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## HOLOCAUST ORAL HISTORY PROJECT SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

**INTERVIEW** 

of

**HENRY SMALL** 

OCTOBER 29, 1991

by

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MS. GORDON: Today is October 29, 1991 for the Holocaust Oral History Project. We are going to be interviewing Henry Helmut Small. S m a l l. My name is Rachel Gordon. We are with the producer John Grant .

Mr. Small, first, thank you for taking the time to talk to us today. What we would like to do is hear your life story a little bit, starting even when you were a little boy. If you can tell us where you were born, and some about your family to start off.

A. I was born March 1914 in Berlin Germany. I was what they called an exemption for my father because five months later the first world war started and my father would have to go into the Army, but he had to support me and my grandfather.

With four dependents he did not have to go in the Army. We went through the first world war. I can remember up to the age of 14. 1918 we had the revolution where there was shooting in front of our house. We lived in a big apartment house. We couldn't go on the street.

By the age of six I lost my mother. My mother, my grandmother were going over a big street in Berlin, called the Kauffersdamm. Kurfurstendamm

My aunt, my mother's sister, could not marry during the war so they postponed the wedding until after the war. My mother, my grandmother both crossed the street. There

was what they call a horse trail, horse path in the middle of the street and a drunken taxi driver drove on this horse path. He zig zagged. My mother, my grandmother both went under the car. My grandmother lived but my mother died the next day.

I went to school then when I was six years old.

My father remarried again. In 1923. I had a stepbrother, half brother in Australia. I haven't seen him. My father was divorced in 1927. Then he married again in 1933.

I went to school from 1920 to 1923 to a private school. From 1923 to 1929 to a higher school, what they called the Rauschuller. We had French and English. 1929 I did not finish the full course. That would have been another three years. I went to work. In those days we had the depression and I had to go to work to support my father. I had an apprenticeship in furniture and clothing department store. I worked in the furniture department as my father was in the furniture business.

We did that originally as a wholesale business.

Later my father became a manufacturer's representative in the furniture trade.

In 1933 I finished my apprenticeship and started for a better job in Cologne. I started on the 1st of April 1933. There was a boycott, the Nazi organized a

boycott against Jewish stores. I came to the store and I wanted to start my work; they didn't want me. They wanted to send me back.

I said I had a contract. They had to pay me at least a month and my expenses. They kept me until about in August of 1933 when the store changed hands and I had to leave.

I went to a furniture store in Essen, where we were selling out.

Finally in 1934 I came back to Berlin and I worked for my father, from 1934 to 1938 until I immigrated to the states.

My father was sick. He had pneumonia. In those days they didn't have the miracle drugs. It took almost a year. I had to do all the work by myself.

Then my father -- When I wanted to immigrate in 1938, I tried before. It wasn't easy. I wanted to go to Canada first. I couldn't get the papers. But 1938 finally through my stepmother I got the papers, the affidavits. But the consulate in Berlin was very difficult. They made it as tough as possible. The German quota at that time was about twenty-seven thousand per year.

I was lucky that my father's banker played golf with the Counsel General in Berlin. They played golf on

Sunday. Monday I went to the consulate. I was called in right away and received my visa, which helped. But it happened at that time that my father, my mother, they had a tailor, did ladies suits and also my father's suits. This tailor worked with somebody. We didn't know who was in cahoots with the Gestapo, the secret police.

They claimed they could take money out. But it was against the law to take German money out or whatever you had out of the country. So this man, somehow the Gestapo got hold of him and there were other people involved, including my father, my mother. My father was interred. So he didn't receive any bail. He was in jail for the time in prison and the Nazi killed him right there. Never came to the trial with him.

My mother went through the trial. She was, she received two or three years in the womens prison.

So I tried my best. I got here to get her out but I couldn't make it. I arrived it was May 28th and I couldn't find a job in New York City. It was a depression going on.

So I was lucky to, through a friend, who worked at the hotel San Moritz, right on Sixth Avenue at that time. The housekeeper got me a job in boys and girls camp for July and August in the Catskills. So I worked there as a laundryman.

I didn't know anything about machines. I had the iron machine. I managed to take all the buttons off the girls slacks or blouses or whatever I had. Machine was too hot. I couldn't handle that machine. So the season was over. I had to look for another job. I had relatives in Ithaca New York. I saw Cornell. I could have had a job there selling sandwiches to the students, but I declined.

I went back to New York. I went to the Committee. They sent me to Richmond Virginia. I came to Richmond Virginia. There was a furniture store. I think in those days I made \$8.00 a week. I lasted about three weeks because the lady told me she could have had a black guy who could have worked for five dollars a week.

During the third week we had our linoleum carpets outside. There was a rope around them. A big colored fellow came and he cut the rope and he took the biggest linoleum rug under an arm and he took off.

I went behind him. He wanted to pull a knife on me. I hollered help help. Luckily the police station was across the street. They looked out and they caught him.

She paid me off at midnight. In those days

Saturday you had to work until midnight. I told her that
that I didn't have a job. So Monday morning I started in
the millinary factory. I worked there until 1941.

In 1940 we had the draft, universal draft. I registered. My number happened to be very low. So I figured I might as wet get it over with.

They called me for February, 1941 into the Army. I joined the Army in Richmond Vriginia. They sent me first to Fort Mead Maryland. From there I went to Fort Monmouth New Jersey. It was at that time the signal headquarters, where I received my basic training for 90 days.

After 90 days they asked me where I would like to go. I said I would like to go to the west coast. Instead they sent me to Washington, D. C., which wasn't bad. In those days you had ten girls to one fellow in Washington D.C.. So we looked for the girl who had either an apartment or house or a car. Because those things we didn't have.

I enjoyed Washington very much. There was so much going on culturally. Besides I could go to night school and learn typing, which I did then.

Then Pearl Harbor came. It was Sunday, December 7.

I was at the USO, at reform temple. There was a Jewish

USO at that time. I remember very well that the news of

pearl Harbor came. It was already at night there or

afternoon.

So that was the end. We could not go out anymore. We couldn't wear civilian clothes anymore. Everything was

now changed. I stayed there until 1942.

I was lucky that I did not go on the first shipment. The first two shipments went to China, Burma India. I went on the fourth shipment. The third shipment went to Charleston South Carolina, to Savannah Georgia, to Fort Dix and from Fort Dix we took the old Monteray. It was from the old Mattson Line, the steamer, and went from Brooklyn Navy yard all the way to York in Scotland. We landed after 12 days. It was a cold journey, all the way north through Iceland.

From Scotland we went by way of Cool to Highwickum. Highwickum we stayed in a grade school first and then they sent us to Wartford, another suburb. About 50 miles from London. In Wartford I stayed until November 1942. They took six of us fellows. We were radio operators. I received my training.

We were sent to work again, two, each us, two of them on British aircraft carrier. I was with a fellow from Iowa, tall fellow. We were on the HMS Dasher, which was a banana boat from Philadelphia. They converted it to an aircraft carrier. We went to Gibraltar. It took about a week in them days.

From Gibraltar we served in the African invasion.

That was the biggest invasion I ever seen. Over eight hundred eighty ships. At that time that was a lot. They

were going to Oran, Algiers and Casablanca.

We came back after a week. It was my luck that they left us off at the Rock of Gibraltar. We stayed on the Rock of Gibraltar until the end of December, just before Christmas. Colonel in charge came to us and said you boys are going back to England, six of us.

I happened to come on the plane that came from here and had the Christmas present that Roosevelt gave to Churchill. It was a grope as big as a table, tremendous.

But on this plane, I still remember very well we had a pilot, co-pilot and crew chief. We had one machine gun in the plane. That's all we had.

We started to fly over the atlantic. All at once the crew chief mentioned two ME-109 there. I thought this is the end. In those days we didn't have radar. They could have gotten us easy. They didn't see us. The pilot banked the plane into a cloud and the cloud saved us.

I came back to England we landed at Lands end. I almost kissed the ground, I was so happy to be on land again. All we had on was a May West. Coming from nine thousand feet we would have all been dead there.

So from there I went to London. I went back to my outfit in Monforth and stayed there for another year.

Then I joined the third radio squadron mobile.

This was a intelligence unit. We were all radio operator.

Most of them received the training in the States.

I received my training at the RAF station, a local station there. That went on until July 4th. I missed out on June 4th. They took our detachments out. All the others went.

We only had one casualty out of the whole squadron. We went to Normandy Beach, I think Utah Beach. We landed there just at the moment when the Luftwaffe came over and straffed us. But luckily we were saved by ditches.

We stayed at Normandy and I went from Normandy through the campaign up through Luxenborg. It was February. The war was going on. They sent me home. I had enough service overseas accumulated there. Sent me back here.

First I had leave. Then I ended up in Madison Wisconsin. When the war finished, it was 12th of September, 1945, I went first to New York, to Richmond Virginia, picked up my stuff and came to San Francisco.

My first job was for TWA at the airport in the commissary. One day Howard Hughes came in. I almost threw him out. I didn't know he was my boss. He looked like a beggar. Luckily I didn't do anything.

They kept me, I was there until the strike. We had a three month strike.

I went to Los Angeles. I worked for W. & J. Sloan.

It was a tough job. Then I joined Almar Plastics, a

plastic company. I sold signs all over the United States until about 1953 when I met my wife in Kansas City. We got married in 1952. 1953 we got married in Kansas City and moved to San Francisco and I have been here ever since.

I worked for three companies. One in the button, one in lace and one in embroidery field. I travel from Fresno to the Oregon border and east to Reno and then back.

Q. A lot in one breath. Let's go back a little bit to growing up in Berlin and what that was like at the time.

First, if we can go through a little bit when you talk about your father and mother and his other wifes, if you can give me their names as well.

A. My father is Seigfreid Small. My name originally was Henry Schmausch. S c h m a u s c h. Nobody could pronounce the name. My aunt, in San Francisco, when she saw me she said you change your name. You only can change your name through court. When I became a citizen prior to going overseas I changed my name to Small. My father was born in Berlin Seigfried Schhausch. His father was Himan Schausch. He came from Emil Schausch. How they got the name I don't know. Either they came from Samosch -- S a m o s c h. Or my

grandfather, great grandfather was a Samosch. Maybe they called it that way.

My mother came from Nakkel. Nakkel.

Nakkelnessa. Nessa was a river. At that time it was

German. It was Polish and then German and now Polish

again.

My father met my mother when he called on my grandfather who had a furniture store there, fell in love with my mother. He married her in Berlin. My grandfather came. He had the furniture factory in Berlin.

- Q. What was your mother's name?
- A. My mother's name was Lena, Lena Helen.
- Q. Her maiden name?
- A. Her maiden name was Heimann. But she died very young. She was born in 1892 and she died in 1920.
- Q. Going back, you grew up in the heart of Berlin?
  - A. In the heart of Berlin, yes.
- Q. Can you describe the neighborhood from what you remember?
- A. Well, the neighborhood was close to the business where my father had the wholesale furniture business. I went to school there. We lived next to an amusement park. I remember that. The carousel was going all night, at least to ten o'clock. It was cold there.

We had very cold nights. I remember the winter of 29 when everything was frozen. We had the river in back of our place. It was an apartment house.

- Q. Was it a Jewish neighborhood or mixed?
- A. No, very mixed. The Jewish neighborhood were mostly in the west. We had our group there, Jewish students. They went to school with me. We had our group there where we played as kids. We went to school together.
- Q. You stuck fairly close together as Jews or were you mixed?
- A. Mostly we stuck together, that I must say. I belonged to this comrade group. It was a German Jewish group. Then times changed and we moved to the west later on. My father was divorced after that. We moved into a small apartment in the west. I join the Zionists. In fact, I was ready to go to Isreal at that time.
- Q. What brought you to join the Zionists at that point?
- A. Well, it was a very bad time. You had to get out. They went to a place where they were educated, a country place in agriculture, where you got your education.

I went first to a doctor, was examined by a doctor.

I would have gone, but my father got sick so I had to

support my father.

- Q. You stayed in the city?
- A. Stayed in the city.
- A. Luckily through my stepmother. My father had married again. Then I got away.
- Q. Can you talk a little bit about the point you went from living freely in your neighborhood without being necessarily concerned where you are going to when the Nazi, you were first aware of the Nazi coming in?
- A. It started in 1933. The Nazi came in January 33. I remember it was terrible at that time.
- Q. Can you describe what was terrible? What was it like? What do you remember?
- A. Because all the Nazi came out of the cockroaches, they came out of the corner into the open.

  Lot of people were denounced. Then they started the secret police and everything.

I remember when the Reichstag, the big parliament, when that burned. I joined the police, what they call the police support fire, like a police support troop. They were teaching stenography. I wanted to learn stenography. There was a certain system they gave there.

We had a lot of policemen. That night when the parliment burned they all got to go. I still remember that, 1933. At that time -- For a while it wasn't that

bad. But it came slow, very slow.

- Q. What changes did you notice?
- A. Well, April 33 when they started the boycott. I wasn't in Berlin at that time. I was in Cologne. Then when I came back I noticed slowly that it was -- We had to have a house employee, who had to be over 65. Because we had somebody to help us. Cooking and cleaning. My stepmother. We had one that was 65. She couldn't work very much anymore. So gradually it got worse and worse. That I can say.

But the strangest thing is they started everybody over a certain age, like here with the draft, you registered. I had to go to what they call the mustering in the German Army. I had to parade there naked before a whole group of officers. Doctors and officers. They examined me.

They say you are fit for the infantry. They say you are Jewish, aren't you?

I said yes.

They said you are four group 4-F. Seemed like 4-A, 4-F. You don't have to serve. They gave me a passport.

I had a passport from the Army, my picture in there.

When I emigrated, I emigrated and I had to return the Nazi passport. The SS took it from me.

Q. Do you remember going back and reading

about Nazism in newspapers or hearing about it on radio or people talking about it on the streets at the time? How did you know the changes were happening?

- A. Well, the Jewish people, like they have a Jewish bulletin here. They had a paper that came.
  - Q. Do you remember what the paper said?
- A. Well, the paper give us all the details what was going on in Germany, all over, from the different cities, towns and villages and whatever happened. You could see the handwriting on the wall.
  - Q. Were you scared at the time?
- A. Well, I belonged to a group what they call the Reichsbonnet. It was a democratic group. I was active in that. I was Marching in that. I figured somebody would denounce me. I had to get out. I was lucky I got out in time. If I waited another two weeks they would have arrested me too, the Nazi, and I wouldn't have been alive anymore.
- Q. Can you tell me when you were in the democratic group and you were speaking, what were you talking about?
- A. I wasn't speaking. We had our meetings on Sunday and Nazi tried to destroy us. Between the Communists on the left and Nazi on the right, we were right in the middle. Sometimes we had trouble with both

of them. It wasn't easy in those days.

- Q. Were there certain ways the Nazi would try to destroy you? Did they come and break up meetings?
- A. Oh, yeah. They came and broke up meetings but not by one. They came usually fifty to a hundred men.
  - Q. There were how many of you?
- A. Well, our group I think we got together was a hundred, a hundred twenty-five. We usually went in trucks and went outside of Berlin to smaller places to give them support. We had meetings and speakers there.

  Gradually we stopped that.
- Q. When the Nazi came in the big groups to break up the meetings was it violent?
- A. Oh, yeah. They got violent. My father didn't allow me anymore to go there. It was pretty rough.
- Q. Where were you, where were your sentiments? To stay with your father and take care of him or to go and fight the Nazi?
- A. It was Sunday we had the outings mostly when we had the outings, not during the week. Week we didn't have time. We had to work. I worked six days a week. When I worked in the furniture store we worked from nine in the morning to six at night. Three Sundays before Christmas we were open. From two to six in the afternoon.
  - Q. Was your work interrupted by the Nazi at

## all ever?

A. Well, my work wasn't interrupted. When I worked in the furniture, my father, we lost customers.

Another Jewish store they closed up.

The others told us, you know, they have been after us not to buy from you. There was a boycott going on.

That made it very tough for us so we had to get out.

My father was born in 1881. So at that time he was 57 years old. So it's hard for him to get out.

- Q. Did the customers talk to your father, long time customers who weren't Jewish?
  - A. Oh, yeah.
  - Q. Did they apologize? Were they angry?
- A. They apologized. They say there is nothing we can do. They say they have been after us. They have been. It was something they gave to buy. They gave a certificate. That certificate I think was good for two hundred marks or something. That was a lot of money in those days.

When people bought furniture they could apply that towards it. So they said they would take it away from us if we buy from you.

So my father saw to it. All the firms with the exception of one were gentile. They were very nice to him. The Jewish firm went into bankruptcy. I don't know

what happened after that.

- Q. The folks that weren't nice to him what happened with that?
- A. Well, he just told them not to come anymore so he lost them. It made it tough with him. He was very nervous. It was very hard for him. He had high blood pressure.
- Q. Was his business able to continue operating or did he have to shut it down because of that?
- A. Well, he still worked with a few customers, but not very much anymore. I did the outside of Berlin.

  My father had Berlin the city. I had my customers outside of Berlin. It's a big surrounding area.
- Q. When you were traveling around at that point was it difficult because you were Jewish to get customers? Was it more centered in Berlin with Nazism?
- A. Well, five year wait. If you needed merchandise, they couldn't pay their bills, they were glad to buy from you. They didn't care, you know. So you had to go and collect afterwards. If they wouldn't pay their bills they wouldn't receive another shipment. I had to collect money. But we made a living, barely a living I should say from that time. Besides my father was sick a whole year. I had to take care of it myself.
  - Q. The time you were in Berlin and again the

Nazism was rising and becoming more and more pronounced in the city what did you notice around the city? Were there propaganda posters going up? Can you explain that?

- A. There were posters all over. Every corner had a big poster, what they called litholyzer, which was a column. There were posters on it. Nazis put all the posters on it. People had Nazi flags all the time. The more you saw the more you could see it. I hated that swastica.
- Q. How old were you when you first noticed the swastica?
- A. That was long before. We had it already in 1929.
  - Q. Okay.
- A. 1930 the Nazi gained one hundred six seats in the parliment. That was the beginning of Hitler actually. He started in 1923 in the putsch in Munich. They should have shot him then, shot him dead at that time and the whole thing wouldn't have happened. The Verallan government was in Bavaria, they let him grow. He went to prison for nine months and he came out and started the whole movement. He was a martyr for them.
- Q. When you were looking at the posters what were the posters saying? What kind of messages were there?

- A. They had the newspaper their with boxes where they hung it out and showed all characteristics of Jews, which was very bad. They said "Defend yourself against the Jews." What the Jews are going to do to you I don't know what at that time.
  - Q. When you saw those what did you do?
- A. Nothing1 you can do. You can't take them down. It's against the law. Just grin and bear it.
- Q. I wanted to ask you a little more about the Nazi boycott. From my understanding how did you know the boycott was on? Was it the customers? Was this official proclamations? How did it, work?
- A. They were picketing all the Jewish stores, throw in the windows, taking everything out of the windows, eating the stuff and didn't let any customer in the store. Some of them they burned even.
  - Q. Did your father have a store?
- A. We didn't. My father at that time was manufacturer's representative already. We were in the wholesale business before. We worked from an office. Had a display of furniture. My father worked for different cabinetmakers that did the jobs.
  - Q. Was that ever damaged?
- A. Well, my father moved out at that time because he had some setbacks. Somebody took off with a

warehouse full of furniture and he made debts in my father's name. My father was responsible for it. So he had to close his business and start as a manufacturer's representative. He had a nervous breakdown which lasted for a whole year after that.

- Q. With a boycott and stores being vandalized and pickets, was that going on in your neighborhood at that time?
- A. I was at that time in Cologne. I had a job that started the 1st of April in Cologne. That was the day they had the boycott and wanted to send me back. I insisted they to pay me back. They had to pay me off first because I had expenses.
  - Q. Your family was still there?
- A. My father and second stepmother were still in Berlin at that time.
  - Q. Did you have any siblings who were there?
- A. There was only one step-brother from my father's second marriage. They went to Australia. He lives in Sidney, but I haven't had any contact with him.
- Q. You heard news when you were in Cologne what was going on in Berlin?
- A. Well, we heard it and we saw the newsreel at that time in the movies. They show you what was going on. It was terrible.

- Q. People started, Jews started leaving I guess around that time, right?
- A. The smart people left there, like my uncle. He went to Isreal. He could take all his money out at that time.
  - Q. How did your uncle know at that point?
- A. He was a Zionist. That was my mother's brother-in-law. He was a Zionist from way back. He wanted to go to Isreal. So he went to Telaviv.

My cousin went to the RAF at that time I remember. The other cousin, she worked in the Naffi. The Naffi is something like a canteen, like our px system, British. She worked there.

- Q. When you were in Cologne were there any problems?
- A. Cologne was pretty bad too. I could see it all over.
  - Q. Can you tell me what you saw?
- A. The store was closed when I was there. I had to go to the Personnel Department. Everybody, they lost their head. The store was closed. Nobody could come in at that time. There was no business that particular day. But then the whole thing went over, everything was all right, except that the Nazi went after the owner. The owners had to change what they call alsean. Which means

the store had to go into gentile hands. So the elevator operator became the president at that time.

- Q. Do you know what happened to the store?
- A. He threw out the Jews and I went to a furniture, big furniture store in Cologne. He said he couldn't hire me for Cologne, but he would hire me for Essen, for Dortmund, two other big cities in the wood territory. We had a sale there. I did the sale in Essen.

Went to Dortmund and the manager took over. The manager didn't like us. He was a gentile manager. He took the store over finally. I went to Berlin and worked for my father.

- Q. When you were in Cologne and the Jews were thrown out and told they couldn't work there any more, how was that done? Did a Nazi in uniform come in and say get out?
- A. No. It was like the Personnel Department, like any business, that told you we are sorry, we can't have you anymore. They had to give you 30 days. See, there is a law over there they can't fire you right away. They have to give you 30 days. So they paid you 30 days. I worked there 30 days. Now it's on commission. Because on furniture you work on salary and commission.
- Q. Do you know what happened to the owners before the elevator operator --

- A. I think they came here. One went to

  Berkeley. It was the Schlus family, the Bowmans. I think
  they all landed in Berkeley. I didn't have any contact.

  They must have died by now. They were pretty old.
- Q. Do you remember what was going through your mind at that point? Did you have any idea what was to come?
- A. Well, I could see my way clear. I wanted to go to Holland, immigrate to Holland. But that was very hard to even go there. They advised us not to come to Holland.
  - Q. Who was they?
- A. The rabbis. I went to different a congregation. I got the answer from the rabbis. From Amsterdam, from Rotterdam. They said not to come. Then I tried through my mother's aunt in San Francisco. She was acquainted with the Canadian counsel.

The Canadian counsel said we can only take people who have a craft, like any craft, artison. That's what they wanted. A cabinetmaker, a plumber, electrician, anything like that. But they were limited too. I knew somebody came to Toronto, wasn't Jewish. They got Canadian visas right away.

Q. This is a simple question. How did you know that it was time to get out? Why did you start

writing to the rabbis?

A. Because you could see the handwriting on the wall. The Nazi were taking over.

Then in 1938, in March, I saw with the police went out of Berlin to Vienna. They wanted to takeover the whole Reisch, you know, the whole thing. Austria, which they did actually at that time. They wanted the Jews out gradually.

Not only that, two weeks, four weeks before I left
I was called to the Gestapo secret police. The fellow
there told me, he said "If you are smart you better get
out as soon as you can. If you don't leave here, you come
into education camp." That's how he described it.
Exactly his words. Which was a concentration camp.

So I saw the handwriting. So I left on a German ship. It was easier for the money. You could deposit your money on the German ship. You couldn't take it out. At least you could pay so much per day on the ship, which I used up on the ship. It was a German ship. The ship left from Coxhofen. That's about 150 miles from Hamburg.

It was the Alber Berlin, which became the SS New York. It was the Hamburg American Line. I landed in New York, May 27, 1938.

Q. When you went to the Gestapo four weeks before you left was the person who told you it's time to

get out was he friendly or was he warning you?

A. He gave me a warning. He said "This is it," he said, "Take it or leave it. If you don't get out in a certain time", he said, "you will come into an education camp." They must have been after them to tell the people.

- Q. What did you do in the four week period? What did you do to try to get out?
- A. Actually I had a ship. I went right away to Hamburg American Line and I asked if I couldn't go to sea on one, if I couldn't go early to New York. They gave me a berth. It was an eight day trip from Hamburg to New York at that time.
- Q. Did you have a business to take care of before the trip, loose ends, family to say goodbye to?
- A. My father, my uncle, my aunt from my father's side, my father, I had to see them. My grand-mother. My mother's mother still lived at that time. Say goodbye to her. It was very heartbreaking.

I still remember seeing my father, my stepmother at the railroad station in Berlin when I left for Hamburg.

My stepmother had relatives in Hamburg. I stayed with them when I went to the boat.

Q. When you left your father and stepmother at the station were they trying to get out as well? Were

## they resigned to stay?

A. They wanted to get out, but the whole thing was so tough now. I would have had to send the visa. I got -- I mean affidavit. I got the affidavit of support. But my mother at that time was in prison. So she couldn't get out. The whole thing was, she was deported.

I had a letter here. In 1942 to Theresienstadt. I don't know if it's true or not. Anyhow from there they went somewhere else and were killed.

My mother, my grandmother were on the same tram.

My stepmother --

- Q. Can you tell me why your grandmother was jailed again?
  - A. My grandmother was.
  - Q. Your mother, I am sorry.
  - A. On account of this currency business here.

Also a friend of mine, his father was also involved in that. When he saw them coming to arrest him he jumped from a balcony from the third floor to the street.

- Q. Your father, tell me what happened to him please?
- A. Well, I can't say too much because the

  Rabbi who officiates -- I think later in Madison,

  Wisconsin. I was stationed in Madison Wisconsin. He said

  to me -- I asked him. He said there were so many at that

time, I went through the same routine, the coffins were locked. You couldn't even open the coffins. Didn't know what happened. They were buried at that time. So they got rid of them that way.

- O. Your father?
- A. Somebody must have been there. They worked hand-in-hand with the Gestapo. I don't know who was behind the whole thing. This happened to be a tailor of my father's and my mother who was involved in that too. He got all these people. I don't know.
  - Q. Do you know how?
- A. He told him I know somebody who works at the embassy and he can take it out through diplomatic pouch and you get it back in New York. But it never happened.
- Q. So it went with him. They went to a camp then?
- A. They went somewhere to the tailor to bring the money to the tailor and the tailor gave it to somebody else. I don't know. That guy gave a list, the names and everything. They got all the people involved. Must have been a hundred people involved in the whole thing. So there was a trial. My father was already dead. Never came to trial for him. But my stepmother.
  - Q. He died in jail?

	A. He died in jair because they didn't give
2	any bail at that time.
3	Q. Did they not give him bail because he was
4	Jewish?
5	A. That's what it was. They figured he would
6	escape or something. That was the reason. They kept him
7	in a very narrow cell. I tell you he got so worked up
8	when you think of all that.
9	Q. Did you ever hear from your father after
10	you left?
11	A. I sent a telegram when I landed in New
12	York. Then he wrote a letter and that was the last letter
13	I had. Everything I had was taken from me during the war.
14	I left it with people and people moved and threw
15	everything away, pictures and everything from my father.
16	I have a few pictures, but not the good pictures.
17	Q. Do you still have that letter from your
18	father?
19	A. No. That was all taken. I came back from
20	the service, I left it with a family. That family moved
21	to Washington, D. C. from Richmond. So they threw
22	everything away, including my letter.
23	Q. Back in Berlin before you came to the
24	United States and Canada?
25	A. I didn't go to Canada.

Q.

2 Yeah, I couldn't make it. Α. What else? Do you remember was it a 3 Q. frantic time? Did you feel under pressure to get out? 4 5 A. Well, I will tell you. we had our own Jewish artistic. We had our own Jewish theatre. 6 7 could go to the other theaters. In those days you didn't have the star yet. That came later when you had to wear 8 Normally they left you alone, the Nazi. But it 9 the star. 10 became somehow, the courts and everything changed. At that point you were still able to live 11 0. 12 in a mixed neighborhood? We lived in a mixed neighborhood with a big 13 apartment building. I still remember we had a movie actor lived on top, Adolph Uhlbrich. He also left and went to 15 London. None of our friends we saw in the beginning, they 16 left and went to England, like my uncle, my father's 17 brother. He went to London. 18 Do you know what year that was? 19 Q. They left after I left. It must have been 20 When I came in 1942 to London I visited them. 21 had been there already since the war started. 22 I guess I am going to try this again. 23 you had to go to your own theatres and pretty much stay 24 with the Jewish community --25

You tried to get this?

- A. You did not go too much on the street. You didn't show your face too much. You could go to movies, nobody bothered you, it was dark. But normally you didn't even enjoy it that much.
- Q. Were you scared or angry or both or none of those?
- A. Too young. I was young at that time. We had our Jewish dances. I went to dances. Had some dates. That's about all. You had to get over this because I worked for my father at that time and it was a Monday on the new job. It was bookkeeping, correspondence. I had to do the whole thing.
- Q. What about your friends, going back to the democratic group you were in. How did your friends fair after this?
- A. I lost touch with them. I dropped out of that when the Nazi came. They became too powerful and we couldn't do it anymore. I couldn't see any way. I would have ended up in a concentration camp much earlier. They knew, they had a list pretty well of the members. I figured it's better to go underground.

Well, a few years, it was from 1934 to 38. That was four years. I worked at that time at a job in a furniture store where I did the bookkeeping for the man.

We were close to the German general staff. We had all the

big shots there, the generals. They came and bought their furniture.

It was a Jewish store. See the Army they were not Nazi. They bought, they did what they wanted to do. The German national, they were different from the Nazi. They said "We do what we want to do." They bought the furniture there. It was a tremendous business.

- Q. When you were selling to the German army people were you angry at them? Were they just customers? What was your feeling?
- A. They were customers. You see a general in the store that means something, you know. Had a red stripe, that means he was general staff. They were all something there.
- Q. At that time were you losing trust in people, neighbors or schoolmates, not knowing who you could trust?
- A. I went to school in a different section of Berlin. We moved. We had some neighbors there. We talked to some of them. Some were very nice.

Strange, we had a couple downstairs. He was an electrician. He had his own business, with his wife. When I came back for the first time in 1961, I don't know, he was out on the job. She said.

"My God, you are still alive." It really struck

me. The house wasn't there any more where we lived. They were all bombed. These people moved opposite, across the street. I went there.

She said "My God, you are still alive." I came back in 84 they weren't there anymore. They must have moved or something.

Also people I went to school with, I looked through the telephone directory and I didn't see any of the names. Lot of them went to Russia. They died on the Russian front. The German Army. There were a lot of casualties.

- Q. When you were drafted by the German Army and they gave you the 4-F?
- A. Yeah. It was very funny. They wanted me to go into the infantry. I said that's about the last place I wanted to end up, being a foot soldier.
- Q. How did they know at the time you were Jewish? You were naked?
  - A. That they see right away.

Besides you've -- They had something. It was a passport or something. I had to show it. A regular passport. Over there you have to register at the police station. Wherever somebody lives, when they move in they have to register. When you move away you have to register again.

Q. Whether you are Jewish or not?

- A. That's there, sure, on the form, religion.
- Q. Everyone that is?
- A. Everybody has to do it. That's a general thing -- So they can get control of the people. It's not like here. Anybody can move away. You look through the telephone directory, no city directories. Over there you had to register. I don't know if it's still today.
- Q. I guess I was surprised they already had information that you were Jewish that they called you in any way.
- A. Well, they knew I wanted to immigrate. You had to go through what they called like I.R.S.. You had to show them you didn't owe any taxes. You had to pay a special tax for immigration. They knew right away. They got that paper right from there.
- Q. During this whole period of trying to immigrate, were you acting on your own? Did you have a friend you were doing this with?
- A. I had a friend who went to Suo Paulo in Brazil. He wanted me to go to Brazil. But at that time I couldn't leave my father, so I couldn't go. About sixty percent, seventy percent, they all went to Sao Paulo. They all went first class. That's how they got in, by boat, first class. They stayed there.
  - Q. When you had to stay behind to take care of

your father were you getting scared at all about having to stay longer? Were you torn at all between staying with your father and moving on to a different country?

- A. I didn't think much at that time. I was kept pretty busy. It did not occur to me. Gradually in 1938 when I immigrated and it came to me. It came to a point.
  - O. What was that?
- A. I came to the consulate and they made so many difficulties. Like for instance, they can ask what do you want to do when you get there?

If I told them I want to work. Sorry, you can't work. We have enough unemployed here. We don't need anymore. So you say you want to study.

Who is going to pay for your study? I say my cousin. My cousin will pay for it.

They said you have to show us they are going to pay for your study.

After all that luckily my mother had a banker.

This banker made a call to the counsel general. The counsel general's name was Messerschmidt. I still remember. Monday morning I got my Visa. Was I happy when I got my Visa.

- Q. Why do you think the banker helped you out?
- A. Well, my mother was a favorite customer of

his. My mother was married. Her first marriage was to an antiquities dealer. They a lot of antiques there, a lot of money there. He passed away.

She got a lot, inherited a lot, the store and everything. So she was a good customer of this banker, private bank, Jewish bank. He helped her.

I had a commissioner, a Jewish commissioner for the State of Virginia in Richmond. He worked on the affidavit. I had the president of the British American Tobacco Company as guarantor. Still couldn't get out. She was in jail.

- Q. What is the commissioner?
- A. Commissioner is the one that sets the bail for the federal. I don't know if they have it. At that time anybody accused of federal crime, the commissioner sets the bail. Maybe they still have it in federal court. That was his job. He was a very nice fellow. His name was Neidenheimer.
- Q. Do you feel you had good luck on your side to have these people writing to get you out?
- A. Well, through this commissioner I got -- He helped a lot of people. When we came to Richmond, I came to Richmond Virginia, I must say that the temple was a reform temple. They helped us tremendously. Through the temple I got a job.

After this job that I couldn't stay in the furniture job. I got a job in the millinary factory. I filled orders for ladies hats. I worked there until I went into the service.

- Q. Once you got your visa on that Monday morning what happened next? Tell me your route.
- A. From the visa I had to go back to the shipping company. At that time I must have gotten already the earlier ship. I wanted to make sure. So I went two weeks after I had my visa and left and came here. But there was a lot of work there too. I had to bring all these papers and passport, the Army passport. I had to have all that.

I went to Hamburg. My mother's brother, stepmother's brother lived in Hamburg. I stayed with him and
I went on the train to the ship. The ship was a German
ship. They were all Nazi. But Nazi and I came to New
York and they put the uniforms away and went into civilian
clothes and here they got leave. That really hurt me at
that time.

At that time we landed on the pier 83. Pier 83 was Hamburg American Line on one side and North German Line on the other side.

Here was the Bremen. At that time there was a big fire on the Bremen. I still remember. Germans were

involved. Hairdresser from the Bremen and some other people and F.B.I. was after them. I still remember that. It was a big scandle in New York. They arrested them all. They were spies from Germany.

- Q. With the Nazi on the ship did you have anything, were you separated from them on the ship or play shuffle board?
- A. I knew they were all false. Only took the money. That's all they were after, like the waiters, head steward and all this.
- Q. Do you feel when you were at the consulate in Berlin trying to get to the United States that they gave you a harder time at all because you were Jewish or do you think they were doing it to anyone who was German?
- A. Well, it came from the State Department.

  They did whatever the State Department tells them. At that time Cordell Hull was Secretary of State. He didn't want too many Jews in.

After Morgenthau, he was Secretary of Finance or something he was at that time. He was a good friend of Roosevelt. But it didn't help any either. Just made it as tough as they could at that time. Because the quota was for twenty-seven thousand. So they didn't let everybody in.

Q. That's twenty-seven thousand Germans?

Α.	German, Jews,	everything.	You had German
citizenship.	I was born in	Berlin I had a	German
citizenship.	My father was	born in Berlin	and he had
German citizen	nship.		

- Q. Pretty soon I want to get what it was like once you were here, but before going back to Berlin and with the store boycotts, so I have an understanding, and before you left, you said it was kind of hard. You could go out at night. You could go to movies?
- A. Yes, to movies, you could go to restaurant maybe.
  - Q. You were working during the day?
  - A. During the day I was working.
- Q. Did you have any problems at all walking down the street? Did people ever taunt you or throw things at you?
- A. No. Nobody ever bothered me. Berlin was a city. We had a lot of Poles, French people. Like New York, a very international city. They didn't bother us as much as other cities, smaller cities, which were tougher, where people knew you. Berlin, nobody knew you. They couldn't.
- Q. When you stayed with your uncle was it in Hamburg?
  - A. On the way to the States.

1	Q. What was H
2	A. As a child
3	it was bombed in World Wa
4	St. Pauli is where the am
5	sailors town, like San Fra
6	there.
7	Hamburg was a very
8	they talked German almost
9	dialogue. Very high clas
10	Q. What was g
11	Were the Nazi there too?
12	A. Oh, sure,
13	too much about Hamburg at
14	Q. Your uncle
15	A. Didn't tel

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amburg like?

it was a beautiful city, before r II. It was beautiful city. usement is for sailors. It's a ancisco. It was quite a place

nice cultural city. In fact, like English. A different s German.

- oing on in Hamburg at that time?
- they had Nazi too. I didn't know that time.
  - didn't talk to you about that?
- Didn't tell us very much. Later on, he was Α. married to a gentile woman I think. I don't know what happened afterwards. Lost all contact with these people.
- I find it interesting you came to the 0. United States and you went back to Europe to fight for the U.S. Army.
  - Yeah. Α.
- What was that like? What was going through Q. your mind?
- It was strange. Being in England was A. entirely different. When we came to France and came to

Alsace Lorraine and every store the owner wasn't there and it said widow on and so. All the husband's had died in Russia. Well, that is what happens.

We saw a lot of German prisoners of war. I had to comment at that time I felt so damn mad I felt like shooting them right from the truck. But it wouldn't help anymore either. I was pretty angry.

But it was funny, I was in Gibraltar for the African invasion. We stayed about 16 days on the Rock. We had the Germans right across from us. We said all the cuss words over to them and they didn't know what it was. They sent us I M I, which is a question mark. They couldn't understand. We sent all the words to them. I could see the Gestapo. It was strange. Right at the border. There was a gate on the border.

Gibraltar was British, Spain was neutral. But there were a lot of Germans. The Gestapo was there. You could recognize them with the leather coat and green hat. You knew right away.

- Q. You never came face-to-face with them for words?
- A. No, there was a gate between. I wouldn't start anything. I was in Gibraltar. Gibraltar was a British base. But we had a lot of Spanish woman coming over there. That I remember. They were selling oranges.

They went right in the barracks. They didn't care. I had night duty. I was asleep during the day. They woke you up. Oranges.

Well, I was in Gibraltar 17 days. I opened the door. A colonel stepped out, took a look at the Rock. He said this is just like Prudential Insurance Company, the company for which I work.

I was stationed in Washington, D.C. I remember I had to register as an enemy alien in American uniform at the main Post Office. They came out that all enemy aliens after December 7, 1941 had to register. All Germans, Italians and Japanese had to register as enemy alien. I registered as an enemy alien. It was kind of funny, you know.

- Q. The other people you were in the Army with, did they give you trouble at all because you were German?
  - A. No. We were scattered all over.
  - Q. There were a lot of Germans?
- A. Had a lot of Pennsylvania Dutch and Pennsylvania Dutch is very much like German. Besides I wanted to learn English. I could have had a job as a typist in the orderly room, but my English wasn't that good. So I felt I better wait.
- Q. When you were in Germany you knew German and French?

- A. I had six years of French basic in the high school. We had three years of English. We had what we call the King's English. I had to go to Berlitz school. I got my American training more at the Berlitz school and in the movies. Clark Gable, Merna Loy, all these actors at that time. Broadway Melodies and all these, you know. It was quite interesting.
- Q. When you are back in Europe for the brief period in the Army did you have any desire at that point to go back to Berlin, desire to fight the Nazi there?
- A. Well, they sent me on R & R, which means rest and recuperation. I had two years nine months overseas leave. I thought when we leave Calais, Eisenhower came to us and he gave us a speech and said when you boys come back everything will look much better to you.

I wondered if they were going to send us back. I applied for a job in UNRA, United Nations Relief organization, to feed the people. Or go to the Army of occupation, military government. For military government you had to be screened. We had people who went to camp Richie. A lot of them went to military government. They had the course there. They were prepared for it to work in military government.

But I was happy to get out finally because I had

been there since February 41 to September 45. That was enough for me. To get out of uniform. We had an English uniform. I have a picture of it there. That wool smelled terrible.

- Q. You said you went to the Committee in New York City. What is the committee?
- A. They had a committee for refugees. I can't remember. Somebody had it set up. All the people who came went to that committee. That committee didn't want to keep you in New York.

They asked you first if you have a place to stay, if you have enough to eat, if you need food or anything, if you need a job. But they didn't have any jobs at the time. They said you go to the agency. I couldn't get a job as a dishwasher.

- Q. The agency was what?
- A. Private agencies that referred you.
- Q. Jewish refugees?
- A. Jewish refugees. They could not supply that many jobs. They didn't have any at that time. It was a depression, 1938.

Finally I got a job through a friend actually who was acquainted. He worked in the hotel San Moritz. He was a desk clerk. He knew the housekeeper. Housekeeper was a German woman. She had friends who owned the

delicatessen, Nate's Delicatessen. Nate Hotske, two brothers. I think it was on 44th Street.

Through them I got to the camp. They owned the boys and girls camp, kosher camp for July and August. In those days the parents paid five dollars a day, which was a lot of money. On weekends the parents came in there Cadillacs and Dusenbergs, all the fancy cars.

I still remember one came in a big car and had a Jewish chauffeur. Sharipo. That really impressed me. He had a Jewish chauffeur. So I emptied the ashtrays and brought them cards and they gave us tips. I had three meals. I slept with the kids. It was pretty nice.

Then I went to Ithaca from there, from the Cat skills to Ithaca New York. My grandfather had a half brother who went to Ithaca in New York in 1970. He did not want to serve in the German Army. So he came to Ithaca. His son -- He wasn't alive anymore. His son had a clothing store on Seneca Street. So I went there.

He said "I am sorry, I can't employ you in my store but I will see what I can do for you." So he wanted me to get a job making sandwiches for students. But I had to sleep on the table. I didn't care for that that much.

Q. When you were in the Army and also in the United States when you first came here were you keeping up on the news of what was going on in Berlin?

A. Oh, yes. Well, as far as you could. I had a radio. First thing I bought with my money was a radio, little handmade radio. I listened to the radio a lot those days. This was before television. Saturday nights you had The Hit Parade. That was most exciting. As much as you could. And you went to the movies. That was about the best.

In those days you could go to the movies for twenty-five, thirty-five cents. I remember in New York when I got to work I paid twenty-five cents and they had bingo night. My number won. I went up to the stage. They had a a little girls purses. You had to pick a purse. There was money in there. I picked the purse with \$10.00. My God, I was the happiest guy. That was a lot of money in those days.

Q. Going back, seeing you kept up on things at least with the newsreels and posters, even back in Germany the time before you came, was there -- You said there was writing on the wall. Was there any other signs?

MR. GRANT: Indications of what was to come?

A. They convince the Jews, it come up every week. Just looking in the paper was all the Nazi places they had pages, you know, outside for glass you could see it. It was terrible. It was all over. Just rape our

women and all that stuff.

- Q. It seemed like you were close with your father, kept in close contact with him. What was his idea towards this? Was it to keep cool or what was his mind?
- A. Not to open his mouth too much. If he opened his mouth he wouldn't have been alive. Just keep it quiet and we will see if we get out. But it got to the point -- When he married my stepmother she was pretty wealthy. She practically supported him at that time.
- Q. She was the one whose husband had an antique store?
  - A. Had the antique store, yeah.
- Q. I want to jump ahead a little more. You said the first time you went back to Berlin after that was 1961?
  - A. With my wife.
  - Q. What was that like for you to go back?
- A. It was a strange feeling to go back to Berlin. It was like going to a different world. I knew Berlin, I lived there 24 years. Everything was still there, but the houses weren't there any more.

I remember that our tour, we went to a tour, we went outside of Berlin and there was a Russian monument.

Tremendous monument there for all the Russian soldiers who fell in the invasion of Berlin. They were buried there.

Tremendous monument there.

They took that from the stones of the Chancery where Hitler use to be. Took all the stones out and made a big monument. It was a different city.

At that time I could go to the cemetery and I visited the graves of my father and mother. My father wasn't buried next to my mother. My father was buried somewhere else because my stepmother wasn't dead at the time. She was in jail. Somebody else had to go to it.

- Q. Was this a Jewish cemetery?
- A. Yeah. Tremendous big cemetery.
- O. That wasn't hurt in the war?
- A. Apparently it wasn't hurt, no. Everything was so desolate there. Nobody took care of it. It was overgrown. Here we paid money. I sent money over there to have it taken care of. Now I don't know what they are going to do. They may raze it and build a shopping center. I don't know. You can only have the cemetery for so long. I don't know.

It was a different city. Berliners, once you live here, it's a different way of life. Over there they are so mean, so I don't know. Not polite. That's one thing in Berlin especially.

Q. Did you feel when you were there in 61 that they treated you poorly because you were Jewish?

A. No. It was a general attitude. There weren't that many Jews anymore. In fact, the last time I was invited to the City of Berlin from the mayor and the city hall, we went all over, which I saw more that time. They were very nice to us. I didn't go to the cemetery because it was too late. It was already snowing. Could have slipped there and broke your legs in the cemetery, it's all cobblestones. We didn't go anymore there. 84 I saw more of Berlin. We went to see where the synagog use to be, Rabbi Stein. He came to us. Jewish community.

They gave us a reception, like they give to all that came back to Berlin. He spoke there. We went the next day to the synagog, which was very much like conservator. They had no choir in those days. It was quite interesting.

There were a lot of gentile people that come to the services too. I had a fellow next to me that asked me questions that I had to explain everything to him.

- Q. How do you like explaining things to people? Not only in services but also speaking here?
- A. Well, I like it very much. In fact, when I first came to Richmond Virginia, I earned my supper that way. I had to speak before church groups. They invited me to the First Baptist church, Second Baptist church, Methodist church and I went to all the churches. They had

supper there.

- Q. What did you talk about?
- A. About my father in Germany, about what I found in Germany, what was going on at that time. I was young. I just came. They wanted to know. I told them what was going on.
- Q. I haven't heard of people doing that before. Who hooked you up to that?
- A. Some of us did. Especially I worked in a firm. We had a lot of gentile employees. Jewish firm. We had gentile employees who went to different churches. They asked if I wanted to come to their church. Usually Sunday they had Sunday supper, some group, and had speakers there so I went there. Sometimes even during the week they asked me.
- Q. Was their response this isn't really happening?
- A. No, no. They understood it very well.

  They asked me how I could explain that. It's very hard to explain it, things happen like this. To find a reason for everything is very hard.
- Q. I am going to jump ahead even more from 1961 to almost 30 years later with the Berlin wall coming down finally. Did that affect you in any certain way?
  - A. No. Up until then the Russians were still

there. It was a Russian monument like on the western side, a little bit from the Brandenburg Gate. The Russians were still there. It starts again like in the thirties when you read the paper. Only now they have a lot of foreign workers.

In the neighborhood where I grew up and went to school, they were all Turks now. The whole thing was Turkish. Those kids were born in Berlin and spoke the same German the kids in Berlin spoke.

It's strange. At the moment they have a lot of unemployed. The unemployed will start anything so they can get their jobs. That's all it is. It's repetition of the 1920's and thirties, the way it is now. That is why they have to do something.

In fact, I was in Berkeley a few weeks ago when Chancellor Kohl was there. It was quite interesting to listen to him. He gave a lecture there at Berkeley in the big theater.

- Q. You said something has to be done. What do you think?
- A. Well, they need jobs. Jobs have to be provided. Industry. See they work for the government. When you work for the government you don't work that much. It's different if you work for private industry. You work much harder. You have more interests, more incentives.

Russian. It was carbon copy of Russia. I remember the first time I went to Berlin and what impressed me I saw how they built a house. They slapped the front on. Over that came another front. Another front. All the way to the house. These houses crack. They don't stand up. It's not the way we built apartment houses at least. They were steel or concrete foundations. They were stuck there. They just crack after awhile. They have no earth quakes.

- Q. Can you show me some of the photos you brought and documents?
- A. I probably -- This is my birth certificate, copy of it at least. So you know I was born, when I was born. This is when I emigrated. My admission card to the United States. That's how I got here in those days.
  - Q. Very dashing.
- A. I will tell you, 24 years that's a life.

  The Life of Riley. This is my picture when they shaved

  me. I came into the service.
  - Q. This was from?
- A. That was the U.S. Army, identification with fingerprints. This is copy of my discharge.
  - Q. How were you able to hold on to your birth

## certificate through everything?

- A. This was a copy made. I didn't have my birth certificate. This is a copy. I had to have it. I had to show them when I retired. I paid into the insurance over there when I was a kid.
  - Q. Over in Germany?
  - A. Over in Germany.
  - Q. You are receiving a pension?
- A. Not very much, but it helps a little bit, with Social Security. I was low budget in those days.

This is a letter that shows where my stepmother was deported to. I don't know if you speak German.

- Q. No.
- A. That doesn't mean anything. This is my mother and me when I must have been three years old or four at the time. During the war.
- Q. Underneath it's me. First day going to school in 1920.
- A. It was full of candy, chocolate, candy. Six years when you start school. This one I was four years old.
  - Q. Tell us about this please?
- A. This is mother and me. Must have been the same time. About three years old.
  - Q. Tell us about this please.

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- 1 A. That must have been before my mother got 2 married. Twenty-one years old, with the lace collar there. 3 Tell us about the picture on the right. 4 Q. 5 A. Picture on the right is my father and 6 mother on honeymoon in Venice. On the Piazza San Marco. What year was that? 7 Q. That was 1913. 8 Α. 9 On the left? 0. 10 A. On the left is my mother as a young girl. How old she was I wouldn't know. She was a young girl 11 12 before her marriage. 13 0. Please tell us about this picture.
  - A. My uncle, my father and is his sister next to him. He went every year to lose weight. They ate so much there they hardly lost any. They enjoyed the place so much. It was a nice health resort.
    - Q. Are you in the photograph?
  - A. No. My cousin. He passed away. The girl next to my uncle she lives in New York.
  - Q. What year do you think this photo was taken?
  - A. That was after my father's divorce. It would have been around 1928, 29, around that time.
    - Q. Tell us about this picture please.

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- This is my mother's grave, my grandfather 1 2 is buried next to her and my great grandmother is on the 3 other side. My great grandma was 99 years old when she 4 passed away. This is in Berlin? 5 Q. 6 Α. In Berlin. That's the Jewish cemetery. 7 0. Does this cemetery exist? 8 A. The cemetery exists. It's in east Berlin. 9 It's a tremendous big cemetery.
  - Q. Do you know the name of it offhand?
  - A. It's called the cemetery of the Jewish Gemina, the Jewish community cemetery. It's the old new part and new part. This happens to be the new part. At that time they dedicated that one.
    - Q. Tell us about this picture.
  - A. That was taken in 1941, approximately in April. That was life in the barracks.
    - Q. Can you point to yourself please?
    - A. I am right here.
  - Q. Where were you located? What town were you in when this picture was taken?
  - A. We were located near Etontown New Jersey.

    Fort Monmouth is big center for headquarters. Near Long

    Bran. I remember we went to Atlantic City.

We were located near Etontown New Jersey. Fort

Monmouth New Jersey big signal corps headquarters. I remember we went to Atlantic City, and Lakewood New Jersey, which isn't far on the beach, on the Atlantic Ocean. That was card games there.

Q. Tell us about this please?

A. This was taken also at Fort Monmouth.

Saturday after inspection. We all had to be clean and

- Q. Would you point where you are in that lower picture there?
  - A. Here.
  - Q. Top row, second from the left?
- A. Top, second from the left. That was Fort Monmouth New Jersey.
  - O. Tell us about that.

good uniform, clean uniform and everything.

- A. This was when the Red Cross wagon came along with the donut. I was sitting there eating a donut on a fence in Gibraltar.
  - Q. That was what year?
  - A. 1942.
    - Q. Tell us about this?
- A. I am not on this picture. This was taken in Monfort out of my outfit. At that time I was in the signals company. I am not in this picture, no.
  - Q. Tell us about this picture please.

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This was a victory march parade on the Trafalgar Square. That was about 1943 when my outfit marched there. I took it in. The war was still on? Q. Α. The war was still on. They were selling That was a big bond at that time. 0. Tell us about this. This was our group. I am the one on the left, extreme left. The one on the right, I saw him again in Chicago. His name was Hamaddi. He worked for the I.R.S. in Chicago. What happened to him I don't know. Q. What year was this? Α. That was in 1944. Q. The town? It could have been in France. We were in in St. Mare Eligise, in Normandy. This is where this was taken. Q. Over here, what were you telling us about this picture? At that time prior to the invasion I was billetted in -- I went to school in Sutton Valley, RAF. stayed with them for about three months. The gentleman on

Q.

you had to go for home guards exercise.

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the right. He was the house there. During the weekend

You are on the left?

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Virginia.

Α. I am on the left. I was a technician corporal. 0. Tell us about this. This was a Red Cross wagon. I am sitting Α. there eating a donut from the Red Cross and coffee. was in France in 1943, 44. Invasion was 44. It would have been about August, something in July. Q. The photo early near Gibraltar you said you were eating donuts? I mixed that up. Α. Q. The earlier photo was Gibraltar? The fellows I said goodbye was in charge. She was a master sargeant. I was staff Sergeant at that The first sergeant is right between us behind. You are shaking hands? Q. I am shaking hands. I have a cap on. Α. there I went to Paris and from Paris to LeHarve and from LeHarve to home on the Queen Mary. Tell us about this please. Q. Α. This is my last picture in uniform, before I was discharged. Q. What town did you have the photograph taken?

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I had the photograph taken in Richmond

I had friends who took it there. I got all my

ribbons there, combat ribbons.

- Q. Tell us about this please?
- A. This was taken here at the civic auditorium. There was a tradeshow going on for plastic signs, window displays especially when my firm participated and we sold plastic signs. For every business we had signs, plastic signs and three dimensional that could go into the window.
  - Q. Tell us about this please.
- A. This was December 17, 1953 when we got married in Kansas City Missouri. I met my wife in Kansas City. I had to come back and get married there. We were married in the temple there. Temple Desure. I still remember that. I moved to San Francisco.
- Q. You want to talk more about the present and what happened?
- A. Well, since 1965 I have been involved in B'nai Brith. First I was working so much out of town I couldn't attend any meetings. Then I joined B'nai Birth and I have been active there. I have been financial secretary the last eleven years. I am just starting my twelfth year term now in a few weeks.

My father was with B'nai Brith, so I am trying to keep up the tradition, as my grandfather on my mother's side was on B'nai Brith.

Also we have a group in Germany. When we went to Berlin we visited the Leo Berk Lodge in Berlin. Leo Berk was a very well known Rabbi in Berlin so they named the lodge after him. It's nice to see it continues. Of course, most of the people gradually will die out. Came over there to retire. They will die out. The younger people. There aren't that many young people. There are a lot of Russians. Russians just came to Berlin. There is a new lodge, Johanus Kulchick lodge. When I was there in 84 they had about four lodges. I don't know how many they have now. I think they have three lodges in Berlin. Population of about six thousand.

- Q. What do the lodges do?
- A. The lodges, not only socially, but they do a lot for welfare. It's a Jewish old age home in Berlin, a Jewish hospital in Berlin. These people do a lot of volunteer work. Also they come together and especially during the cold winter months where they invite people, other people, Jewish people, gentile people and serve them coffee, cake and entertain them, which is very nice too. They have their social life there.
  - Q. It's the same in the states.
- A. Yeah. Of course here it's much bigger. It comes from Washington, D.C. I have been to conventions here, being active in the lodge and now past president.

You do the job for ten years you become past president. So I joined the past presidents.

In San Francisco we have three lodges. I went to school. What interests me is for seniors. The senior worlds affairs class, which was founded by a lawyer by the name of Hartz. Originally they wanted men. Now you have to have women. I am glad to see that we have women. It makes it more interesting. We use to be at the community college. Now we are at the community college on Fourth and Mission. Every Monday we have world affairs class, current events mostly. Very good speakers, very stimulating.

That's how we get together there, Jewish, gentiles. Anybody can come. Free admission. Doesn't cost anything. Two hours.

- Q. From your experience in going through Berlin and going to the war, coming to the United States and traveling all over the country now is your chance to give folks a message. Is this one? It seems you have kept history alive.
- A. Well, you know, like I have been in London,
  I go many more times to London. London it's entirely
  different. I feel more at home in London than I would
  feel at home in Berlin. Berlin to me is a strange city.

  Jews in Berlin are dying out slowly, as all over

Germany. Berlin is a beautiful city. It has culture, has very beautiful museums and surrounding area and nature is beautiful. That part is nice.

I also have been in Vienna. My wife is from Vienna. I must say Vienna is a beautiful city. One time I drove there, I drove in Berlin. It's the only way to get around. Now you can go anywhere you want to, which is nice again. You can rent a car in Frankfurt and tour the country. German landscape is beautiful.

You cannot look at every man over 70 and think he was a Nazi, which probably he was. You have to forget it. The past will remember the past. We have to live in the future. That's the way I see it. What has happened has happened. Germany has been trying very much, you know, to do good things, to try to make good the things that happened. These are different generations. Two, three generations after all this happened. They are coming up. You can't blame anybody.

But it was just a crazy time and everybody jumped on the Nazi bandwagon. People were against them, they were just killed unfortunately. I don't want to see that again in my lifetime. I am sure I won't. We just have to look at nature, have to look at beautiful things in life and remember our past.

Sure, remember our family and all that. That's all

you can do. It's a different world. That's all I have to say when you come from Berlin.

- Q. Did you have family members lost to the Nazi who went to the camps?
- A. Well, my father's brother was killed, but I never found out when, where or what. There is nothing about him. Only maybe a way to find out would be through the Red Cross or something. I don't know. He was married to a gentile woman that saved him for a long time. They would have gotten him. She passed away. She had cancer. She passed away and they came for him unfortunately.
  - Q. Where were they living?
- A. They were living in Berlin. In the suburb of Berlin called Templehof. It was close to the airport. They had the airport at Templehof. Last time I saw it it was an Air Force base at Templehof. The new one is out further. Now they have jets. They are enlarging it. They want the jumbo jets in. But otherwise, it's a beautiful city. I still would like to go and see the country, drive it as long as I am able to.
- Q. Is there anything else you would like to tell us?
- A. Well, what would you like to know? My life is not as interesting as some of the other people like what is his name? Eli Stein. He went to Shanghai. He

was a roofer in the concentration camps. He could tell you more than I could.

- Q. We have interviewed him. You have told us a lot too.
- A. It was different. I got out in time. I was lucky to get out. I have an aunt, my mother's aunt lived in San Francisco. She said I am too old. I can't give you an affidavit of support. She wouldn't give it. She got me together with the Canadian consulate and he couldn't do anything for me. Many of them went to Canada too.
- Q. You didn't have any desire to go to Isreal then?
- A. After all this happened I couldn't anymore. It was very difficult to get to Isreal. Because there weren't certificates. Only so many could go during that time. They took only those they could smuggle in or something. They couldn't have taken anymore. Once you come to the States you are out. They drop you right from the roll. Before I tried to, but it just didn't work out. I couldn't even get away to support my father. My father was sick. I couldn't go. My friends went to Sao Paulo. All you had to have was a ticket on a first class ship. Shanghai came later. Shanghai came when the war started. The war started in 1939. August or September. September

it started. It was a Sunday. I remember when the war started I was in Richmond Virginia at that time. We were all invited and we heard on the radio then when Edward R. Murrow broadcast from London. I still remember that. Radio was pretty big. I liked Richmond too. It's a very nice city. But it's too small. If you went with a girl on Saturday night and Sunday morning everybody knew you went out on a date.

Ms. GORDON: I think that's it then. Thank you very much.

Small, Henry 1991 October 29 Wession 2

## HOLOCAUST ORAL HISTORY PROJECT SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

**INTERVIEW** 

of

HENRY SMALL

OCTOBER 29, 1991

by

Interviewer Ms. Rachel Gordon

Executive Director Lani Silver

Producer/Director John Grant

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MS. GORDON: Today is October 29, 1991 for the Holocaust Oral History Project. We are going to be interviewing Henry Helmut Small. My name is Rachel Gordon. We are with the producer John Grant.

Mr. Small, first, thank you for taking the time to talk to us today. What we would like to do is hear your life story a little bit, starting even when you were a little boy. If you can tell us where you were born, and something about your family to start off.

A. I was born March 1914 in Berlin Germany. I was what they called an exemption for my father because five months later the first world war started and my father would have to go into the Army, but he had to support me and my grandmother.

With four dependents he did not have to go in the Army. We went through the 1st World War. I can remember up to the age of four. 1918 we had the revolution where there was shooting in front of our house. We lived in a big apartment house. We couldn't go on the street.

By the age of six I lost my mother. My mother, my grandmother were going over a big street in Berlin, called the Kurfuerstendamm.

My aunt, my mother's sister, could not marry during the war so they postponed the wedding until after the war.

My mother, my grandmother both crossed the street. There

was what they call a horse trail, horse path in the middle of the street and a drunken taxi driver drove on this horse path. He zig zagged. My mother, my grandmother both went under the car. My grandmother lived but my mother died the next day.

I went to school then when I was six years old.

My father remarried again in 1923. I had a stepbrother, half-brother in Australia. I haven't seen him. My father was divorced in 1927. Then he married again in 1933.

I went to school from 1920 to 1923 to a private school. From 1923 to 1929 to a higher school, what they called the Oberrealschule. We had French and English.

1929 I did not finish the full course. That would have been another three years. I went to work. In those days we had the depression and I had to go to work to support my father. I had an apprenticeship in furniture and clothing department store. I worked in the furniture department as my father was in the furniture business.

We did that originally as a wholesale business.

Later my father became a manufacturer's representative in the furniture trade.

In 1933 I finished my apprenticeship and started for a better job in Cologne. I started on the 1st of April 1933. There was a boycott, the Nazis organized a

boycott against Jewish stores. I came to the store and I wanted to start my work; they didn't want me. They wanted to send me back.

I said I had a contract. They had to pay me at least a month and my expenses. They kept me until about in August of 1933 when the store changed hands and I had to leave.

I went to a furniture store in Essen, where we were selling out.

Finally in 1934 I came back to Berlin and I worked for my father, from 1934 to 1938, until I immigrated to the states.

My father was sick. He had pneumonia. In those days they didn't have the miracle drugs. It took almost a year. I had to do all the work by myself.

Then my father -- When I wanted to immigrate in 1938, I tried before. It wasn't easy. I wanted to go to Canada first. I couldn't get the papers. But 1938 finally through my stepmother I got the papers, the affidavits. But the U.S. Consulate in Berlin was very difficult. They made it as tough as possible. The German quota at that time was about twenty-seven thousand per year.

I was lucky that my father's banker played golf with the Consul General in Berlin. They played golf on

Sunday. Monday I went to the consulate. I was called in right away and received my visa, which helped. But it happened at that time that my father, my mother, they had a tailor, did ladies suits and also my father's suits. This tailor worked with somebody. We didn't know who was in cahoots with the Gestapo, the secret police.

They claimed they could take money out. But it was against the law to take German money out or whatever you had out of the country. So this man, somehow the Gestapo got hold of him and there were other people involved, including my father, my mother. My father was interned. So he didn't receive any bail. He was in jail for the time in prison and the Nazis killed him right there.

Never came to the trial with him.

My mother went through the trial. She was, she received two or three years in the womens prison.

So I tried my best. I got here to get her out but I couldn't make it. I arrived it was May 28th and I couldn't find a job in New York City. It was a depression going on.

So I was lucky to, through a friend, who worked at the hotel St. Moritz, right on Sixth Avenue at that time. The housekeeper got me a job in boys and girls camp for July and August in the Catskills. So I worked there as a laundryman.

I didn't know anything about machines. I had the iron machine. I managed to take all the buttons off the girls slacks or blouses or whatever I had. Machine was too hot. I couldn't handle that machine. So the season was over. I had to look for another job. I had relatives in Ithaca New York. I saw Cornell. I could have had a job there selling sandwiches to the students, but I

The state of the state of

declined.

I went back to New York. I went to the Committee. They sent me to Richmond Virginia. I came to Richmond Virginia. There was a furniture store. I think in those days I made \$8.00 a week. I lasted about three weeks because the lady told me she could have had a black guy who could have worked for five dollars a week.

During the third week we had our linoleum carpets outside. There was a rope around them. A big colored fellow came and he cut the rope and he took the biggest linoleum rug under an arm and he took off.

I went behind him. He wanted to pull a knife on me. I hollered help help. Luckily the police station was across the street. They looked out and they caught him.

She paid me off at midnight. In those days

Saturday you had to work until midnight. I told her that
I didn't have a job. So Monday morning I started in the
millinary factory. I worked there until 1941.

In 1940 we had the draft, universal draft. I registered. My number happened to be very low. So I figured I might as well get it over with.

They called me for February, 1941 into the Army. I joined the Army in Richmond Vriginia. They sent me first to Fort Meade Maryland. From there I went to Fort Monmouth New Jersey. It was at that time the Signal head-quarters, where I received my basic training for 90 days.

After 90 days they asked me where I would like to go. I said I would like to go to the west coast. Instead they sent me to Washington, D. C., which wasn't bad. In those days you had ten girls to one fellow in Washington D.C.. So we looked for the girl who had either an apartment or house or a car, because those things we didn't have.

I enjoyed Washington very much. There was so much going on culturally. Besides I could go to night school and learn typing, which I did then.

Then Pearl Harbor came. It was Sunday, December 7.

I was at the USO, at reform temple. There was a Jewish

USO at that time. I remember very well that the news of

Pearl Harbor came. It was already at night there or

afternoon.

So that was the end. We could not go out anymore. We couldn't wear civilian clothes anymore. Everything was

now changed. I stayed there until 1942.

I was lucky that I did not go on the first shipment. The first two shipments went to China, Burma India. I went on the third shipment. The third shipment went to Charleston South Carolina, to Savannah Georgia, to Fort Dix and from Fort Dix we took the old Monteray. It was from the old Mattson Line, the steamer, and went from Brooklyn Navy yard all the way to Greenock in Scotland. We landed after 12 days. It was a cold journey, all the way north through Iceland.

From Scotland we went by way of Credwe to
Highwickum. Highwickum we stayed in a grade school first
and then they sent us to Watford, another suburb, about 50
miles from London. In Watford I stayed until November
1942. They took six of us fellows. We were radio
operators. I received my training.

We were sent to work again, two, each us, two of them on British aircraft carrier. I was with a fellow from Iowa, tall fellow. We were on the HMS Dasher, which was a banana boat from Philadelphia. They converted it to an aircraft carrier. We went to Gibraltar. It took about a week in those days.

From Gibraltar we served in the African invasion.

That was the biggest invasion I have ever seen. Over eight hundred eighty ships. At that time that was a lot.

They were going to Oran, Algiers and Casablanca.

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We came back after a week. It was my luck that they left us off at the Rock of Gibraltar. We stayed on the Rock of Gibraltar until the end of December, just before Christmas. Colonel in charge came to us and said you boys are going back to England, six of us.

I happened to come on the plane that came from the U.S. and had the Christmas present that Roosevelt gave to Churchill. It was a globe as big as a table, tremendous.

But on this plane, I still remember very well we had a pilot, co-pilot and crew chief. We had one machine gun in the plane. That's all we had.

We started to fly over the atlantic. All at once the crew chief mentioned two ME-109 there. I thought this is the end. In those days we didn't have radar. They could have gotten us easy. They didn't see us. The pilot banked the plane into a cloud and the cloud saved us.

I came back to England we landed at Lands End. I almost kissed the ground, I was so happy to be on land again. All we had on was a May West lifesaver. Coming from nine thousand feet we would have all been dead there.

So from there I went to London. I went back to my outfit in Watford and stayed there for another year.

Then I joined the Third Radio Squadron Mobile.

This was an intelligence unit. We were all radio

operators.

Most of them received the training in the States.

I received my training at the RAF station, a local station there. That went on until July 4th. I missed out on June 4th. They took our detachments out. All the others went.

We only had one casualty out of the whole squadron. We went to Normandy Beach, I think Utah Beach. We landed there just at the moment when the Luftwaffe came over and strafed us. But luckily we were saved by ditches.

We stayed at Normandy and I went from Normandy through the campaign up through Luxembourg. It was February. The war was going on. They sent me home. I had enough service overseas accumulated there. Sent me back here.

First I had leave. Then I ended up in Madison Wisconsin. When the war finished, it was 12th of September, 1945. I went first to New York, to Richmond Virginia, picked up my stuff and came to San Francisco.

My first job was for TWA at the airport in the commissary. One day Howard Hughes came in. I almost threw him out. I didn't know he was my boss. He looked like a beggar. Luckily I didn't do anything.

They kept me. I was there until the strike. We had a three month strike.

I went to Los Angeles. I worked for W. & J. Sloan.

It was a tough job. Then I joined Orna Plastics, a plastic company. I sold signs all over the United States until about 1953 when I met my wife in Kansas City. We got married in 1953. 1953 we got married in Kansas City and moved to San Francisco and I have been here ever since.

I worked for three companies. One in the button, one in lace and one in embroidery field. I traveled from Fresno to the Oregon border and east to Reno and then back.

Q. A lot in one breath. Let's go back a little bit to growing up in Berlin and what that was like at the time.

First, if we can go through a little bit when you talk about your father and mother and his other wives, if you can give me their names as well.

A. My father is Siegfried Small. My name originally was Helmut Schmausch. S c h m a u s c h.

Nobody could pronounce the name. My aunt, in San

Francisco, when she saw me she said you change your name.

You only can change your name through court. When I

became a citizen prior to going overseas I changed my name to Small. My father was born in Berlin Seigfried

Schhausch. His father was Heiman Schmausch. He came from Hohensalza, Germany. How they got the name I don't know.

Either they came from Samosch -- S a m o s c h. Or my grandfather, great-grandfather was a Schammes. Maybe they called it that way.

My mother came from Nakel. N a k e l. On the river Netze. Netze was a river. At that time it was German. It was Polish and then German and now Polish again.

My father met my mother when he called on my grandfather who had a furniture store there, fell in love with my mother. He married her in Berlin. My grandfather came. He had the furniture factory in Berlin.

- Q. What was your mother's name?
- A. My mother's name was Lena, Lena Helen.
- Q. Her maiden name?

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- A. Her maiden name was Heimann. But she died very young. She was born in 1892 and she died in 1920.
- Q. Going back, you grew up in the heart of Berlin?
  - A. In the heart of Berlin, yes.
- Q. Can you describe the neighborhood from what you remember?
- A. Well, the neighborhood was close to the business where my father had the wholesale furniture business. I went to school there. We lived next to an amusement park. I remember that. The carousel was going

all night, at least to ten o'clock. It was cold there.
We had very cold nights. I remember the winter of 29 when
everything was frozen. We had the river in back of our
place. It was an apartment house.

- Q. Was it a Jewish neighborhood or mixed?
- A. No, very mixed. The Jewish neighborhood was mostly in the west. We had our group there, Jewish students. They went to school with me. We had our group there where we played as kids. We went to school together.
- Q. You stuck fairly close together as Jews or were you mixed?
- A. Mostly we stuck together, that I must say. I belonged to this comrade group. It was a German Jewish group. Then times changed and we moved to the west later on. My father was divorced after that. We moved into a small apartment in the west. I join the Zionists. In fact, I was ready to go to Israel at that time.
- Q. What brought you to join the Zionists at that point?
- A. Well, it was a very bad time. You had to get out. They went to a place where they were educated, a country place in agriculture, where you got your education.

I went first to a doctor, was examined by a doctor.

I would have gone, but my father got sick so I had to support my father.

- Q. You stayed in the city?
- A. Stayed in the city.
- A. Luckily through my stepmother. My father had married again. Then I got away.
- Q. Can you talk a little bit about the point you went from living freely in your neighborhood without being necessarily concerned where you are going to when the Nazis, you were first aware of the Nazis coming in?
- A. It started in 1933. The Nazis came in January 33. I remember it was terrible at that time.
- Q. Can you describe what was terrible? What was it like? What do you remember?
- A. Because all the Nazis came out of like cockroaches, they came out of the corner into the open. Lot of people were denounced. Then they started the secret police and everything.

I remember when the Reichstag, the big parliament, when that burned. I joined the police, sport union, what they call the police support fire, like a police support troop. They were teaching stenography. I wanted to learn stenography. There was a certain system they gave there.

We had a lot of policemen. That night when the parliament burned they all had to go. I still remember

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that, 1933. At that time -- For a while it wasn't that bad. But it came slow, very slow.

- Q. What changes did you notice?
- A. Well, April 33 when they started the boycott. I wasn't in Berlin at that time. I was in Cologne. Then when I came back I noticed slowly that it was -- We had to have a house employee, who had to be over 65. Because we had somebody to help us. Cooking and cleaning. My stepmother. We had one that was 65. She couldn't work very much anymore. So gradually it got worse and worse. That I can say.

But the strangest thing is they started everybody over a certain age, like here with the draft, you registered. I had to go to what they call the mustering in the German Army. I had to parade there naked before a whole group of officers. Doctors and officers. They examined me.

They say you are fit for the infantry. They say you are Jewish, aren't you?

I said yes.

They said you are four group 4-F. Seemed like 4-A, 4-F. You don't have to serve. They gave me a passport. I had a passport from the Army, my picture in there.

When I emigrated, I emigrated and I had to return the Nazi passport. The SS took it from me.

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- Q. Do you remember going back and reading about Nazism in newspapers or hearing about it on radio or people talking about it on the streets at the time? How did you know the changes were happening?
- A. Well, the Jewish people, like they have a Jewish bulletin here. They had a paper that came.
  - Q. Do you remember what the paper said?
- A. Well, the paper give us all the details what was going on in Germany, all over, from the different cities, towns and villages and whatever happened. You could see the handwriting on the wall.
  - Q. Were you scared at the time?
- A. Well, I belonged to a group what they call the Reichsbanner. It was a democratic group. I was active in that. I was marching in that. I figured somebody would denounce me. I had to get out. I was lucky I got out in time. If I waited another two weeks they would have arrested me too, the Nazis, and I wouldn't have been alive anymore.
- Q. Can you tell me when you were in the democratic group and you were speaking, what were you talking about?
- A. I wasn't speaking. We had our meetings on Sunday and Nazis tried to destroy us. Between the Communists on the left and Nazis on the right, we were

right in the middle. Sometimes we had trouble with both of them. It wasn't easy in those days.

- Q. Were there certain ways the Nazis would try to destroy you? Did they come and break up meetings?
- A. Oh, yeah. They came and broke up meetings but not by one. They came usually fifty to a hundred men.
  - Q. There were how many of you?

- A. Well, our group I think we got together was a hundred, a hundred twenty-five. We usually went in trucks and went outside of Berlin to smaller places to give them support. We had meetings and speakers there. Gradually we stopped that.
- Q. When the Nazis came in the big groups to break up the meetings was it violent?
- A. Oh, yeah. They got violent. My father didn't allow me anymore to go there. It was pretty rough.
- Q. Where were you, where were your sentiments? To stay with your father and take care of him or to go and fight the Nazis?
- A. It was Sunday we had the outtings mostly when we had the outtings, not during the week. Week we didn't have time. We had to work. I worked six days a week. When I worked in the furniture store we worked from nine in the morning to six at night. Three Sundays before Christmas we were open. From two to six in the afternoon.

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- Q. Was your work interrupted by the Nazis at all ever?
- A. Well, my work wasn't interrupted. When I worked in the furniture, my father, we lost customers.

  Another Jewish store they closed up.

The others told us, you know, they have been after us not to buy from you. There was a boycott going on.

That made it very tough for us so we had to get out.

My father was born in 1881. So at that time he was 57 years old. So it's hard for him to get out.

- Q. Did the customers talk to your father, long time customers who weren't Jewish?
  - A. Oh, yeah.
  - Q. Did they apologize? Were they angry?
- A. They apologized. They say there is nothing we can do. They say they have been after us. They have been. It was something they gave to buy. They gave a certificate. That certificate I think was good for two hundred marks or something. That was a lot of money in those days.

When people bought furniture they could apply that towards it. So they said they would take it away from us if we buy from you.

So my father saw to it. All the firms with the exception of one were gentile. They were very nice to

him. The Jewish firm went into bankruptcy. I don't know what happened after that.

Q. The folks that weren't nice to him what happened with that?

- A. Well, he just told them not to come anymore so he lost them. It made it tough with him. He was very nervous. It was very hard for him. He had high blood pressure.
- Q. Was his business able to continue operating or did he have to shut it down because of that?
- A. Well, he still worked with a few customers, but not very much anymore. I did the outside of Berlin.

  My father had Berlin the city. I had my customers outside of Berlin. It's a big surrounding area.
- Q. When you were traveling around at that point was it difficult because you were Jewish to get customers? Was it more centered in Berlin with Nazism?
- A. Well, five year wait. If you needed merchandise, they couldn't pay their bills, they were glad to buy from you. They didn't care, you know. So you had to go and collect afterwards. If they wouldn't pay their bills they wouldn't receive another shipment. I had to collect money. But we made a living, barely a living I should say from that time. Besides my father was sick a whole year. I had to take care of it myself.

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- Q. The time you were in Berlin and again the Nazism was rising and becoming more and more pronounced in the city what did you notice around the city? Were there propaganda posters going up? Can you explain that?
- A. There were posters all over. Every corner had a big poster, what they called littfass saeule, which was a column. There were posters on it. Nazis put all the posters on it. People had Nazis flags all the time. The more you saw the more you could see it. I hated that swastica.
- Q. How old were you when you first noticed the swastica?
- A. That was long before. We had it already in 1929.
  - Q. Okay.
- A. 1930 the Nazis gained one hundred six seats in the parliament. That was the beginning of Hitler actually. He started in 1923 in the putsch in Munich. They should have shot him then, shot him dead at that time and the whole thing wouldn't have happened. The Verdahlen government was in Bavaria, they let him grow. He went to prison for nine months and he came out and started the whole movement. He was a martyr for them.
- Q. When you were looking at the posters what were the posters saying? What kind of messages were

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- Α. They had the newspaper there with boxes where they hung it out and showed all characteristics of Jews, which was very bad. They said "Defend yourself against the Jews." What the Jews are going to do to you I don't know what at that time.
  - When you saw those what 'did' you do? Q.
- Nothing you can do. You can't take them A. down. It's against the law. Just grin and bear it.
- I wanted to ask you a little more about the Q. Nazi boycott. From my understanding how did you know the boycott was on? Was it the customers? Was this official proclamations? How did it work?
- Α. They were picketing all the Jewish stores, throw in the windows, taking everything out of the windows, eating the stuff and didn't let any customer in the store. Some of them they burned even.
  - 0. Did your father have a store?
- We didn't. My father at that time was a manufacturer's representative already. We were in the wholesale business before. We worked from an office. Had a display of furniture. My father worked for different . cabinetmakers that did the jobs.
  - Was that ever damaged? Q.
  - Well, my father moved out at that time

because he had some setbacks. Somebody took off with a warehouse full of furniture and he made debts in my father's name. My father was responsible for it. So he had to close his business and start as a manufacturer's representative. He had a nervous breakdown which lasted for a whole year after that.

- Q. With a boycott and stores being vandalized and pickets, was that going on in your neighborhood at that time?
- A. I was at that time in Cologne. I had a job that started the 1st of April in Cologne. That was the day they had the boycott and wanted to send me back. I insisted they to pay me back. They had to pay me off first because I had expenses.
  - Q. Your family was still there?
- A. My father and second stepmother were still in Berlin at that time.
  - Q. Did you have any siblings who were there?
- A. There was only one step-brother from my father's second marriage. They went to Australia. He lives in Sidney, but I haven't had any contact with him.
- Q. You heard news when you were in Cologne what was going on in Berlin?
- A. Well, we heard it and we saw the newsreel at that time in the movies. They show you what was going

on. It was terrible.

- Q. People started, Jews started leaving I guess around that time, right?
- A. The smart people left there, like my uncle. He went to Israel. He could take all his money out at that time.
  - Q. How did your uncle know at that point?
- A. He was a Zionist. That was my mother's brother-in-law. He was a Zionist from way back. He wanted to go to Israel. So he went to TeleViv.

My cousin went to the RAF at that time I remember. The other cousin, she worked in the Naffi. The Naffi is something like a canteen, like our px system, British. She worked there.

- Q. When you were in Cologne were there any problems?
- A. Cologne was pretty bad too. I could see it all over.
  - Q. Can you tell me what you saw?
- A. The store was closed when I was there. I had to go to the Personnel Department. Everybody, they lost their head. The store was closed. Nobody could come in at that time. There was no business that particular day. But then the whole thing went over, everything was all right, except that the Nazis went after the owner.

The owners had to change what they call to aryan, which means the store had to go into gentile hands. So the elevator operator became the president at that time.

- Q. Do you know what happened to the store?
- A. He threw out the Jews and I went to a furniture, big furniture store in Cologne. The owner said he couldn't hire me for Cologne, but he would hire me for Essen, for Dortmund, two other big cities in the wood territory. We had a sale there. I did the sale in Essen.

Went to Dortmund and the manager took over. The manager didn't like us. He was a gentile manager. He took the store over finally. I went to Berlin and worked for my father.

- Q. When you were in Cologne and the Jews were thrown out and told they couldn't work there any more, how was that done? Did a Nazi in uniform come in and say get out?
- A. No. It was like the Personnel Department, like any business, that told you we are sorry, we can't have you anymore. They had to give you 30 days. See, there is a law over there they can't fire you right away. They have to give you 30 days. So they paid you 30 days. I worked there 30 days. Now it's on commission. Because on furniture you work on salary and commission.
  - Q. Do you know what happened to the owners

before the elevator operator --

- A. I think they came here. One went to Berkeley. It was the Schloss family, the Baumanns. I think they all landed in Berkeley. I didn't have any contact. They must have died by now. They were pretty old.
- Q. Do you remember what was going through your mind at that point? Did you have any idea what was to come?
- A. Well, I could see my way clear. I wanted to go to Holland, immigrate to Holland. But that was very hard to even go there. They advised us not to come to Holland.
  - Q. Who was they?
- A. The rabbis. I went to different a congregation. I got the answer from the rabbis. From Amsterdam, from Rotterdam. They said not to come. Then I tried through my mother's aunt in San Francisco. She was acquainted with the Canadian Consul.

The Canadian Consul said we can only take people who have a craft, like any craft, artisans. That's what they wanted. A cabinetmaker, a plumber, electrician, anything like that. But they were limited too. I knew somebody came to Toronto, wasn't Jewish. They got Canadian visas right away.

Q. This is a simple question. How did you know that it was time to get out? Why did you start writing to the rabbis?

A. Because you could see the handwriting on the wall. The Nazis were taking over.

Then in 1938, in March, I saw how the police went out of Berlin to Vienna. They wanted to take over the whole Reich, you know, the whole thing. Austria, which they did actually at that time. They wanted the Jews out gradually.

Not only that, two weeks or four weeks before I left I was called to the Gestapo secret police. The fellow there told me, he said "If you are smart you better get out as soon as you can. If you don't leave here, you come into an education camp." That's how he described it. Exactly his words. Which was a concentration camp.

So I saw the handwriting. So I left on a German ship. It was easier for the German money. You could deposit your German money on the German ship. You couldn't take it out. At least you could pay so much per day on the ship, which I used up on the ship. It was a German ship. The ship left from Cuxhafen. That's about 150 miles from Hamburg.

It was the Albert Ballin, which became the SS New York. It was the Hamburg American Line. I landed in New

York, May 27, 1938.

- Q. When you went to the Gestapo four weeks before you left was the person who told you it's time to get out was he friendly or was he warning you?
- A. He gave me a warning. He said "This is it," he said, "Take it or leave it. If you don't get out in a certain time", he said, "you will come into an education camp." They must have been after them to tell the people.
- Q. What did you do in the four week period? What did you do to try to get out?
- A. Actually I had a ship. I went right away to Hamburg American Line and I asked if I couldn't go to sea on one, if I couldn't go on an earlier ship to New York. They gave me a berth. It was an eight day trip from Hamburg to New York at that time.
- Q. Did you have a business to take care of before the trip, loose ends, family to say goodbye to?
- A. My father, my uncle, my aunt from my father's side, my father, I had to see them. My grand-mother. My mother's mother still lived at that time. Say goodbye to her. It was very heartbreaking.

I still remember seeing my father, my stepmother at the railroad station in Berlin when I left for Hamburg.

My stepmother had relatives in Hamburg. I stayed with

them when I went to the boat.

- Q. When you left your father and stepmother at the station were they trying to get out as well? Were they resigned to stay?
- A. They wanted to get out, but the whole thing was so tough now. I would have had to send the visa. I got -- I mean affidavit. I got the affidavit of support. But my mother at that time was in prison. So she couldn't get out. The whole thing was -- She was deported. I had a letter here. In 1942 to Theresienstadt. I don't know if it's true or not. Anyhow from there they went somewhere else and were killed.

My mother, my grandmother were on the same transport with my stepmother.

- Q. Can you tell me why your grandmother was jailed again?
  - A. My grandmother was?
  - Q. Your mother, I am sorry.
  - A. On account of this currency business here.

Also a friend of mine, his father was also involved in that. When he saw them coming to arrest him he jumped from a balcony from the third floor to the street.

- Q. Your father, tell me what happened to him please?
  - A. Well, I can't say too much because the

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Rabbi who officiated -- I think later in Madison,
Wisconsin. I was stationed in Madison Wisconsin. He said
to me -- I asked him. He said there were so many at that
time, I went through the same routine, the coffins were
locked. You couldn't even open the coffins. Didn't know
what happened. They were buried at that time. So they
got rid of them that way.

- Q. Your father?
- A. Somebody must have been there. They worked hand-in-hand with the Gestapo. I don't know who was behind the whole thing. This happened to be a tailor of my father's and my mother who was involved in that too. He got all these people. I don't know.
  - Q. Do you know how?
- A. He told him "I know somebody who works at the embassy and he can take it out through diplomatic pouch and you get it back in New York." But it never happened.
- Q. So it went with him. They went to a camp then?
- A. They went somewhere to the tailor, to bring the money to the tailor, and the tailor gave it to 'somebody else. I don't know. That guy gave a list, the names and everything. They got all the people involved.

  Must have been a hundred people involved in the whole

1 thing. So there was a trial. My father was already dead. Never came to trial for him. But my stepmother. 2 3 Q. He died in jail? 4 Α. He died in jail because they didn't give 5 any bail at that time. 6 Q. Did they not give him bail because he was 7 Jewish? 8 Α. That's what it was. They figured he would escape or something. That was the reason. They kept him 9 in a very narrow cell. I tell you he got so worked up 10 11 when you think of all that. 12 Q. Did you ever hear from your father after 13 you left? 14 Α. I sent a telegram when I landed in New 15 York. Then he wrote a letter and that was the last letter 16 I had. Everything I had was taken from me during the war. 17 I left it with people and people moved and threw everything away, pictures and everything from my father. 18 I have a few pictures, but not the good pictures. 19 20 Do you still have that letter from your Q. 21 father? 22 Α. No. That was all taken. I came back from 23, the service. I left it with a family. That family moved 24 to Washington, D. C. from Richmond. So they threw

everything away, including my letter.

- Q. Back in Berlin before you came to the United States and Canada --
  - A. I didn't go to Canada.
  - Q. You tried to get there?
  - A. Yeah; I couldn't make it.
- Q. What else? Do you remember was it a frantic time? Did you feel under pressure to get out?
- A. Well, I will tell you. we had our own Jewish artists. We had our own Jewish theatre. You could go to the other theaters. In those days you didn't have the star yet. That came later when you had to wear the star. Normally they left you alone, the Nazis. But it became somehow, the courts and everything changed.
- Q. At that point you were still able to live in a mixed neighborhood?
- A. We lived in a mixed neighborhood in a big apartment building. I still remember we had a movie actor lived on top, Adolph Wohlbrueck. He also left and went to London. None of our friends we saw in the beginning, they left and went to England, like my uncle, my father's brother-in-law. He went to London.
  - Q. Do you know what year that was?
- A. They left after I left. It must have been 1939. When I came in 1942 to London I visited them. They had been there already since the war started.

- Q. I guess I am going to try this again. When you had to go to your own theatres and pretty much stay with the Jewish community --
- A. You did not go too much on the street. You didn't show your face too much. You could go to movies, nobody bothered you, it was dark. But normally you didn't even enjoy it that much.
- Q. Were you scared or angry or both or none of those?
- A. Too young. I was young at that time. We had our Jewish dances. I went to dances. Had some dates. That's about all. You had to get over this because I worked for my father at that time. It was bookkeeping, correspondence. I had to do the whole thing.
- Q. What about your friends, going back to the democratic group you were in. How did your friends fare after this?
- A. I lost touch with them. I dropped out of that when the Nazis came. They became too powerful and we couldn't do it anymore. I couldn't see any way. I would have ended up in a concentration camp much earlier. They knew, they had a list pretty well of the members. I figured it's better to go underground.

Well, a few years, it was from 1934 to 38. That was four years. I worked at that time at a job in a

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furniture store where I did the bookkeeping for the man. We were close to the German general staff. We had all the big shots there, the generals. They came and bought their furniture.

It was a Jewish store. See the Army they were not Nazis. They bought, they did what they wanted to do. German nationals, they were different from the Nazis. They said "We do what we want to do." They bought the furniture there. It was a tremendous business.

- 0. When you were selling to the German army people were you angry at them? Were they just customers? What was your feeling?
- They were customers. You see a general in the store that means something, you know. Had a red stripe, that means he was general staff. They were all something there.
- 0. At that time were you losing trust in people, neighbors or schoolmates, not knowing who you · could trust?
  - I went to school in a different section of Berlin. We moved. We had some neighbors there. We talked to some of them. Some were very nice.

Strange, we had a couple downstairs. He was an electrician. He had his own business, with his wife. When I came back for the first time in 1961, I don't know,

he was out on his job. She said. "My God, you are still alive." It really struck me. The house wasn't there any more where we lived. They were all bombed. These people moved opposite, across the street. I went there.

She said "My God, you are still alive." I came back in 84 they weren't there anymore. They must have moved or something.

Also people I went to school with, I looked through the telephone directory and I didn't see any of the names.

Lot of them went to Russia. They died on the Russian front. The German Army. There were a lot of casualties.

- Q. When you were drafted by the German Army and they gave you the 4-F?
- A. Yeah. It was very funny. They wanted me to go into the infantry. I said that's about the last place I wanted to end up, being a foot soldier.
- Q. How did they know at the time you were Jewish? You were naked?
  - A. That they see right away.

Besides you've -- They had something. It was a passport or something. I had to show it. A regular passport. Over there you have to register at the police station. Wherever somebody lives, when they move in they have to register. When you move away you have to register again.

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- Q. Whether you are Jewish or not?
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- Α. That's there, sure, on the form, religion.

Everybody has to do it. That's a general

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- Q. Everyone that is?
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- thing -- So they can get control of the people. It's not
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- like here. Anybody can move away. You look through the
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- telephone directory, no city directories.' Over there you
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- had to register. I don't know if it's still today.
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- Q. I guess I was surprised they already had information that you were Jewish that they called you in
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- any way.

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- Well, they knew I wanted to immigrate. had to go through what they called like I.R.S.. You had to show them you didn't owe any taxes. You had to pay a special tax for immigration. They knew right away. got that paper right from there.
- During this whole period of trying to 0. immigrate, were you acting on your own? Did you have a friend you were doing this with?
  - I had a friend who went to Suo Paulo in Α. Brazil. He wanted me to go to Brazil. But at that time I couldn't leave my father, so I couldn't go. About sixty percent, seventy percent, they all went to Sao Paulo. They all went first class. That's how they got in, by boat, first class.

They stayed there.

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Q. When you had to stay behind to take care of your father were you getting scared at all about having to stay longer? Were you torn at all between staying with your father and moving on to a different country?

A. I didn't think much at that time. I was kept pretty busy. It did not occur to me. Gradually in 1938 when I immigrated and it came to me. It came to a point.

## Q. What was that?

A. I came to the consulate and they made so many difficulties. Like for instance, they can ask what do you want to do when you get there to the U.S.?

If I told them I want to work. Sorry, you can't work. We have enough unemployed here. We don't need anymore. So you say you want to study.

"Who is going to pay for your study?" I say "My cousin. My cousin will pay for it."

They said "You have to show us they are going to pay for your study."

After all that luckily my mother had a banker.

This banker made a call to the Consul General. The Consul General's name was Messerschmidt. I still remember.

Monday morning I got my visa. Was I happy when I got my visa.

Q. Why do you think the banker helped you out?

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A. Well, my mother was a favorite customer of his. My mother was married before. Her first marriage was to an antiquities dealer. They had a lot of antiques there, a lot of money there. He passed away.

She got a lot, inherited a lot, the store and everything. So she was a good customer of this banker, private bank, Jewish bank. He helped her.

I had a commissioner, a Jewish commissioner for the State of Virginia in Richmond. He worked on the affidavit. I had the president of the British American Tobacco Company as guarantor. Still couldn't get out. She was in jail.

- Q. What is the commissioner?
- A. Commissioner is the one that sets the bail for the federal court. I don't know if they still have it. At that time if anybody is accused of a federal crime the commissioner sets the bail. Maybe they still have it in federal court. That was his job. He was a very nice fellow. His name was Neidenheimer.
- Q. Do you feel you had good luck on your side to have these people writing to get you out?
- A. Well, through this commissioner I got -- He helped a lot of people. When I came to Richmond Virginia, I must say that the temple was a reform temple. They, the congregation, helped us tremendously. Through the temple

I got a job.

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After this job that I couldn't stay in the furniture job. I got a job in the millinary factory. I filled orders for ladies hats. I worked there until I went into the service.

- Q. Once you got your visa on that Monday morning what happened next? Tell me your route.
- A. From the visa I had to go back to the shipping company. At that time I must have gotten already the earlier ship. I wanted to make sure. So I went two weeks after I had my visa and left and came here. But there was a lot of work there too. I had to bring all these papers and passport, the Army passport. I had to have all that.

I went to Hamburg. My mother's brother, stepmother's brother lived in Hamburg. I stayed with him and
I went on the train to the ship. The ship was a German
ship. They were all Nazis. But Nazis and I came to New
York and they put the uniforms away and went into civilian
clothes and here they got their leave. That really hurt
me at that time.

At that time we landed on the pier 83. Pier 83 was Hamburg American Line on one side and North German Line on the other side.

Here was the Bremen. At that time there was a big

spy activity on the Bremen. I still remember. Germans were involved. Hairdresser from the Bremen and some other people and F.B.I. was after them. I still remember that. It was a big scandal in New York. They arrested them all. They were spies from Germany.

- Q. With the Nazis on the ship did you have anything, were you separated from them on the ship or play shuffle board?
- A. I knew they were all false. Only took the money. That's all they were after, like the waiters, head steward and all this.
- Q. Do you feel when you were at the consulate in Berlin trying to get to the United States that they gave you a harder time at all because you were Jewish or do you think they were doing it to anyone who was German?
- A. Well, it came from the State Department.

  They did whatever the State Department tells them. At that time Cordell Hull was Secretary of State. He didn't want too many Jews in.

After Morgenthau, he was Secretary of Finance or something he was at that time. He was a good friend of Roosevelt. But it didn't help any either. Just made it as tough as they could at that time. Because the quota was for twenty-seven thousand. So they didn't let everybody in.

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- Q. That's twenty-seven thousand Germans?
- A. German, Jews, everything. You had German citizenship. I was born in Berlin I had a German citizenship. My father was born in Berlin and he had German citizenship.
- Q. Pretty soon I want to get what it was like once you were here, but before going back to Berlin and with the store boycotts, so I have an understanding, and before you left, you said it was kind of hard. You could go out at night. You could go to movies?
- A. Yes, to movies, you could go to restaurant maybe.
  - Q. You were working during the day?
  - A. During the day I was working.
- Q. Did you have any problems at all walking down the street? Did people ever taunt you or throw things at you?
- A. No. Nobody ever bothered me. Berlin was a city. We had a lot of Poles, French people. Like New York, a very international city. They didn't bother us as much as other cities, smaller cities, which were tougher, where people knew you. Berlin, nobody knew you. They couldn't.
  - Q. When you stayed with your uncle was it in Hamburg?

- A. On the way to the States.
- Q. What was Hamburg like?
- A. As a child it was a beautiful city, before it was bombed in World War II. It was beautiful city. St. Pauli is where the amusement is for sailors. It's a sailor's town, like San Francisco. It was quite a place there.

Hamburg was a very nice cultural city. In fact, they talked a German accent almost like English. A different dialogue. Very high class German.

- Q. What was going on in Hamburg at that time? Were the Nazis there too?
- A. Oh, sure, they had Nazis too. I didn't know too much about Hamburg at that time.
  - Q. Your uncle didn't talk to you about that?
- A. Didn't tell us very much. He was married to a gentile woman, I think. I don't know what happened afterwards. Lost all contact with these people.
- Q. I find it interesting you came to the United States and you went back to Europe to fight for the U.S. Army.
  - A. Yeah.
- Q. What was that like? What was going through your mind?
  - A. It was strange. Being in England was

entirely different. When we came to France and came to Alsace Lorraine and every store the owner wasn't there and it said widow so and so. All the husband's had died in Russia. Well, that is what happens.

We saw a lot of German prisoners of war. I had to comment at that time I felt so damn mad I felt like shooting them right from the truck. But it wouldn't help anymore either. I was pretty angry.

But it was funny, I was in Gibraltar for the African invasion. We stayed about 16 days on the Rock. We had the Germans right across from us in Spain. We sent all the cuss words over to them and they didn't know what it was. They sent us I M I, which is a question mark. They couldn't understand. We sent all the words to them. I could see the Gestapo. It was strange. Right at the border. There was a gate on the border Algeciras.

Gibraltar was British, Spain was neutral. But there were a lot of Germans. The Gestapo was there. You could recognize them with the leather coat and green hat. You knew right away.

- Q. You never came face-to-face with them for words?
- A. No, there was a gate between. I wouldn't start anything. I was in Gibraltar. Gibraltar was a British base. But we had a lot of Spanish women coming

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over there. That I remember. They were selling oranges. They went right into the barracks. They didn't care. Ι had night duty. I was asleep during the day. you up calling oranges.

Well, I was in Gibraltar 17 days. I opened the door of a B-17 bomber. A colonel stepped out, took a look at the Rock. He said "This is just like Prudential Insurance Company, the company for which I work".

I was stationed in Washington, D.C. I remember I had to register as an enemy alien in American uniform at the main Post Office. They came out that all enemy aliens after December 7, 1941 had to register. All Germans, Italians and Japanese had to register as enemy alien. registered as an enemy alien. It was kind of funny, you know.

- 0. The other people you were in the Army with, did they give you trouble at all because you were German?
  - Α. We were scattered all over. No.
  - Q. There were a lot of Germans?
- We had a lot of Pennsylvania Dutch and Α. Pennsylvania Dutch language is very much like German. Besides I wanted to learn English. I could have had a job as a typist in the orderly room, but my English wasn't that good. So I felt I better wait.
  - Q. When you were in Germany you knew German

and French?

- A. I had six years of French basic in the high school. We had three years of English. We had what we call the King's English. I had to go to Berlitz school. I got my American training more at the Berlitz school and in the movies. Clark Gable, Merna Loy, all these actors at that time. Broadway Melodies and all these, you know. It was quite interesting.
- Q. When you are back in Europe for the brief period in the Army did you have any desire at that point to go back to Berlin, desire to fight the Nazis there?
- A. Well, they sent me on R & R, which means rest and recuperation. I had after two years nine months service overseas leave. I thought when we leave Calais, Eisenhower came to us and he gave us a speech and said "When you boys come back everything will look much better to you."

I wondered if they were going to send us back. I applied for a job in UNRA, United Nations Relief Organization, to feed the people. Or go to the Army of Occupation, military government. For military government you had to be screened. We had people who went to camp Richie. A lot of them went to military government. They had the course there. They were prepared for it to work in military government.

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But I was happy to get out finally because I had been there since February 41 to September 45. That was enough for me. To get out of uniform. We had an English uniform. I have a picture of it there. That wool smelled terrible.

- Q. You said you went to the Committee in New York City. What is the committee?
- A. They had a joint distribution committee for refugees. I can't remember. Somebody had it set up. All the people who came went to that committee. That committee didn't want to keep you in New York.

They asked you first if you have a place to stay, if you have enough to eat, if you need food or anything, if you need a job. But they didn't have any jobs at the time. They said you go to the agency. I couldn't get a job as a dishwasher.

- Q. The agency was what?
- A. Private agencies that referred you.
- Q. Jewish refugees?
- A. Jewish refugees. They could not supply that many jobs. They didn't have any at that time. It was a depression, 1938.

Finally I got a job through a friend actually who was acquainted with people. He worked in the hotel St.

Moritz. He was a desk clerk. He knew the housekeeper.

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The housekeeper was a German woman. She had friends who owned the delicatessen, Nate's Delicatessen. Nate Trotzky, two brothers. I think it was on 44th Street.

Through them I got to the camp. They owned the boys and girls camp, kosher camp, for July and August. In those days the parents paid five dollars a day, which was a lot of money. On weekends the parents came in there with Cadillacs and Dusenbergs, all the fancy cars.

I still remember one came in a big car and had a Jewish chauffeur. Shapiro. That really impressed me. He had a Jewish chauffeur. So I emptied the ashtrays and brought them cards and they gave me tips. I had three meals. I slept with the kids. It was pretty nice.

Then I went to Ithaca from there, from the Catskills to Ithaca New York. My grandfather had a half
brother who went to Ithaca in New York in 1870. He did
not want to serve in the German Army. So he came to
Ithaca. His son -- He is not alive anymore. His son had
a clothing store on Seneca Street. So I went there.

He said "I am sorry, I can't employ you in my store but I will see what I can do for you." So he wanted me to get a job making sandwiches for students. But I had to sleep on the table. I didn't care for that that much.

Q. When you were in the Army and also in the United States when you first came here were you keeping up

on the news of what was going on in Berlin?

A. Oh, yes. Well, as far as you could. I had a radio. First thing I bought with my money was a radio, little handmade radio. I listened to the radio a lot in those days. This was before television. Saturday nights you had The Hit Parade. That was most exciting. As much as you could. And you went to the movies. That was about the best.

In those days you could go to the movies for twenty-five, thirty-five cents. I remember in New York when I arrived I paid twenty-five cents and they had bingo night. My number won. I went up to the stage. They had all little girls purses. You had to pick a purse. There was money in there. I picked the purse with \$10.00. My God, I was the happiest guy. That was a lot of money in those days.

Q. Going back, seeing you kept up on things at least with the newsreels and posters, even back in Germany the time before you came, was there -- You said there was writing on the wall. Was there any other signs?

MR. GRANT: Indications of what was to come?

A. They convinced the Jews, it come up every week. Just looking in the paper was all the Nazi places they had pages, you know, outside for glass you could see

- it. It was terrible. It was all over. Just rape our women and all that stuff.
- Q. It seemed like you were close with your father, kept in close contact with him. What was his idea towards this? Was it to keep cool or what was his mind?
- A. Not to open his mouth too much. If he opened his mouth he wouldn't have been alive. Just keep it quiet and we will see if we get out. But it got to the point -- When he married my stepmother she was pretty wealthy. She practically supported him at that time.
- Q. She was the one whose husband had an antique store?
  - A. Had the antique store, yes.
- Q. I want to jump ahead a little more. You said the first time you went back to Berlin after that was 1961?
  - A. With my wife.
  - Q. What was that like for you to go back?
- A. It was a strange feeling to go back to Berlin. It was like going to a different world. I knew Berlin, I lived there 24 years. Everything was still there, but the houses weren't there any more.
- I remember that our tour, we went on a tour, we went outside of Berlin and there was a Russian monument.

  Tremendous monument there for all the Russian soldiers who

fell in the invasion of Berlin. They were buried there.
Tremendous monument there.

They took that from the stones of the Chancellery where Hitler use to be. Took all the stones out and made a big monument. It was a different city.

At that time I could go to the cemetery and I visited the graves of my father and mother. My father wasn't buried next to my mother. My father was buried somewhere else because my stepmother wasn't dead at the time. She was in jail. Somebody else had to do it.

- Q. Was this a Jewish cemetery?
- A. Yeah. Tremendous big cemetery.
- Q. That wasn't hurt in the war?
- A. Apparently it wasn't hurt, no. Everything was so desolate there. Nobody took care of it. It was overgrown. Here we paid money. I sent money over there to have it taken care of. Now I don't know what they are going to do. They may raze it and build a shopping center. I don't know. You can only have the cemetery for so long. I don't know.

It was a different city. Berliners, once you live here, it's a different way of life. Over there they are 'so mean, so I don't know. Not polite. That's one thing in Berlin especially.

Q. Did you feel when you were there in 61 that

they treated you poorly because you were Jewish?

A. No. It was a general attitude. There weren't that many Jews anymore. In fact, the last time I was invited to the City of Berlin from the mayor and the city hall, we went all over, of which I saw more at that time. They were very nice to us. I didn't go to the cemetery because it was too late. It was already snowing. Could have slipped there and broken my legs in the cemetery, it's all cobblestones. We didn't go anymore there. 1984 I saw more of Berlin. We went to see where the synagoge use to be, Rabbi Stein. He came to us. Jewish community.

They gave us a reception, like they give to all those that came back to Berlin. Rabbi Stein spoke there. We went the next day to the synagoge, which was very much like conservative. They had no choir in those days. It was quite interesting.

There were a lot of gentile people there who come to the services too. I had a fellow next to me who asked me questions that I had to explain everything to him.

- Q. How do you like explaining things to people? Not only in services but also speaking here?
- A. Well, I like it very much. In fact, when I first came to Richmond Virginia, I earned my supper that way. I had to speak before church groups. They invited

me to the First Baptist church, Second Baptist church, Methodist church and I went to all the churches. They had Sunday supper there.

- Q. What did you talk about?
- A. About my father in Germany, about what I found in Germany, what was going on at that time. I was young. I just came. They wanted to know. I told them what was going on.
- Q. I haven't heard of people doing that before. Who hooked you up to that?
- A. Some of us did. Especially I worked in a firm. We had a lot of gentile employees. Jewish firm. We had gentile employees who went to different churches. They asked if I wanted to come to their church. Usually Sunday they had Sunday supper, some group, and had speakers there so I went there. Sometimes even during the week they asked me.
- Q. Was their response this isn't really happening?
- A. No, no. They understood it very well.

  They asked me how I could explain that. It's very hard to explain it, things happen like this. To find a reason for everything is very hard.
- Q. I am going to jump ahead even more from 1961 to almost 30 years later with the Berlin wall coming

down finally. Did that affect you in any certain way?

A. No. Up until then the Russians were still there. It was a Russian monument like on the western side, a little bit from the Brandenburg Gate. The Russians were still there. It starts again like in the thirties when you read the paper. Only now they have a lot of foreign workers.

In the neighborhood where I grew up and went to school, all Turks live there now. The whole thing was Turkish. Those kids were born in Berlin and spoke the same German as the kids in Berlin spoke.

It's strange. At the moment they have a lot of unemployed. The unemployed will start anything so they can get their jobs. That's all it is. It's a repetition of the 1920's and thirties, the way it is now. That is why they have to do something.

In fact, I was in Berkeley a few weeks ago when Chancellor Kohl was there. It was quite interesting to listen to him. He gave a lecture there at Berkeley in the big theater.

- Q. You said something has to be done. What do you think?
- A. Well, they need jobs. Jobs have to be provided. Industry. See they work for the government. When you work for the government you don't work that much.

It's different if you work for private industry. You work much harder. You have more interests, more incentives.

That's something they didn't have. Same in Russian. It was a carbon copy of Russia. I remember the first time I went to Berlin and what impressed me I saw how they built a house. They slapped the front on. Over that came another front. Another front. All the way to the top. These houses crack. They don't stand up. It's not the way we built apartment houses at least. Here they are steel or concrete foundations. They were stuck there. They just crack after awhile. They have no earth quakes.

- Q. Can you show me some of the photos you brought and documents?
- A. I probably -- This is my birth certificate, copy of it at least. So you know I was born, when I was born. This is when I emigrated. My admission card to the United States. That's how I got here in those days.
  - Q. Very dashing.
- A. I will tell you, 24 years that's a life. The Life of Riley. This is my picture when they shaved me. I came into the service.
- . Q. This was from?

A. That was the U.S. Army, identification with fingerprints. This is copy of my discharge.

- Q. How were you able to hold on to your birth certificate through everything?
- A. This was a made copy. I didn't have my birth certificate. This is a copy. I had to have it. I had to show them when I retired. I paid into the insurance over there when I was a kid.
  - Q. Over in Germany?
  - A. Over in Germany.
  - Q. You are receiving a pension?
- A. Not very much, but it helps a little bit, with Social Security. I was low budget in those days.

This is a letter that shows where my stepmother was deported to. I don't know if you speak German.

Q. No.

- A. That doesn't mean anything. This is my mother and me when I must have been three years old or four at the time. During the war.
- Q. Underneath it's me. First day going to school in 1920.
- A. It was full of candy, chocolate, candy. Six years when you start school. This one I was four years old.
  - Q. Tell us about this please?
- A. This is mother and me. Must have been the same time. About three years old.

Tell us about this please. 1 Q. That must have been before my mother got 2 A. 3 married. Twenty-one years old, with the lace collar there. 4 5 Q. Tell us about the picture on the right. Picture on the right is my father and A. 6 mother on honeymoon in Venice. On the Piazza San Marco. 7 What year was that? 8 Q. 9 Α. That was 1913. On the left? 10 0. 11 Α. On the left is my mother as a young girl. 12 How old she was I wouldn't know. She was a young girl before her marriage. 14 Please tell us about this picture. Q. 15 Α. My uncle, my father and his sister next to 16 He went every year to Marienbad, Bohemia to lose 17 weight. They ate so much there they hardly lost any. 18 They enjoyed the place so much. It was a nice health resort. 19 20 Q. Are you in the photograph? 21 Α. No. My cousin. He passed away. The girl 22 next to my uncle she lives in New York.

What year do you think this photo was

That was after my father's divorce.

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Α.

taken?

would have been around 1928, 29, around that time.

- Q. Tell us about this picture please.
- A. This is my mother's grave, my grandfather is buried next to her and my great grandmother is on the other side. My great grandma was 99 years old when she passed away.
  - Q. This is in Berlin?

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- A. In Berlin. That's the Jewish cemetery.
- Q. Does this cemetery exist?
- A. The cemetery exists. It's in east Berlin. It's a tremendous big cemetery.
  - Q. Do you know the name of it offhand?
- A. It's called the cemetery of the Jewish Gemeinde, the Jewish community cemetery. It's the old part and new part. This happens to be the new part. At that time they dedicated that one.
  - Q. Tell us about this picture.
- A. That was taken in 1941, approximately in April. That was life in the barracks.
  - Q. Can you point to yourself, please?
  - A. I am right here.
- Q. Where were you located? What town were you , in when this picture was taken?
  - A. We were located near Etontown New Jersey. Fort Monmouth is a big center for Signal Training

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headquarters. Near Long Branch. I remember we went to Atlantic City.

I remember we went to Atlantic City, and Lakewood New Jersey, which isn't far on the beach, on the Atlantic That was card games there.

- Q. Tell us about this please?
- Α. This was taken also at Fort Monmouth. Saturday after inspection. We all had to be clean and a good uniform, clean uniform and everything.
- Q. Would you point where you are in that lower picture there?
  - Α. Here.
  - 0. Top row, second from the left?
- Α. Top, second from the left. That was Fort Monmouth New Jersey.
  - Tell us about that. Q.
- Α. This was when the Red Cross wagon came along with the donut. I was sitting there eating a donut on a fence in Gibraltar.
  - Q. That was what year?
  - Α. 1942.
  - Q. Tell us about this?
- Α. I am not on this picture. This was taken in Fort Monmouth out of my outfit. At that time I was in the Signals Company. I am not in this picture, no.

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- Q. Tell us about this picture please.
- A. This was a victory march parade on the Trafalgar Square, London, England. That was about 1943 when my outfit marched there. I took it in.
  - Q. The war was still on?
- A. The war was still on. They were selling war bonds. That was a big bond at that time.
  - Q. Tell us about this.
- A. This was our group. I am the one on the left, extreme left. The one on the right, I saw him again in Chicago. His name was Sawady. He worked for the I.R.S. in Chicago. What happened to him I don't know.
  - Q. What year was this?
  - A. That was in 1944.
  - O. The town?
- A. It could have been in France. We were in in St. Mere Eglise, in Normandy. This is where this was taken.
- Q. Over here, what were you telling us about this picture?
- A. At that time prior to the invasion I was billetted in Maidstone. I went to school in Sutton Valley, RAF. I stayed with them for about three months. The gentleman on the right. He was the house owner there. During the weekend you had to go for home guards

1 exercise. 2 Q. You are on the left? 3 I am on the left. I was a technician Α. corporal. 4 5 Q. Tell us about this. 6 This was a Red Cross wagon. I am sitting 7 there eating a donut from the Red Cross and coffee. was in France in 1943, 44. Invasion was 44. It would 8 have been about August, something in July. 9 10 The photo early near Gibraltar you said you Q. 11 were eating donuts? 12 Α. I mixed that up. 13 The earlier photo was Gibraltar? Okay. 14 The fellows I said goodbye was in charge. 15 He was a master sargeant. I was staff sergeant at that 16 The first sergeant is right between us behind. 17 Q. You are shaking hands? 18 I am shaking hands. I have a cap on. 19. there I went to Paris and from Paris to LeHarve and from LeHarve to Scotland and home on the Queen Mary. 20 21 Q. Tell us about this, please. 22 Α. This is my last picture in uniform, before I was discharged. 23 24 Q. What town did you have the photograph 25 taken?

- A. I had the photograph taken in Richmond Virginia. I had friends who took it there. I got all my ribbons there, combat ribbons.
  - Q. Tell us about this, please?
- A. This was taken here at the Civic Auditorium. There was a tradeshow going on for plastic signs, window displays especially when my firm Orna Plastics participated and we sold plastic signs. For every business we had signs, plastic signs and three dimensional that could go into the window.
  - Q. Tell us about this, please.
- A. This was December 17, 1953 when we got married in Kansas City Missouri. I met my wife in Kansas City. I had to come back and get married there. We were married in the temple there. Temple Jeshurun. I still remember that. I moved my wife to San Francisco.
- Q. You want to talk more about the present and what happened?
- A. Well, since 1965 I have been involved in B'nai Brith. First I was working so much out of town I couldn't attend any meetings. Then I joined B'nai Brith and I have been active there. I have been financial secretary for the last eleven years. I am just starting my twelfth year term now in a few weeks.

My father was with B'nai Brith, so I am trying to

keep up the tradition, as my grandfather on my mother's side was on B'nai Brith.

Also we have a group in Germany. When we went to Berlin we visited the Leo Baeck Lodge in Berlin. Leo Baeck was a very well known Rabbi in Berlin so they named the lodge after him. It's nice to see that it continues. Of course, most of the people gradually will die out. Came over there to retire. They will die out. The younger people. There aren't that many young people. There are a lot of Russians. Russians just came to Berlin. There is a new lodge, Janus Korchak lodge. When I was there in 84 they had about four lodges. I don't know how many they have now. I think they have three lodges in Berlin. Population of about six thousand.

- Q. What do the lodges do?
- A. The lodges, not only socially, but they do a lot for welfare. There is a Jewish old age home in Berlin, a Jewish hospital in Berlin. These people do a lot of volunteer work. Also they come together and especially during the cold winter months where they invite people, other people, Jewish people, gentile people and serve them coffee, cake and entertain them, which is very nice too. They have their social life there.
  - Q. It's the same in the states.
  - A. Yeah. Of course here it's much bigger. It

comes from Washington, D.C. I have been to conventions here, being active in the lodge and now past president.

You do the job for ten years you become a past president. So I joined the past presidents.

In San Francisco we have three lodges. I went to school. What interests me is for seniors. The Senior Worlds Affairs Class, which was founded by a lawyer by the name of Haas. Originally they wanted men. Now you have to have women. I am glad to see that we have women. It makes it more interesting. We use to be at the community college on Grough Street. Now we are at the community college on Fourth Street and Mission. Every Monday we have world affairs class, current events mostly. Very good speakers, very stimulating.

That's how we get together there, Jewish, gentiles. Anybody can come. Free admission. Doesn't cost anything. Two hours.

- Q. From your experience in going through
  Berlin and going to the war, coming to the United States
  and traveling all over the country now is your chance to
  give folks a message. Is this one? It seems you have
  kept history alive.
- . A. Well, you know, like I have been in London,
  I go many more times to London. London it's entirely
  different. I feel more at home in London than I would

feel at home in Berlin. Berlin to me is a strange city.

Jews in Berlin are dying out slowly, as all over Germany. Berlin is a beautiful city. It has culture, has very beautiful museums and surrounding area and nature is beautiful. That part is nice.

I also have been in Vienna. My wife is from Vienna. I must say Vienna is a beautiful city. One time I drove there, I drove in Berlin also. It's the only way to get around. Now you can go anywhere you want to, which is nice again. You can rent a car in Frankfurt and tour the country. German landscape is beautiful.

You cannot look at every man over 70 and think he was a Nazi, which probably he was. You have to forget it. The past will remember the past. We have to live in the future. That's the way I see it. What has happened has happened. Germany has been trying very much, you know, to do good things, to try to make good the bad things that happened. These are different generations. Two, three generations after all this happened. They are coming up. You can't blame anybody now.

But it was just a crazy time and everybody jumped on the Nazis bandwagon. People were against them, they were just killed unfortunately. I don't want to see that again in my lifetime. I am sure I won't. We just have to look at nature, have to look at beautiful things in life

and remember our past.

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Sure, remember our family and all that. That's all you can do. It's a different world. That's all I have to say when you come from Berlin.

- Q. Did you have family members lost to the Nazis who went to the camps?
- A. Well, my father's brother was killed, but I never found out when, where or what. There is nothing about him. Only maybe a way to find out would be through the Red Cross or something. I don't know. He was married to a gentile woman that saved him for a long time. They would have gotten him. She passed away. She had cancer. She passed away and they came for him unfortunately.
  - Q. Where were they living?
- A. They were living in Berlin. In the suburb of Berlin called Tempelhof. It was close to the airport. They had the old airport at Tempelhof. Last time I saw it it was an Air Force base at Tempelhof. The new one is out further. Now they have jets. They are enlarging it. They want the jumbo jets in. But otherwise, it's a beautiful city. I still would like to go and see the country, drive it as long as I am able to.
- Q. Is there anything else you would like to tell us?
  - A. Well, what would you like to know? My life

is not as interesting as some of the other people like what is his name? Herman Shine. He went to Shanghai. He was a roofer in the concentration camps. He could tell you more than I could.

- Q. We have interviewed him. You have told us a lot too.
- A. It was different. I got out in time. I was lucky to get out. I have an aunt, my mother's aunt lived in San Francisco. She said I am too old. I can't give you an affidavit of support. She wouldn't give it. She got me together with the Canadian consulate and he couldn't do anything for me. Many of them went to Canada too.
- Q. You didn't have any desire to go to Israel then?
- A. After all this happened I couldn't anymore. It was very difficult to get to Israel. Because there weren't certificates. Only so many could go during that time. They took only those they could smuggle in or something. They couldn't have taken anymore. Once you come to the States you are out. They drop you right from the roll. Before I tried to, but it just didn't work out. I couldn't even get away to support my father. My father was sick. I couldn't go. My friends went to Sao Paulo. All you had to have was a ticket on a first class ship.

Shanghai came later. Shanghai came when the war started. The war started in 1939. August or September. September it started. It was a Sunday. I remember when the war started I was in Richmond Virginia at that time. We were all invited and we heard on the radio then when Edward R. Murrow broadcast from London. I still remember that. Radio was pretty big. I liked Richmond too. It's a very nice city. But it's too small. If you went with a girl on Saturday night on Sunday morning everybody knew you went out on a date.

Ms. GORDON: I think that's it then. Thank you very much.