother if I could -- if she would register me -- I had to get her signature, to -- that I could take part in the -- what they called -- sports metal, a certain kind of sports metal, which everybody had to, had to complete when they were interested in athletics. And she looked at the piece of paper and said, I can't sign. I say why can't -- I was about, oh eleven or twelve

years old. She says, I can't sign that. And I said why can't you sign that, she says because this would mean it's a Nazi outfit. You see Hitler had -- when I was twelve years old Hitler had already, you know, been an inaugurator, whatever you call it.

Q This was about 1933?

A 1933, yes. 1933 I was twelve years old. And that's exactly when it happened. And, and she said, that's a Nazi outfit, the girls Nazi, what they called the BDN, B-D-N. So she refused to sign it and I asked her why she could not sign it and she says, well you know, we are Jewish. I said -- I looked at her, I left the room and I went into the kitchen to our old maid who had been with us ever since I was born, I loved her dearly, and I remember throwing my arms around her and saying to her, please tell me that it is not true that I am Jewish. It was a real shock to me. And she says, oh my sweetheart, it's not so bad, I love you all the same, if you're Jewish or not Jewish, it doesn't make any difference. I love you. Well it's -- that sort of thing, I just couldn't digest it at all. And I didn't want to go back to school because I felt I was really -- everybody would know I was Jewish. You know, all the time we heard anti-Jewish slogans, but I never connected it to myself and my parents never, never told me that we were Jewish.

Q Where were you hearing these slogans?

A On the street, you know, they were in the papers, there were already slogans around at that time, Jewish, you see. But it was all -- I was never a political person and it didn't mean

much to me.

Q How about in relation to the relatives that you had that you knew were Jewish?

A But I did not connect it for some reason or another, I didn't pay any attention. I cared about my horses, I cared about my sports, my drawing, my music, I was completely isolated and completely unaware of anything that was going on politically, even at twelve. And the parents never discussed anything with us. At that time things like that and monetary matters, that sort of thing was not discussed in the house.

Q Sounds like that was just a terrible shock to you.

A Yeah, yeah. So but from then on I knew and I always behaved fairly badly in school. I was what they called the (unintelligible) and then I figured I would be even more so. I was really rebellious and I was almost thrown out, but I wasn't. But when I came home with the report cards the first thing that hit you was always behavior. You know, the worst note you can bring home. And I know now, in retrospect, that that was all due to, you know, to having discovered that I was different from all the rest. All my girlfriends, everybody was non-Jewish, see and at that age you don't like to be different from anybody else. But -- so that was '33 and I carried along, I finished school more or less, I don't quite know how, but I did. And always wanted to leave Berlin. My greatest desire was to leave Germany all together. Not only Berlin, Berlin I hated, for some reason or another I didn't -- as I've told you before, I didn't like the

certain streets, nobody could make me go into certain streets. It was like a phobia, in a way, you know...

Q A phobia against going into them, uh-huh.

A A phobia, phobia, yeah, that you couldn't get me -- it's two streets in Berlin. I wouldn't go in. I refused to go. I don't know to this day why that is and I had a Swedish girlfriend and she and I would go in the streets and ask -- she, of course, was a foreigner and to me she was the luckiest girl in the world. So I knew a bit of French and she taught me a bit of Swedish and English I knew already, so I went around asking people for the time in all these languages, pretending to be foreigners, or I was a foreigner. My girlfriend was a foreigner, you see. But I, I thought that -- I envied her so much. And I saw myself in this sort of Walter Mitty affair, you know, going into different countries and just never, never coming back to Germany. I disliked Germany. I disliked anything German. The food, the way we behaved, I saw a few American girls in school, you know, they wore different sweaters and they had a different way of dressing, and I just told them I liked -- at that time, you know, other kids adored film stars, they had their favorite film stars, I just loved foreigners. To me a foreigner was god.

Q Do you have some sense of what about the German culture was so distasteful to you?

A Do you mean what, what I disliked of Germany?

Q Uh-huh, uh-huh.

A The rigidity. The always having to behave according

to form, you know. Just being very, very rigid and not flexible and not -- maybe that was the way I was brought up and not every household is like that but our household was very, very strict. You know, and in school we had to get up when the teacher came in, all this quasi-military thing.

Q Uh-huh, uh-huh.

A And then I saw the march of course. I saw the SS and (unintelligible) and what have you, and the Nazi marching and I hated uniforms. I hated uniforms with a passion. So all this I disliked and I was really very unhappy.

Q How was it for you once you found out you were Jewish and the increasing anti-semitism in Germany itself?

A Yeah, well then I heard it of course. Then I felt it and my parents were always saying be careful, behave yourself, don't stand out in anyway, we don't want to make waves. That was before you had to wear the yellow star, you see. But I remember at some time or other we couldn't go to a certain side of the street. It is a bit hazy. We had to move from our great big flat, which we had, into a smaller one. And that was also due because of the times. I wasn't told why. I was never told anything.

Q Uh-huh, uh-huh.

A That, that was also the German way. Keep your kids ignorant. In retrospect, you know, I found that terrible. And when there was -- Hitler had this great big program against his own SR, you know the SR -- the SS...

Q Uh-huh.

A ...and they arrest some homosexual and we were never told that they were homo -- what was homosexual. Nobody explained anything to us. And it was always (unintelligible), you know, in French they had -- little did they know we understood it all, that when they talked about something, you know, and we were in the room, it was careful (unintelligible).

Q Uh-huh.

A So then we already pricked up our ears that, of course, when something like that happens.

Q Yeah.

A It could be very interesting. But so all this displeased me no end.

Q Was your sister told about being Jewish at the same time?

A Yeah, yeah, but it didn't matter to her. You know, she took it as a sort of -- and then she was also, she was gone a lot. They sent her to Switzerland to be educated in Switzerland, for some reason or another. They didn't send me. They thought it was maybe hopeless to make a young lady out of me. And she was two years older than me and she went into a boarding school in Switzerland, so she was out of the way.

Q Did your parents have any political point of view that you're aware of?

A Oh yes, my father was social democrat. And -- but let me tell you one thing. In the beginning I still hear him when

Hitler first, you know, the first sign of Hitler, he said to my mother, he's my man. I can still hear. He was taken in by it, yes. Oh yes he was. And if he had not been Jewish I guarantee you he would be right up there with them, would have been.

Q Uh-huh. And even as the times wore on was he still in favor of Hitler?

A No, no, no when -- of course when he saw what happened to the Jews and so on he, he was appalled, but he would not leave. So my sister came back from Switzerland and begged him to let us -- by that time we were fifteen, so it was 1936, 1937, my sister said to him, please send us out. Couldn't we go somewhere. Everybody is leaving. My, you know, Jewish friends, they all leaving and he says no, I'm not -- it can't last long. And by that time, by 1937, they had already taken factories away. And they kept the, the office in Berlin, the main office was still his, but the factories were closed and he still hoped that it would be just temporary.

Q Do you think that had to do with the fact of you having to move to a less elaborate...

A Yes.

Q ...apartment?

A Yes, see the income wasn't that high anymore and of course, that was all guesswork on my part.

Q Uh-huh.

A They would never talk to me about it later on. So looking back, that was probably the reason because we had an

(enormous flat, fifteen rooms and it was very expensive, I know. And we moved to a nice neighborhood, it was a nice flat too, but a little bit more modest.

Q How was your father supporting himself then after...

A Oh there was money...

Q ...the factories were taken away?

A There was money. Well he still went to his office for some reason or other. He still had contracts to fulfill and I think for some -- I don't really know.

Q Uh-huh.

A As I say, children weren't (unintelligible) to these business matters. We had no business to know about this.

Q Yeah.

A So...

Q How about any of your other relatives? Were they affected?

A Yeah, my closest aunt, who lived very near us and her son, my cousin, he and I were very good friends, they -- my cousin left in 1933 already. They knew right away and they, themselves, left Germany for the states in 1934. They went to Akron, Ohio. So they had gone and they had begged my parents, they said please come out and my father says, no you go out and I'll stay.

Q So he continued to think that it would pass? As a lot of people did.

A Oh yes. Then his brother, who had the factory in

Czechoslovakia, that was still going, because Czechoslovakia was still a foreign country. The Nazis weren't there yet. And his brother also had a daughter my age, whom they also baptized. So they all must have felt the same way in the family.

Q Uh-huh.

A My father had three brothers. One stayed a bachelor all of his life and one was -- became a Czech, Czechoslovakian citizen because he ran the factor over there and I visited there very often. My cousin was my age and we got along very nicely. A girl. And as it turned out, later on they were all transported to Auschwitz, the mother, the daughter and the father.

Q All the Czechoslovakian branch?

A Yeah, when he invaded Czechoslovakia. They thought they were safe. They said we're in Czechoslovakia and our girl is baptized, nothing can happen to us. You see? So...

Q So they all went...

A Yeah, they all went, yeah, they perished. That whole family perished. And then my father had a cousin whose family also was involved in the linen business in the factories and they all perished. So...

Q And your mother's family?

A My mother's family -- my mother had four brothers and four sisters, equally divided. Two brothers were already in Argentina, they had immigrated to Argentina in the twenties. And one brother -- two brothers lived in Libsick(ph). One was (unintelligible) and one was frozen, they found him -- he froze

to death in a transport, we don't know quite where the transport went to but they were two bachelors. And they froze -- he froze, so they died.

Q Uh-huh.

A And the other sister, one sister already had married a Greek so she lived in Greece, so and then one sister came to the United States very early and that just left my mother, and that was her family.

Q These relatives who left in the twenties, was this because of fears of anti-semitism at that time?

A No, they just wanted to see the world, I suppose.

Q Uh-huh.

A They were in the leather and fur business and they figured Argentina's, you know, very good -- a very good country to go to and I barely knew them so to me they all foreigners, you know...

Q Uh-huh.

A I was a child when I met them once. So actually most of my relatives perished in the, in the holocaust. But my parents, as I say, to go back to 1936, '37, my sister went to the American Consulate and we had to register at that time for visa numbers, (unintelligible) numbers -- No. five thousand something (unintelligible) five years, six years, something like that. But she registered without my father knowing it. You see she was 17 by the time, and she came home and my father slapped her, her face and said how dare you do that without my consent. And he

was not very autocratic normally, but he was just so -- he knew he did wrong.

Q Uh-huh.

A I think, thinking back now, and he didn't want to let us go and he didn't really know what to do, I have the feeling. But my sister was adamant and she said we are going out, I want to go out. And we had finished school by that time, barely finished school and my mother said, you'd better learn to type because you don't know what hard times are coming and it's good for you, right now, to have a quick skill. And she sent us to typing school in Berlin. And in typing school we met an English girl. She was there visiting Germany, to get to know the German language and so on and we were good friends, got to be good friends and I brought her home and she fell in love with my parents. She just adored them, and you know, she sort of lived with us. And one day she said, do you know, I want to write to my mother if she maybe can be the sponsor of you and your daughters so that they can leave Germany, she said that and my father said, out of the question, but my mother said, no, you do that.

Q Was she Jewish?

A No, she was not Jewish, but they were quite well to do in England and had money and she had a sister, so she was our age and her mother was our age -- her mother was divorced, so her mother came flying over to Germany and I never forget that at the time there was a great big parade going past our house where we

had the apartment and she got to see Hitler. Hitler was in the parade. She was very impressed, but not favorably impressed at all, but she saw the danger I suppose. So she talked to my parents and she sort of looked us over, you know, if we are good enough for her. She was (unintelligible), you know how they are. And she says, yes. So my father said look I know you cannot take any money out, I give you antiques and, and so on, to pay for my daughters. Oh she said, that's fine, after the war we'll get it back. So she went back and then we got ready to leave.

Q So your parents had accepted the idea?

A They had accepted the idea. My mother made my father accept the idea.

Q Do you have any sense of remembering what the exact political climate was at that time in Berlin?

A Well it got, it got tougher and tougher of course. In '38 and then Austria came -- you know, fell and we -- you did not have to wear the yellow star yet, but we had to -- we could not go to school anymore. We took typing school. We had to sit at home. We didn't go out at all. I had a lot of friends and I -- they came to me, but then a few of the friends did not come anymore, see, it was too dangerous.

Q Uh-huh.

A That was 1938.

Q Most people were forbidden to associate with Jews by then?

A Yeah, yeah, by then you could not associate, because I

(was (unintelligible). I, I, I went -- yeah, I went to drawing classes, private drawing classes. I was pretty good. And I furtively went by streetcar and I was always afraid something would happen. I always said to myself, I don't look very Jewish so I don't think I was in danger of being picked up. But you know, you feel it.

Q Uh-huh. Did you observe anything in the streets or elsewhere?

(A Oh yes, I -- when, Crystal(ph), Crystal Night came, the night of November '38, I walked right through it. In fact I came home from one of my classes and I -- through the streets -- and I saw the Nazis there smashing the windows. I still for some reason just wanted to get home. I think I, I felt danger to me personally. I just walked through it all. I've never been afraid in my whole life of anything. Then later on when I was in England bombs were falling -- I don't know fear. So I just walked through and I thought how awful, you know. But I still did not connect with myself. I still did not feel Jewish. I still had that distance between me and the Jews.

Q Uh-huh.

A My parents were not practicing Jews. They were maybe Jews, but you know, the synagogues were -- I'd never been inside a synagogue. I didn't even know was a synagogue really was.

Q Yeah.

(A I was kept completely ignorant in that respect. And at home we had no Jewish symbols, nothing. We celebrated Christmas

with the little crib, you know, with Jesus lying in there, the madonna and in school when I was a child I took part in the plays. One day I was a madonna, one year. And my parents did not blink an eye, you know.

Q Uh-huh.

A And my mother, she had to make -- mother had to make a costume for me, you know a blue veil and what have you, blue. I -- it was just the way my life went. So when Crystal Night came I really wasn't too disturbed.

Q Were you seeing any other abuses happening around you, I mean before that?

A No, no. I saw the papers, you know the anti, anti-Jewish paper Cordistoma(ph), with ghastly caricatures of the Jews and all this. I saw that at a newsstand. And that was pretty bad. But then again, it was not me. I don't know if I can convey that feeling to you.

Q (unintelligible).

A It was -- there was a certain distance between me and the truth.

Q How about your daily life by then? Were there any restrictions other than you have to move to this...

A Well I stayed at home an awful lot and I always read. I was an avid reader so I read a lot and I drew a lot, you know, sketched. In fact, I went to the zoo and I went on the subway and I always had my sketch pad and I sketched and sketched and that's how I kept busy.

Q Uh-huh. Do you know if there were any difficulties between your parents and their shopping for...

A No. While I was there my parents had absolutely no difficulties whatsoever. If they had they didn't tell them -- tell me about them. But I cannot remember, now maybe my memory now is bad, but I -- it was almost too good to be true that in all that time we were completely untouched. It's -- we lived in a house with about eight or nine flats. They always had the caretaker there. You're always afraid of the caretaker, they talk and they can -- you know, the raids were coming and picking Jews up...

Q Uh-huh.

A ...but I cannot remember that anybody was picked up in our house and I cannot remember if there were any Jews living in our house. So if they had been it would have made an impression on me, so apparently there wasn't. So my parents were really safe in a way in that that flat.

Q Uh-huh.

A And so then the day came -- you see so in Germany actually I was unhurt, completely unhurt. I lived not a normal -- you couldn't call it normal life, walked around, you know, at night. They told me be careful, don't stand out in any way and be unobtrusive and so on, but I never was molested in any way by Nazis or never -- I had a nice social life. In fact the boyfriends I had were half Jewish. One thing I remember is one boy, they went out less with me and I said goodbye with him at a

(street corner and he says I'm going to South Africa tomorrow morning. And I say oh you couldn't -- you know, I couldn't believe it that I would never see him again. And then my, my -- the boy I was in love with, my very first love, he was half Jewish too. He wasn't -- he was untouched at that time. His father was a doctor and his mother, his mother was Jewish and his father wasn't and I spent some time with him and he could move around freely and I was with him so somehow or other I was not in danger.

Q Uh-huh.

A You know, I can't ever remember ever having been in danger.

(Q So your parents were anti-semitic -- your father particularly was anti-semitic...

A Yes.

Q ...but he was not trying to pass as a non-Jewish person?

(A No, never. Well, he tried, let me tell you. His looks, yes. Now, I only remember my father with a flat nose where the bone was missing and I was told all my childhood, throughout my childhood that he fell off of a horse and it couldn't be repaired. But I found afterwards that he went to a doctor and had this nose operated, he had a very semitic nose, so that he wouldn't look Jewish. And the doctor bungled the job and left a permanent scar. So he said, okay, I'll make the best out of it, I'll put a moniker in one eye. He couldn't wear glasses,

you see, he couldn't -- the bridge wasn't there, so the glasses wouldn't hold.

Q Uh-huh.

A So he wore a moniker and he figured he was just -- he was a good looking man, but he did not look Jewish, no, no. My mother, my mother did not, what you would call, (unintelligible) typical Jewish face, no, no.

Q For practical purposes of the German government, they felt that you were a Jewish family?

A Yeah, yeah. Well they knew there were Jews and they couldn't do anything about it, but you know, the, they did not try to deny it. Then came, of course, the law where my -- the men had to be Israel(ph) and the women had to be called Sarah. Every woman had to take the name Sarah and so I still see my father, they can't do that to me, my name isn't Israel, my name is Fritz and he was really bothered by that one.

Q Did he have to acquiesce though?

A Yes, he had to take that name. He had to take that name. He had to register under that -- in order to go to a certain place, you know, where the Germans are. You know how they are. So they, they had to register under Israel Fritz Bendix(ph) and I became Sarah Evelyn Bendix. Well, the day came for us when we got the tickets -- oh we had to go to various German offices too, to get our papers straight and, and we couldn't get a passport. They gave us this stateless document, somehow or other. I said I'm not German anymore. I didn't want

(a German passport. (unintelligible). So I traveled with a -- it's almost like a document, you know, just stating where you were born. It's not like a passport, and we got the tickets for London and we went to the airport and we had countless luggage, of course.

Q There was no difficulty about you leaving...

A No.

Q ...the country (unintelligible).

(A ...there was no difficulty at all. We left -- it was '39 in April. Absolutely no difficulty. We packed our -- I had a cabin trunk my mother gave me, I don't know if she figured we wouldn't have any money where we went and where we were going and she gave us a tremendous amount of clothing and unnecessary things, but she meant well, and we got into the plane and then in the plane I realized, you know, that I don't know when I'll see my parents again, and I started crying I remember. And I never cried before, because I thought I was very tough and I didn't cry. So we got into London, you know, to our flight to London and we were taken into the lady's house and...

Q You and your sister?

(A My sister and me, and I remember she -- we knew English, which was one thing, because if we hadn't known how to speak English that would have been really bad in England. They expect you to speak English. And our English was pretty good and then she invited a lot of her friends for tea and showed us off. She said those are the girls that I rescued from Nazi oppression.

And I still see the English ladies, their faces, oh, but you don't look poor. And they figured, you know, when you were under Nazi oppression you had to be poor and disheveled I suppose. But they weren't too concerned and she was very proud, you know, of what she had done. So we lived in her house and it wasn't too nice, but it wasn't too bad, but the war broke out a few months later, in September, in '39. And that's when my real trouble started and my sister's. She came to us and she said I am now a member of His Majesty's Forces and I cannot afford to have you in my house anymore because you are enemy aliens. You see overnight we turned from alien into enemy alien. Well, because England was at war with Germany.

Q Right.

A So we became enemy aliens. She kicked us out.

Q Just kicked you out?

A Yeah. She said there is a man I know up in the north of England, his two daughters have joined the Army, you can keep house for him if you wish. Well I'd never kept house before in my life, you know, I knew how to wash dishes and so on, but I didn't really know how to cook or anything. And we had to go overnight out of her house.

Q What had you been doing in her house up to that point?

A We didn't really do much. We, we lived a life of leisure, because her one daughter was still quite young, we went horse back riding, bicycle riding, helped a little bit in the house, maybe dusting or something. She had a maid and she had a

cook, so there wasn't that much to do. Visited neighbors, gardening, a life of empty, emptiness. I always read, so the first thing is I, I go to a library and I got books out. I read an awful lot. And then there were the dogs to take care of and the horses she had to take care of, so we had a pretty good life with her. Empty, but pretty good.

Q And you were being financed by these antiques that your family...

A Yes, financed -- she gave us a little pocket money, but that was it. We really didn't need anything. We had all the clothes to wear and there was no need for money. And then she had a sort of housekeeper there, she took us places, to her family. She was very nice to us and cook was very nice to us, so we lived in sort of English country life then.

Q Uh-huh. You were able to communicate with your parents I suppose, by letter?

A Yes, we could still write letters to my parents and they wrote back not too much what was going on, because the letters were censored. They knew the letters would be censored you know. And maybe they weren't and maybe they were, but they just wrote non-committal things. But when the war broke out any communication stopped, because there they were in Berlin and here we were very close to London, about a half hour away from London and when the bombings occurred later on we really didn't know whether they were alive and they didn't know if we were alive.

Q So communication just ended?

A Ended completely.

Q (unintelligible).

A Oh yes, yes.

Q Okay, so there you are now also being thrown out of this...

A And so I was thrown out and I went up to the coast to Norfolk to that old man, a very nice old man, and he lived there and everything started to be rationed. There were meat rationing, like in war time, and I was, I was taught to shoot rabbits and to skin rabbits and to cook rabbits and that -- for a whole year I was there and I ate rabbit every day.

Q That you hunted yourself?

A I had to do all of it myself because there was nobody in the house except me...

Q And he just...

A ...and see the old man, he was 85 years old, and me I was 18. That was all. And I had to take care of him, cook for him. I never got any of that. Go into the village, shop with the ration card and, and -- but there was no meat available, you know, so he said go and get the rabbits. And I got the rabbits. Well, you know what you can do when you have to.

Q Uh-huh. Uh-huh. You had a gun, I presume and ammunition?

A Yes, yes, I had never fired a gun before in my life and I really let every second rabbit go, (unintelligible) to care for those rabbits. (unintelligible) I found an old man living next

door, he took care of the killing then, I couldn't. You know, maybe I killed one or two rabbits, but I really couldn't handle it. I just to this day really cannot bear to kill anything. So -- and my sister went to -- she wanted to be a nurse, so she joined up in a hospital training program in London, in a (unintelligible) hospital, so she became -- she got into a unit -- I'll never forget, big black stockings and the apron was all the way down to the knees. In fact, I visited her once and I didn't recognize her. And the cap was way over her eyes. So she had -- she was well taken care of and she enjoyed studying. It was me then who had the -- the police came. That's how my (unintelligible) started with the police, because I'm of the time, England -- the coast became a protected area. And there isn't -- aren't many places in England more than fifty miles from the coast, you know being an island, I always had to move. So I...

Q You mean you couldn't stay that close to the coast being an enemy alien?

A Yeah, yeah, any enemy alien had to be at least fifty miles, that was the rule, fifty miles from the coast. So I tell you frankly, I don't quite know how it all went, but I was pushed around and I really had the absolute worst time that to me in my memory now, were the worst -- much, much worse than Germany was my life in England. People were -- treated me as an enemy. They make absolutely no difference between Jews, German Jews and Germans.

Q Uh-huh.

A And I had a bicycle, I had brought that over from Germany with me, I called it Felix. And I loved that bicycle. And one day the police came and confiscated the bicycle, because I was not allowed to be -- to have my own transportation. Then I found -- well the old man finally -- I had to go because the coast was too close, you know. Then I looked in the paper and I saw a job being advertised -- somebody wanted either a Danish or a German girl, imagine at that time they advertised for a German girl as a housekeeper. So I applied and I told the lady that I'm German, but I'm Jewish. And by that time I say it very nicely, then she said, oh yeah, that's fine, I had a Danish girl beforehand and I don't like English girls to take care of me. So I took care of her as best as I could and it was very nice, but she lived near the Bristol Channel in Somerset, so one day -- in a little village called Minnet(ph). And one day word got out that there was a German foreigner among their midst. A tiny little community, and the foreigner being me. So one woman swore she saw me with a flashlight going out at night, signally to a German submarine which was trapped in the Bristol Channel. I had no idea there was a German submarine, and of course it wasn't me, but she insisted that she had seen me and the submarine, by the way, escaped the next morning. So I was brought to tribunal. Yeah, so I had to go there and luckily my lady (unintelligible) went with me and the Judge was very nice. When he addressed me I got up and I was very polite and showed good behavior and

answered every question quite easily because I was innocent, so to me it was no great thing -- no big deal, and she spoke for me that, you know, my alibi was I was in her house, etcetera, etcetera, so I was not convicted of anything. The Judge said afterwards to her, I don't think that young lady could have done it. She's too polite and too well behaved, so he was quite impressed with me, so that saved me from being sent to the Isle of Mann.

But in the meantime I found out that I had an aunt there, my mother's sister. She -- the oldest sister. She fled to England from Frankfort, Germany. I had never much communication with her but somehow or other she had my address, my old English address, and I found that she was there. And she told me where she was and I hitchhiked, you always hitchhiked at that time. I hitchhiked to her place and she became governess or something to David Niven.

Q Really.

A Yes. I didn't recognize her because she wore also these awful maid's uniforms where they have the cap way over her eyes. Well we talked and she said, she said goodbye, but then I heard that she was sent to the Isle of Mann because she bragged that one of her boyfriends, mine you that woman was quite old, but she always bragged because the man -- one of her boyfriends was a German Navy Admiral...(TAPE ENDS, TAPE ONE, SIDE ONE)

Q Now the Isle of Mann, this was like an isolation area?

A Yeah, a detention camp. And most of the Jewish men

were taken there. The women not so much, unless they were suspicious, you know of the women. But the men, most of the Jewish -- German Jewish men who fled to England were taken to the Isle of Mann.

Q And what were the conditions there?

A I don't know, it wasn't very pleasant. I wasn't there, thank God.

Q But (unintelligible)...

A But it was (unintelligible) detention, but I mean they weren't cruel or anything, but they were, you know, like a big camp. So I don't think it was very pleasant.

Q And your aunt was there?

A My aunt was there, but she never talked about it. She, I think, came out at an early stage somehow or other. I'm a little hazy, but I never really liked her so I wasn't too interested in what happened to her. Because I knew then that she bragged about her boyfriend and that already made her quite disagreeable to me.

Q So anyway, you were being threatened...

A Yeah, so I had to leave that area. The Judge said, you'd better leave that area. So then I heard that they would take people in the National Fire Service. So regardless of background or anything, so I applied and they took me and they taught me to ride a motorcycle, a great big fat motorcycle. We had to take it apart. I mean they really teach you. They put all the parts down on the ground and we had to assemble them. I

(had never ridden a motorcycle, I had never driven a car or anything like that. Well you have (unintelligible), so I was just thrilled to be on a motorcycle. So I was fine when I rode it, but lo and behold, when I had to stop I let it drop. I couldn't -- it was so heavy I couldn't keep it up. So this motorcycle was permanently damaged, and I always got in hell and high water for that, so I went -- but by that time I got into Cambridge, yes, that was out of Cambridge.

Q What was this fire service? What did you do?

(A The National Fire Service was delivering -- be a dispatch rider, somehow they called them the fire service, but I had to carry dispatches between Cambridge and London. Now the bombs were falling at that time already. They were here and there and air raid alarms and so on, but I tell you, I'm fearless. To this day I don't care what happens, I'm fearless. And I rode -- I felt great on that motorcycle. I was just -- you've got sort of a half uniform, we had boots which were very comfortable and because you had to kick start, you know. And they were rubber. I wore out more rubber boots kick starting that motorcycle. So...

Q Where were you living then?

A I was living in Cambridge.

Q You had your own...

(A I had some sort of room there. But then I fainted. One day I fainted and the doctor examined me and he said you're not fit anymore to ride a motorcycle and that devastated me. You

know, there was food rationing, don't forget. I didn't have much money...

Q So were you then fired?

A Yes, and I had very little to eat. So then I found out that there was a Jewish -- like the hias(ph). The Jewish organization which managed girls hostels they called them, where they took in the young people that came over to England and -- in fact, I still have a newspaper clipping I will show you later one where the lady who ran the hostels wanted to train the girls who had been -- we were training there for household duties and so on and she wanted to make real good maids out of us so we could be hired out to the English higher class, you know, families. That was her ambition. Her name was Lady somebody or other. They were always Lady somebody or other who was the head of this and that and the other. So I said no, I, I don't want to stay here, it was really awful. All these poor little German Jewish girls who (unintelligible) around, they were homesick, it was a horrible atmosphere. And then I found out -- well, I had to eat. That was one good thing, I ate. But then I found out that the land army was open to take people like me. So I applied and they took me. There I became -- I got a uniform, a green sweater, riding breeches, the great big Remington(ph) boots they called them and blouse, and we were completely outfitted and most of us who trained, we were training in agriculture, you know, land army, feeding animals, threshing and cutting down hay and what have you. I was very lucky. I got to be in the animal research

center in Cambridge, working with research animals, taking care of the animals which were used for research. Bulls, cows, rabbits, goats, etcetera. Pigs, lots of pigs. And I still remember cooking, that was one of my best memories I had. Everybody brought leftover food and there were big caldrons -- imagine if we would only do that today -- and I would cook that stuff. It smelled delicious. To me everything smelled delicious because I was permanently hungry.

Q Was there that much leftover food?

A There was. There was leftover food like peelings and so forth.

Q Oh.

A Not uneaten food, but you know, certain waste of food which, you know, when you core an apple or -- we all got together and went to restaurants with a great big cart and they were thrown away maybe -- or leftovers from the plates, yes, but it came together, you know, the outskirts of Cambridge, I had horse and cart and I managed that. So I cooked it up, it was marvelous, it smelled so good, you know, I felt like eating it myself. But I did get a little bit of food and it wasn't too much. And then I was trained in the lab and I was very, very fortunate. I trained with a Chinese doctor who later on -- he lives in the United States now -- worked in developing the pill -- the birth control pill and we did the artificial insemination. He worked on that. Britain was the first one to use artificial insemination on their animals, so I helped with that and I was

allowed to do experiments and so on. I was kind of proud about this and fed very good. But this came to an end because there was a false alarm that my visa had come through to, to the United States and that I could emigrate. So I went...

Q So you always were ambitious to go to the United States?

A Always. Always. I was only in England temporarily, always. Just every day was temporary because tomorrow I'm going to the United States. I said that to everybody. When I joined the, the land army, I said this is only temporary lady whatnot, because there was a lady there, titled lady, you know. I am on my way to the United States. I said that to everybody.

Q Had you heard anything about your parents welfare by this time?

A No, nothing, nothing. Absolutely nothing. It was maybe 1940, 1940, something like that. And one day, yes, one day in '41 -- yeah, then in '40 I had a false alarm that, that -- but that didn't pan out. It was a false alarm, but I had resigned from the land army, I could not join up again. They let me go and I raced to my sister and my sister had to go to various hospitals always, she was at that time in Boldon Leicester in a mental hospital and the matron said to her, you cannot leave, I don't care if you have a visa to the United States you cannot leave and my sister always communicated with me and I dashed up there, always hitchhiking and I said, matron we are leaving for the United States tomorrow. I want my sister and I took my

sister and we went out. And there was nothing she -- she was old and she could not catch us. So then I took care of my sister. You see, my sister took care of me when I was in trouble and I was in trouble many a times in England and I took care of her, you know, and between us we had a few pounds. So then I, I lived in Cambridge and had a little what they call digs -- room there, my sister was with me. And I found another job, carrying -- delivering milk. So I learned to hitch a horse to a cart at three o'clock in the morning and make the rounds, but the horse was very interesting. The horse already knew exactly which house to stop at and I had little notes. Dear milk lady, tonight my sister is coming from Leicester, could I have a 10th of a pint more of cream. I mean the rationing was fierce, you know, so everybody adhered to the rationing. There was no black market, nothing. But I got hungrier and hungrier and I loved fish and chips, but in the end they only had chips, no fish. You took your newspaper and there was only -- and then I thought I must try dog biscuits and dog biscuits did not taste so bad. You had a funny way, in England, of heating a room, an open gas range. You put in a schilling and it goes for maybe half an hour, you know, and if you don't have another schilling you're cold. Well I used that schilling, you know, at the time to warm myself and to toast the dog biscuit and I'm telling you it was (unintelligible), it was great big squares like our Nabisco and I ate it, but I was permanently hungry. I mean there were no citrus fruits, there were no bananas. In fact, in summer we had

(a few apples on the farm, I was very lucky, and in winter were the carrots. But one day I was really ingenious. I had a boyfriend who was a chemist and my sister had saved all her sugar in the hospital, they got lots of sugar. And she saved it for me because I told her I was going to make marmalade, but there were no oranges, so I had the idea of shredding carrots to make them look like oranges and my boyfriend made an orange essence out of what I don't know, and I used all my sister's sugar and boiled up these carrots, put that orange essence in it, that was so dreadful and I sent her a jar and she was so furious, she sent it back and said this is why I saved my sugar ration. These are the things I still remember, you know.

(Q Did anybody else have difficulty getting food like this too?

A Oh yes. They were all -- in the hospital they were fed. But she went back to the main hospital then, to (unintelligible) Hospital in London and she was fairly well taken care of until the fall of France, that was in '41, and then they kicked her out too as an enemy alien and then she lived alone in London. I'm not so quite sure right now where she lived, she had a boyfriend then in London who was a doctor and I think she -- he took her in and she worked for him, helped him in the offices and things like that. I'm not a 100% sure about that because we were always apart, you know, and I always had to move and I always forgot to go to the police station to register and they put in jail. I've been more times in jail in England than anytime in my

life, because every time the police found you at a different address they arrested you.

And one time, two policemen came into my little room and searched it and they found my diary and it was all written in German and the guy said, ah, I have to get somebody who can read that. I said you can't have my diary, it's my own. Imagine, English people, English policemen, they took it with them and they got somebody who read German and read that diary. Now a young girl keeps a diary, you know, it's not very pleasant. I was furious. I was just absolutely furious, but I really wasn't very much in love with the English people at that time. I like them more now than I did then because they always -- they seemed to be always against us. You know, I had friends who joined up in the army, but when you joined up as an enemy alien you had -- you got the worst job, K.P. duty, that's what the English -- where they put you and I thought I'm not going to do that. I'm don't want to peel potatoes for the rest of my life, you know.

So I got all sorts of jobs. At one time I had four jobs, you know, early in the morning, at three in the morning with the horse and cart that ended at seven, then I went into the lab working there...

Q So you had those two jobs simultaneously? The lab job and the...

A No, no, one after another. The same day. And from nine to four in the lab, from four to seven I sold sporting goods in a store, I got a job there, got some money. And then from

dusk onto midnight I fire watched. Fire watching means that you had to go up to a tower and look around with binoculars where a bomb would fall and where a possible fire may break out, so because bombs are falling day and night, you know, and I never went to a shelter. To me, I was so confident of living, you know, it didn't bother me. It just didn't bother me. So I, I did that job and you got paid. You know, I needed the money.

Q When did you sleep?

A Well about three or four hours and I really was very thin and my future ailments all hail back to those days when I lifted -- you know, my back ailment, you know, lifted the crates, there were crates of milk in glass containers. They were heavy. We had to do that, you know, I did really (unintelligible) of work.

Q So you were only making a living by having all those jobs?

A Yeah. Yes, maybe I got a pound a week in the land army, I think I got half a pound for fire watching, about ten schilling and the sporting good store paid me a pound, so that was enough for me to pay my rent and there was so little food anyway.

Now I'll tell you a little interesting story. I had my bicycle at my time, I could still use my bicycle before they took it away and I got my weekly ration and I had one of those shopping nets and I had my egg in there, one egg, and that egg went against the handle bars and there went that egg. My egg.

But we had egg powder and we had the national loaf, in fact, I got to know the person who, who developed -- he was a chemist -- developed the national loaf. It was ghastly, it was just like straw.

Q I presume it was a loaf of supposedly bread?

A Bread.

Q Bread?

A Yeah, a loaf of bread and...

Q Why was it called the national loaf?

A It was just called the national loaf because he -- you used ingredients which were available, not too much wheat you see, but a lot of rye and it did -- well it tasted good, but it was rationed, naturally it was rationed. Anything tasted good to me, just anything, because I wasn't picky at all except you know I wouldn't eat herring, but we didn't have herring at the time. Fish was actually very, very hard to come by and I got thinner and thinner. I must have weighed ninety pounds. But I had to work, you know, and I never complained for some reason or other. I did complain not being with my parents.

And then I got a telegram in 1941, in April -- no in March, from Moscow. They had -- that's another story all together -- they had finally managed to get out of Germany and what I pieced together later on, that my mother lived in Berlin after the war broke out, but they could not stay in their apartment again, so my mother got the packers in. The packers were all Nazi, you know, you had to -- if you wanted to emigrate

from Germany you had to officially pack these things so that they knew exactly what you're taking and so on and they had to give a lot of their silver -- they had an enormous amount of stuff -- to, to the Nazi too. There was a payment, every Jew had to make a donation. But anyway, my mother was very clever and she got these packers all drunk and she packed all that stuff herself and you know, they just didn't know what they were doing and they put the seal on and this is why I had all these precious glasses and what have you in this home here in California, because she managed to get all of this out of Germany.

Q Where did she sent it to?

A Well I tell you. First she took all these trunks to a lady friend of hers who was Swiss so she could not be touched by the Nazis and she lived in Berlin with her, but my father couldn't live in the same house because that Swiss lady had a maid who was quote -- quotation marks, aryan, she was non-Jewish and there was a law in Germany at that time that a Jewish man could not live in the same house with a non-Jewish woman, because lo and behold it was ruin the race. So my father had to get into a pension -- a little bed and breakfast place with a Jewish lady, a Mrs. Cohen, and he didn't like that at all. And he had a dog, and she would take his dog. He loved his dog. So he stayed with Mrs. Cohen, so to speak underground and he and my mother met maybe once or twice a week somewhere at a certain point in Berlin to communicate. But they had tried also to get out of Germany by that time. My father realized not even he could stay.

Q So in effect, they were both in hiding.

A My mother, not so much. My mother lived quite openly, you know, on Swiss property, so it was quite untouched. I mean she walked around, yet she did not wear the star, that was a great risk she took. She already -- she did not really look Jewish looking. I mean in a way, she had dark hair and so, but she could pass as just an average person in Germany so she -- when she met my -- she didn't go out at all.

Q But she didn't wear the star either when she would go?

A No, no. And my father didn't wear the star either. The last thing that he would do. I think that he would rather be arrested than wear the Jewish star. So -- but they had made arrangement, unfortunately my parents never wrote their story down, but from what I, you know, what they told me, they finally got the affidavits from America and tickets, but the only tickets open to them to leave Germany was via Moscow, Siberia and (unintelligible).

Q How were they able to leave Germany as Jews at that point?

A Well I tell you, it was all done very furtively. They -- all their belongings went to that house, to my, to my mother's Swiss friend and she arranged for, I think it was twenty trunks to be taken to the railroad station in her name. Do you understand?

Q In the name of the Swiss woman.

A Uh-huh. And my mother and father got two passports and

at that time the passports carried a big "J", which meant Jewish. Okay. And they got their tickets and they got into the train and then the trunks were loaded into the train too. And the train got moving and the police came through, S.S. I think it was came through, checking the tickets. It wasn't just the conductor, it was the S.S. too. So when they came into the compartment where my mother and father sat, my father put on his moniker, he had the Iron Cross first class from the first World War, which he got -- I'm sure he bought at that time, he was never really a war person, you know. He was in the army in the first World War, but at that time you could buy yourself in there and out. I'm not so sure that this was all really earned. And he clicked his heels and lifted his arm and said heil Hitler, I'm an old war veteran and he showed his (unintelligible). So the S.S. man clicked his heels, said heil Hitler and walked on. Did not ask for his passport or any identification.

Q If he had asked for his passport what do you think would have happened?

A You tell me. The risk my father took with my mother is incredible. That he -- if he wanted to, you know, jeopardize his own life okay, but he dragged my mother into that, you know.

Q Was she willing?

A Yes, yes of course. She -- you know, marriages at that time were so solid that the woman -- you know, she was a very strong willed woman and she managed all the, the, the tickets and everything and the money at that time, but it would not have

occurred to her to, to do it differently from him. You know, he just got it so far so that he had to get out for some reason or another. And he managed to do that and they were on the train and they got into Moscow. The minute they got to Moscow they were free, of course, because that was -- and the Germans still had the treaty with the Russians before they -- just a month or so before they broke with the Russians you see. And so Moscow was still German -- I mean friendly to the Germans and they sent a telegram to England. Actually no, they sent a telegram to America. They couldn't send a telegram to England, because we were at war (unintelligible) Germany. They sent a telegram to America that they were in free, then from America there was no war yet from England, you know, Germany. America wasn't in the war. They could wire us that my parents got to Moscow.

Q How did your parents know you were still in England?

A They didn't. They didn't. They assumed we were in England, but you see my aunt was in New York.

Q Oh.

A So they sent that telegram to New York. They couldn't send it to. Then came the telegram from New York to us because my aunt sent it to the old address and it was forwarded somehow or another. I can't remember the details, but they found us.

Q It still seems mysterious that they were able to get tickets to Moscow even as Jews at that point.

A Well they were all bought, you see, undercover for some reason. Germany was friendly with Moscow. You know, I mean

(there was no border in that sense to -- they were allies, so that Swiss woman arranged it all. She, she got the tickets and then they stayed in Moscow, I think, five days and went on a Siberian train for eight nights. It took them eight days and eight nights at the time, to cross Siberia to Vladivostok. From Vladivostok mind you, always with nineteen trunks with precious glass, china, silver, they tagged that along, all on that whole trip. And I to this day don't know how they did it.

Q Really.

(A First, I have things here like my stamp collection, which was half looted by the Gestapo, the Gestapo did come into our flat after my sister and I left into Germany and searched. They couldn't find anything except a stamp collection I had and they liked it so much they tore out the stamps they wanted to, but my mother packed all our old baby pictures, you know, people always seemed to pack baby pictures. And little things from my childhood which I have now, she thought of all that. My Christening dress she packed. Quite -- things you wouldn't -- useless things, she -- I don't know how she did it. You asked me, I don't know.

(So we got -- they got to Shanghai and my father thought, oh my God, all these Jewish refugees here in Shanghai, I can't stay here, I can't do this. He was already again violent anti-semitic and violent -- he did not want to be a German Jewish refugee. He was somebody above that. Do you understand how he was?

Q Yes, yes.

A So my mother somehow or other ferreted out the Japanese Consul. They had to get a visa to Yokohama. From China you needed a visa because they wanted to go to the states and they had the affidavits so they could go to the states and somehow they got the ticket already. They had the prepaid ticket to the United States. And so my mother told me how she flirted with that consul and she sat on pillows and she had the Japanese tea ceremony and what have you and she told them the hardships they had to go through and so on, well she finally managed to get a visa to get out of Shanghai. And you see, I don't know how my mother did it. The details are gone. I don't know. But the fact they did it, they got to Yokohama, again with these nineteen trunks and in Yokohama they got the last ship -- that was shortly before Pearl Harbor mind you, to, to the Hawaiian Islands you see. And that ship was called Yasim (unintelligible). I'll never forget the name as long as I live because they told me that. The women separated from the men. And almost like an orthodox Jews, you know, but the women were downstairs because the men at the better part upstairs and my father got violently sick. He had a kidney attack and when they got him to Pearl Harbor he got to the hospital and had to be operated on and I don't know. But finally they did make it, with the famous ten dollars, you know, they were allowed to take to San Francisco. And here in San Francisco they had a lot of relatives and they took care of them, so they lived another ten years. My father

lived another ten years and then died. But I wish they had written down their story because I'm sure there must have been much more than I tell you. How they managed to get out. Because most people got stuck in Shanghai, like we interviewed the other night.

Q So what year was it when they finally arrived?

A 1941. Just before Pearl Harbor, before the war. They always seemed to have done it just before Russia and Germany broke, just before Pearl Harbor, it was just always by the skin of their teeth.

Q Yeah.

A My father trusted his luck. And he was lucky.

Q Meanwhile you and your sister were still in England.

A Yeah, meanwhile we were -- then we could communicate again, but you know, bombs were flying back and forth still, it was '41. So yeah, we were in England and I was then -- let me think where I was. I was in so many places. I quit the land army and I -- oh yeah, then I took a job taking care of a family. Then I learned how to prepare the English kippers that I'd never done before and how to fix up an English stove at four in the morning. You know, all this you did with coal, everything was coal and this was a family with five children. I'd feed them and, and clean the house. I mean they really used you, they really used you. And I went from one job to another, I just had so many jobs it was incredible. And then I ended up again in Cambridge and got a job -- I forgot now what I job I had then --

I just simply forget, you see, I can't remember. I yeah, I went to school, I went to school to the agricultural business in the, in Cambridge University, because by that time I was so interested in animal husbandry. I was, you know -- so I went to school and attended classes there but I couldn't pay for it of course. I had to, you know, I had to work on the side so I couldn't keep it up because it was too expensive. And years went by actually. It was 1943, I met my husband -- my future husband, he came over from the States. He was in the American Army. And he brought -- I'll never forget that. When I met him, he brought me a little glass -- a little can of pineapple juice. Now we had not seen any fruit, other than apples and you know, pears, whatever grows there, but no tropic fruit at all and I'll never forget the taste of the pineapple juice. So...

Q How is it that your parents got the visa to the United States so quickly and you and your sister...

A Well they came under a different quota. They were on a different quota for some reason or another. Ours took five years. You see we left England in 1944 and got there in '39, so it was five years. Actually much longer because we applied for the visa already in '37. So it was seven years for us. My parents came under a different quota. I don't know how they managed. It was again lucky, they got in -- everything is luck. That my father stayed alive during the Holocaust is an absolute miracle, without being touched by the Nazis.

Q Yes.

A Other than having taking his -- they took his livelihood away, all right, his factories and everything, okay, but I mean there was no bodily harm.

Q How do you explain this?

A I don't know. I don't know. I explain it by some mysterious being up there looking after you. I don't really know because he exposed himself so much. He was almost asking for it. I mean I just cannot understand it. To me it's a -- I have not really met anybody like him who, who was that lucky. You know, the people left regularly but you know, visa early on, but in '41, very few people could leave. Most went back into hiding, as you know and I know.

Q Right, or they were rounded up already.

A He was never touched. I mean he walked his dog in Berlin among all the Nazis. He wouldn't let go of the dog until he had to. He loved that dog. So he was -- he exposed himself, you know, to the dangers. In a way he was just absolutely fearless. I don't know, I cannot tell you. And I just shudder to think, you know, what could have happened to him.

Q Okay. So there you are still in England while your parents had arrived in San Francisco. When did your United States visa enable you to reunite with your family?

A Well in April 1944 I believe, we were ready to -- the visa came through and...

Q For your sister also?

A For my sister, yeah, we always went together. We were

on one sort of paper. And we went to London and at that time my future husband was there in the Army and I remember the last night where I had -- I stayed with a friend and I got bombed out. The bomb crashed through the roof and I was so afraid that my bit of luggage that I had there would be in flames and so on, because I didn't have very much you know. But everything was all right and my husband, later husband, he wasn't a husband at that time, took us to the train station and he had to leave us there because we had to embark and we didn't know where, because it was all very secret where we would leave from, so we just went into a train and found that it would be Liverpool. We had an idea it would be Liverpool. But we got to Liverpool and there we were put in a -- sort of detention barracks. Very primitive and very dirty, with a bunch of Australian war brides and everybody who wanted to go on that one ship, which was waiting to take us over and we didn't know which one because it was all war time don't forget, you know, it was tremendously secret, so I still remember waiting three or four days there in these detention barracks which were almost like a prison. We finally made it on board and it took us twenty-two days, zigzagging in a convey of about fourteen, fifteen ships, our destination was New York. And at night, of course, blacked out, no cigarettes, nothing.

Q So obviously these were not cruise ships.

A They were not cruise ships, they were empty troop ships. You see, they brought the troops over to England, it was war time, America was at war, they brought the troops over and

(left empty. So they might as well take a few women, so they did. There were a lot of Australian war brides and people like -- a few people like my sister and me, somebody who was just stray, you know, a stray girl here and there. But we had fun on the ship actually. It was really quite nice. You know, when you're young you have fun everywhere. And we heard we couldn't get into -- and there was always speculation, could we make, is there a submarine, yeah there was a submarine, New York Harbor, German submarine, we cannot land in New York Harbor, so they took us to Boston.

(And a little side illustration of starvation times, the boat my sister and I had made friends on board, some officers and they took us out for dinner in Boston for lobster dinner. Well I don't like lobster and I ate very little, because I always eat very little. Although I was hungry, but my sister, a glutton that she was, gorged herself on lobster and she -- when we left the restaurant she got one block and everything -- she brought out everything. She ate because our stomachs were so shrunken, you know, we had started in England. I was terribly embarrassed and I pretended I wasn't along, and I didn't go with her. So just a little side illustration what starvation can do to you when you eat too much. But we weren't actually starved like never having anything to eat. We had to eat, but very little you know.

(Q Can you describe about what an average daily food ration would be?

A Well besides my dog biscuits...

Q How many dog biscuits?

A Well you can get -- I had a dog, I always had a dog. Oh, I had a dog I traded coupons, everything was in coupons, ration coupons, for clothing too. So I took all my clothing coupons and gave them in exchange to somebody who was willing, for meat and I didn't eat meat but I gave the meat to my dog.

Q So you had to feed your animal obviously out of your own ration?

A Yes, oh yes, yes, yes. I had a very sweet animal and I did everything for her. But I myself ate very rarely.

Q But for example, what would have been a normal food ration for a person at that time?

A What was it. Maybe margarine you got a quarter of a pound per month. All right? One egg a month. You had egg powder, was always unrationed, but it tasted just like flour, you know, egg powder is terrible, however you learned how to, to -- in fact my husband claimed he fell in love with me because I made him an egg dish out of powder. He said he has never forgotten. It tasted just like the right thing and he, he felt then and there he should marry me because I had some talent, you know, transforming things into something they are not supposed to be.

Well anyway, so -- well there we were in Boston and then we managed to visit my aunt in New York. It was a big -- you know, in war time it was very difficult. We took a train to San Francisco, four nights and five days sitting among all the

(troops. And when we wanted to go to the toilet we stepped over bodies on the train. It was incredibly crowded. No dining car, nothing. We had a great big picnic basket my aunt fixed up for us. And when we finally came to San Francisco my sister and I couldn't get out, because our legs, they were so swollen from sitting. We hardly -- we couldn't quite make it. We stumbled out onto the platform and there were my parents you see.

Q Oh wow, what a reunion.

(A Yeah, it was a reunion. And, and my mother -- we came home and my mother said, I feel really very badly and I could only bake one cake. You know, we are so rationed, we only get a pound of butter a week and four eggs a week and I don't know. And I looked at her, you get a pound a week of butter. What is butter. And there she was apologizing to us how limited they were and you see how relative everything is in life.

Well as it turned out we stayed with my parents, they had a very nice little apartment. But after a week after arriving in the United States, in a week we both started to scratch, my sister and I, like apes. And it turned out we had scabies, which they traced back to the hostile in Liverpool, the detention place we had to stay in. It was so filthy. And our house was put off limits, you know, it was in quarantine, you know.

Q Yeah.

(A Oh, it was terrible. I had never, never had scabies in my life and never had them since.

Q How did you get rid of them?

A Well you suffer -- the sheets had to be sulphured at the time -- washed in sulphur solution, but nothing had to be sent out. It all had to be done -- my poor mother, it had to be done at home, you know. So then I, I wanted to take a job right away and I went -- brash as I was, to the (unintelligible) of San Francisco and I went to the army and I said look here, I speak German, I speak English fluently, can you use me, so they put me into the O.S.S. for the (unintelligible) CIA. I got clearance, not top clearance of course, but mind you I was an enemy alien also in the United States. I mean papers, fresh papers, you know, I took those out right away. At that time you registered to be a citizen and took our your first paper. They employed me. I translated all sorts of documents, they weren't, you know...

Q Super classified.

A ...super classified, I know that, but they used me and at that time the U.N. was beginning to form and I volunteered to drive the members of the U.N. You know, they got together in San Francisco, I got extra petrol ration, gasoline ration for that and so I -- and then when the war was over I applied in Santa Rosa to be a (unintelligible) tester. I was the first female (unintelligible) tester in the United States.

Q Well congratulations.

A And I learned how to use a centerfuge(ph) and tested the (unintelligible) and learned to drive a car and did all that until I broke down. It was too much for me. You see my war

years in England had ruined my health so much that I really had bovine pneumonia.

Q What's bovine pneumonia?

A Bovine pneumonia is a pneumonia you catch from the cattle, from the cows, and it's very hard to get rid of. They put me in Children's Hospital and took -- at that time penicillin had just come through, so they took one ward of children off penicillin for a whole day to give it to me, a massive dose, you see they didn't have enough. And they saved my life.

Q Really.

A Uh-huh. And it took awhile too for me to, to recuperate but I did. Then I got married and then I went right back -- I was in San Francisco about four years and I was not a citizen yet and my husband came, we got married and he had a job with the occupation forces in Bremen, Germany and I could not -- would not go with him because it would have meant that I was not a citizen. Going back to Germany as a non-citizen in '48, I wouldn't dream of it.

Q What would have been the result of that?

A I don't know. I just did not fill good. He could have managed it, but I would not have a certain status, I didn't want to do it. So I waited and they lost my first papers. And Washington could not find my first papers. Newly married and (unintelligible) wanted to join her husband, it would have to happen to me. But to illustrate the American Immigration people, they were so nice. There was a Judge, he promised my husband

(that he would -- in the Immigration Service, he would look personally into the papers, you know, big sob story, I just got married to my wife, my husband (unintelligible). He said I will look into it. And sure enough came Christmas, we got married in September, then Christmas and my papers came through. And he gave me a private swearing in. And at that time we still had to study for, you know, American government and all of that, we were all very, very afraid we would not pass examination, you know, that would mean we couldn't become citizens. But all he asked me was, young lady, tell me what form of government does the United States have and that was all, and then I took another ship, another troop ship, and by that time I was a citizen and I went to Bremen and that was in '48 and right ten years -- no, no, I left Germany in '44 -- no, I left England in '44, I left in Germany in '38, it was ten years after I left Germany that I went back to Germany.

Q So what was your impression in going back to...

A I'll tell you, I was absolutely dumbfounded. First of all I couldn't believe the destruction. I saw a lot in England, but Bremen looked -- I mean it was, it was -- I just can't describe it. I had never seen anything like it. My husband warned me, because he was one of the first Americans to come into Berlin in '45. He was with Eisenhower. He came in there and, and with the press -- he was with the press unit, and he described Berlin to me, but he did not describe Bremen to me, Bremen with the harbor, you know. And...

Q How, how did you react, you know, re-meeting the German people?

A I didn't. It was terrible. I didn't. First of all I screamed out at him, I can't believe it, everything is written in German. You know, I forgot. All, all my years in the States, my years in England, I could not even speak German properly anymore, because I had no occasion, because my parents insisted we spoke English, you know. Emigres at that time did not want to speak German. Nobody should know that we were from Germany. You kept that secret. You did not like to advertise that you were a German refugee. So it was always in English, no matter how bad the accent, we all talked in English and I just couldn't somehow find the words in German anymore.

Q What about meeting people that you probably suspected were Nazis.

A I suspected everybody.

Q You did?

A I did. I suspected everybody. I just -- you know, it was at that time before the currency reform they still had the money the American occupation gave them, so we were not from the American government -- military government, we were not allowed to buy in German stores. But I had another friend over there who had the same similar background I did. She was American (unintelligible) and we stole out at night because they did have lovely vegetables and eggs, much better than our commissary. Our commissary only had American stuff flown in, wilted lettuce and

(so on and we wanted fresh stuff, so we went to the Gates of (unintelligible) and dressed very poorly because they knew right away when Americans, who were the Americans. So we got some rags from the maid or something like that and bad shoes, they always look at your shoes. The Germans knew right away from the shoes who you were. So we stole out and bought, you know, we had good stuff, that was highly against military rules. You know, the military police could have really arrested us, but we were just so hungry for nice good stuff. And they had good stuff.

But there was nothing in the stores to buy after the war. Nothing. Because the money was really not worth anything. And then lo and behold, overnight came the currency reform. It was not advertised, there was no rumor, nothing. Everybody was taken by surprise. That meant that everybody started with a certain amount of money, I forgot how much at the time. Maybe a hundred dollars in German marc. Right? Everybody. All of Germany. They all got the same amount of money. And went on from there.

Q What about the money they had had up to that point?

A Well everything was no good.

Q Devalued completely.

A Completely. You see it really was only occupation marc...(TAPE ENDS, TAPE ONE, SIDE TWO)

Q On the social level, how was it for you as a Jewish person, even though you are now an American citizen, returning to Germany at this point?

(A I was a little bit numb in the beginning. I didn't really -- everybody looked so poor. In the beginning I felt sorry for all these poor old women living in the rubble. I wasn't thinking politically at all. I just shared human compassion for what they have gone through. It -- I was actually numb. I, I couldn't believe that I was back there. It was like a bad dream or good dream or a dream that -- but then when I saw -- the work my husband did, he was in charge of propaganda with the films and forerunner of the United States Information Agency, I realized, you know, how little the people knew about America and how they misjudged the American -- the allies and I talked with a few people, but they were so occupied with their own deprivation. Their homes were bombed out, they lost their husbands or brothers or -- people died all over the place, it was really quite a big mess. And I did not feel like the conqueror coming in there. I did not feel revenge at all. Not a bit in the beginning. I just saw all that misery and felt very sorry for them. Very sorry. But not in a way -- later on I didn't. Later on, you know, the minute the Germans rose up again and got to be a little bit more prosperous and so on they became their old cocky selves and that's when I started to really feel angry. And we -- our contacts I must say were marvelous because we got together with Germans -- my husband was among the de-Nazification people, you know, and he had to -- he was in charge of that and so the, the people he introduced me to were really wonderful Germans.

Q Well how did this de-Nazivication program work?

A Oh well the army had a huge program. I'm not sure how it worked. They had to prove more or less what they did during the Nazi era, and some lied and some didn't. Some were perfectly all right and I think your sixth sense tells you too who is more or less kosher and who isn't, or was, you know. But my husband assembled this marvelous team around him in the (unintelligible) and (unintelligible) stick field and he was in charge of (unintelligible) Bremen and employed some very interesting people there, so we, we had many evenings of tremendous discussions with German politicians, ex-politicians and from (unintelligible) really older people, you know, and anti-Nazi, a lot of anti-Nazis were there. But still I, I didn't enjoy it too much, to tell you the truth, to be there. I did not feel -- I didn't feel German at all. I felt, you know, so out of it all. And all the unpleasant memories of Germans came back to me. Their behavior. Their rigidity. Their customs. Their stiffness in, in meeting you; their form of addressing you and always using the third person in a way. And even if you were quite friendly with them. That all bothered me again.

Q What was your opinion about the state or lack of anti-semitism during those years?

A I was not at all preoccupied or occupied or conscious of that at all. We did not bother with it. We were so busy trying to help kids and you know, people who were bombed out, there was so much misery that nobody ever thought about a Jew and

I'm sure my husband never dwelled on it. He had a few colleagues who were also Jewish, also immigrants like he was. You know, my husband also was a -- he was born in Berlin, into Lithuania. I don't know if I should tell you this story, because it's also very interesting. But he came to American in 1941 and joined up into the army right away.

Q So he came from Germany in '41?

A No, he came from Portugal. You see he had a Lithuanian passport. He was born in Berlin of Lithuanian parents and in order to keep it Lithuanian passport he went back to Lithuania, joined the army in the early thirties, something like that. And stayed in the army there for awhile and then became a journalist and lived in Denmark, went to Denmark. But he could travel back and forth freely through Germany, during Nazi times, in '38, '39, '40, because he had a Lithuanian passport, so that saved him. So he was never touched by it at all. And his family though, his sister was taken by the Nazis. See his family, all his brothers and sisters, he had six sisters, they were all born in Berlin, but of Lithuanian parents. And they all sort of took Lithuanian citizenship. So anyway, he came to the United States and joined up and right away he became an officer then for (unintelligible) and was sent to Europe. And that's when he took that job, after the invasion, you know, after peace and so on, he took the job with the occupation army. And naturally, he was, he was German born, and you know, he got those jobs where they needed German speaking people. And there were quite a few of so called German

(refugees, who joined the army like him, who were very instrumental there at that time to interview the Germans and they dealt very harshly with them, believe you me. There was no pussy footing around. Now when an American interviews them, a native born American, there was quite a different story. You know, he maybe felt a little bit sorry and so on, but not with those guys. They were rough with them.

Q The ones who were originally Germans?

(A Yeah, yeah, yeah. So anyway, it only lasted six months his job there and then he got a transfer to Vienna and I was glad to leave Germany. And I thought, oh well, Austria would be different. Well little did I know what Austria was like, you know. It was much, much worse during the war -- I mean under Hitler. The Austrians were ten times worse than the Germans and we all know that, history has proven that the anti-semitism in Austria, even to this day, is really quite bad.

Q So you experienced that immediately then when you went to Austria?

(A In Austria, yes, yes. In Austria I felt -- first of all, when I opened my mouth I spoke German. Germany German, not Austrian German. So they asked me questions like are you from outside, when in Austria somebody says outside it meant the Reich. You know the Reich, from Germany, so I say -- I pretended not to know. I said what do you mean, he says, oh, you came in from Germany. I said, no, not necessarily, why do you say so. I always denied that I was German. I just wouldn't admit to

(anybody I was German born at that time. I just didn't want -- and he said well you speak such good German, I said yes, I learned it in school. So they said, well everything is so much better in Germany, isn't it. Now mind you that was in '49. And Austria always claimed they were the victim, you know. They just annexed Germany so willingly under Hitler because they felt Germany was a very industrious city -- or industrious country and they forged ahead and Austria tagged along. There were great Nazi there. It was incredible.

(So we lived in a house which was confiscated from a Nazi doctor and the former owner lived right down the street, which didn't make for very good rapport and I went into the attic and I saw any amount of Nazi literature. If I had kept it I'll tell you I could really have opened a store. But I didn't even want to touch it. I took one look at it and it just -- the whole thing still shocked me so much because we knew so little. You see in the states, what did you know from '45 to '48 in the states what happened in Germany. Really what went on. There wasn't -- not too much known and I sort of discovered every day a little more and a little more and then we found out, of course, that synagogue was all gone and, and in Austria. But still at that time I did not feel very Jewish, although my husband was Jewish. But he was brought up strictly orthodox. So orthodox that he was turned off. So he was quite happy not to even talk about Judaism. And not to practice Judaism. And I did not practice any religion at that time, I just believed in God and

that was it. But between us we did not dwell on Judaism, we did not dwell on Protestantism or anything like that. Although he was always and always would have been a Jew. I mean that was without question. But not a practicing one.

Q I see.

A But when there was a Jewish person, let's say, he worked with, he felt very close to him. He always told me that. Once I meet a (unintelligible), it's a different story from meeting somebody else. You know, that's how he felt. And I couldn't understand it. I'd say what's the difference about meeting a (unintelligible). You see I asked him that because I, I wasn't used to it. To that day I wasn't used to it then because I still had not been indoctrinated into Judaism by anybody, or felt the urge to, to know about. He says, I can't explain it. He didn't really want to talk about it. So it was this -- between us we didn't dwell on this whole matter. So we didn't really search how many Jews were left in Vienna, how -- where's synagogue, maybe he did by himself, but he never let me know. And I wasn't concerned with it. Of course, then the (unintelligible) were born, and the daily life, it was a bit difficult to live there at the time, you know. Things were difficult to get and I was very sick in Austria and in fact I was a whole year in a sanitarium, you know. Yeah, I was just -- so I never liked the Austrians either. They were overbearing and they were friendly to the outside and really catty when they turned their back and I felt that many time a person -- the talk came up

(about Jews and so on and I heard a lot of anti-semitic remarks and I let the people talk and then at the end I would say, well you know, I had to leave Germany because I was Jewish. And then I always heard the same thing, you are Jewish, but you don't look Jewish. And then I'd say, well how do you think Jews look. And that embarrassed them, thank God, so much that the conversation was ended. But you see you can only take that so long.

Q Yes.

A It really ground on me. I just hated it.

Q So you knew that they felt that way.

A Yeah, I knew that the Austrians felt that way. And yet again, there's good and bad in every country.

Q Exactly.

(A We made friends to this day I'm writing letters to my friends there whom I know, they are not Jewish, but they're not anti-semitic. There's still a few around and there always will be. I'm (unintelligible) I have great faith that in every country you find good and bad.

Q Yes.

(A And we were very fortunate to have found to the good, because we got to know an awful lot of people. My husband ran the radio station again and the newspaper and we got to meet a lot, a lot of people. And it was an interesting time, post-war time. We were there when the State Treaty was signed and Austria was big on their feet, but I was glad to leave. And we wanted to go to Washington then, but they sent us to Berlin. And that of

(course was devastating as far as I'm concerned, you know. They needed somebody there, my husband, of course, speaking so many languages as he did, he was always needed. So we had two years in Berlin and those were really bad.

Q In what way?

(A In what way, that I relived my whole unpleasant youth again. I saw that nothing basically had changed, nothing. The people hadn't really learned from the disaster. Not that they were outright Nazi, but they were there. I don't know how to put it. Their behavior -- their anti-Americanism. Very, very strong. Not actually as much in Berlin as in the rest of Germany. I traveled a lot in Germany. Berliners are a little different. Berliners went through the airlift, you know. And they were always grateful to the Americans for having bailed them out. So I must say that much for the Berliners. They never said a bad word toward the Americans. But in the rest of Germany, I felt it coming up again, the anti-semitism. I've had many, many conversations I had with people that you know, who I knew they were Nazis. I knew it. And I knew they were anti-semitic. Not straight out, but they let it be known. And anti-American at that time. I'm talking about the fifties, you see. Oh, the Americans, look what they bombed here, you know, and oh I wish, you know -- well of course there's no culture in America and no wonder, you know, they didn't care about that. The British weren't ever mentioned that much because they couldn't very well say that of the British having no culture, being Europeans as

(well, you know. But I mean (unintelligible) American (unintelligible) so we moved in the American zone mostly, Berlin and American sector. And then there was a Germany that was an American zone, British zone, various zones.

But it was hard, first of all you couldn't get in and out of Berlin very easily. You had to have a whole lot of paper. You had to go through the Russian zone and if the paper weren't right you were sent back right away and it was interesting when you went by train. And you left Berlin and you went into the Russian zone. Nobody in the compartment would talk. They felt the Russian presence. And they got all uptight because the Russians could stop that train any minute and take somebody off. And you felt that tension and that was catching, you know. And it took two hours and then when you were through at the Helmsted(ph) border or something and you got into West Germany then it was all right.

Q Have you been back to Germany since the fifties?

A Have I been back? Yes. Yes, yes. I went back, I went back in 1960, in the sixties sometime and then I went back last year.

Q What's your impression of now? You said before that you were there in the fifties you felt that the Germans really hadn't learned much.

A Yeah. In the sixties thing went so well when we went back there. Everything was so abundant. Food was just, I mean almost disgusting. You could get more there than you could get

(here. What annoyed me more than anything, I went back to England too and I saw how long England struggled to get back on their feet after the war and I went back and between England and Germany and Germany was so far ahead, you could live so much better in Germany after the war than you could in England and that really riled me and I really have been to this day, I must tell you quite frankly, anti-German. Although I have very good friends. But with me, these friends are so close I can talk very openly about this, about those feelings I have. Sometimes I may hurt them, I know, but I maintain, as I said before, there's good and bad and I'm not talking about the (unintelligible), I'm talking about Germany as a whole. And if you ask me, I have the feeling that given the opportunity, the Germans would jump right in there again where they were before. That they would -- the whole thing would start again.

Q Could start again?

A Could start again. That's my opinion. I've talked with a lot of other people who refute that idea. They say no, you're wrong. My husband said that too. He was really pro-Germany. He loved Berlin. And he had a marvelous job. He was very well known after the war in Berlin, you see, because that made a lot of difference. He had a job licensing newspapers. He started all the newspapers in Berlin again. So he was well known and he was very instrumental in getting post-war Germany back on their feet journalistic-wise, you know, in his field. And he felt he did a good job and he did. And he was very, very

surprising soft towards the Germans and yet when we would drive, he and I, and somebody made a mistake in the car he wouldn't hesitate a minute to shout out, you bloody old Nazi, in German, you bloody old Nazi, get out of my way. Now I could never do that, you see, but he could. I say don't do it, you just never know whom you hurt. But he was, you know, deep down he was really angry, but I didn't show it that way. I just feel -- I just don't see hope. In my opinion. That's -- I don't know, but last year I felt the same way. I just felt in Berlin they really haven't learned anything. I think the -- I could be wrong there. But my -- I cannot get out of my personal feelings, you know, that they just -- I don't know, I shudder.

So...(TAPE ENDS, TAPE TWO)