Interview with URSULA ANGRESS
Holocaust Oral History Project
Date: 9/12/90 Place: San Francisco, CA
Interviewer: Evelyn Fielden
Transcriber: Linda Oman

MS. FIELDEN: TODAY IS SEPTEMBER 12th, 1990. I'M EVELYN FIELDEN AND I'M HERE WITH URSULA ANGRESS INTERVIEWING HER FOR THE ORAL HISTORY PROJECT OF THE HOLOCAUST CENTER, NORTHERN CALIFORNIA. WE ARE TODAY IN SAN FRANCISCO AT THE HOLOCAUST CENTER AND WITH ME ARE JUDY COLLIGAN AND APRIL LEE.

Q GOOD AFTERNOON, URSULA.

A Good afternoon.

Q NICE TO HAVE YOU HERE.

A Thank you.

Q WOULD YOU TELL ME WHERE YOU WERE BORN AND WHEN YOU WERE BORN?

A In Berlin, Germany, in 1923.

Q AND HOW LONG DID YOU LIVE THERE?

A Until 1939, beginning of '39.

Q SO YOU WENT TO SCHOOL.

A I went to school. I didn't finish school, but I did go for four years which would be not quite the equivalent of high school here. It was (Lyceum).

Q THAT WAS IN (Essen)?

A Yeah. Right.

Q IN BERLIN.

A In Berlin.

Q BUT IT WAS NOT A JEWISH --

A Yes, it was.

Q IT WAS?

A It was the only one we could go to the last few years.

Q OH, REALLY. AND TELL ME A LITTLE BIT ABOUT YOUR PARENTS. WHERE WAS YOUR FATHER FROM?

A Well, my parents were divorced when I was eight years old and I lived with my mother and then with her mother, my grandmother, and we lived together until we left in March of 1939.

My father lived in Dusseldorf and I saw him usually during school vacation. That was three or four weeks at the time. And I was with him six or seven months just before we left to go to Shanghai. I was supposed to learn some sort of -- something that I could possibly live from or learn. With it I could do it in the ( ). I was going to a beauty parlor to learn hairdressing, but I never finished it either because of the Kristall Night. That took care of the rest of the education.

Then I went back to Berlin and my mother was ready then. She knew where we would go. We had no relatives anywhere in this country and Shanghai at the time was the

only place, I believe, where you could go without an affidavit of some -- or without a visa. So that's where we went.

Q WHAT WAS THE OCCUPATION YOUR FATHER HAD?

A My father was a salesman, paper goods, and he also designed napkins, anything -- letterheads, this sort of thing.

Q DID YOUR MOTHER WORK TOO?

A Yes, she did. She was -- she worked for the last, I guess, six years and actually ever since -- since my parents divorced she learned how to manicure and pedicure and did that until we left.

Q WERE YOU AN ONLY CHILD?

A I'm an only child, yes.

Q CAN YOU REMEMBER WHAT IT WAS LIKE AFTER 1933, WHAT LIFE IN BERLIN WAS LIKE?

A Yes. Basically I -- now, what I'm saying now came a little later than '33. When I went to (the lycee) which was -- which we had to take a train to get to -- it was right around the corner -- and whenever you saw a uniform of an SSA man you had to lift your hand and say "Heil, Hitler." If you were Jewish or not you had to. That school closed after I was there about nine months and I had to transfer to also a Jewish school in Berlin which

was easy to get to, but not half as good and it was very overcrowded.

Of course, you know, I remember the benches in the parks that said "For Jews Only" or "Jews Not Allowed," either one. I forgot which way it went now. I think they were green and they said "For Jews Only."

We didn't do much. I usually came home. I had a couple of girlfriends and we didn't really go anywhere anymore. We were scared. I looked very Jewish and so did my girlfriend and we just decided, well, our entertainment would be at home, whatever we do. We were afraid to go out at night officially. I was so very young. I was 16 when we left.

Q DID YOU HAVE NON-JEWISH FRIENDS TOO?

A Not at this time I didn't. In Jewish schools really, you know, even if you form friendships, they were all Jewish. I mean I didn't have the opportunity at this age to meet any other girls that were non-Jewish.

Q HOW DID YOU LIVE IN BERLIN? IN AN APARTMENT HOUSE?

A Yes. In an apartment house which, by the way, I visited when we were over there a few years ago. It still stands the same way; old, but the same setup. And we lived in this; my mother, myself and my grandmother.

Q I SEE. WERE YOUR NEIGHBORS JEWISH TOO?

A No, I don't think so. I mean the houses are very little different than they are here and you really didn't have much contact. I don't remember anyone that lived above us or on the same floor. It's all blank there.

Q SO YOU DIDN'T REALLY ENCOUNTER ANTI-SEMITISM AT HOME IN YOUR SURROUNDING?

A Well, only on the streets, you know, when we walk. When we went to temple, for instance. Of course, you know, they would -- especially young people would say, "There's a dirty Jew." But, you know, you -- it doesn't sound correct, but you get used to this after a while.

So, you know, as long as we could go somewhere and be able to go to school which was very important for me, we sort of disregarded that sort of thing as long as we could. We could not disregard it anymore after Kristallnacht, but then at this point I was with my father and I didn't know what happened in Berlin, but in Dusseldorf which is a beautiful city on the Rhine, I believe that the man that was shot and paralyzed was born in Dusseldorf and so the Kristall Night was even worse than, for instance, in Berlin in not only synagogues but private homes. They woke people out of bed and took them to God knows where. People who were ( ) still were there, they weren't there the next day. It was really

pretty staggering.

And after that I went back to Berlin. I was able to call my mother and find out whether she was all right and she was all right, but then that's when I found out that she decided to go to China. And I was always terrible in geography and I knew that China was somewhere very far away, but that's about all I knew about it. But I found out a lot later on.

Q I BET YOU DID. DID ANY OF YOUR FRIENDS GET PICKED UP IN KRISTALL NIGHT?

A Of my father's friends. When I was in that city I really had no friends; only one girl. And my father's friends stayed and those that were picked up were never seen -- never seen again.

We lived with my grandfather who was then in his 80s and when we found out that night what was happening, my father put me and his second wife in the car to get out of the house and tried to go to his second wife's relatives who were non-Jewish. She was non-Jewish also. And they were not willing to take us in.

So we drove around I think for about five or six or seven hours and then he decided to go to a business friend of his who was also non-Jewish but who was willing to keep us there for at least one or two nights. And my

grandfather who, as I said, was in his 80s already refused to leave his apartment. He said, "These are my things here and nobody's going to touch them while I'm still alive." So that, you know, was really something. I will never forget that particular day or two or three days.

Q WHAT HAPPENED TO YOUR GRANDFATHER?

A My father went to Belgium illegally and his second wife who was not Jewish was not willing to go with him, but she had promised him she would take care of his father and right before -- after the war was my father had given him a pill, poison, and the day they came -- the day the Nazis came to pick him up he took the pill. And that is something I could very well understand. He was 86 which at this time people didn't get all that old. But that was his way out and I think, considering his age and the fact there was no family, it was a good thing to do for him.

Q SO WHAT HAPPENED TO YOUR FATHER'S WIFE THEN?

A I really don't know. She was non-Jewish and she, I suppose, went back to her family. She was a likeable person, but she was not willing to go illegally, to leave the country illegally and it was a very dangerous thing to do. So I don't know what happened to her anymore.

Q AND WHAT ABOUT YOUR FATHER?

A My father was in hiding in Belgium most of the war and he met a woman there who he married after the war and they went back to the city, to Dusseldorf, but found out that they could not -- they just could not stay among Germans anymore. And they lived in Argentina -- Argentine? Argentina? I'm sorry. And that was -- at his age at the time also and his sister lived in Lugano which was very beautiful, .

But at the time I did not know whether he was alive at all. I mean I got a letter from him in nineteen forty -- in the end of 1946, a year after the war. This letter traveled for at least two years. I was married in the meantime. The letter was addressed in my maiden name. My father did not know I had been in China in the first place. I don't remember how -- I don't remember me telling him that. He must have known. Somebody must have told him. But the letter reached me. He was at the time all right. And I had seen him in 1973. He died a few years after that, also in his 80s.

Q AND DID YOU HAVE OTHER FAMILY BESIDES YOUR GRANDFATHER LIKE UNCLES AND AUNTS?

A Yes. I have an uncle -- I had an uncle who came here -- he came to Shanghai before we did. He was an attorney

originally and his hobby was playing music, accordion and piano and so on. So he had gotten a job as a musician in a -- when they wrote a letter it sounded wonderful. He was a musician in a nightclub.

When we arrived in Shanghai after a four-week slow boat to China trip he was sitting in something that looked like a bird's cage. It was a terrible night. Everything was pretty awful. But, you know, we had no more choice. That's where we went, where we ended up.

And my grandmother died six weeks later because she was diabetic and we didn't know it. I'm not sure she knew it. She loved chocolate. She couldn't live without chocolate. And she hurt her leg. It was in a weak -- it just didn't heal anymore. It was very, very fast.

So that left my mother and me. And my mother remarried. My mother had to go to work and so did I. I could not finish my education. And my mother went to work for an Austrian gentleman who had a dental supply business. He had that in Austria and also in Shanghai. And she eventually married him. He was a wonderful person. And that helped all the way around. She was not alone and she kept working with him, but then it was part of -- you know, it meant something to her.

[Off the record momentarily]

Q ALL RIGHT. SO I'D LIKE TO KNOW A LITTLE BIT HOW YOU LEFT BERLIN PHYSICALLY. CAN YOU EXPLAIN?

A Yes, I think so. It really all went very fast because I came back to Berlin in the end of November '38 which was after Kristall Night and we left at the end of March '39 and I had just turned 16. And the last few months were very hectic.

My mother decided she will have a lift to get a lot of furniture over to China and whatever else she could get out. We were not allowed more than 10 German marks per person. I don't have to tell you how much that is or was at the time.

We had a mover, a Jewish mover, and we told him that we were trying to get some jewelry out and some other things that we were not allowed to take out and he said, "No problem." If you put it in a teapot, in a coffeepot, in whatever he had, nobody will know about it. And, you know, furniture, paintings, whatever we could -- we thought we should take along we took along. Pretty much our whole apartment really.

And when the lift arrived in Shanghai about a month or two months after we arrived, everything was there except the jewelry and the money and whatever was valuable. So it was all gone by a fellow Jew. That

upset me at the time, but more even the fact that a Jew did this than the fact that the things were gone.

But at first it all went very fast. There was not very much time to do anything between, you know, early December of '38 and March of '39. So we really were prepared. I worked. I had to make some money. My mother said, "If you want some clothes" -- and, by the way, this was -- in Germany at that time it was unusual that the Jewish woman works. I mean also to get a divorce at the time. Very, very rare thing to do.

So she had to work and I went -- the only thing I could do was cook. I had gone to cooking school where I also had regular, you know, lessons of, you know, history and math and whatever. But I did learn -- I learned to cook there. And the only job I could find in a hurry was to cook and clean for another Jewish couple who were not allowed to hire any non-Jews either.

So for these three or four months I worked there every day and if nothing else I improved my cooking. I hated it. I like to cook now, but I didn't then.

And as far as my friends were concerned, I had one very, very close girlfriend and I have never had another friend like this since and her parents unfortunately -- it was the mother of Millie that said, "It cannot get any

worse. It can only get better." Well, we knew it could not get better. And none of them made it.

But other than that, my memories from Germany are pretty well covered, I think, at this point anyhow. I don't remember any particular things happening the last four months other than the idea that you go to a country where we obviously don't know the language. We had no idea how we would communicate with anyone. We didn't know at the time that 20,000 German and Austrian Jews would be there. So we went with a lot of misgivings.

We did go via Italy. It was a Lebanese ship, half freighter, half passenger -- a passenger-freighter combination. We went via Naples where we stayed for three days. It was our last treat before we started from Germany to Shanghai. And it was a very long journey. We met -- I mean everybody on that ship was Jewish and they left for the same reason we did. I think there were about 70 people on there, not more. The rest was freight. And it was a very, very long trip; (trip really. Nobody knew who or what would await us once we get there.

Q I BELIEVE AROUND 1939 YOU ALL HAD TO TAKE JEWISH NAMES. IS THAT RIGHT?

A Right. You're right. I have to -- given the name of

Sarah and it was on the passport and our passports were -- had a big "J" for Jew in it and we all had to be photographed in a profile; not straight, you know. I forgot if it's the right or left profile. I don't remember. But first we had a profile, it had a big "J" on it and I was given the name Sarah for the women. I forgot now what it was --

Q IT WAS).

A Right. I'm sorry. That's correct.

Q DID YOU KEEP YOUR PASSPORT OR DID THEY TAKE IT AWAY FROM YOU?

A No. We kept it. I haven't found it yet. My mother died 11 years ago and she kept everything and I have everything over in my apartment and I must get really going through everything. But I'm pretty sure it's there somewhere. Because in the state I mean it was of no value anymore. We were stateless as of that point. But it was something. Yeah, I'm sure we have it. I'm pretty sure we have it.

Q SO HOW LONG DID THE JOURNEY TAKE?

A Four long weeks exactly, I think, to the day. It was a long, long, long trip. And I was -- you know, I was just 16 and I -- I didn't think -- I didn't think it was that terrible. There were a couple of people on that ship

that were my age group and I had a record player and I had just gone through dancing school and the whole thing and so for me partly it was fun, partly. But my mother and my grandmother were very, very nervous about what would await them.

And when we got there, Shanghai is a huge city. It's not a beautiful city. Everything's gray on gray. I mean there are no -- there's no greenery, at least there wasn't at the time. When we got there, my uncle, my mother's brother, only brother, picked us up from the ship and he had rented what you call an apartment for us very close to where he played at night.

Now, Shanghai consisted of several districts. One was a French district which is where all the (were French which is where we ended up at the time. Then there was an international district. There was one other which I don't remember now.

But we ended up in the French district and the apartment was -- well, it was one natural room with a little side room I would say smaller than your ladies' bathroom here and some sort of a kitchen and that was it. And you didn't have a door to close. You came up the stairs half a floor, one flight of stairs, and there it was. You didn't open any main door or close any main

door. You had two or three doors there to this room or that room and, you know, that's where our apartment was.

My mother was very unhappy. She couldn't cook at all and I think I was the one who finally taught her how to cook. And I don't know whether this is right, but I have some memories which at the time they're not funny but now they are and if it's all right if I put something in about this? I mean I've been trying to write something myself, too, what I remember for my children and one of the things was, as I said, my mother had never learned how to cook. We had all grown up with maids, ( ) maids. I mean that was the thing at the time.

And I had gone, as I had said, to cooking school. And we lived about three or four days in that apartment and I heard my mother scream. I was called Uli in Germany. "Uli, Uli, come quick, come quick." She was lying on the floor with a cook spoon in her hand. It was the first time I ever saw this. It was a wooden cook spoon holding down a mouse. I said, "Sorry. You're on your own. I'm not going even close to that thing." But I will never forget that. There she was just lying flat on the floor. The mouse was underneath some table. She had the long wooden cooking spoon holding down that thing. I will never forget that. Never.

Q I'M QUITE SURE I WOULDN'T FORGET EITHER.

A And we lived there until the war broke out in September and within a few months -- now, Shanghai was occupied by the Japanese at the time and there was one part which was called Hangkew. In order to get there you had to go over the main bridge. It was a very long bridge which went over the river. And Hangkew was shot to pieces during the Japanese-Chinese War in '36, '37 and not much of it was restored. I mean everything was just left the way it was then. Now we're talking about two years later.

And when the Japanese gave the order that all German Jews have to move out of wherever they were at the time, move into this particular district which, you know, was (like a ghetto). The district was larger than the aide could occupy. They had certain streets that we were allowed to live in and in certain areas if you cross the street you were out of the district. You were not allowed to do that. You were punished by the Japanese. They were not much different than the Germans.

So we had -- I have to go back a little. Shortly after we arrived we found a relative, a very distant relative, but I called him Uncle at the time. My mother -- I think he was half a generation older than my mother was. And he had some money and my mother was able

to take some money out. So when we lived in the French concession we did not -- I made a mistake before. We did not stay in that apartment for the rest of the time, but we had bought a house. Actually, it was a duplex. It was two houses. Each had three apartments. One was really very small and then one was a floor up and the next was another floor up. And that's where we stayed until we had to move out.

And in order for us to get a house rather than just a room, we "sold" the two apartment buildings for which we got one short down building and had to pay an addition. I mean that was the way it was. You could not just even trade two really -- two nice buildings against one impossible building. But we were glad to at least have a house that we could all live together.

And that house had one large room. My mother had remarried by that time. And she slept -- my mother and stepfather slept in there. And then it had another small room on the first floor where that uncle that we found lived and on the top floor was another room where I lived and I was one of very, very few people to have a room of her own. And the kitchen had a bathtub in it, but that was fine. We were not spoiled at this point anymore. And there was a regular -- a regular toilet where you

could flush which was also something not everybody had.

Q A LUXURY.

A Absolutely. Luxury. So that's where we moved to when we had to get out of, you know, ( ).

Q WHOM DID YOU DEAL WITH IN SHANGHAI LIKE WHEN YOU TRADED THE HOUSES AND BOUGHT A NEW HOUSE. WHO --

A Well, I don't remember too much about that part of it. When we had to leave I know that my mother had to deal with the Japanese that were pretty much in charge of the district we moved in and that shut down this Hangkew. It's H-a-n-g-k-e-w I think it was. I don't really remember how and why -- how we got that house. Obviously, they tried to get -- my mother tried to get something as decent as possible and it was very difficult.

Most families lived in a room and I'm talking about four or five people and they did not have a WC. They had something behind a curtain which, you know, had to be used. It was very, very hard. I felt very lucky which is one reason that I kept saying I feel I really didn't have much to contend with. I am here. I came out alive. ( ) was alive. And I did not live as badly as I would say the other 80 percent lived. Maybe 20 percent of the 20,000 people that had emigrated to China lived as

well or better than we did. I'm talking about living arrangements. There's a home of my own and, you know, I had my own stove, a gas stove, to cook on which didn't do us too much good. A few months later there was no gas anymore, but we did have a stove.

We then cooked on a little flowerpot, Japanese flowerpot. We stood there with a fan and made sure the thing worked. And we cooked -- rice was cooked in bed. You had the water and the rice and a sink. You had to bring it to boil. Then you put it in a certain box which was lined with -- a wooden box which was lined with newspaper and all that went into one of our beds. It was -- you know, kept warm and for some reason or other that evening the rice was done and it was all right and it was still hot. I mean, you know, it was not a bad way of doing it. But, of course, food-wise we didn't have much of a choice.

Q WHERE DID YOU GO SHOPPING?

A They had Chinese markets there. I mean what impressed me a great deal is that the Chinese were -- for instance, rickshaw coolies who had no education whatsoever who were very, very poor, they picked up English, pigeon English, even pigeon German in no time whatsoever. I could have never done that the other way around. None of us could

have done that in Chinese. But they are very, very bright people. They picked up the language so easily. Whenever you took a rickshaw you had to preferably try to tell the man before you get in where you want to go and how much it would be and then you are bound -- you have to argue -- I can't find the word now about the price. You had to --

Q BARGAIN YOU MEAN.

A Right. You had to bargain about the price; otherwise you lost face. If you just said, "Okay," no good. You have to bargain. You have to go down. And the English -- I mean in such a short time it was unbelievable the way they understood us.

But there were lots of things that we had to learn. For instance, the poor Chinese when a baby was born they would keep the boy. If it was a girl it would be put out at night in winter or whenever on the street, left in a blanket and left to die.

We were not allowed to help anyone, any Chinese because it meant that you have to now take responsibility for the rest of his life. It was a written law. I mean a written law. I don't remember it, but I remembered it very clearly. You would see somebody in obvious pain and you have to -- you have to do something. You couldn't

afford to do it. And these babies out there, it broke your heart, you know. But it's odd how you can get used to things like that. After the first year or two, I guess, you just walked by and didn't look anymore. And it was -- it was difficult.

I mean one thing Shanghai did to -- in that particular district there was 20,000 Jews and of all ages from Germany and Austria. Businesses all that would open up. You had tailors. You had cafes by the dozen. You had nightclubs. I mean your teenage years are supposed to be your best years of your life. I wouldn't say that these were my best years, but we were able to go someplace at night and hear music and dance and go to a movie if it was in the district. But we were on the same boat. You know, all of us, we were only allowed to be within that specific area and so we sort of had a social life, a sort of social life. It was -- it was bearable.

The difficult part was if you had to get out of the district. I didn't need to get out, but my parents -- I refer to my mother's second husband as my father; he was wonderful -- had a business which was originally out of the city, out of the district and he had to go over the bridge and into the international part of the city and for that he needed a passport and it had to be a pass

given to you by the Japanese authorities.

And one man in particular, Mr. Goya, G-o-y-a, was a second little Hitler. I mean if you were lucky he would not ask you much. He would ask you questions, why you want to pass and for how long, but he would then give it to you. If you're out of luck and that happened quite he would beat you. He would ( ). That's all he would do for every ( ) to do. And he was not very careful about what he did.

I mean there were people dying because of his treatment and others were dying because of the fact that they couldn't eat the food or didn't have any money to buy the food. But in the whole -- as a whole most of us made it through without too terribly much problems.

The fact that we needed a passport only affected the people that had the business out there. And then my father had to close up. He couldn't do it anymore. He had to -- it was just too much of a risk to go and ask for that pass which had to be renewed every -- I don't remember -- on a monthly basis or a weekly basis. But he just tried to do it from home until the end of the war.

[Off the record momentarily]

Q WE WERE TALKING ABOUT THE LANGUAGE NOW.

A Right. Well, of course, all 20,000 of us spoke German

and there were also a lot of Russian, Black Russians also Jewish that -- but we had no connections and they could live wherever they wanted to live.

But at first it was very odd because I didn't know much English before. In school I had French and, of course, at the time we had no choice. And I think I learned a little bit of English the last few months before we left for Shanghai, but then we spoke -- among all of us, well, we spoke German and if you had to deal with the Chinese you spoke some sort of pigeon English which (they understood) better than, you know, any decent English which I couldn't speak anyhow at the time.

But they picked it up. I mean they picked up the pigeon English. They spoke it better than we did at times. And the men in all of the businesses that sprung up, they spoke German. I'm pretty sure that we spoke at least 80 percent of the time German. Once in a while we might have tried to speak English just to -- a decent English not to forget the little we had learned.

But I really only learned to speak English when I came here because I had no choice. You had to speak it. And I found out the best -- the only way to learn any language is to -- if you have to speak it and to read which I happen to -- which I love to do. I read a great

deal. And even movies help because it helps to understand it or to enjoy it. But other than that everybody spoke German.

The markets, food -- they also were handled a lot by the German and Austrian Jews. I mean the markets were actually mainly the Chinese. You were made to boil everything, you know. I mean you could not just drink water. But we were also -- for people who could afford an icebox and I mean an icebox where the ice was delivered and never much too soon because the climate is miserable there. It's very, very hot in the summer and very humid and the winter is ice cold and, of course, we had no heating. We had nothing.

I froze all my ten toes during the winters there and I still have problems with them. The minute the air hits my toes they turn blue. I didn't lose any. I was very lucky there. But we got dressed at night in order to go to bed rather than undress because the nights were actually -- I mean it was unbearable. During the day you could at least do something. But I went to bed dressed as if I was going to go to the( ). We all did. And I couldn't get into shoes because my feet were so swollen from being frozen. And you could buy straw shoes there, about that long [indicating]. In order to get in

there -- with these shoes on. Only I couldn't put my shoes on so I just wore these things.

But all in all -- I don't know. Maybe I have a great sense of humor, but I feel that if you can look at the things and find something that at least later on you can make fun of or, in other words, that it's worse for remembering, whether it was funny or not, it helps to get through the time.

I remember one thing that bothered me. When we arrived in Shanghai we were met by a committee of -- was it joint? I forgot. Anyhow, it consisted of all --

Q A JEWISH COMMITTEE.

A A Jewish committee. Right. And they had made plans for you to -- they had not constructed but they had homes available which would be like a big huge hall with beds. I don't know how many; a hundred, 200. I don't remember any of the details. But you didn't have to pay. And it would include some food so a lot of people went there with the feeling that at least for the first few months you've made a start.

The sad thing I thought was that they all stayed there. It was too easy for them to just stay and not do anything, not trying to do anything else with their lives. And that was bad. My mother said the other way,

no way. We manage on our own somehow and we did. I mean, as I said, it was easier once she was married, but before that we managed too. And it was work. But a lot of these people didn't really work at all. They didn't do anything because they were taken care of. Not wonderful, but taken care of nevertheless.

So that was one thing I think was a mistake made by the people who organized that whole thing. The ability to take you from the ship right over there and that -- these homes were in Hangkew in the part where we all had to move in later on. But the people that were in these homes, as I said, unfortunately decided to just stay and let one day go by after another without doing anything. And some of those people died. I mean they died of the frustration. They died because they didn't have enough food. They died because it was so cold or it was so terribly hot and they had no -- they had nothing to -- they had no willpower anymore.

Q NO WILL TO LIVE.

A Right. And actually it wasn't necessary for quite a few of them. There were young people my age that lived there and didn't even try to get out. You know, I think I would probably have -- from the first day I would try to find a job and get out of there. Because you get used to

this type of living when somebody else takes care of you, for better or for worse, but you're taken care of.

Q DID YOU NOTICE IF THOSE WERE MAINLY OLDER PEOPLE?

A No. There were a lot of young people. There were some, of course, older too. But basically, if I remember correctly, I would say that the young people made up at least 50 percent of all of the people that -- there were maybe between four and seven homes altogether within that district. I don't remember exactly how many.

But, no, I must say some of the older people did quite well. They were used to working and they tried. But the younger people -- and I'm talking about -- I was 16. I'd say from between 16 and whatever that had no families, they sort of lived in the day and didn't do anything. And you could work. If you really wanted to you could always find work. You could clean. You know, even if you're not trained for anything you were able to do something.

I mean my first job was in a doctor's office as a receptionist on the phone. All my life I spoke too fast even before I had the strokes and my English was not very good, but I sure learned that way. I really learned that way, you know, so by the time I came here I learned at least some English. Not a great deal, but some.

Q THE DOCTOR'S OFFICE, WHO WERE THE DOCTORS?

A Oh, we had lots of doctors there.

Q WHAT NATIONALITY?

A German, Austrian. Oh, yeah. I mean there was no -- we had a huge hospital there and -- one hospital, but all the doctors were -- everyone was ( ) Jewish and, as I said, either from Germany or from Austria and some were excellent doctors. I mean I had a -- one was a friend of my parents, I think, who would take care of us, who took care of us for whatever was -- whatever the need was and I was in the hospital only twice; once to get my first child and the second time because I had a bad -- I needed my -- what do you call it?

Q APPENDIX?

A I needed my appendix removed. But that part was -- you know, that was all run very correctly and very clean and no problems there.

Q HOW COULD THE DOCTORS PRACTICE THERE? DID THEY JUST SET UP --

A I think they -- they obviously had the licenses from Germany they brought along for proof, somebody ( ), yes. I don't think it was very difficult really. If you needed an abortion you went to your regular obstetrician because I was pregnant -- I was married in '44 and I was

pregnant right away and the bombs, the American bombs, they started flying around us and it was a lovely sound on one hand. On the other hand, we were scared. But it was not the time to bring children into the world. And that was an advantage. I could go to a regular very good obstetrician. And I had to do that twice. And the third time he said, "If you ever want children, this is it." I do want children. My daughter was born there. But it was then -- she was born in '46. The war was over. So that was then all right. But I mean as far as that's concerned, there were no problems. Not that I know of anyhow.

Q LET'S GO BACK A LITTLE BIT. WHEN DID YOU HEAR ABOUT THE ATROCITIES IN GERMANY AND IF YOU HEARD IT AT ALL? DO YOU REMEMBER WHEN IT WAS?

A Yes, I do. I think I do. Now, during -- when the war in Europe was over, the war in the Pacific was not over yet and we heard ( ) was the first time that the war in the Pacific was over because somebody had a radio -- it was a long distance -- I'm trying to find the right word. A -- how do you call them? I'm sorry.

Q NEVER MIND. TRY TO EXPLAIN BECAUSE --

A Okay. Well, they had radios where you could get other countries in. There's a word for this.

Q DO YOU MEAN AN INTERNATIONAL TELEPHONE?

A No. No. A radio. A regular radio.

Q [MR. GRANT] Shortwave?

A Shortwave. And they heard and it was over that -- that the first (the bombs, about Hiroshima. We didn't know anything. Then we heard that the war was over and at first one person came out of the house and the second and -- see, in this district at night -- we lived in what's called lanes. You go through a main gate which is an iron gate which was open during the day, but it was locked at a certain time at night. And then that was -- for instance, our address was 909 House 5 East River Road. 909 was a street number. Then you went through the gate and then the houses had numbers. And at a certain time at night these gates were locked.

Q WHO LOCKED THEM?

A The Japanese. And when we came out, "Did you hear? Did you hear? Did you hear?" We were not really quite sure whether we could believe it. It was too good to be true we thought. Then somehow or other a confirmation came through. It was the same shortwave radio. And we all went crazy. We all went crazy. I think anybody that had any liquor in the house brought it out and everybody drank everything and everybody was very, very sick. I

remember that very well. But I mean we just couldn't believe it was over.

And then within I would say the next month we slowly got the information of what happened in the camps. And my father, my stepfather was -- you know, my mother's husband -- had all his relatives in Vienna except for his mother. His mother was still alive. His father died, his sister died. He had -- he lost most of his family. And we couldn't believe it at first.

And I remember that -- I would say, what was it, three or four months after -- after we were liberated by the Americans a movie was shown about the camps and that is when we actually -- we didn't hear about it. People talked about it. I heard this and this happened. You say, "That can't be right. You must have misunderstood something someplace."

Well, obviously when we saw it on film we did believe it. It was -- it was awful because most people had somebody still that was there even if it's not a relative; good friends, whatever. And we just -- we just -- all the people there that said at the time it cannot get any worse, it can only get better, every one of them is gone. And none of the ones that I know came back.

I must say the people that we know -- my father's mother who was then, I guess, in her 70s was able to live through ( ). She came home. She came out. She came over here later on, over to Shanghai. No. I'm sorry. To San Francisco. I'm sorry. And she died in this country. But everybody else was gone. And it was very, very, difficult.

And we felt -- we wanted to get out of Shanghai also. There was no future for us there. And my father and my mother were on an Austrian quota. That quota was very, very small; just "X" number of people, a small amount let out -- let in and out into this country per month I would imagine it had been. I don't know. And my husband and I were on a German quota which was faster.

First we had to go through the medical examinations and, you know, make sure we were all right and we were checked out very carefully by what did we do professional-wise.

We had friends where the man was a policeman for the Japanese and they wanted to come to the states. They were not allowed to come in. They were not allowed to come into America. They really ended up in Israel later on. We were checked very, very carefully about our backgrounds; what did we do, did we -- with this man I

suppose it might be true. I don't know. They were fairly sure that he worked with the Japanese against -- against us and whoever. But they were not allowed to come here. They tried three or four times. No way.

Q I'D LIKE YOU TO EXPLAIN A LITTLE BIT WHEN YOU MENTIONED THAT THIS GERMAN WAS A POLICEMAN. RIGHT?

A Yes. A German Jew.

Q YEAH.

A Yeah.

Q BUT I'D LIKE TO KNOW THE EVERYDAY LIFE IN SHANGHAI, WAS IT RUN -- YOU SAID IT WAS RUN ENTIRELY BY AUSTRIANS AND GERMANS?

A Ninety-nine percent. Except for markets. For instance, meat or vegetables, they mostly were run by the Chinese. You had German Jewish dressmakers, whatever. But the Chinese work beautiful, much cheaper and much faster. And you could get along wonderful going to Chinese -- I mean we had no material. I mean you couldn't just go buy a dress. That only was possible after the war.

So, for instance, I remember I had a very pretty nightgown. I never -- I forget that this nightgown was made into a dress. I mean we had to use what we had to use. I mean you couldn't -- you didn't buy yardage. You could buy yardage if you got out of the city during the

war, but I wasn't able to do that. Neither was my husband at the time. So I mean we used what we had.

I had a coat made out of an old suit of my father's and after the war, when it was over and the Americans came, we got Army blankets, these khaki-colored Army blankets which we had coats made out of.

But the worst problem really was that -- we had schools for young children. We had kindergarten. We had regular grade school and we had enough teachers in Shanghai, German or Austrian Jewish teachers to run the schools. I mean that part of it was -- considering, you know, where we all came from was run pretty professionally.

Cooking and eating was a problem. I became quite ill. My digestive system went to the dogs. I mean it was -- you know, you get hungry. Of course, rice fills you up, but only for that long. And most of us really -- it wasn't even necessarily a matter of money. It was a matter of not -- of availability of certain foods.

May I interject one other story? It was a --

Q SURE.

A My father whose business, all his clients were Chinese, Chinese dentists. This was, I think, right after the war. And he invited these dentists -- very, very lovely

people -- three or four of them with their wives for coffee and cake and my mother was supposed to bake a cake and it was a ( ) if you know what that is. And she attempted to do this and it looked fine from the outside. And she also used the one set of good dishes that we had left and set a nice table.

And when the people came she poured coffee and the first one, she heard something as if she dropped something into the cup. She said she must be wrong. She went around the table with the coffee --

Q POT.

A Coffeepot. It was a Chinese coffeepot. Chinese -- China, very thin China. Then she looked over and she saw that Chinese gentleman take his spoon, go into his cup, bring out a dead cockroach and put it right next on his plate. My mother wanted to die, but he thought it was not such a big deal. He lived with cockroaches and this particular one obviously went into this coffeepot and couldn't get out and died there and when my mother filled it with hot water it was very soft and it came out. And the ( ) you couldn't even cut. My mother was not a proper baker.

I mean it was not the best afternoon we ever had there. But, you know, these things -- it's odd. People

remember -- after a while you remember the good things. You try to forget the bad ones. You try. It's hard, but you try. And I think that's what happened to all of us sort of to get through, this is the way we lived.

You asked me about the daily life. Lots of people had absolutely no money. I mean they really lived from whatever the joint committee gave them; whether it was food, whatever cash they needed. I don't really remember anymore where it came from, but they barely made it, barely made it through the day from day to day to day.

Some people lived very well and we had some people that opened bicycle shops, that opened -- tailors that opened their own places, the nightclubs, movies. It was always full.

But the worst thing I think especially with the older people was their health. The food that they cooked, it didn't agree with them and you had constantly -- at least I did. We had ( ). You had all these nice little things that you had never heard of before. And I was, I think, one of the people that had most of these problems and when I came here eventually, my whole stomach, every bit of it was removed because I -- I still cannot eat -- I never will be able to eat normally again, but I eat enough to live. I mean, you

know, I manage. I'm not very fat, but I manage. But that was one part.

And people after a while gave up looking clean. You had to wash in cold water. There was no warm water unless you had a stove like we had a gas stove which most of the time we had no gas. So you wash everything in cold water.

And I had my baby. By that time we had -- I was able to get the gas again to heat the washing water. Everything was( ) cold water. You washed your clothes in cold water. I mean ice cold. You hung everything outside. It was as stiff as a walk during winter.

The summers were even worse to me I think. The heat was unbelievable and the humidity was even more unbelievable. Then you had not hurricanes, but they had typhoons which -- I mean if you had to be out, if you had to be out you were lucky to make it back home again. Extremely strong -- very, very strong winds. I don't know to what degree, but it was -- everything was flooded. I mean our so-called house was -- you didn't go up any steps. It was right on the level of the floor. And all the water came in. It was -- it was not easy. It really was not easy.

But my first -- I've remarried. I got divorced here in America later on, but my first husband's parents who were not young either anymore managed to come -- you know, made it through without any illness whatsoever whereas young people -- and I was young at the time -- we had problems.

The young people had more problems health-wise than the older ones. I really can't explain why. But you walked a lot. You didn't always take rickshaws because they were very expensive and we didn't have the money obviously. We traveled on bicycles. That was our best mode of transportation.

I went -- I married in 1944 and you know(? It's a school to train you for whatever -- to give you a profession. And this particular -- I forgot what the letters stand for, but they stand for something. That particular school had knitting machines and you learned how to knit with a machine. I was into that. I went there. That's where I met my husband, my first husband, who I saw for the first time in my life when he came to China and we were on the same boat but we had no contact whatsoever. And he was working there. And that was run by a very nice Russian Jew who wanted to help as much as he could and I learned to machine knit and I

enjoyed that.

Then I worked a job doing that. The bad thing was that when you do this with those machines, they're professional machines, you had to stand up and when you stand up and work these very heavy handles you have all your weight on one leg so you always -- what happened to me personally, I got bad varicose veins and then I got a blood clot which put me into bed about six months without moving. So I had to give that up at the time.

But it was a good school and you learned a lot and, as a matter of fact, I just started doing it again at home, but now I can sit down doing it and these machines are much more sophisticated. The others were -- I'm jumping back and forth. If you ask me I think I'm better able to --

Q OKAY. I HAVE A FEW QUESTIONS, YEAH. YOU MENTIONED THE RUSSIAN JEWS, THAT THEY COULD GO EVERYWHERE.

A Yes.

Q THEY WERE NOT RESTRICTED.

A They came there long before us. They came there --

Q OH, THEY WERE THERE.

A Yeah. Long before we did. I mean 20,000 all came in '39. Some maybe at the end of '38, but '39 was the year where I would say 99 percent came over there. This was

the only place left where you could go without an affidavit.

Q THE RUSSIANS, WHAT WAS YOUR RELATIONSHIP WITH THE RUSSIANS?

A We didn't have much relation because we really didn't know that many. There was one gentleman that ran the . I got to know him quite well. Most of the others didn't live in that area. They lived in the city where we used to live in the beginning. There was not much of a relationship really because when 20,000 Jews live together and they all speak the same language, you sort of become of a clique, several cliques so -- which really was not too good because we really didn't speak much other than German.

Q DID YOU ENCOUNTER ANY FRENCH PEOPLE? YUGOSLAV PEOPLE?

A No. Never.

Q ITALIANS.

A Nope. Not a single one that I can remember.

Q NOT IN CHINA?

A No. I'm sure they were there, but, no, not at all. I mean I -- all my friends were from either Germany or from Austria and my father knew some very nice Chinese people who spoke good English, much better than we did and that's pretty much, you know.

Q HOW WAS YOUR RELATIONSHIP WITH THE CHINESE?

A I liked them. I was very impressed by them because they're very, very smart. They learn very fast. I was upset, of course, at first the way they treat these newborn baby girls and the way they treated the animals and dogs I mean, but I have learned -- I can only say that from my point of view if you have a Chinese friend, you have a friend for life. If you have a Japanese friend -- I have never learned to trust a Japanese. Never. They can be very polite and very charming and you never know what they think and you're better off not knowing what they think.

I mean we had -- when we dealt with them for passes to get out of the -- out of the ghetto or whatever, there were some very decent and some felt very powerful. They were in power there I mean and obviously they -- I understand that -- after the war we were told -- I haven't seen it, but this was told to us -- that the Japanese had already or were in the process of setting up the same type of gas camps as the Germans did.

As I said, this is -- I cannot say whether it's true or not, but it sounds to me like it could be very true. If it had not been for Hiroshima we both probably wouldn't be here today, I think.

[Off the record momentarily]

Q I HAVE A COUPLE MORE QUESTIONS.

A Sure.

Q HOW DID YOU DEAL WITH RELIGION? WERE THERE SYNAGOGUES?

A Yes. There was one synagogue which was -- one or two. I remember one run by a man called ( ), Ivan ( ) who later on started the synagogue here named ( ).

Q IN SAN FRANCISCO?

A In San Francisco. He was this way very conservative. I think it was more orthodox than conservative and I didn't much enjoy the service. I'd just go for holidays. I went strictly holidays and, you know, if you had a funeral or whatever, but the services were very, very long and he was in my opinion a terrible speaker. Maybe I shouldn't say that.

His daughter also married somebody with the same name that I have now. We're the only two Angresses in the phone book. But he started a synagogue here. He's been dead now for quite a long time, ( ) or whatever, but that was the only synagogue I remembered. And I was married in '44. That was the only time I asked for a pass to go over to a school that was then not in the synagogue and I remember really what this room was like. It was just a large room within the district, but we were

married in a school which was, as I said, out of the district. And we went -- I went in a rickshaw with my mother -- my mother and my father in a separate rickshaw and I had a bouquet with a long -- what do you call --

Q RIBBONS?

A No. Actually the whole thing was very long. And before we ever made it to that school where we were to be married most of this very pretty bouquet was gone by the rickshaw wheels. I mean it was just sort of --

Q OH, IT GOT CAUGHT.

A It got caught in the rickshaw wheels. And the man that married us was a young rabbi who had not at that point had any congregation of his own, but he was a friend of my husband's. I forget his name.

And we stood there and I have, you know, my white dress which was from my mother-in-law originally which had to be just a little bit altered and the veil and all of a sudden I couldn't see. Everything was dark. And my mother was on the right side and my father and my husband was standing on my left. I looked at my mother and as I turned my head it got a little lighter. What happened was that about a thousand flies, they settled on that veil of mine. Absolutely it was full with flies. And as I moved my head they -- most of them for the moment

started up flying away. And I mean some things are funny now anyhow.

Q ALMOST UNBELIEVABLE. YES.

A It's just such a little thing that I don't forget. My mother had -- my mother had(the veil before. I was much too nervous to pay attention to who is where, but when I couldn't see at all I thought that something's not quite right here and when I turned my head the flies moved. Full. It was full with flies.

And it was -- September was still very, very hot there and that dress was a very, very heavy silk and in Shanghai in the summer you didn't dress into anything. You wore as little as you could. Stockings, forget it. They stuck to your skin. I mean they would rip off. Jewelry and necklace was definitely too much. It was just -- and what happened was that behind me our -- the invited guests started giggling and as I found out later on -- I just wore the most necessary things underneath this dress and I was sweating and the dress was completely soaked. And whether I wore the dress or not, I wore it. It didn't really make much difference at this point anymore. I was standing there soaking wet and, you know, you could see whatever you wanted to see. I mean it was embarrassing. But I did not know that until after

it was over.

And we had to be married also -- the Jewish ceremony was not legal. That was something we wanted to do. We had to be married by an official of like --

Q JUSTICE OF THE PEACE?

A Yeah, something like that. And that's what our marriage certificate -- yeah. They said it on our marriage certificate. They were beautiful. I wanted to bring it. It was very, very colorful. They are written in Chinese, the whole script is Chinese. They just tell you where to sign and we signed, you know, obviously our names. But I hope I can find it. It was just gorgeous with flowers. It's about that big [indicating]. Beautiful pictures. But --

Q AT YOUR WEDDING WERE THERE ANY CHINESE PEOPLE PRESENT?

A No. No. But I think -- I wondered -- I can't remember. We were married in September 1944 and, as I said, the war sort of went on and my husband moved into the house where I was with my parents and my room upstairs was large enough. I mean at the time it was large enough to house two of us. And then when I -- when my daughter was born it housed three of us and it still wasn't too bad.

I mean, you know, I was really -- as I said before, living condition-wise I was quite lucky. But the Jews --

well, we had no heat. None. The Chinese teach you something. When it's really very hot in summer what you want to do is you want to drink something cold. Don't. Drink something hot. Hot tea. It works. It works better. When they came up with these little advices, they were usually right. Don't ever wear silk. Wear cotton I mean or any absorbant fabric. When you want to take an ice cold shower, don't. Take a hot shower. And this was all true.

The one thing that I remember, I went under the shower one day and the -- I don't know how it could have happened, but the water coming out of the -- the bathtub was in the kitchen and the shower was over the bathtub and the water was full of electricity. I went under. I put the water on. I started screaming and jumped out. Now, I don't know how it happened and it was later on fixed, but I refused to go into the bathtub for the next month at least. I could have died there. I mean it was as if you put your finger into an outlet, I think. It was terrible.

Q HOW DO YOU EXPLAIN THAT?

A I have no idea. I have no idea what actually happened. It was eventually fixed and the people, the work people are many Chinese. And you have to have a lot of time. I

mean they will not do something right away. They will come and they will look at it and then they will come back maybe and look at it again and then the third time maybe they will start something and leave again. So it takes time. Time is something you have to have a lot of over there.

But basically as far as the question how did you get along with the Chinese -- I'm talking about the Chinese that are -- not the rickshaw coolies, but the few that we met that had some education and -- very well. Really. I like them. And I hated, as I said before, the Japanese. I didn't trust them. There's a good reason.

Q OKAY. WHAT DID YOU DO FOR NEWS? YOU SAID YOU HAD (shortwave) --

A No. There was one person that happened to live in the same lane that we do. Visiting -- you were not allowed to have it, but she had it. We didn't -- there was a paper coming out run also by German Jews of what's her name, but she had -- but the news -- I mean there was none. I mean there was plenty. We didn't hear about it. We had no idea what was going on. None. And, as I said, once we found out we couldn't believe it. Ever since then I still feel I'm not really a Holocaust survivor. Holocaust survivors to me are the people that went to

camps. It's --

Q OKAY. LET'S SAY YOU WERE A WITNESS. I MEAN --

A But --.

Q -- THAT'S SOMETHING. IT'S ONLY A MATTER OF WORDS.

A Well --

Q BUT THE FELLOW, THE PERSON WHO HAD THE SHORTWAVE, DID THEY TRY TO --

A I think they tried --

Q -- TURN IT ON?

A I think they tried occasionally, but they didn't -- I mean this we never knew. You never heard about it I mean, but I suppose what we did hear was all the successes of the Japanese -- of the Japanese side and we did not know about Hiroshima until a day or two later which then was the time that the rumor came up that the war was over.

Q WHEN DID THE LAST PEOPLE COME TO SHANGHAI?

A At the end of '39 and they could not come by ship anymore. They came by -- you got me there.

Q ( ) ?

A Yes. And also a long way by train.

Q TRAIN.

A Yeah. Yeah. And that was --

Q THROUGH SIBERIA; RIGHT?

A Pardon me?

Q THROUGH SIBERIA?

A Right. And we were really the last ones. When we came -- we left in March, last day or two of March '39 and it took four weeks to get there and I think the last immigrants arrived -- well, once the war started that was it. I would say it was in September '39 I think is when we saw the last ones come in. And they figure 20,000 and I'm pretty sure it's fairly correct. They had babies born in between and some people died, but at the time I think there was 20,000 German and Austrian Jews. Maybe some Hungarian. I don't know. I didn't meet any. I'm sure it was pretty correct.

Q YOU HAD CEMETARIES?

A We had a cemetary. When my grandmother died -- and that was before the -- before we had to go into the ghetto area -- she had to be buried orthodox and since -- for whatever reason the casket which was supposed to be made out of seven boards was not available, not available to us. I don't remember that. It was -- we were only there a very short time when that happened.

I'll never forget it either. She was wrapped into a sheet and she was lying on a table or on a bed, whatever. It was terrible to see that, you know. They had a

woman -- I was very fond of her. She was a lovely lady. And she was never sick before. Never. And she was buried in that sheet. There was no casket.

And that's pretty much the only time I remember a funeral. But later on I think they had the caskets that were made out of seven boards which was the orthodox way of doing that.

Q YOU MENTIONED YOUR GRANDMOTHER WAS ORTHODOX. RIGHT?

A No. No. My grandmother never ever entered a temple in her whole life. She never did. But the funeral, the only way we could have it was the orthodox way and that was -- and why we couldn't get the casket made out of the seven boards I don't know anymore.

But I'll never forget her lying there because you could see the whole outline. It was pretty awful. And it was raining and we stood in mud up to our knees. I mean one of these typhoons -- it was after the typhoon, I think. And she never really saw much of this country. She was much more like I was. She was sort of excited about, at her age, still having a new experience.

Q HOW OLD WAS SHE?

A My mother was born in 1900. It was then '39. She could not be much more than early 60s. Maybe middle 60s. At this time it was not such a terribly young age. It was

too early for her, but at the time people did die between 60 and 70. Very few lived until 80 or more. Right?

Q RIGHT.

A I remember that. Then the lift came that I had mentioned before that was packed which came without our jewelry and good things, it was one of the biggest mistakes we ever made. The Chinese homes are not built to have that heavy furniture. This was really a heavy piece of furniture. And I don't know what we did with that. We used a couple of things and sold the rest for practically nothing. The house could have -- I mean the floor could have easily sunken in, it was that heavy.

When you wanted to take a bath before we moved into the -- before we had that house and before we moved down to Hangkew, in order to take a bath you had to buy hot water which was brought by a coolie who had two big buckets on one of these bamboo sticks and he brought that up to wherever there was a -- if you were lucky, if you had a bathtub and that's where the hot water came from. We had cold water, but not hot water. At this time anyhow. I mean there's so many things that, you know, as I talk I keep remembering, but some are really so unimportant. They just sort of --

Q BUT IT'S IMPORTANT.

A -- come back.

Q IF YOU HAD HAD WOOD COULD YOU HAVE BURNED IT IN THE APARTMENT TO KEEP WARM IN WINTER OR WAS THERE NO FIREPLACE OR ANYTHING?

A No. No way. There was no fireplace. The only thing we used for burning was the cooking. That had to be done outside of the house because we had that fan and anything would have easily started up a fire. I mean no, no way.

After the war -- was it? This house was not equipped to be heated in the first place, I suppose, and after the war somebody had made some sort of a device where you have on the outside of the house, outer window, you have something that drips petrol oil into it drop by drop by drop which then went wherever and heated. It was a fantastic heater. I'm sorry, I forgot how it exactly worked. But that was the first time in all those years we had a warm room. But, you know, we had enough clothes more or less to keep warm and lots of people didn't. That was the sad thing.

Q ANOTHER THING YOU MENTIONED BEFORE IS YOUR MOTHER BROUGHT SOME MONEY OUT. HOW DID SHE MANAGE TO DO THAT?

A I only found out later she would put it into her -- in the lining of her coat. It wasn't very much. But this uncle that I had mentioned, he had some money and the

combination managed for us to get these two houses which would under normal circumstances probably have been enough maybe to support us which she did go to work and it was a blessing because she met the right man and she had a very happy marriage. And I was crazy about that man. He was wonderful to me. I was 17 years old and it's not easy for a man who's a typical bachelor all his life to marry a woman with a 17 year old. You know, it's a difficult age to be. But he was wonderful. He was wonderful.

Q YOU ALSO MENTIONED A MOVIE HOUSE.

A Yes.

Q WHERE DID THEY GET THE FILMS FROM?

A I wish I could answer that. I was thinking about that at home. Because I know we went to movies.

Q I MEAN WERE THEY EUROPEAN MOVIES OR AMERICAN MOVIES?

A No, not American movies. They were European movies. They were mainly German, I think. I think they were mainly except for the one movie we finally got about the camps. It was a documentary thing. But I don't really remember now. I really don't. It's been so long ago. I'm sorry. Those things are important. I really just don't remember.

Q WHEN THE AMERICANS CAME, COULD YOU TELL US A LITTLE BIT

ABOUT THAT --

A Yes.

Q -- THE END OF THE WAR.

A We had expected a huge big liberation; you know, ships coming in by whatever and planes and everything and it would be wonderful, but it took a few weeks and the one good thing was -- now we know that. They wanted the Japanese out, but it was good they stayed until the Americans came because they kept things in order. It could have been very, very difficult if they would have left. They stayed until the first Americans came and the first thing I saw was the Seventh Fleet. It was -- it was -- I'll never forget it. All these ships and all these sailors coming off the ships. That was fantastic. That was -- I mean it was breathtaking.

And the young girl, you know, the teenage girls between -- well, they were fourteen and whatever -- all dated Americans. The Seventh Fleet was the first big transport that we saw of Americans. I don't remember any other nationality coming in for liberation.

But we did stay and live where we were because there was no sense in looking for something else at that point because we knew we wanted to leave the country. And my husband had a cousin in Washington, D.C., who furnished

us with an affidavit. My parents eventually, as I said before, got out, but it was nearly a year and a half later that they were out because of the quota of the -- the Austrian quota being very small.

But for the first at least two weeks or so we didn't see any American. We had hoped that they would come in, you know, very -- I would imagine that the first thing we saw were a couple of planes, but just only a couple and we would see one or two or three Americans in uniform. It was a nice thing to look at, but we had expected more which we did have once the fleet got there.

Lots of girls got pregnant. They thought they were going to get married to the Americans. Of course not, you know. But it was an important sight once the fleet was there and there was another way we could speak some English.

Now, my husband got a job at the airport. It was -- at this point, of course, there were no more restrictions as to which streets you could use. And he got paid I think for the first two months in American dollars and I think it was like $50 a month which was an unbelievable amount. I mean the deflation in Shanghai was unbelievable. In Chinese money you would pay like $10,000 for a loaf of bread. It may have been more. It

was just completely out of -- out of -- completely. So when we were paid in American money it was very nice, but after two or three months -- I don't know why anymore -- but they paid us the equivalent of the Chinese money. We didn't get the dollars anymore. I mean we managed. We managed to, you know, to hold on, but it was nothing like 50, a hundred dollars. I mean it was --

Q THEY PAID YOU IN CHINESE MONEY?

A After the two or three months. I mean where we lived in before in American dollars during the war it would probably be the equivalent of about $5 a month. I'm talking about, you know, my husband, myself, our daughter when she was born. And now we had 50. I mean it was a fortune as long as it was American money.

And we left Shanghai with an American transporter, American troop transport. It was (The men and women were) divided and you had the bunks and I remember we had to put -- our baby carriage had to be tied on because the ship moved quite a bit, you know, and my baby was nine months old when we left. Yeah, nine months old. So it was interesting. But that only took two weeks, not four weeks. It wasn't too bad.

Q HOW DID YOU MANAGE IN WINTER? WAS IT IN WINTER WHEN YOUR BABY WAS BORN?

A No. She was born in September and it was really very, very hard. Very hard.

Q WHAT ABOUT THE WINTER, COULD YOU KEEP HER WARM?

A At this point, yes, because the war was over and you could buy some stuff and I knitted by hand and -- yes, that was all right. After the war it was not that traumatic anymore and you could go into the city. You could buy -- if you had some money to buy it you could buy things that you needed.

I will never forget the first time I see some mayonnaise. We had a deli also run by German Jews which was like the closest street. It was one house in front of us. And I think we bought -- it was at the most an eighth of a pound. It was an unbelievable amount of mayonnaise to us. We were so careful with it, you know. Just a taste. I mean how far does it go. But it was the first time we had in, what, eight and a half years tasted butter, real butter. I mean -- I'm trying to think of what we ate actually. We ate lots of rice and we ate some vegetables and meat we ate -- well, it was rare. There wasn't very much. You speak German; right? Do you remember ( ).

Q YES.

A I don't know how to translate --

Q WELL, IT WAS A KIND OF MEAT LOAF MADE OUT OF THE ( ).

A Something like that, yeah. I mean, things, you know, that are ( ) and -- but it was -- it wasn't easy.

Q NOW, WHERE DID YOU GET -- WHERE DID THE CHINESE GET THESE SUPPLIES FROM? I CAN'T --

A Well, the Chinese can bring -- you mean the markets?

Q YEAH.

A Well, I would imagine quite a bit of the stuff -- it was -- from the best only answer I can think of is really to take hold whatever was available was from Stanley Olson's house. I remember peanut butter. Now, that was after the war. We ate that by the pounds after the war. But rice fills you up and the Chinese eat rice every meal and the meat they used, they used pork, for instance. Lots of pork. Chicken, I don't remember whether that was available. Yeah, I think chickens were available also. It was very expensive. But I think it was mainly -- now, I love Chinese food. I love the Cantonese type Chinese food which is what we got in Shanghai and I'm sure whatever there was available they had.

I'm not very good at remembering those things. I was a young girl. I was more interested in --

Q ( ) ?

A -- in trying to have a good time and which, you know, was not easy either and working. I needed to be busy. I couldn't just sit. I never could. And, you know, I was married, had this baby. It was a big job for me. But my daughter was raised on powdered milk. It was called klim, milk spelled backwards. That came from the United States. We got packages, the Care packages at first, and everything tasted wonderful even though it was terrible. I remember some hash, corned beef hash or something.

Q SPAM? SOMETHING LIKE THAT?

A Right. It would be like when we came here and I went to a pediatrician, he said, "Well, you can now put her on regular milk." But up until that time I didn't know. I couldn't nurse. I didn't know. So she was on powdered milk, whatever -- it agreed with her.

Q SO HOW LONG DID IT TAKE YOU TO COME TO THE STATES BY BOAT?

A We arrived here in July forty -- July 3rd, 1947 and the war was over in the Pacific in '45 so it took quite a long time. It did. And to get all the papers ready and all the criminations and people left by boat. I mean every day there was at least one transport leaving. And I think each ship held a good 5,000 people.

It was, you know, Army transporters. And it started

emptying out at this point, you know. Most people left in late '46, early '47. My parents only came the end of '48. My husband's parents came -- my parents came in '49. My husband's parents came sometime in the middle of '48. They were on the German quota. But --.

Q SO YOU CAME TO NEW YORK?

A No. We came -- we stayed in San Francisco. Our friends stay here and the ( ), if you can -- we were supposed to go to Washington, D.C., to my husband's cousin who gave us this affidavit. But this is such a beautiful city and all our friends were here and as long as we were able to make a living -- my husband was a very bright man and he would take anything. He worked two jobs at the time. We decided if we don't ( ) we were going to stay here. All our friends were here.

So we never -- I still haven't been to New York or to Washington. I would like to see those states, but San Francisco is too nice to leave really. It's a gorgeous city. I'm in love with it still in spite of the earthquakes.

Q NOW, YOU SAID THAT THE JOURNEY TOOK SO LONG FROM SHANGHAI SO I THOUGHT YOU WENT TO THE CANAL, TO THE EAST COAST.

A No, no, no. It took two weeks. We stopped in Hong Kong and we stopped in Hawaii and in Hawaii we just had a few

hours and then Hong Kong. We didn't get off the ship. In Hawaii I know we got off, but we had just maybe six, seven, eight hours at the most before we went on. These are the two stops that I remember at this point. Then San Francisco.

And it's a beautiful sight to see the city. For eight and a half years you see nothing but gray buildings and gray floors and everything and then you come and have a view like this. It was like a dream. Our friends that live here, they were here it would be like two months and they're already completely American and they took us to up Mount (Tamalpais and when we saw all this we couldn't believe it. You know, we didn't know those things existed anymore; trees and flowers and, you know, nicely kept homes.

Q AND COLOR, YOU KNOW.

A Yeah. Absolutely.

Q WHAT ABOUT YOUR DAUGHTER?

A My daughter had to make -- had to do the same thing we had to do. My son was born here. He was born in America. My daughter had to take -- no, she didn't have to take the examination, but when my husband and I became -- after five years became citizens, then automatically she was made a citizen also, but not

before. She doesn't remember much obviously at the early age and my son was born here in '48.

Q IT'S AN INTERESTING STORY. HAVE YOU BEEN BACK AT ALL TO GERMANY?

A Well, yes. To Germany, yes. We didn't want to go. My husband -- my first husband -- I've been married 38 years now. My husband has family in Berlin and his aunt was married to a non-Jew so they made it through the war and his cousin, the daughter of these two people. And the cousin came here to visit us and she said, "My mother wants to invite you over to Berlin" and we said, "No way." We don't put -- we don't use -- we're not going to go. And then Fred talked to her on the phone once and he said she said, "I would like to see you once more." She's in her 90s now. She was in her 80s then, 70s. So it was in '83. And she paid for the trip for us which we couldn't have afforded.

And it was a very odd feeling. Somehow with the young people, the people that we met, I had no problem. With my generation and older I felt so ill at ease. And I still speak German fluently and I still have to write some letters in German and I couldn't speak one word. I just couldn't. We spoke English all the time. It just didn't come out. I just -- it bothers me.

We were there two weeks, two weeks too long. It just -- you know, we went to the houses that we lived and two of them, the apartment buildings are still standing the same way they were when we left them with other people in now with the same door. The balcony when we lived there had a glass -- something to keep the wind out. That was gone.

But, you know, your mind goes back. The last time we were there my grandmother was sitting in that chair in a very beautiful flowered Japanese kimono. I still have a picture of that. And here we stand all these years later and everybody I knew then was gone, you know.

And you look at these people, at the Germans, especially the older Germans and you think you were alive then, why didn't you do something. You were alive. You were there and you let all this happen to us. We didn't say it to anyone.

My husband's aunt said -- talked about the bombing and she said she was afraid for us and Fred said for us it was the best news we ever heard and, of course, we were worried about you personally, but knowing that the Americans or whoever bombed Berlin, it was a dream we thought we would never live to see or to hear about at the time. And it's very ( ) I think.

I felt the same way when we were bombed by the Americans because we were on the Japanese regimentation and at first we were bombed only at night. Then later on it was in the day too. But for some reason or other, I don't know, every single person that I know that got hurt, although they -- one time one man I talked to in the day was like a distance from here to the next -- half a block and everybody in that half a block was scared. There was not one -- that I remember one person that ever felt that. It was mainly Chinese.

Q DID YOU HAVE AIR SHELTERS?

A Pardon me?

Q DID YOU HAVE AIR RAID SHELTERS?

A No. We had -- there was a hospital which had a full basement, I believe, and some people went over there. No. I'm sorry. That building was out of the zones. And we saw all the Chinese with their belongings, you know, on these bamboo sticks hanging there walking out to go away from the air out to this particular building. The building never got hit. But we couldn't go there.

We found out later on that was loaded with ammunition. That building was used for ammunition, the whole downstairs. I was -- I think it was a hospital, if I remember correctly, as a matter of fact. It was full

with ammunition and it never was hit. If it had we would have heard it, believe me. It was not that far away from where we were.

But we sat there and we didn't know as it was -- it was a beautiful sound to hear these planes. We knew they were American planes. You could even tell. They flew very low. Even during the days they were very low.

We were scared, but it was worth it. It really -- you know, it seemed to us that it's going to be over soon maybe hopefully and it was really after that. The bombings -- maybe for a week we had bombings during the day and it was very close to Hiroshima. Then this happened no more.

Q DID YOU APPLY FOR RESTITUTION FROM THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT?

A Yes. Both my husband and I did. I get a monthly pension. Unfortunately the -- normally we get paid -- I mean I have a lot of surgery because of the way I came here, but the diagnosis made at the time was not my stomach but -- I was trying all the way down here to remember the word. Darm.

Q OH, INTESTINE.

A Yeah. Intestinal. Right. My intestines were -- which was true, but my real problems were with my stomach with ulcers and a few other things. So I had surgery about

five times. Every time a little bit more of my intestine and stomach went. Then in 1975 whatever was left of my stomach was taken out. And to live without one is very difficult. And it cost us a fortune. However, we had pretty good coverage, thank God. They refused to pay for it because my diagnosis had said that only my intestines were affected, not my stomach.

Q THE GERMANS REFUSED TO PAY?

A For this, for surgery. But I do get a -- I do get a not a huge amount ~~a month~~. It helps. It helps. A monthly pension. Because we all got some money because we had to leave school at a certain time of year, but that was a one-time payment. But the fact that I had these intestinal problems and -- I mean they were confirmed here. For that I get a pension.

And my husband had some very bad psychological problems. Still does. You know his story. But the money doesn't bring anybody back. On the other hand, I must say it helps out now. We are both more or less retired. I work from home and he also works, but it's like a part-time job and without it we wouldn't know what to do.

But my -- his family's father refused to take any money from the Germans and I could see his point at the

time. I couldn't afford not to do it. And today he's sorry too because he's 96 years old and he doesn't do it.

Now it's too late for him. But that does not engage the Germans to me at all, believe me. They have to pay on every debt. I think that was the arrangement made. For as long as you live you get that. Whatever increase of, you know, cost of living is also --

Q INCLUDED.

A Included.

Q CALCULATED.

A Yes. But it helps. But sitting -- going to Germany, going through the streets and looking at things that you used to -- when I went to the Jewish school which was -- you're not from Berlin, are you?

Q THE JEWISH SCHOOL? NO.

A No. Are you from Berlin?

Q WHAT?

A Are you from Berlin?

Q YES.

A Oh. ( ). Do you know where -- that was there and we had to go by train.

Q ( )?

A Yeah. Right. And we took ( ).

Q TRAIN STATION.

A Train station. And when I saw all that and I stood there and -- I got sick. I really got sick. I said, what in heaven's name am I doing here? I don't belong here anymore. They don't want me. I don't want them. But, you know, Fred felt very strong about his aunt. She paid for the trip. She wanted to see him once more. So we did.

Q IT'S HARD TO KNOW WHAT --

A Yes. But, you know, we -- and sometimes we had , you know, but still when you see people your own age and older, they know they were alive then. I'm not saying -- some were very decent, but most of them I had a very odd feeling, very uncomfortable feeling being near them. I mean, as I said, we spoke English. Most of the Germans speak English now. Maybe not perfect, but they speak it.

[Off the record momentarily]

Q [MS.] I DO HAVE ONE QUESTION.

A Which is?

Q [MS.] MOSTLY ABOUT YOUR MOTHER AND GRANDMOTHER, URSULA. I JUST FIND IT FASCINATING THAT AT THAT TIME THESE WOMEN ALONE, THEY KNEW ENOUGH TO LEAVE EUROPE WHERE SO MANY PEOPLE --

A Exactly.

Q [MS.] IS THERE SOMETHING SPECIAL? DID

SOMETHING HAPPEN TO THEM THAT SCARED THEM --

A I tell you what one of the things that happened. My mother's brother had left Germany before Kristallnacht, Kristall Night, and had went to South America. And my mother had paid for all this. And one day also before Kristall Night she got a letter he's coming back. He can't stand South America. And she said when he came back and stood at the station and she picked him up, he stood there like a beaten dog. He knew that it was terrible. Especially my mother who had to work very hard.

I mean in Germany at the time women usually didn't work and they didn't even get divorced so my mother had to do it all. And then she sent her brother away out of the country, go and do something. Anything. He was an attorney. He hadn't practiced yet, but he had passed the bar. And he was a musician. But he came back and that scared her.

And when she sent me to visit my father to learn any profession -- as I had said, I settled on hairdressing -- she must already then have thought my daughter has to learn something. We cannot stay here.

My mother was a very, very bright lady. And the more people said to her "It cannot get any worse" the

more she was convinced it's going to get worse. We didn't know how bad, but she did know that she couldn't live this way.

And we had found out that my father, my other father, had in the meantime left illegally. I mean nobody told us illegally, but we knew he wasn't around anymore. And we didn't know about the camps yet.

We did know about one of the camps that people were taken during Kristall Night, but most of them were released later on. I forgot when that was. I don't think that's important.

So she really didn't know, but she knew it wouldn't get any better because everyday when we were on the street and you saw these people and you saw these uniforms, you saw them marching and -- my mother had a very nice youth. She had the kind of youth that she would have liked me to have and I -- you know, I obviously didn't, but it was really nobody's fault. And she really could see ahead and her mother would have been lost without my mother. They were very close. And my grandfather had died quite a few years before that. So my mother wouldn't leave my grandmother alone and my grandmother was willing to do anything. She was a very easy going lady. Oh, well, you know, learn something

new. Why not. China. China. Who cares.

But my mother was, thank God, not one of these people that said it couldn't get any worse. She knew it would get worse. That was very smart.

And she also knew that she cannot wait to be let into the states or anywhere else because it was closed. China was the only place you could go without having to show any papers. And so she said, let's get out. China. Who cares. We'll go to China. We'll take it from there. Day by day. One day at a time. That's what we did.

Then my grandmother died so soon. She didn't know either. I don't think she knew she was diabetic. She lived on chocolate and she couldn't live without it and that went very fast.

Q [MS. FIELDEN] WHERE WAS YOUR MOTHER BORN?

A My mother was born in Berlin also as was my father, as a matter of fact, my other father.

Q [MS.] I WANTED TO ASK YOU HOW YOU FEEL, YOU KNOW, YOUR EXPERIENCE IN GERMANY AND THEN BEING A REFUGEE IN CHINA AND THE GENERAL EXPERIENCE, HAS IT AFFECTED YOUR CHILDREN AND WHAT THEIR ATTITUDES ARE TODAY?

A That's a question I like. It's very odd. Both my children are grown up and have children of their own. My daughter who was born in China is now 44. My son is a

year and a half younger. My daughter doesn't really want to know. She says she doesn't want to know because it hurts too much to watch.

My son wants to know everything and his own children who are now 11 and seven, he takes them -- he lets them watch movies on television, or all the documentaries. He wants them to learn. I'm very happy about that.

My daughter knows that she was born in China and she has never asked a question why China. She has never asked, "How did you live there?" Never. When my husband wrote that manuscript she didn't read it. I'm sure she didn't. She got a copy of it just like my son did. I'm sure she never looked at it. I thought maybe it will get her to ask some questions. If I tell her stories like I mentioned here, this is , this wooden spoon, this mouse, that she likes to hear because she can laugh, but anything that is tragic never our lives also she doesn't really want to know.

But my son -- now, she is married for the second time also, both times to a non-Jew and she has one son from her first marriage and one son from her present marriage and she's well-adapted. And one of these kids, the oldest boy is now ten and there is -- I don't think

he's ever been to temple unless I took him for Passover or for any holiday that he might be able to sit through and she has no intention of giving them any Jewish education or other education religiously and that bothers me very much.

Because my son and his boys visit -- now, Levi, the oldest, who's now eleven, will he be bar mitzvahed? I don't know. But he does have a Jewish education. He goes to temple and my son keeps every holiday. I never knew he would. I mean I was very surprised. Every Jewish holiday, we always have it at Gary's house and he feeds us ( ).

There was a reason why it may not happen -- you were talking at the time and I said I would like to sit down, go way back, you know, from the time I was a little girl and write it all down as well as I can because the kids someday maybe want to read that, my grandchildren, and when these movies are shown the kids are very upset, our grandchildren. And my son doesn't say you have to stay, but they want to know and they ask questions which I'm, you know, very happy about really because I think once we are all dead who knows other than, of course, your library here and then who's going to read it.

Q [MS. FIELDEN] THERE'S YOUR TAPE. THOSE WHO WANT TO WILL

HAVE ACCESS TO THIS.

A Yes, I would like to. I would like to.

Q YOU CAN SHOW THE TAPE TO YOUR DAUGHTER. WOULD SHE LIKE TO LOOK AT IT DO YOU THINK?

A I think she might at mine. I know that she can't look at Fred's. She didn't look at the manuscript. I'm sure she didn't. She obviously has some reason. I don't ask anymore because you can't force her, you know. She's a sweetheart. I love her dearly. But she looks at whatever's easier. You know, (you put your ~~hand~~ head in the sand you see nothing.

It's -- I talk to other people that have children my age and a lot of them say the same things, that the kids are really not that affected except for some. I read the book Children -- Children of the Holocaust.

Q .

A Yeah. And I don't know whether this holds true for everyone because these kids are much more involved, the ones that were mentioned, than mine are or quite a few of the others that I know are. Of course they were affected. Both my kids speak a little German which doesn't hurt them, but I try not to speak it too much.

Renee looks the other way. There's no question about it. I would like to see my grandson bar mitzvahed

very badly and maybe he will be. I'm not going to push it. My daughter-in-law's family is very religious and --

Q IS SHE JEWISH?

A Yes. My son married a Jewish girl. My daughter is married for the second time to a non-Jew. It happens very often these days. I have nothing against him as far as religion is concerned. I'm not crazy about him for other reasons. But I never expected our son to be so -- to get so ~~lost~~ involved in it.

When we finished that manuscript and I -- I'd like to say something about that. I did some writing. Fred took notes, what he wants in there. I mean I started -- I have a computer and so I use a word processor. But I started to write mine -- I told my husband I feel you left out the most important things. You left out your real feelings. You didn't have the guts to face them because basically, sure, he worked, he helped some people. No question about it. He helped people get -- he helped some people get off the train, but all in all he still worked with the Germans. He had to. But face up to it.

All our family says the same thing. His father, ( ) say the same thing. He was not honest enough. He doesn't want to admit it. Sure, he didn't hurt

anybody. He was not a (KAPO) but just the idea that he worked for the Germans. I mean if he had not he would have been in Auschwitz and it was the only way for him to survive and his mother and his brothers to survive.

His oldest brother was in the 82nd Airborne Division over here. But I feel that he was not open enough in this. And, you see, that's one thing that is missing out of his -- missing out of his interview and I'm the only one that can say that to him. He wouldn't take it from anyone else, but it is too bad.

Q HE MENTIONED THAT TO ME, THAT YOU WERE HIS BEST JUDGE, THAT YOU WOULD KNOW.

A Yeah, but I'm pretty tough on him. Maybe I'm too tough, but I think this is important. Nobody will blame him. People were going to survive. I mean you want to live. I don't know how -- I don't know what I could or would have done had I been in that position. If I would have been in Holland and I would have had a chance to live while they were on the transport I probably would have grabbed the chance I think.

You know, I'm not the type that is easily led to the slaughterhouse without fighting, but my husband's not a fighter. I am. But I really feel that that manuscript should have been -- should have shown more inner feeling,

more -- not just fixed. Not just the things that happened, you know, in that (, but more of what he really felt about working for these people and doing this and doing that. It's -- but then you cannot -- you know, it's -- some people cannot face it.

I know one man who actually died knowing that he -- he was in Auschwitz and he was a Kapo and I think these are the only people that knew that and he couldn't live with it anymore. He got ill. He could have easily been killed for. He didn't die of disease. He died because he just said, "I can't live this way anymore."

This is not true for my husband. He was not in the situation, thank God, but through it all he was able to save his life and his mother's and his brothers' life and to do this you have to do what they tell you to do, whatever it is. To go to transport and, you know, put "X" number of thousand people on these trains. What were you feeling when you did that?

As I said, I can ask him but nobody else. Even then I don't get -- I know how he felt. I know him too well. I know the truth. You know, at this point he is at least -- he's glad he did the writing of it. He's glad it's -- some of it is -- I won't say out of his mind, but at least he's done something of this sort. He still

wakes up at night and screams because he feels he is being -- Nazis following him and he runs over . He still does after all these years and he probably always will.

Q ?

A Yeah. For some people it comes very late. My other brother-in-law goes to a psychologist and the man said it happens very often that all of a sudden at this age -- and he's 60 now. All of a sudden the truth emerges and all of a sudden it hits him. He's been -- this brother of my husband's. He's become a man who has no confidence in himself at all. He was full of confidence. He made wonderful money. I mean now he's nothing. He's going down, down, down, down.

But I think I've used up your two hours. I can't believe I did. Did I?

Q YEAH. YOU DID VERY WELL. IS THERE ANYTHING ELSE YOU WOULD LIKE TO -- SHOULD WE TAKE A REST? DO YOU WANT TO THINK A LITTLE BIT MORE IF YOU'VE FORGOTTEN ANYTHING?

A Yeah, you know, I just was going to make myself some notes. Then I thought if I start making notes it won't work for me. It doesn't.

[Off the record momentarily]

Q [MR. GRANT] YOU HAD MENTIONED EARLIER ON THAT THE TWO OR

THREE DAY PERIOD SURROUNDING KRISTELLNACHT MADE A VERY DEEP IMPRESSION ON YOU THAT STAYED WITH YOU --

A Yeah.

Q -- YOUR ENTIRE LIFE. I WAS WONDERING IF YOU COULD TELL US THE DETAILS --

A Yes.

Q -- OF TWO OR THREE EPISODES THAT YOU WITNESSED.

A Yes.

Q [MR. GRANT] THAT'S THE SORT OF STUFF THAT WE AREN'T GOING TO FIND IN A HISTORY BOOK.

A You're right.

Q [MR. GRANT] YOUR PERSONAL EXPERIENCES.

A Yes, I can. As I had mentioned, I was in Dusseldorf which is a beautiful city on the Rhine which is where my father lived and there was a Jewish restaurant-coffeehouse that Saturday nights had dancing. There was a downstairs and an upstairs. And I was not quite -- I was 15 when I was over there. And I remember we used to go there nearly every week. My father and his second wife went there and I went along. And I had made some friends there and I had a wonderful time.

And that particular night we did not go and the first thing we heard was that a whole gang of Nazis walked into this place, destroyed everything. Now, this

was not a synagogue. It was, you know, a two-floor cafe, no band. You know, it was a regular -- evidently they got the music from records and so on. And destroyed everything and grabbed the man. The man went to wherever they went. I forgot the name of the place. And that was when my father put us in the car.

Now, I remember we were in bed already and his wife said, "Don't get dressed. Put anything on. I want you out of here." And when we got in the car -- now, if I remember correctly, the windows ( ), something. I think they were covered with blinds, like venetian blinds. I think this car had that because the idea was that nobody can look in. My father looked very Jewish and so did I. His second wife did not because she wasn't.

And as we started driving around not really knowing where we should go we saw corpses floating in the Rhine. People would just be ( ) there. The ( ) were in there and just decided life isn't worth it anymore.

I think there were two synagoges in Dusseldorf which were burned to the ground, but systematically -- and we were told that by the owners of the apartment building about -- the caretakers of the apartment where we lived that the SR goes at night, go to each house where there

are Jews, each house, and destroy and/or take people along.

So we had to be out of the house. And I think I mentioned before that my grandfather who was then in his 80s already said, "No way. I'll stay with my things here. What can happen to an old man like this. They're not going to do anything."

And we drove to the parents of my father's wife who were afraid to keep us. They were also non-Jews. And to another brother of hers, also non-Jew. And finally we ended up, I think, for two or three nights, I don't remember, at a business friend of my father's who was not afraid to take us and he risked his life to take us in. And we had no idea what had happened in the apartment. We had no idea what happened in the city. And I was afraid to use the telephone from the -- from the apartment of this really stranger to me because I didn't want to risk anymore for him to get into trouble too.

And I think after the second night -- we stayed there two nights and days -- we went back. By this time we had heard that things had quieted down. We went back and it was unbelievable.

The ( ) that were started on that day, on that night in November stopped, I think, three or four houses

on the street where we lived, my father and my grandfather, before they would have come to the apartment where my family lived. Had they, they would have taken my grandfather along. They just stopped there. And the caretakers of the apartment there, they were the ones that said -- as I say, I don't remember how they even knew where we were. I would imagine my father made some contact. I don't remember that.

And when we came back home to this house, I called Berlin. I didn't know whether my mother was alive even. And she said she was fine and it was mainly synagogues and some windows from stores, but nobody that she knows of at that time had been taken. So all I want was to come home and go to my mother. And when I left Dusseldorf it was a train ride of, I think, about eight hours.

I mentioned several times that my father also looked very Jewish and as he -- he drove me to the train station. He had the ticket for me and he said goodbye to me. He didn't even get out of his car. He was afraid something would happen to him. Rightly so. I sat all alone in the train station until the train came and then I went to ( ) --

Q [MS. FIELDEN] COMPARTMENT?

A Compartment. Right. And I remember -- it was the first time and I was shaking. I was so nervous, so afraid. But, as I said, Dusseldorf was hit harder because , the man that was shot by was born in Dusseldorf. I do remember now. Those two was born in the city and that's why the city was hit that much harder at the time when Kristallnacht came. And my father, as far as I know, very soon afterwards went illegally across the border and my grandfather stayed.

But that was a very -- and that restaurant where we really had gone every Saturday night, it was full. I think there were at least four people that had been killed right then and there and then somebody . That is also something I'll never forget.

And when you sit in a car and, you know -- now, I cannot imagine that they were venetian blinds, but something was on -- he put something on the windows. We're talking now a long time ago. Right? I remember moving real low in the seat of the car and my father was the driver and he was -- my father never showed that he was scared, but he was scared. And every place that we went, family of his wife, everybody said, "No. Get out of here as fast as you can. I don't want any Jew up here." This was his family. And it got scarier and

scarier by the minute and, therefore, you know, for two or three days at least until -- no.

[First videotape ends]

Q ( ) MAY HAPPEN.

A Well, I didn't know. My mother always said to me it can never happen here. The Americans are right. They can be pushed only up to a certain level, but I cannot imagine -- and I'm quoting her now -- that any one person can get the American people to do these things to anyone.

And I -- at the time I want to believe her and I tell you very frankly I don't anymore. I think it could happen. I think it could happen anywhere. I don't think it would happen these next five or ten or 15 years because the Nazi party is growing but not growing that fast. I don't know. But I'm scared. Not for myself. I'm scared for my children. My children are used to the good life, but they work hard for it and I think, you know, one parent to go through this is enough. Two parents -- my husband went through the same thing.

I think it can happen. Our temple was put on fire last week. I belong to ( ) and somebody tried to burn it down, but it was obviously something that doesn't burn enough. I forgot what -- I think it was -- it was not the stuff that burns into something else, but

whatever they used, some windows are gone and some are so it's black. But it could have been -- you know, the whole thing could have burned down.

Now, I don't -- by saying, though, anti-semitism exists everywhere, I know it does. But that doesn't make me feel very secure either. It has increased before the Holocaust too. I'm sure here in this country also. But when I was in Israel -- we went to Israel once with a group from our temple. The first thing -- we were there for two weeks. The first thing that I said -- when our rabbi asked us, "What does this trip mean to you?" I said for the first time in my life I feel I'm in the majority. I felt this is where I belong really.

I know that we are all spoiled here. We don't live this way in Israel. However, if I wouldn't have children here and grandchildren, I think my husband and I would both seriously consider going over there. Obviously there's never a right time for those things, but I could imagine living there because it feels good to be in the majority and it's the only place I ever felt this way.

I've only been there once. We were supposed to go -- we were supposed to have a reunion, a Shanghai reunion, you know, people that lived in Shanghai and there was the last one in 1988 in Jerusalem and I was

dying to go. We had reservations and everything was ready and five days before I broke my hip and that took care of the trip.

But I think -- my mother who was very farsighted when she was in Germany, I think maybe she felt she couldn't deal with this again anymore. Maybe she was right. Maybe the Americans cannot be pushed to that point. But I -- I cannot honestly say I feel it will never happen again. I hope it will not. But I think there is always a possibility. Maybe in different ways. Maybe in more sophisticated -- I don't know. But I think it's possible. I really do unfortunately.

And my son feels the same way and he's never really had much -- he never really felt much anti-semitism in his own life, but he -- he watches people and he reads and he knows what's going on and he also says, "Never say never. Anything can happen." I hope not, but, yes, I do think the possibility is there definitely.

Q [MR. GRANT] COULD YOU TELL US WHAT YOUR PARENTS' FULL NAMES ARE?

A Yes. Sure. My mother's name when she was married was Hait. It was Schlesinger. Do you want me to spell that?

Q SURE.

A S-c-h-l-e-s-i-n-g-e-r. And when she married her last

name became Lindner which is L-i-n-d-n-e-r and when she remarried it was Goldsmith which -- and my father was Earnest Lindner, L-i-n-d-n-e-r. I married a man Fritz, Fritz which is now Fred Fello, F-e-l-l-o. I was divorced after six years and I remarried my present husband.

My mother died in '79 the normal way, you know, by illness. So our family's shrinking. That's why I'm so afraid. Who's going to be there to, you know, remember? Because if people forget then it can happen again. Only if people know. You know, there's lots of people now, they still don't believe it. You can see it in a movie. You can see anywhere. You can show them your number. It just -- there are people that say it never did happen. They don't believe it. I mean how can you convince those people? There's no way I don't think. But --

Q [MS. FIELDEN] I JUST WANTED TO KNOW SOMETHING ABOUT YOUR EARLY YEARS. DID YOU BELONG TO TEMPLE IN BERLIN?

A Yes. There were ( ) Rabbi, he was here. He bar mitzvahed my husband. It was a -- well, not reform but it was a conservative temple and I only went on holy days and my parents were never very religious. My grandfather never entered the synagogue. But we were Jewish. I mean we didn't have Christmas and anything of the sort. And I joined a Jewish ( ), a Jewish club.

Q A SPORTS CLUB, WASN'T IT?

A It was a sports club. And to expose me a little bit more to and to the songs and to all the things that I liked. And when we came to Shanghai I wouldn't say I went to temple for the first three or four years. I only started going to temple there when -- in '44 when I married because my husband was fairly, fairly orthodox. But the other years, I mean, you know, I didn't need that sort of service. That was no help.

Q DID YOUR PARENTS FEEL MORE GERMAN THAN JEWISH?

A My mother did not. More German than Jewish?

Q MORE GERMAN THAN JEWISH.

A Yes, I think so. I think most of our parents did. My father had the Iron Cross from World War I and he said, "What did it do. My God, I fought for them. Here, I can prove it." Yeah.

I think my mother at this point up until she died too she felt more Jewish than -- she was -- she was an American citizen also. But at the time, definitely, she was a German. A German -- it was religion. Jewish was a religion. It was not a -- not a country. I'm missing some words here. My mind isn't --

Q IT WASN'T A RACE.

A Right.

Q THEN THEY MADE IT INTO ONE.

A Right. It was a real religion and we were all Germans. Some people in our family left as early as '34. They went to Israel. And they also had the same background that we had pretty much. You know, they didn't know how to cook or do anything and they started out with a chicken farm in ( ) and the mother, father and children. And the mother was a cousin of my mother and they were very, very close friends and the first letter that came from Israel was -- you know, it was to my mother. It was, you know, I never could -- was able to tell the difference what's a front and back of a chicken. Now I'm learning. And they did. But we all ( ). And, as I said, at the time nobody really could divorce. You didn't do those things. And Jewish women didn't work. That's changed.

Q HOW DO YOU FEEL ABOUT THE UNITED GERMANY?

A I think it's terrible. I hate it. We don't need that again, another big power. My brother-in-law ( ) originally after the war they should have ( ) the whole country. Little bit to France, to whatever. Just get rid of it. I think the united Germany is terrible. Just awful.

First of all, you know, I fear it's going to start

up again. ( ) I don't think. But we all feel -- I think most Jewish feel the same way. I should hope they feel the same way. It's -- it goes so fast. Everything happened so fast. When that Berlin Wall came down and we saw it, I couldn't -- I just couldn't believe it. But unification is something I could have very well lived without. It's very scary to me.

Q HAVE YOUR CHILDREN BEEN OVER TO GERMANY OR TO EUROPE?

A No. No. My children have not. And I don't think they ever want to go. We've been there twice. The first time I told you. The second time was when I broke my hip. We wanted to be invited to Holland last ( ). The woman who was in hiding for a long period of time wanted to see us and we wanted to see her. But the way we had to go, my ( ) is a professor, New York University professor of modern history. Because of a woman he's moved back to Berlin which I just didn't understand. He wants to see her but he still has moved back.

And when we arranged to go to Holland, decided to see Tom, he was in bed psychologically sick at the time ( ) and we stayed six days in Berlin and I had the identical feeling I had the first time in '73. Out of here. Let's get out of here fast. I couldn't get out fast enough.

I mean the country -- the city is beautiful. It's a beautiful city. It is gorgeous now. But the people -- they're the same. Maybe not the young ones but the older people are the same.

Separation -- how he can -- I mean he was the age that he fought the Germans. He liberated those camps. How he can go back there I just don't understand. He was married twice here, both to Jewish girls. Now he's involved with a non-Jewish girl, woman. He's 70 now, retired and -- but what can you say. To each his own. But my husband said no matter what he would never again -- that's twice we went, twice too many times. I feel the same way. They didn't want us.

It has nothing to offer to me. Nothing. We have a friend who said -- who went back after Shanghai back to Germany. She goes back to hate. She gets (she said. I go back to hate. I'm sure she does some other things too. She goes first to Berlin. She lived there too. I mean you can't -- people will do what they have to do. I think I'm pretty much talked out unless anybody else has a question.

Q ANY MORE QUESTIONS OF ANYBODY? URSULA, THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR --

A Thank you very much.

Q -- BEING WITH US AND TELLING US YOUR STORY.

A I'm sorry I canceled so many times. As I said before, the main reason was I only felt I was living too well considering the way other people lived. But things come back when you talk. Thank you.

Q THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR BEING WITH US.

[End of videotape]