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MAYBE TO START WITH, JUST SAY YOUR NAME, AND WHEN Q. AND WHERE YOU WERE BORN?

- OKAY. MY NAME IS STEPHANIE SUCHER. AND I WAS BORN Α. IN REICHSTADT, NEDESILESIAN ON DECEMBER 3, 1917.
- AND, COULD YOU DESCRIBE A LITTLE BIT OF THE EARLY Q. YEARS OF YOUR LIFE, BEFORE ---
- Α. I LIVED AT REICHSTADT FOR ABOUT SIX YEARS. FATHER AND MY UNCLE OWNED A FACTORY. THEY WERE IN THE WEAVING BUSINESS. AND, IT WAS A VERY SMALL TOWN IN THE LOWER PART OF SILESIA. THEN, IN ABOUT 1922, 1923, MY FATHER WAS SENT TO MIDDLE SILESIA. TOWN WAS CALLED BRIEG, NOT VERY FAR FROM BRESLAU WHICH IS THE MAIN CITY IN SILESIA, OR WAS THE MAIN CITY IN SILESIA, CAPITOL OF SILESIA, AND OPENED UP ANOTHER FACTORY.
- HE WAS SENT THERE? Q.
- HE WAS SENT THERE. HE AND HIS BROTHER WERE RUNNING Α. THE FACTORY IN REICHSTADT AND MY UNCLE SENT HIM TO OPEN UP ANOTHER FACTORY. AND, HE DID SO, BUT, AFTER ABOUT ONE YEAR THE INFLATION STRUCK. IN 1924, THE INFLATION WAS AT IT'S HEIGHT SO, THE FACTORY HAD TO CLOSE.
 - FORTUNATELY, MY MOTHER HAD A PROFESSION. UATED FROM THE KINDERGARTEN SEMINARY AND HAD HER DEGREE AND WAS ABLE TO OPEN UP A KINDERGARTEN. SHE

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USED PART OF THE OLD FACTORY BUILDING AND MADE IT INTO A KINDERGARTEN. THEY HAD QUITE A BIT OF GROUND TO IT SO THERE WAS A GARDEN. AND, SHE ALSO ADDED A SCHOOL, A VOCATIONAL SCHOOL TO THAT. SHE HAD WENT BACK AND BECAME, WHAT IS CALLED IN GERMANY, JUGEND LEHREN. SHE HAD ANOTHER DEGREE, SOMETHING LIKE SOCIAL SERVICE DEGREE. AND, SHE OPENED UP A SCHOOL FOR YOUNG GIRLS TO BE ABLE TO WORK WITH CHILDREN, AND IN THE HOUSEHOLD. IN OTHER WORDS, THEY WERE TRAINED.

- WAS THIS SCHOOL JEWISH? Q.
- NO, THIS WAS NOT A JEWISH SCHOOL, NO. THIS WAS FOR Α. THE POPULATION.
- WHAT WAS THE PERCENTAGE OF JEWS IN THAT TOWN? Q. WHAT'S THE NAME OF THAT TOWN?
- B-R-I-E-G, OF COURSE, THE AREA WHERE I COME Α. BRIEG. FROM IS NOW POLISH. SO THE NAMES HAVE BEEN CHANGED. THERE WAS A JEWISH COMMUNITY IN BRIEG, YES THERE THERE WAS A TEMPLE, THERE WAS A PART-TIME WAS. RABBI THERE AND A CANTOR. BUT AT THE TIME, WE WERE QUITE ASSIMILATED. I KNOW WE WENT TO SYNAGOGUE ONCE OR TWICE A YEAR.
- WHAT LANGUAGE DID YOU GROW UP SPEAKING? Q.
- THERE WAS NO YIDDISH SPOKEN IN MY FAMILY. Α. GERMAN. SO, IT WAS GERMAN AND THEN, I WENT TO HIGHSCHOOL

WHERE I LEARNED ENGLISH AND SOME LATIN.

BUT, BOTH OF US, WHEN WE WERE SMALLER, MY SISTER

AND I, MY SISTER IS SIX YEARS YOUNGER THAN I, WENT

TO THE VOLKSCHULE WE DID NOT GO TO A PRIVATE SCHOOL,

WHICH IS SAY, FIRST FOUR OR FIVE YEARS, THE REGULAR

SCHOOL FOR EVERYBODY. AND, IT WAS SORT OF -- MOST

PEOPLE THAT HAD A BIT MORE MONEY THAN THE USUAL

PEOPLE IN THE POPULATION SENT THEIR CHILDREN TO

PRIVATE SCHOOLS. BUT, MY MOTHER WAS A SOCIALIST AND

MY FATHER HAD NO DOUBTS ABOUT IT. I'M VERY GLAD I

WENT TOGETHER WITH ANYBODY AND EVERYBODY. THEN,

LATER ON, I WENT TO THE LOCAL HIGHSCHOOL AT THE

LATELL.

- Q. WHAT WAS IT LIKE TO BE A JEW IN THAT COMMUNITY?

 WHAT WAS YOUR RELATIONS WITH ---
- 16 A. I DON'T KNOW. I NEVER NOTICED THERE WAS ANY
 17 DIFFERENCE.
- 18 Q. YOU DIDN'T IDENTIFY YOURSELF, DID YOU?
- 19 A. NO. I MELDED IN.
- Q. SO, YOU HAD LOTS OF CHRISTIAN FRIENDS?
 - A. OH, YES. I HAD EVERYBODY COME HOME. I KNOW I HAD A VERY GOOD FRIEND WHO WAS THE SON OF THE WOMAN THAT CLEANED THE PUBLIC TOILETS, THAT USED TO COME UP AND SPEND TIME WITH US. AND, JUST HAD A LOT OF FRIENDS. I KNOW I TOOK SOME GYMNASTIC LESSONS AND MUSIC

LESSONS AND USED THE LOCAL LAKE TO DO MY ICE SKATING 1 ON, AND SKIIED ON THE HILLS. NO, I HAD NO FEELING 2 UNTIL THEN, UNTIL IT ACTUALLY HAPPENED. 3 YOUR FAMILY WAS WHERE ON THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC LADDER? Q. 4 YOU WERE MIDDLE CLASS? 5 WELL, MIDDLE-UPPER CLASS, Α. 6 Q. MIDDLE TO UPPER CLASS? 7 Α. YES, YES. NOW, DURING THE INFLATION, WE HAD A VERY 8 BAD SITUATION BECAUSE THERE WAS NO WAY ANYONE COULD 9 FIND ANY APARTMENTS OR HOUSES, WHERE TO LIVE. 10 REMEMBER THE INFLATION, VIVIDLY, BECAUSE EVERY DAY 11 THE MONEY CHANGED. 12 BUT, MY FATHER WAS NOT REALLLY VERY WELL BECAUSE HE 13 SPENT FOUR YEARS IN THE FIRST WORLD WAR. 14 OFFICER IN THE GERMAN ARMY, HE WAS BADLY WOUNDED IN 15 BELGIUM AND IN FRANCE ON THE MARCH TO PARIS AND HE 16 17 CAME HOME A BROKEN MAN. SO, ACTUALLY, MY FATHER WAS NOT THE MAIN FIGURE IN MY FAMILY AT ALL, ANYMORE. 18 HE WAS SPIRITUALLY BROKEN, PHYSICALLY ---19 Q. HE WAS SPIRITUALLY AND PHYSICALLY BROKEN, YES. Α. 20 BOTH. AND, HE DIED 1930. 21 22 Q. YOU WERE HOW OLD? I WAS THIRTEEN, MY SISTER WAS SEVEN, AND, WE ARE NOT Α. 23 SURE HOW HE DIED BECAUSE MY MOTHER'S NOT ALIVE 24

ANYMORE. EITHER HE SHOT HIMSELF, OR HE WAS WANTING

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TO SHOOT HIMSELF AND JUST DIED WITH A HEART ATTACK.
HE WAS A SICK MAN.

- Q. SO, YOUR MEMORIES OF YOUR FATHER ARE MAINLY ---
- A. NOT THE GREATEST. OBVIOUSLY, MY FATHER WAS SUPPOSED TO BE, WAS ONCE A VERY JOLLY PERSON AND A VERY HAPPY PERSON. AND, DUE TO THE WAR, AND DUE TO HIS WOUNDS HE CAME HOME VERY DEPRESSED. AND, HE COULDN'T STAND US AROUND, NO NOISE. I KNOW VERY WELL, I REMEMBER THAT HE KEPT A REVOLVER IN HIS NIGHTSTAND AND, HE HAD HIS OWN ROOM.
- Q. WHAT WAS YOUR MOM LIKE?
- A. MY MOTHER WAS A WONDERFUL PERSON. SHE WAS JUST LIKE
 A SISTER TO US. AND, SHE WAS VERY SPIRITED AND VERY
 HAPPY AND HAD A GREAT SENSE OF HUMOR. SHE WAS
 FIFTEEN YEARS YOUNGER THAN MY FATHER AND WE WERE
 JUST LIKE SISTERS TO HER. WELL, I MEAN, WE DIDN'T
 GET AWAY WITH THINGS. THERE WAS DAYS WE GOT THE
 WOODEN SPOON ON OUR BEHIND. AND, SHE CURBED US WITH
 THAT. BUT, BOTH OF US, MY SISTER AND I, HAVE THE
 MOST WONDERFUL MEMORIES OF HER. SHE WAS A VERY
 CAPABLE PERSON. SHE HAD A GREAT SENSE OF HUMOR.
 SHE TRIED TO MAKE LITTLE STORIES OUT OF THINGS AND
 POEMS. SHE WAS JUST A JOY.
- Q. SO, YOU HAD ONE YOUNGER SISTER?
- A. I HAVE ONE YOUNGER SISTER.

1 Q. AND, HER NAME IS?
2 A. VANATTI.

Α.

Q. VANATTI. WHAT DID YOUR HOMELIFE FEEL LIKE TO YOU?
WHAT MEMORIES DO YOU HAVE?

I HAVE A VERY GOOD FEELING ABOUT MY HOMELIFE. I

- REMEMBER MY VERY EARLY YEARS. WE HAD A VERY LARGE HOUSE IN THE SMALL TOWN OF REICHSTADT. AND, I KNOW I DID SOME HORRIBLE THINGS AND MY FATHER PUNISHED ME SEVERLY. THAT I REMEMBER.

 BUT, I REMEMBER MORESO, THE TIME IN BRIEG WHEN I PLAYED WITH THE STREET KIDS AND SPENT A GREAT DEAL OF TIME AT THE SCHOOL WITH MY MOTHER. I WENT WITH HER TO MAKE VISITS TO THE DEPRIVED FAMILIES, SHE TOOK ME ALONG. AND, I WAS VERY INTERESTED IN HER WORK.
 - Q. SO, SHE WAS A REAL SOCIAL ---
 - A. YES, SHE WAS A SO-- YES. SHE BELONGED TO THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY BUT SHE WAS NOT A CARD CARRYING MEMBER.
 - Q. SO, SHE DID THESE THINGS JUST ON THE SIDE, JUST
 BECAUSE SHE FELT THEY NEEDED TO BE DONE? VISITING,
 - A. NO, THIS WAS PART OF HER SCHOOLING. SHE TOOK CARE

 OF CHILDREN FROM WORKERS THAT CAME AFTER SCHOOL ALSO

 TO BE IN THE BUILDING AND BETWEEN THE VOCATIONAL

SCHOOL AND KINDERGARTEN, THEY ALSO HAD CARE, WERE 1 TAKEN CARE OF. THEY WERE FED, AND THEY GOT HOT 2 COCOA, HOT CHOCOLATE, AND THEY DID THEIR HOMEWORK 3 UNDER SUPERVISION, AND THEY HAD GYMNASTICS AND DRAW-4 ALL THIS GOOD STUFF. ING. 5 WHEN DID YOU FIRST NOTICE THAT THINGS WERE NOT AS Q. 6 THEY SHOULD BE? 7 Α. WHEN MY MOTHER'S SCHOOL WAS CLOSED. 8 WHICH WAS? Q. 9 10 Α. IT WAS, PROBABLY ABOUT 1934, 135. SO, YOU WERE ABOUT SEVENTEEN? Q. 11 I WAS ABOUT SEVENTEEN. I CAN'T EXACTLY TELL YOU. Α. 12 IT WAS ABOUT THAT TIME. THEY TOOK AWAY HER -- IT 13 WAS, THE SCHOOL HAD THE OKAY FROM THE STATE. 14 CALLED, IN GERMAN, STATTLICHKEIT ANERKANT, IT WAS 15 ACCEPTED BY THE STATE. THE SCHOOL WAS IN GOOD 16 17 STANDING. THEY TOOK AWAY THIS PRIVILEGE OF HERS AND SHE COULDN'T FUNCTION. THEY CLOSED UP THE KINDER-18 GARTEN, THE VOCATIONAL SCHOOL, AND TOOK THE WHOLE 19 BUILDING. 20 SO, WHEN THIS HAPPENED, SHE COULDN'T FUNCTION THERE 21 22 ANYMORE. AND, THEN I KNEW. THEN I KNEW. I MEAN, I DIDN'T HAVE TOO MUCH OF AN INKLING IN SCHOOL. 23 A LITTLE BIT OF PROBLEMS, BUT, NOT REALLY TREMEN 24

DOUSLY.

- YOU MEAN, IN TERMS OF PEOPLE NOTICING THAT YOU WERE Q. A JEW, AND POINTING THAT OUT TO YOU? 2
 - Α. RIGHT. I WASN'T CALLED THIS, ACTUALLY. I DON'T EVER REMEMBER BEING CALLED A JEW. I KNOW THAT THE MAID WE HAD HAD TO LEAVE US. I KNOW THAT. AND, I KNOW THERE WERE RESTRICTIONS. BUT, I DON'T RECALL IT AS MUCH AS MY LATER STUFF,

ANYHOW, SHE HAD TO CLOSE. SHE GOT A CALL FROM BRESLAU, WHICH WAS THE NEARBY CAPITOL IN SILESIA, AND, THE JEWISH COMMUNITY CENTER AND THE FEDERATION, I MEAN, THE SAME THING WHAT THE FEDERATION IS HERE NOW, ASKED HER TO COME AND TAKE OVER THE JEWISH GIRL'S HOME IN BRESLAU. WHICH WAS, AT THE TIME, AN EXTENSION OF THE JEWISH ORPHANAGE. IT WAS ONLY TWO HOUSES AWAY WHERE THE JEWISH ORPHANAGE WAS LOCATED. AND, IT WAS A HOME ACTUALLY FOR GIRLS SIXTEEN AND OVER TO COME THERE AND STAY AND PURSUE WHATEVER THEY WANTED TO DO, WHATEVER SCHOOLING THEY HAD TO DO AFTER THAT.

SO, THAT'S WHERE WE WENT AND, I RECALL THAT VERY VIVIDLY. IT WAS IN BRESLAU ON THE GREPSHEN STRASSE, SOME OF THE PEOPLE MIGHT REMEMBER THIS. WOULD LOVE TO CONNECT WITH SOME OF THE PEOPLE THAT I MET THERE.

AND, MY SISTER AND I WERE ALLOWED TO HAVE ONE ROOM,

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A VERY SMALL ROOM UP ON THE THIRD FLOOR. AND, SHE WAS ABLE TO HAVE ONE ROOM FOR HERSELF. IT WAS A KOSHER PLACE. IT ALSO HAD, LATER ON, TOOK CARE OF THE MENSA FOR THE JEWISH THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY BE—CAUSE IN LATER YEARS, AND IN YEARS AFTER, OR PRETTY SOON AFTER, THERE WERE NO KOSHER PLACES OPEN ANY—MORE. THERE WAS NO KOSHER FOOD AVAILABLE. SO, THE HOME ALSO SERVED AS THE MENSA FOR THE JEWISH THEO—LOGICAL ——STUDENTS FROM THE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

- Q. WHAT IS THAT WORD YOU'RE SAYING?
 - A. MENSA. IT'S A FOOD PLACE, IT'S A EATING PLACE FOR STUDENTS. SO, OF COURSE, THAT WAS GREAT BECAUSE WE AT LEAST SAW SOME MEN. THAT'S WHEN ALL THE FUN STARTED.
- Q. WERE YOU GOING OUT TO SCHOOL SOMEWHERE, AT THAT
- [7 | A. YES. I WAS TRANSFERRED TO THE LATELL IN BRESLAU.
- Q. WAS IT A PUBLIC SCHOOL?
- A. IT WAS A PRIVATE SCHOOL. I COULDN'T GO TO PUBLIC SCHOOL ANYMORE.
 - Q. OKAY, SO, YOU WERE GOING TO A PRIVATE SCHOOL AT THAT TIME?
 - A. I HAD TO GO TO A PRIVATE CATHOLIC SCHOOL. THERE

 WERE TWO JEWISH SCHOOLS WHICH I DIDN'T WANT TO GO

 TO. IT'S VERY FOOLISH. I LEARNED BETTER LATER.

AND, I WAS READY FOR MY, IT'S CALLED MITTLE REIF 1 IT'S THE LAST STEP BEFORE THE ARBITURE. 2 WHAT'S ARBITURE? Q. 3 THAT'S WHEN YOU GRADUATE. IT'S SIMILAR TO THE JUN-Α. 4 IOR HIGHSCHOOL HERE -- JUNIOR COLLEGE HERE. FOR THE 5 DEGREE OF A JUNIOR COLLEGE, OKAY? SO, I GRADUATED 6 ABOUT THE SAME, I WOULD SAY OF A HIGHSCHOOL HERE 7 WITH THE DEGREE THAT I HAD. BUT, IT WAS VERY DIFFI-8 CULT ALREADY. THEN, IT BECAME VERY DIFFICULT IN 9 THAT SCHOOL, VERY DIFFICULT BECAUSE I HAD TO SIT ON 10 THE LAST BENCH IN SCHOOL. I WAS HIT BECAUSE I 11 DIDN'T LIFT MY ARM TO SAY "HEIL HITLER". I WAS 12 PUSHED DOWN THE STAIRS. THE SISTERS COULDN'T KEEP 13 14 ME THERE BECAUSE THEY HAD PROBLEMS KEEPING ME THERE. I MEAN, THEY PROBABLY MIGHT HAVE, BUT THEY WERE 15 SCARED, SO, I LEFT IT WHEN I WAS SIXTEEN YEARS OLD. 16 17 Q. SO, YOU KNEW WHO HITLER WAS, AND YOU KNEW YOU WEREN'T GOING TO LIFT YOUR ARM? 18 Α. YES. 19 Q. HOW DID YOU KNOW THAT? 20 I HAD TO -- BUT, I WAS FORCED TO LIFT MY ARM. Α. 21 HOW DID YOU KNOW THAT? WAS IT TALKED ABOUT AT HOME? 22 Q.

EVERYBODY KNEW WHO HITLER WAS, AND WHAT WAS GOING

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Q.

YES.

ON?

A٠ OF COURSE. HITLER CAME TO POWER IN 1933. 1 WE KNEW OF HIM BEFORE, BUT WE DIDN'T TAKE HIM SER-2 IOUS. 3 DID THE KIDS IN SCHOOL TALK ABOUT HITLER? Q. 4 WELL, OF COURSE, BECAUSE THE WHOLE CURRICULUM WAS Α. 5 ALSO SET UP, YOU KNOW, HIS NAME HAD TO BE TALKED 6 7 ABOUT, YOU HAD TO BE TAUGHT ABOUT. Q. WAS HE TALKED ABOUT AS A GOOD MAN WHO WAS DOING ---8 OH, YES, YES. HE WAS BRINGING THE COUNTRY BACK AND Α. 9 10 GERMAN WAS A SUPER RACE AND THEY'RE GOING TO MAKE WONDERFUL GERMANS OUT OF THEM AND THEY WERE GOING TO 11 BE SUPERSTARS. 12 DID THEY SAY, DIRECTLY, ANTISEMITIC THINGS? 13 Q٠ 14 A٠ YES. Q. THAT THEY WERE GOING TO GET RID OF THE JEWS? 15 YES, YES VERY MUCH SO. I REALLY THOUGHT THERE WAS 16 Α. 17 SOMETHING WRONG WITH US. I HAVE ALSO WRITTEN ABOUT AND, IT TOOK ME A LONG TIME TO GET RID OF 18 THAT. THIS. 19 NOT VERY FAR FROM WHERE THE HOME WAS, THE JEWISH 20 MATRON HEIM, THE JEWISH GIRL'S HOME, WAS THE MAIN 21 22 BUILDING OF THE 'STURMER', WHICH WAS THE PUBLICATION OF THE NAZIS. S-T-U-R-M-E-R AND, OUTSIDE IN THE 23 GLASS CASES, THEY EXHIBITED SOME OF THE CHARACITURES 24 OF JEWS. AND, I USED TO PASS THIS ALMOST ONCE OR 25

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TWICE A DAY AND IT LEFT ME WITH A TERRIBLE FEAR
BECAUSE IN THE END, IT WAS SO IMPREGNATED INTO US
AND SO TALKED ABOUT CONTINUOUSLY, ALSO ON THE RADIO,
THAT I THOUGHT THERE WAS SOMETHING VERY EVIL ABOUT
US, AND ALSO ABOUT OUR LOOKS.

- Q. SO, YOU KIND OF HATED YOURSELF? YOU THOUGHT YOU WERE AN EVIL ---
- A. WELL, IT CUT ME DOWN TO A VERY SMALL PERSON. I HAD

 NO FEELINGS FOR MYSELF, NOT THE GOOD FEELINGS ANYWAY

 FOR MYSELF. I THOUGHT MAYBE THEY'RE RIGHT. MAYBE

 THERE IS SOMETHING WRONG WITH US. MAYBE WE ARE

 CROOKS AND WE ARE NO GOOD AND, YOU KNOW, WE HAVE NO

 PLACE IN THIS WORLD ANYMORE.
- Q. DID YOU EVER DISCUSS THIS WITH YOUR MOTHER AND SISTER?
- A. WELL, FORTUNATELY, THE MINUTE I ENTERED THE HOME -AND THE ATMOSPHERE WAS GOOD IN THERE BECAUSE MY
 MOTHER WAS A VERY CHEERFUL PERSON AND EVEN IN THE
 DEPRESSIVE YEARS, SHE WAS AN UP PERSON. SHE INVENTED THINGS TO MAKE THINGS HAPPEN THAT WE WERE
 HAPPY IN SOME WAY OR THE OTHER EVEN THOUGH WE HAD NO
 -- THE FOOD SITUATION GOT TO BE VERY BAD. SINCE IT
 WAS A KOSHER HOME, WE COULDN'T GET HARDLY ANYMORE
 MEAT OR ANYTHING LIKE THIS. SO, WE LIVED ON RICE.
 DIFFERENT KINDS OF RICE. AND HERE AND THERE, SOME-

TIMES A CHICKEN THAT CAME OUR WAY FROM ANOTHER COUNTRY.

- Q. GIVE ME AN EXAMPLE OF YOUR MOTHER INVENTING SOME-THING TO KEEP YOU GOING.
- A. OKAY. SHE INVENTED PARTIES. SHE'D PUT ON, FIRST OF ALL, THE FRIDAY NIGHT MEAL WAS ALWAYS VERY NICE BECAUSE THE STUDENTS FROM THE SEMINARY CAME TO EAT WITH US AND PUT ON THE FRIDAY NIGHT. SO, WE WERE REALLY LIKE AN ISLAND, ALMOST, THAT WE DIDN'T WORRY OF WHAT WAS GOING ON OUTSIDE BECAUSE WE HAD A VERY GOOD ATMOSPHERE THERE. ---
- Q. AT LEAST FOR A FEW HOURS?
- A. --- PEOPLE THAT CAME AND TOOK PART, WE WERE SOMETIMES THIRTY OR FORTY PEOPLE. THAT ADDED TO THIS
 ATMOSPHERE. WE HAD A CANTOR COME IN THAT SANG
 BEAUTIFUL AND SANG YIDDISH SONGS. AND, WE LEARNED
 THEM AND WE FELL INTO IT AND IT WENT ALONG WITH US.
 WE DANCED. I KNOW THAT I WAS THROWN OUT OF THE ROOM
 ONCE BECAUSE I DECIDED TO DANCE ON THE TABLE, A
 RUSSIAN DANCE. AND, WE GOT DRUNK WITH THE LITTLE
 WINE WE HAD. AND, THE TEA WE DRANK THAT WAS STILL
 AVAILABLE, OR THE HOT WATER. WE TOLD EACH OTHER
 STORIES. WE FLIRTED WITH THE YOUNG GUYS. THIS WAS
 THE ONLY WAY WE EVER SAW A MALE PERSON. THAT'S, BY
 THE WAY, HOW I MET MY HUSBAND.

Q. REALLY?

- A. YES, I POURED TEA OVER HIM.
- Q. THEN? WHEN YOU WERE ABOUT SEVENTEEN?
- A. SEVENTEEN OR EIGHTEEN, YES. YOU KNOW, THE YEARS

 WENT ON. THERE ARE PERIODS THAT TOOK LONGER THAN I

 CAN TELL RIGHT NOW. THERE ARE NOT MANY PERIODS BUT

 THEY TOOK MONTHS.

YES, WE DID SOME TERRIBLE THINGS. IN FACT, WE HAD
AN AWFUL GOOD TIME WITH THOSE STUDENTS. I THINK
SOME YEARS BACK, I APOLOGIZED TO PROFESSOR URBACH,
WHO ALMOST BECAME THE PRESIDENT OF ISRAEL SOME TIME
AGO, BECAUSE ONE OF OUR TIMES WHEN WE DIDN'T KNOW
WHAT TO DO WITH OURSELVES, AND WANTED TO DO SOMETHING, SOME KIND OF FUN, ON A RAINY DAY WHEN STUDENTS ARRIVED IN THEIR GALOSHES AND RAINCOATS, AND
LOTS OF CLOTHES, BECAUSE THE EASTERN PART OF GERMANY
WAS VERY COLD AT THAT TIME, THE WINTER TIME, WE
DECIDED TO SWITCH THE GALOSHES AND SEW UP THE SLEVES
OF THE STUDENTS' JACKETS. I THINK I STARTED THIS
PROBLEM AND A COUPLE OF MY FRIENDS, TWO OR THREE
THOUGHT IT A WONDERFUL IDEA.

SO, WE DECIDED TO DO THAT AND WAITED FOR THEM TO LEAVE. WE WENT UP TO THE THIRD FLOOR AND THEN WE LOOKED DOWN THE STAIRCASE TO SEE WHAT HAPPENED.

AND, OF COURSE, WE COULDN'T HELP IT. WE LAUGHED AND

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LAUGHED AND LAUGHED. I KNEW PROFESSOR URBACH, AT THAT TIME, HE WASN'T A PROFESSOR. HE WAS A DOSANT. HE WAS VERY UNHAPPY BECAUSE HE COULDN'T FIND HIS GALOSHES AND HE COULDN'T GET INTO HIS COAT, AND, OF COURSE, THEY WERE USUALLY VERY MUCH IN A HURRY BECAUSE THEY HAD A MILE OR SO TO WALK TO THE SEMI-NARY AND HAD TO GET BACK TO THEIR CLASSES. OTHERS HAD FITS ABOUT THAT. SO, THEN WE ALL LOOKED OUT THE WINDOW AND SEE HOW THEY WALKED HOME BECAUSE SOME ONLY FOUND ONE GALOSH. IT WAS QUITE A SCENE. I REMEMBER IT VERY, VERY CLEARLY. I KNOW MY SISTER AND I HAVE A VERY GOOD TIME BY TALKING ABOUT IT. BUT, LATER ON, I DECIDED WHEN I HEARD THAT MR. URBACH BECAME A VERY IMPORTANT MAN IN ISRAEL AND, I THOUGHT TO MYSELF 'I REALLY SHOULD CALL HIM THE NEXT TIME I'M IN ISRAEL AND APOLOGIZE'.

- Q. DID HE ACCEPT YOUR APOLOGY?
- A. YES, HE DID. BUT, THAT WAS WHAT WE DID JUST TO KEEP

 OUR SANITY. IT WASN'T A VERY NICE THING TO DO BUT,

 THAT SORT OF KEPT US GOING FOR THE NEXT COUPLE OF

 DAYS, THREE DAYS, FOUR DAYS, AND ---
- Q. UNTIL YOU THOUGHT OF SOMETHING ELSE TO DO?
- A. UNTIL WE THOUGHT OF SOMETHING ELSE TO DO. THE
 REASON WAS, WE ALSO DIDN'T HAVE A RADIO IN THE HOUSE
 ANYMORE. WE HAD TO GIVE AWAY THE RADIOS. AND, SO,

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O. WHICH IS WHERE?

WE DIDN'T REALLY KNOW THE NEWS. THERE WERE LOUD SPEAKERS MOUNTED ON ALL THE CORNERS OF THE STREET, ON THE BIG CORNERS. AND, THERE WAS CONTINUOUSLY TALK BY GOEBBELS GOING THAT JEWS SHOULD BE TREATED LIKE FLOWERS. AND, I REMEMBER THAT SO VIVIDLY LIKE

Q. LIKE FLOWERS?

THE JEWS LIKE FOR INSTANCE, CARNATIONS. 'LET US TREAT
THE JEWS LIKE FLOWERS. LET'S NOT WATER THEM
ANYMORE AND THEN THEY WILL DIE.' AND, THIS CAME
EVERY HOUR ON THE HOUR, I WOULD SAY, ON TO THE LOUD
SPEAKERS. AND, IT WAS A WEIRD THING BECAUSE IT HAS
BEEN VERY MUCH SO IMPRINTED IN MY MIND. THIS IS
SOMETHING I CAN HEAR, STILL TODAY. AND, OF COURSE,
THEN, THE CRYSTAL NIGHT.

NOW, I MET MY HUSBAND BEFORE WE GO INTO THE CRYSTAL NIGHT. I MET MY HUSBAND WITH THE STUDENTS. HE WAS A STUDENT THERE. CAME ORIGINALLY -- I MEAN HIS FAMILY HAD -- HE WAS A JEW FROM POLAND. HE WAS BORN IN POLAND IN HORADENKA. HIS FATHER AND MOTHER AND SISTERS AND BROTHERS MOVED FROM HORADENKA TO AUSTRIA LIKE SO MANY POLISH JEWS DID.

- Q. WHERE IS HORADENKA?
- A. HORADENKA IS NEAR KOLOMIA.

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WHICH IS IN POLAND. IT IS NOW IN RUSSIA, IT HAS CHANGED. AND, THEY IMIGRATED, THEY COULDN'T STAND IT ANYMORE COUNTED ON ACCOUNT OF THE PROGRAMS AND WENT TO VIENNA, AS MANY OTHER POLISH JEWS DID.

SPENT SOME VERY TOUGH YEARS IN VIENNA. COULDN'T MAKE A LIVING.

AND WENT TO THE REST OF THE FAMILY THAT HAD GONE TO DORTMUND, GERMANY, AND WENT TO MEET WITH THEM TO SEE IF THEY COULD LIVE THERE, WHICH THEY DID.

SO, HE CAME FROM A VERY ORTHODOX FAMILY. HIS FATHER

AND MOTHER WANTED NOTHING BETTER FOR HIM BUT TO BECOME A RABBI. HE HAD WENT TO HEDER AT A VERY EARLY AGE. AND, THEN, WHEN THEY LIVED IN DORTMUND WHEN HE WAS THIRTEEN, TO THE BRAUER YESHIVA IN FRANKFORT AN MEIN. AND HE LIVED THERE.

SO, HE CAME AWAY FROM HOME QUITE EARLY, IN HIS TEEN YEARS AND I THINK IT WAS NOT THE BEST THING FOR A TEENAGE BOY, THIRTEEN YEARS OLD, TO LIVE AWAY FROM HOME THOUGH HE HAS NEVER REALLY COMPLAINED ABOUT IT. FROM THERE, HE THEN SPENT THE LAST PART OF HIS HIGH SCHOOL IN DORTMUND IN BET HALUTZ. IN SAXON, LYPZIG. HE WAS A ZIONIST THROUGH ALL HIS YOUNG YEARS. HE BELONGED TO THE ZIONIST YOUTH GROUPS TO THE MIZ-RACHI. HE WANTED TO GO TO ISRAEL.

Q. WHAT'S A BET HALUTZ?

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- A. IT'S A HOUSE FOR WORKERS. IT'S ALSO A HACHSHARA, A
 PLACE FOR PROVIDING A PREPARATION FOR ISRAEL. SO,
 THAT'S WHERE HE SPENT SOME TIME, ALSO.
- Q. AND HE WAS HOW OLD WHEN HE WAS ---
- WELL, HE GRADUATED FROM SCHOOL, I THINK WHEN HE WAS SEVENTEEN. AND, THEN SPENT SOME YEARS ON HACHSHARA ON THE PREPARATION FOR ISRAEL. AND THEN, HIS PAR-ENTS WANTED HIM TO BECOME A RABBI THE WORST WAY, THEN HE DECIDED TO APPLY AT THE JEWISH THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY IN BRESLAU. AND HE NEEDED TO HAVE SCHOLAR-HE GOT A COMPLETE SCHOLARSHIP. THROUGH THAT SHIPS. HE WENT ON THE BRAUER YESHIVA. AND, HE CAME TO BRESLAU. HE WAS A VERY GOOD STUDENT. HE FINISHED WITH CUM LAUDA. HE FINISHED RABINETTE WITH CUM HE WAS THE LAST STUDENT GRADUATING FROM THE JEWISH THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY IN BRESLAU. SO, WHEN HE CAME TO BRESLAU, AND, I HAVE TO GO BACK. THAT'S HOW HE WAS IN BRESLAU. HE HAD A ROOM THAT HE RENTED FOR LITTLE MONEY AND HE ATE AT OUR PLACE. HE WAS VERY THIN. I KNOW HE HAD A BICYCLE. QUITE A BICYCLE RIDER. AND, I KNOW HE CHAINED IT ON THE POST RIGHT IN FRONT OF THE JEWISH GIRL'S HOME BECAUSE THAT'S HOW I COULD TELL HE WAS IN OR NOT IN.
- Q. DID YOU HAVE A CRUSH ON HIM?
- A. I HAD A CRUSH ON HIM, YES. HE WAS VERY GOOD LOOKING

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AND HE HAD NICE MANNERS AND I BY HOOK OR CROOK, WAS GOING TO GET HIM.

- Q. SO, THAT WENT ON FOR HOW LONG WHEN YOU WERE LIVING
 IN BRESLAU AND BEING A NAUGHTY ---
- Α. A NAUGHTY GIRL? THAT WENT ON UNTIL -- WELL, THERE WAS ANOTHER THING. THEN, HE FINALLY, OF COURSE COMMENTED TO ME AND WE HAD, WHAT WE CALLED SOME GOOD TIMES TOGETHER. THE GOOD TIMES WERE THE FOLLOWING. WE COULDN'T GO ANYWHERE. WE WERE CURFEWED. O'CLOCK IN THE EVENING, WE HAD TO BE HOME. AND, WE COULDN'T REALLY GO OUT MUCH ANYMORE, NEITHER. BECAUSE ON THE BENCHES WE COULDN'T SIT BECAUSE JEWS WERE NOT ALLOWED TO SIT ON BENCHES. AND, WE COULDN'T SHOW OURSELVES ANYMORE. IF YOU LOOKED IN ANY WAY JEWISH OR, PEOPLE KNEW YOU WERE JEWISH, YOU WOULD GET SOMETHING THROWN AT YOU OR SLURS MADE ABOUT YOU. IT WAS BAD. IT WAS NOT THE BEST TIME BUT, HE INSISTED.

HE HAD TWO PROJECTS FOR ME. ALL HIS LIFE HE HAD
PROJECTS FOR ME. ONE PROJECT WAS TO PLAY CHESS WITH
ME AND THE OTHER PROJECT WAS TO TEACH ME HEBREW.
AND, THE CHESS, I DID NOT SUCCEED. THE HEBREW, I
MORESO SUCCEEDED. SO, IT WASN'T ALL LOST. THE
CHESS PLAYING, WE NEVER FINISHED. AND, FORTUNATELY,
WE HAD TWO SONS AND GIRLS THAT PLAYED CHESS WITH

HIM. AND, THE HEBREW, WE DID. NOW, WE HAD NOT REALLY ANY TEXTBOOKS. HE USED THE TANAH. I KNOW WE WENT -- STARTED TO TEACH ME. I HAVE NO BASIC LEARNING ABOUT THIS AND I AM FOREVER THANKFUL THAT HE KINDLED THIS INTO ME BECAUSE MANY, MANY, MANY YEARS LATER, I WENT TO ISRAEL AND I WENT INTO THE ULPAN, ULPANIM AND PICKED UP AS MUCH AS I COULD AND I STILL DO. SO, HE LAID A PRETTY GOOD GROUND FLOOR.

- Q. SO, THAT WAS YOUR DATES?
- A. THOSE WERE MY DATES. HEBREW AND CHESS, YES. AND,
 LATER ON -- WELL, OF COURSE THERE WAS SOME LOVE—
 MAKING. YOU CAN'T BE WITH A YOUNG MAN, I MEAN, I
 WAS NINETEEN ALREADY OR GOING ON TO NINETEEN YEARS
 OLD AND HE WAS TWENTY AND OVER. WHEN A MAN AND A
 WOMAN GETS TOGETHER, THERE'S SOME LOVEMAKING AND
 THOSE WERE THE TIMES THAT WERE VERY NICE. THE ONLY
 PROBLEM WAS, GOD FORBID, WHEN ONE GETS PREGNANT.
 BECAUSE IN THAT DAY AND TIME THERE WERE NO PRECAU—
 TIONS THAT COULD BE TAKEN.
- Q. WHERE DID YOU FIND TO HAVE PRIVACY?
- A. PRIVACY WE FOUND IN HIS ROOM. MY MOTHER WAS A VERY
 LIBERAL PERSON. SHE HAD NO OBJECTIONS TO THAT. IT
 WAS ALWAYS VERY COLD BECAUSE HE WAS TOO POOR TO HAVE
 HEAT GOING SO WE ALWAYS WENT IN COATS. AND, HE WAS
 ALSO VERY POOR. HE USED TO LIVE ON SARDINES BESIDES

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THE FOOD THAT WE HAD AT THE HOME. SO THEN, MY
MOTHER TOOK GREAT LIKING TO HIM AND SHE ALWAYS HAD
SOMETHING HIDDEN AWAY. SHE WAS A MAGICIAN. SHE WAS
ABLE TO FIND FOOD SOMETIMES. LIKE, COFFEE BEANS
THAT YOU COULDN'T GET ANYWHERE. SHE HAD HERE AND
THERE SOME FRIENDS, I THINK IN GROCERY STORES. SHE
WAS VERY MUCH LIKED. AND, I THINK THINGS SOMETIMES
CAME TO HER.

I KNOW SHE HAD THIS ONE ROOM, AND I KNOW THERE WAS ONE DRAWER THAT SHE STUFFED AWAY THINGS FOR OCCA-SIONS. YOU KNOW, FOR JUST A REWARD TYPE THING. AND THAT'S ACTUALLY HOW WE SURVIVED. WE LIVED ON THIS TYPE OF THING. THERE MAY BE SOMETHING THAT COULD BE FOUND. A PIECE OF CHOCOLATE -- I NEVER FORGOT THE UNKOSHER BOLOGNA BECAUSE THE HOME WAS VERY KOSHER. SHE WOULD NOT GET IT INTO THE KITCHEN. SHE WAS VERY GOOD ABOUT THIS. BUT, THERE WAS A BUTCHER, NOT VERY FAR FROM US AND I KNOW EVER SO OFTEN THERE WAS SOME BOLOGNA IN THE DRAWER.

- Q. WERE YOU SKINNY?
- A. I WAS SKINNY. YES, FAIRLY SKINNY, YES.
- Q. WERE YOU HUNGRY?
- A. I CAN'T RECALL I WAS HUNGRY. I WAS HUNGRY TO SOME

 EXTENT. I ATE THE RICE BECAUSE I WAS HUNGRY. BUT,

 I COULDN'T STAND THE RICE AND I DON'T EAT IT TO THIS

DAY. I WILL EAT IT IF THERE'S NOTHING ELSE BECAUSE 1 WE HAD APPLE RICE AND CHERRY RICE, AND WE HAD PLAIN 2 RICE AND WE HAD RICE WITH I DON'T KNOW WHAT, AND 3 RAISINS IN IT. THAT WAS OUR STAPLE OF FOOD BECAUSE 4 THAT WAS AVAILABLE. AND, YOU CAN LIVE OFF IT. 5 ALSO THERE WAS HARDLY ANY BUTTER AVAILABLE SO, WE 6 7 HAD BREAD. WE WERE ABLE TO GET BREAD, I THINK. AND, SOME OF US SURVIVED ON THAT. 8 SO, YOU WERE IN LOVE WITH? Q. 9 10 Α. MAX, MOYSHE. MOYSHE? Q. 11 WELL, HIS GERMAN NAME WAS MAX AND HIS HEBREW NAME 12 Α. WAS MOYSHE. 13 WHAT DID YOU CALL HIM, MOST OF THE TIME? 14 Q. Α. I CALLED HIM MOYSHE, 15 HOW LONG DID THAT GO ON, THAT PERIOD? 16 Q. 17 THAT WENT ON, ON AND OFF FOR QUITE A LONG TIME. Α. UNTIL FOUR WEEKS BEFORE THE CRYSTAL NIGHT. 18 AND THEN WHAT HAPPENED? 19 Q. HE WAS TAKEN OFF THE STREET, IN FACT, WE CAME HOME, Α. 20 IT WAS BEFORE THE CURFEW, AND WE SAW A LOT OF PEOPLE 21 22 IN THE STREET AND COULDN'T FIGURE OUT WHAT IT WAS. 23 AND, THE NEXT -- HE TOOK ME HOME AND WE PARTED AND

THE NEXT DAY I HEARD THAT ALL THE POLISH JEWS WERE

PUSHED OUT, OVER THE BORDER. WHY? WE DIDN'T KNOW

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FOR A LONG TIME WHY, DIDN'T KNOW. WE CALLED HIS
HOME, WHICH WAS DORTMUND. THE FATHER HAD IMIGRATED
SHORTLY BEFORE THIS. THEY HAD ONE AFFIDAVIT. AND
THE FATHER HAD IMIGRATED TO NEW YORK, TO AMERICA
BECAUSE THERE WERE SOME MEMBERS OF THE FAMILY THAT
HAD MANY YEARS BEFORE IMIGRATED FROM POLAND. CLOSE
FAMILY TIES WITH HIS MOTHER. SISTERS AND BROTHERS OF
HIS MOTHER. HIS MOTHER HAD TEN OR TWELVE SISTERS
AND BROTHERS.

- Q. SO, WAS HE GOING TO GO AND MAKE ENOUGH MONEY FOR THE REST OF THEM TO COME?
- A. THAT'S RIGHT, THAT'S THE USUAL STORY. HE WAS GOING
 TO PUT DOWN HIS FEET THERE, TRY TO FIND A BUSINESS
 OF SOME KIND, COLLECT THE MONEY AND THEN CALL FOR
 THEM. NOW, THERE WAS A QUOTA SYSTEM IN THE UNITED
 STATES. THEREFORE ONLY HE COULD GO. HE WAS ABLE TO
 DO IT AND HE WENT TO RELATIVES. NOW, HE HAD TO
 WAIT, FIRST OF ALL FOR THE MONEY TO COME. SO, THERE
 WAS ALSO AN AFFIDAVIT GIVEN FOR MOYSHE. BUT, HE
 DIDN'T KNOW ABOUT IT THEN.
- Q. WHAT WAS AN AFFIDAVIT?
- A. AN AFFIDAVIT IS A PERMIT TO ASK FOR THE VISA. BECAUSE THERE WAS A QUOTA NUMBER. AMERICA HAD A QUOTA
 NUMBER FOR IMIGRANTS AND THIS IS WHAT RUINED SO
 MANY. THAT'S WHY MILLIONS WERE KILLED.

- Q. SO, THERE WAS AN AFFIDAVIT FOR MOYSHE, BUT NOBODY KNEW ABOUT IT?
 - A. AT THAT TIME, WHEN HIS FATHER WENT OUT. HIS FATHER WENT OUT AND THEN THE OTHER AFFIDAVIT CAME FROM ONE OF THE OTHER RELATIVES. SO WE, AT THE TIME, DIDN'T KNOW ABOUT IT. THE MOTHER AND THE TWO CHILDREN WERE WAITING FOR THE FATHER TO PUT HIS FEET DOWN AND THEN CALL FOR THEM.

SO, MOYSHE WAS SNAPPED UP, WAS TAKEN OFF THE

STREET AT THIS RATZIA. THAT'S WHAT WE CALLED IT IN

GERMAN, I DON'T KNOW WHAT IT IS -- WHAT WAS GOING ON

TO TAKE THE POL'S OUT. THE REASON, LATER ON, WE

FOUND OUT, THAT THE POL'S WERE PULLED OUT BECAUSE

MOST OF THE POLISH JEWS THAT LIVED IN GERMANY DID

NOT SERVE IN THE POLISH ARMY AND DIDN'T HAVE WHAT'S

CALLED THE BURGERSHTEMPLE. A STAMP TO SAY THAT THEY

WERE GOOD CITIZENS OF POLAND. AND MOST OF THEM

DIDN'T HAVE THAT. I THINK MOST ALL OF THEM. THERE

WAS NOBODY THERE THAT I REMEMBER THAT HAD ONE OF

THOSE IN THEIR PASSPORT.

SO, THEY WERE SENT OFF THE STREETS AND OUT. AND MY HUSBAND, HE WAS NOT MY HUSBAND THEN, BUT MOYSHE WAS ABLE TO FIND A FRIEND OF OURS WAS -- STAYED DOWN IN KATAVITZ. WHICH IS NOW CALLED KATAVICHE. IT'S THE UPPER SILESIA BORDER BETWEEN POLAND AND GERMANY.

THAT THOUGHT OF THAT. AND, SO, IT HAPPENED. ANY-HOW, HE TRIED WHEN THEY CROSSED THE BORDER, THE POL'S DIDN'T WANT THEM EITHER. THAT'S VERY INTER-ESTING. I DON'T KNOW HOW MUCH IS KNOWN ABOUT THIS NOW. THE POL'S STOOD WITH THE BAYONETS ON THE OTHER SIDE AND WHEN THEY TRIED TO TURN BACK, THE GERMANS AND THE NAZIS WERE THERE WITH THEIR GUNS.

- Q. THEY WERE TRAPPED?
- A. THEY WERE VERY MUCH TRAPPED AND IT WAS A VERY WOODED

 AREA OF POLAND. HE DIDN'T HAVE MUCH. HE HELPED

 OTHER PEOPLE CARRY THINGS. OLD PEOPLE AND SICK

 PEOPLE. IT WAS BEDLAM.

WE HAD SOME FRIENDS IN KATAVITZ, WHICH IS THE GERMAN BORDER TOWN WHICH IS POLISH NOW. AND, WE MADE A PHONE CALL TO THEM AND TOLD THEM AFTER WE HEARD WHAT HAPPENED. IT WAS THEN KNOWN. THE FOLLOWING DAY IT WAS KNOWN WHAT HAD HAPPENED OF THE FOLLOWING NEXT.

SO, THE JEWISH COMMUNITY KNEW WHAT WAS GOING ON. TO LOOK AND SEE IF THEY COULD FIND HIM SOMEWHERE ROAM—ING AROUND. AND, IT WAS INCREDIBLE THAT THAT ACT—UALLY HAPPENED. THEY ACTUALLY FOUND HIM ROAMING AROUND IN THE WOODS. WE DESCRIBED HIM AND WE GAVE THE NAME AND THEY TOOK HIM AND HID HIM. SO, IT WAS INCREDIBLE, THIS SITUATION.

Q. IT WAS A MIRACLE.

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A. YES, IT WAS A MIRACLE. AND, THEY KEPT HIM IN THIS

ROOM THAT THEY HAD. HE COULD NOT GO OUT. AND, WE

WERE ABLE ---

- Q. THESE WERE JEWS?
- A. YES, THEY WERE JEWISH PEOPLE, YES. AND, I THINK
 THEY LATER ON PERISHED. NOT THROUGH THIS, BUT,

 LATER ON WHEN THE WHOLE THING BLEW UP. WE FOUND OUT
 FROM THEM, THROUGH A PHONE CALL. WE HAD TO BE VERY
 CAREFUL BECAUSE THE PHONES WERE TAPPED. SO, WE GAVE
 DIFFERENT NAMES FOR DIFFERENT THINGS. WE HAVE LONG
 MADE UP THAT LIST. YOU KNOW, WE WORKED WITH DIFFERENT NAMES, DIFFERENT DESCRIPTIONS.

WE FOUND OUT HE WAS THERE. AND, HE DIDN'T KNOW
WHERE HIS MOTHER AND HIS SISTERS WENT. WE DIDN'T
KNOW THAT FOR A LONG TIME. I HAVE A LETTER HERE, AN
ORIGINAL LETTER THAT HIS SISTER WROTE FROM SPONGEN,
WHICH IS ALSO A BORDER TOWN, WHERE THEY HAD A HUGE
GROUP OF IMIGRANTS THAT STOPPED THERE IN A LAGER, IN
A HOLDING PLACE, UNDER VERY BAD CONDITIONS. SPONGEN
IN GERMAN IS BENCHEN. AND, THIS LETTER THAT I HAVE
HERE, TOOK TEN YEARS FOR US TO GET INTO OUR HANDS.
AND, THE LETTER IS TRANSLATED, ALSO, I MEAN, WE HAVE
IT TRANSLATED HERE. SO, MY GRANDKIDS AND MY CHIL—
DREN WOULD KNOW WHAT IT SAYS. HIS SISTER WAS THIR—
TEEN YEARS OLD -- OH, EXCUSE ME, THIS LETTER WAS NOT

TRANSLATED BEC-- YES, IT WAS TRANSLATED FOR HIS

FAMILY BUT IT WAS NOT TRANSLATED FOR US BECAUSE HIS

OLDER SISTER SARAH ALREADY SPOKE ENGLISH QUITE WELL.

AND DID IT WITH THE HELP OF A ENGLISH TEACHER IN THE

CAMP. AND, SHE WROTE IT IN ENGLISH, THAT'S RIGHT.

SO, IT WAS QUITE A THING. IT'S THIRTEEN PAGES.

- Q. AND, IT'S ABOUT WHAT WAS GOING ON?
- A. WHAT WAS GOING ON IN THE CAMP, YES. AND, I WROTE A STORY SURROUNDING THIS LETTER AND INCLUDED THE LETTER AND THE PICTURE OF THE SISTERS.

 NOW, MUCH LATER ON THEY THEN PERISHED, LATER ON.

 EVERYBODY WAS SUPPOSED TO GO TO THE PLACE OF BIRTH.

 THEY WERE SUPPOSED TO GO TO HORADENKA, WHICH WAS QUITE A WAYS. THEY WERE SHOT LATER ON, IN THE WOODS.
- Q. 'THEY', WHO?
- A. THE TWO SISTERS AND THE MOTHER WERE SHOT INTO THE OPEN GRAVE. WE DIDN'T KNOW THIS UNTIL MANY YEARS LATER FROM AN EYEWITNESS THAT KNEW HER. BECAUSE NO MAIL WAS ARRIVED, OF COURSE, AND COULDN'T ARRIVE. BECAUSE THEY WERE NO MORE.
- 22 Q. SO, AT THE TIME, YOU DIDN'T KNOW?
 - A. WE DIDN'T KNOW. WE DIDN'T KNOW. THIS IS THE ONLY
 LETTER, WHICH MUCH LATER CAME OUT TO US. AND ALL
 THE LETTERS THAT THE FATHER WROTE, NEVER ARRIVED,

THEY CAME BACK OR THERE WAS NO ANSWER TO THEM. SO, THAT'S THE STORY OF THESE PEOPLE. ONLY EYEWITNESS KNEW THAT THEY KNEW THAT THEY WERE SHOT INTO THE GRAVES THAT THEY DUG. AND THAT WAS NOT VERY FAR --VERY DENSE WOODS OF POLAND.

SO, AS MOYSHE WAS IN KATAVITZ, WE WERE ABLE, ONCE IN A WHILE TO MAKE A PHONE CALL, DIFFERENT NAMES AND VERY CAREFUL WHAT WE SAID. BUT HE DID SMUGGLE A WEDDING RING, AN ENGAGEMENT RING TO ME WITH SOMEBODY THAT CAME TO BRESLAU.

- Q. SO, THERE WAS HOPE IN THE MIDDLE OF ALL THIS?
- A. YES, YOU KNOW, THERE IS SUCH A THING AS A WILL TO LIVE AND YOU, TO THE LAST MINUTE YOU WILL HAVE THAT WILL. I MEAN, IF YOU DON'T HAVE THIS, THERE IS SOMETHING VERY WRONG WITH YOU. MOST PEOPLE HAVE A TREMENDOUS WILL TO LIVE AND I KNOW OF PEOPLE THAT HAVE BEEN IN CONCENTRATION CAMPS THAT HAVE A TREMENDOUS WILL TO LIVE AND WILL DO ANYTHING TO LIVE. I THINK IT'S AN INNATE THING IN A HUMAN BEING. THE WANTING TO LIVE. THERE'S JUST A VERY FEW THAT CAN'T MANAGE THAT.

BUT, HE SMUGGLED THIS PLAIN GOLD RING AND IT HAS AN INSCRIPTION IN IT. HE WAS ABLE TO HAVE THAT DONE.

I IMAGINE THE PEOPLE THAT HAD KEPT HIM HAD DONE THIS FOR HIM. SO, I GOT THE RING. IT SAYS 'MOYSHE' IN

IT. AND, LATER ON, WE PUT THE DATE OF OUR WEDDING.

I GOT A RING FOR HIM, IN THE MEANTIME, TOO, HOPING

THAT HE WOULD BE ABLE TO PICK IT UP, WHICH HE DID.

SO, THAT WAS VERY GLAMOROUS AND VERY WONDERFUL, AND

I WAS WALKING ON AIR, NOT KNOWING WHAT WAS GOING ON

OUTSIDE.

BUT, FOUR WEEKS AFTER THE POLS WERE SENT BACK TO
POLAND, ONE NIGHT I WOKE UP AND I HEARD THIS TREMEN—
DOUS NOISE. FIRST, I THOUGHT I WAS DREAMING ABOUT
GLASS BREAKING AND LOUD NOISES AND THE WINDOW, IT
WASN'T DARK OUTSIDE. THERE WAS FLAMES, LIKE FIRE
LIGHT. AND, I GOT UP -- I GOT UP, FINALLY. FIRST,
I THOUGHT I WAS DREAMING. I GOT UP AND I LOOKED OUT
AND I SAW THE MOST BIZARRE THING HAPPENING. SHOUT—
ING AND SCREAMING AND FIRE AND FEATHERS FLYING FROM
ONE END OF THE STREET TO THE OTHER SIDE. AND, AS IT
GOT LIGHTER AND LIGHTER, EARLIER IN THE MORNING, I
SAW THAT NAZIS AND BROWNSHIRTS, AND THE SS BLACK—
SHIRTS WAS DESTROYING STORES AND LIGHTING FIRES.

- Q. WERE YOU ON A MAIN STREET?
- A. I WAS ON PRETTY MUCH OF A MAIN STREET, YES. AND,

 COULDN'T QUITE UNDERSTAND, WAS SCARED. AND, TO THIS

 DAY, I'M TERRIBLY SCARED OF FIRES AND OF SIRENS.

 THE SIRENS WENT CONTINUOUSLY.
 - SO, I WENT DOWNSTAIRS, DRESSED, MY SISTER AND I AND

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EVERYBODY ALREADY WAS DOWN. WE COULDN'T GO OUT. NOBODY DARED TO GO OUT. AND, SINCE WE DIDN'T HAVE A RADIO, WE REALLY DIDN'T KNOW WHAT WAS GOING ON. WHAT HAPPENED, I WAS WORKING AT THIS TIME, ALREADY. SINCE I WASN'T ABLE TO GO TO ANY OTHER SCHOOL, I DID ALL MY LEARNING AT THE JOB. IN THE LAB OF THE JEWISH HOSPITAL IN BRESLAU. MOST OF MY LEARNING PERIOD RIGHT THERE DOING THE THINGS, AND BEING TAUGHT THERE. I HAD SOME PRIVATE LESSONS HERE AND THERE. IT WAS A HOP, SKIP, AND JUMP EDUCATION. BUT, I WAS AT THE JEWISH HOSPITAL AND I ALREADY WORKED IN THE LAB. I WAS ABLE TO WORK AND DO SOME OF THE THINGS. AND, WHEN I CAME, I WAS CRAZY, TO THIS DAY, I CAN'T THINK. I TOOK MY BIKE AND DROVE THROUGH THE TOWN TO THE JEWISH HOSPITAL WHICH WAS ON THE OTHER SIDE.

- Q. THE NEXT DAY?
- A. THE SAME DAY. BUT, I WAS SUPPOSED TO BE THERE, AND YOU KNOW, WHEN YOU'RE SUPPOSED TO BE THERE, THAT'S WHEN YOU GO. MY SISTER WOULDN'T MOVE OUT. MY MOTHER SAID I SHOULDN'T GO. I SAID "NO, NO, I HAVE TO WORK, THEY NEED ME".

SO, WHEN I GOT THERE, THE NAZIS WERE ALREADY THERE
WITH ME, THEY CAME AT THE SAME TIME OR WAY BEFORE
AND THEY STOOD IN FRONT OF THE OPERATING ROOMS WAIT-

ING FOR THE DOCTORS TO COME OUT, THEY TOOK THEM FROM THERE AND THEY SEARCHED ALL THE BEDS FOR THE JEWISH PATIENTS THAT WENT TO THE HOSPITAL TO HIDE IN THE BEDS, YOU KNOW, GO TO BED. THERE WAS NO MEN LEFT.

SO, SINCE I WAS A WOMAN, THEY LET ME INTO THE LAB AND I WORKED IN THE LAB, JUST LIKE EVERY OTHER DAY.

IF YOU HAVE TO WORK, YOU HAVE TO WORK. I CAN'T BELIEVE IT, TO THIS DAY, THAT I WENT THOSE DAYS, THROUGH ALL THIS, TO BE ON DUTY.

- Q. THIS MAY BE HARD TO ANSWER, BUT, WHAT WERE YOU THINKING?
- A. I DON'T KNOW, YOU KNOW, YOU DON'T THINK VERY MUCH IN SITUATIONS LIKE THIS. YOU JUST DO.
- Q. YOU JUST ACTED?
- A. YES, YOU DON'T THINK, YOU JUST THINK THAT'S WHAT YOU HAVE TO DO NOW, YOU KNOW, THIS PATIENT HAS TO HAVE DONE THIS, THIS, THIS, I DON'T KNOW, IT PROBABLY WAS MUCH BETTER FOR ME TO DO THIS THAN STAYING HOME. YOU REALLY DON'T THINK THAT MUCH. YOU JUST, LIKE A PROPELLER, YOU JUST GO. YOU JUST KEEP GOING. WELL, I DON'T EVER FORGET THE RUTHLESSNESS THAT, WHEN DOCTORS CAME OUT OF OPERATING ROOMS, THEY WERE TAKEN RIGHT THEN AND THERE. AND, THIS IS STILL IN MY MIND, THIS I STILL CAN SEE, VERY CLEARLY, IN COLOR.

Q. SO, THEN WHAT HAPPENED? WHAT HAPPENED NEXT?

DESPERATELY ON THE SAME DAY TO BURN THE SYNAGOGUES.

THEY WERE ABLE TO DO THE SMALL ONES BUT, BRESLAU HAD A VERY LARGE BEAUTIFUL SYNAGOGUE WITH A COPPER DOME. IT WAS ONE OF THE VERY WELL KNOWN BIG SYNAGOGUE. THE BUILDING WAS BRICK, SO, THEY WERE NOT ABLE TO SET IT ON FIRE. SO, THEY TRIED THE WHOLE DAY TO SET IT ON FIRE. THE FOLLOWING DAY, THEY FINALLY BOMBED IT. AND, IT WENT TO PIECES. IT WAS A BEAUTIFUL SYNAGOGUE. SO, THE OTHERS THEY RUINED. ALL THE JEWISH STORES WERE DEVASTATED. THEY WERE EITHER BURNED OR BROKEN UP IN PIECES.

BUT, THE WORST THING WAS TO SEE JEWS BEING PULLED

THROUGH THE STREETS. TO SEE BOOKS BEING HEAPED INTO SMALL MOUNTAINS AND PUT ON FIRE. TO HAVE JEWS CLEAN UP THE STREETS, SCRUB THEM. TO HAVE OLD MEN, PIOUS MEN, HAVE THEIR BEARDS CUT OFF, OR THEIR PAYOS.

IT'S HARD TO DESCRIBE. IT WAS SUCH A BIZARRE, SUCH A HAPPENING THAT, REALLY, WE COULDN'T QUITE UNDER-STAND. WE JUST COULD LOOK WITH HORROR AT IT. THERE WAS NOTHING WE COULD DO. WE HID OURSELVES. THEY DIDN'T COME INTO OUR BUILDING. THERE WERE ONLY WOMEN IN THIS BUILDING. THEY, MAINLY, WANTED THE MEN FIRST. THAT WAS WHEN THE MEN WERE TAKEN TO

CONCENTRATION CAMPS.

ACTUALLY, WHAT ALL STARTED THIS CRYSTAL NIGHT WAS
THE DEATH OF A MAN IN FRANCE, IN PARIS, WHO WAS WITH
THE GERMAN GIZANSCHEFT, WITH THE GERMAN DIPLOMAT
CORPS, AND WHO WAS SUPPOSEDLY SHOT AT, OR KILLED BY
A JEW WITH THE NAME OF GREENSPAN, I THINK. WHICH, I
DON'T BELIEVE TO THIS DAY.

IT WAS A PUT-UP THING. THE CRYSTAL NIGHT WAS TOO
WELL ORGANIZED. IT COULDN'T HAVE HAPPENED ON A
MOMENT'S NOTICE. WE KNEW THEN THAT THE NAZIS AND
THE SS PEOPLE IN THE STREET THAT DID THE DAMAGES AND
DID THE ATROCITIES WERE NOT PEOPLE THAT HAD LIVED IN
THIS PARTICULAR TOWN. THEY CHANGED PEOPLE AROUND
BECAUSE THEY FEARED THAT MAYBE SOME OF THE PEOPLE,
SOME OF THE NAZIS, SOME OF THE SS MEN MIGHT JUST
KNOW A JEW THAT THEY WOULDN'T LIKE TO DO THAT TO, OR
THEY WOULDN'T LIKE TO REALLY DO THIS TO THE PEOPLE
THAT THEY MAYBE LIVED NEXTDOOR TO. SO, THEY MADE
SURE WEEKS BEFORE, OR MAYBE MONTHS BEFORE THAT THEY
HAD ALL BEEN AUSGETAUSHED, THEY HAD ALL BEEN CHANGED
OVER.

- Q. WHAT WAS GOING ON WITH YOUR MOTHER AND SISTER WITHIN THE HOME?
- A. WE STAYED IN THE HOME THEN. AND, THERE WAS NOTHING
 WE COULD DO AT THIS POINT. WE HAD TO CLOSE THE

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CURTAINS AND BOLT THE DOOR AND WE JUST KEPT QUIET.
WE JUST WAITED.

- Q. DID YOU HAVE A BIG STOCK OF FOOD, OR WERE YOU RA-TIONING IT?
- A. NO. WE DID NOT HAVE A BIG STOCK OF FOOD. WE ATE,

 MORE OR LESS, WHAT WE HAD BECAUSE WE DID NOT PREPARE

 FOR SUCH A THING.

THE FOLLOWING DAY, OR TWO OR THREE DAYS LATER, SINCE THERE WERE NO MEN IN OUR HOUSE, WE VENTURED OUT. AND, I DID GO TO WORK. NOW, THEY NEVER STOPPED ME. MY SISTER WOULDN'T GO OUT. MY SISTER WOULDN'T GO TO SCHOOL ANYMORE NEITHER. BECAUSE SHE HAD MORE OF A WHAT YOU WOULD CALL A 'JEWISH LOOK', SHE HAD VERY BLACK HAIR, LONG BRAIDS, DARK EYES, I MEAN, SHE JUST WOULDN'T GO OUT OF THE HOUSE. SHE WENT TO BED. SHE COULDN'T GO TO SCHOOL ANYMORE, ANYWAY, THEY HAD A JEWISH SCHOOL WHICH WAS JUST QUICK-LY PUT TOGETHER AND DIDN'T HAVE THE BEST TEACHERS. I MEAN, WHOEVER THERE WAS, YOU KNOW, IT CHANGED A GREAT DEAL BECAUSE SINCE THE MEN WERE TAKEN TO CONCENTRATION CAMPS, ONE ALWAYS LEFT AND HE WAS REPLACED WITH ANOTHER PERSON. THERE WAS NO CONTIN-UATION OF THINGS THERE. SO, SHE DECIDED SHE WOULDN'T GO TO SCHOOL ANYMORE. I THINK SHE HAD ABOUT FIVE YEARS OF SCHOOL MAYBE, OF REAL SCHOOL.

SHE TURNED OUT TO BE QUITE A PERSON FOR IT. HER SCHOOL WAS ALMOST NOT THERE.

- Q. WERE YOU CLOSE TO YOUR SISTER?
- A. NO. SHE WAS SIX YEARS YOUNGER. SHE WAS AN ENTIRELY DIFFERENT PERSON. SHE WAS VERY MUCH IN MY WAY BECAUSE I HAD TO SHARE A ROOM WITH HER AND SHE WAS A MESS, AND I TRIED TO KEEP THE ROOM VERY NEAT. SHE THREW EVERYTHING UNDER THE BED AND I DIDN'T LIKE THAT. SHE WAS A DREAMER AND I WAS MORE ON THIS EARTH THAN SHE WAS. WE DIDN'T LIKE EACH OTHERS COMPANY AT ALL, NOT VERY MUCH. BUT, MUCH LATER, WE BECAME VERY CLOSE FRIENDS. IN OUR TEENS, THEN, OR AFTER OUR TEENS. AND, WE STILL ARE VERY BEST FRIENDS WITH EACH OTHER. SO, THIS CHANGED A GREAT DEAL BUT, AT THE TIME, TO HAVE SOMEBODY THAT'S SIX YEARS YOUNGER IS REALLY A NUISANCE. AND, NOT ALWAYS QUITE ON THIS EARTH.

SO, ACTUALLY, SHE JUST WAS ABLE TO LIE IN BED AND DREAM. SHE WENT TO BED WHEN IT GOT TOO BAD. SHE DID THAT. AND, THAT'S MARVELOUS. I COULDN'T GO TO BED, I WAS DANCING AROUND, UP AND DOWN THE STAIRS, AND WORRIED, AND THIS TYPE OF THING.

- Q. HOW LONG WAS THIS GOING ON, THAT YOU WERE GOING TO WORK AFTER THE CRYSTAL NIGHT?
- A. UNTIL 1939.

- Q. AND, WHEN DID THE CRYSTAL NIGHT HAPPEN?
- A. I THINK '36.
- Q. REALLY? SO FOR THREE YEARS YOU WERE STILL THERE,
 STILL GOING TO WORK AND EVERYTHING?
- A. NO, THE CRYSTAL NIGHT WAS IN '38, I BELIEVE. THE

 11TH OF NOVEMBER, 1938. YES. AND FROM THAT DAY ON,

 WE KNEW THAT THIS IS THE BEGINNING OF THE END. WE

 KNEW THAT. I MEAN, WE KNEW THAT BUT WE COULDN'T DO

 MUCH ABOUT IT ANYMORE, UNFORTUNATELY. UNFOR
 TUNATELY, WE NEVER TOOK IT, WE NEVER REALLY TOOK IT

 THAT SERIOUS FROM THE BEGINNING ON. FROM '33 ON, WE

 SAID "AH, NOTHING CAN HAPPEN". YOU KNOW, HITLER

 STARTED IN 1924. SO, FROM THEN ON, WE FELT THIS IS

 SERIOUS. BUT, THEN IT WAS TOO LATE. WE COULDN'T

 FIND OUR WAY OUT. WE HAD NOBODY THAT WE COULD ASK

 TO VOUCHE FOR US. THERE WAS TWO OPPORTUNITIES ONLY.

 ONE WAS TO GO TO SHANGHAI, AND ---
- Q. DID YOU KNOW PEOPLE WHO WERE DOING THAT?
- A. YES.

- Q. HOW DID THEY GO?
- A. THAT, I CAN'T TELL YOU, HOW THEY WENT.
- Q. SO, THAT WAS ONE ---
- A. BUT, THERE WAS A WAY. I DON'T THINK, FOR A SHORT TIME, YOU DIDN'T NEED A VISA. OR, TO CUBA. AND, THAT DIDN'T LAST VERY LONG NEITHER.

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Q. DID YOU DISCUSS THOSE OPPORTUNITIES WITH YOUR MOTHER?

WE DISCUSSED IT. MY MOTHER HAD A POSSIBILITY TO GO Α. TO URAGUAY. MY MOTHER BECAME A WIDOW WHEN SHE WAS THIRTY-FIVE. WHEN SHE WAS IN BRESLAU, SHE BE-FRIENDED A DOCTOR, VERY FINE MAN, WHO WAS ALSO OUR DOCTOR. WE CALLED HIM UNCLE DOCTOR. AND, HE WAS A WIDOWER AND HE REALLY WANTED TO MARRY HER. HE HAD AN OPPORTUNITY TO GO TO URAGUAY. HE HAD SONS THERE, AND, SHE WOULD NOT WANT TO DO THAT BECAUSE SHE WAS AFRAID TO LEAVE US, AND SHE WASN'T SURE HE WANTED US TO GO ALONG. AND, HE ONLY COULD GIVE HER ONE AFFI-DAVIT. AND, IT WAS A PITY, IT WAS REALLY A PITY BECAUSE SHE WOULD HAVE BEEN ABLE TO BE SAVED, YOU KNOW, SAVE HERSELF. BECAUSE, IT WAS TOO LATE THEN, AFTER WE LEFT. SO, HE WENT. SHE HAD NO WAY OF GETTING OUT.

THERE WAS ONE WAY OF GETTING OUT, ONE WAY FOR YOUNG GIRLS TO BECAME DOMESTIC SERVANTS IN ENGLAND. BUT, YOU HAD TO HAVE A GUARANTOR. YOU HAD TO HAVE SOME-BODY THAT GUARANTEED FOR YOU EITHER A JOB OR GUARANTEED TO TAKE CARE OF YOU.

NOW, CHILDREN UNDER A CERTAIN AGE, I WOULD SAY UNDER SIXTEEN, COULD GO ON THE CHILDREN TRANSPORT OUT, IF THEY HAD A PERSON TO GUARANTEE FOR THEM.

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NOW, MY SISTER NEEDED TO GET OUT BECAUSE SHE WAS ALREADY IN A STATE THAT -- WELL, PSYCHOLOGY, SHE WAS HAVING PROBLEMS BECAUSE SHE WOULDN'T GO OUT. I NEEDED TO GET OUT, BUT, I DIDN'T KNOW WHAT WAS HAPPENING TO MOYSHE. SO, HERE WAS NUMBER ONE. WERE IN A VERY BAD SITUATION, IN A VERY BAD SITUA-TION. I MEAN, IT WAS A DAY TO DAY THING. ONE DAY, THEY CAME AND KNOCKED ON THE DOOR AND LOOKED FOR ALL THE SILVER. MY MOTHER HAD BROUGHT HER WHOLE SILVER THAT SHE HAD GOTTEN WHEN SHE WAS MARRIED, OR WAS THE FAMILY SILVER. AND THEY TOOK EVERYTHING AND LEFT A SPOON OR FORK, OR SOMETHING LIKE THIS. OR, THEY CAME AND HARASSED US FOR THIS OR THAT, MY MOTHER HAD TO GO TO THE POLICE CONTIN-UOUSLY, GIVE THINGS TO THE POLICE. THE PASSPORTS WERE STAMPED WITH A 'J', AND SO ON AND SO FORTH. WELL, THERE WAS A WAY, THE JEWISH THEOLOGICAL SEMI-NARY MORE OR LESS STILL EXISTED. MY HUSBAND WAS ABLE TO GET AN AFFIDAVIT. MY MOTHER WENT TO STUT-GART TO THE AMERICAN CONSULANT. SHE PUT SOME MONEY INTO SOME OF THE PAPERS OF MY HUSBAND'S THAT SHE WAS ABLE TO GET FROM HIM, OR, I DON'T KNOW FROM WHO. THEY WERE SOME PAPERS SAYING THAT HE HAD AN AFFI-DAVIT. I BELIEVE IT CAME TO HIS ADDRESS WHERE HE USED TO LIVE AND THE PEOPLE KNEW US. IT CAME INTO

OUR HANDS. WITH THIS PAPER, AND ALSO THE PAPER FROM THE CONSULANT THAT HIS PAPERS WERE READY, SHE WENT TO STUTGART. I KNOW SHE TOOK A TRAIN, WOULD NOT SLEEP, SHE WOULD NOT LET GO OF THOSE PAPERS. THEY WERE LIKE GOLD. AND, TOLD THE OFFICER AT THE CONSULANT THAT SHE WAS MAX SUCHER'S MOTHER, AND SHE CAME FOR THE PERMIT FOR THE VISA. AND, SHE HANDED HIM THE PAPERS AND PUT MONEY IN BETWEEN THE PAPERS. SHE WAS ABLE TO GET THE OKAY FOR HIM TO LEAVE. THEN SHE WAS SO SCARED TO FALL ASLEEP, OR SOMETHING, WITH THIS STAMPED DOCUMENT, THAT SHE SAT UP THE WHOLE NIGHT TRAVELING BACK TO BRESLAU, AND WE SMUGGLED IT WITH SOMEBODY TO HIM.

SO THAT WAS HOW HE WAS ABLE TO GET SEVEN DAYS OF PERMIT, A SEVEN DAY PERMIT TO COME TO BRESLAU AND TO STAY SEVEN DAYS THERE. IT WAS MAYBE ONLY FIVE. FIVE OR SEVEN DAYS. AND, THEN IMMEDIATELY LEAVE. AND, OF COURSE, IF HE DIDN'T LEAVE, THEY WOULD SEIZE HIM AGAIN.

IN THE FIVE DAYS, HE WAS ABLE TO FINISH HIS SMICHA,
THAT MEANS HE FINISHED HIS STUDIES. HE DID HIS
EXAMINATION. HE BECAME A RABBI AND A TEACHER. HE
WAS NOT ABLE TO GO HOME BECAUSE IN DORTMUND, THE
PLACE WHERE THE PARENTS LIVED, THE APARTMENT WAS
SEALED BY THE GERMAN NAZIS OF THE CITY AND HE WASN'T

ABLE TO GET INTO IT, ANYWAY. AND, HE WOULD HAVE RISKED THIS TRIP. SO, HE HAD NO CLOTHES. SO, BEFORE HE CAME, WE KNEW THAT HE WAS GOING TO COME, MY MOTHER AND I WENT TO SEE IF WE COULD GET SOME CLOTHES FOR HIM. WE KNEW HE WAS VERY THIN. HE WAS FAIRLY TALL, BUT HE WAS THIN. AND, WE GOT TOGETHER A WHOLE SUITCASE OF STUFF FOR HIM.

THE WORST THING IS WE HAD TO GET MARRIED BECAUSE
THAT ALSO ASSURED MY BEING ABLE TO GET OUT. ALSO
THAT I WANTED TO GET MARRIED. SO, THIS WAS THE
HARDEST THING BECAUSE WHAT HAPPENED IS I HAD TO GIVE
MY GERMAN PASSPORT UP BECAUSE THERE WAS A LAW IN
GERMANY THAT EXISTED THAT A WOMEN AND A MAN THAT GET
MARRIED, IF THEY DON'T HAVE THE SAME NATIONALITY,
LIKE IF THE MAN WOULD BE POLISH, THE WOMAN HAD TO
TAKE ON THE POLISH NATIONALITY. NOW, I COULDN'T
HAVE DONE THAT BECAUSE THE POLS WOULDN'T GIVE ME
THEIR NATIONALITY.

- Q. WAS THAT FOR JEWS ONLY, OR FOR EVERYONE?
- A. NO, THIS WAS A LAW IN EUROPE. THIS WAS A LAW IN EUROPE AND AT THE TIME IN GERMANY. THAT IF YOU MARRY SOMEBODY WITH A DIFFERENT NATIONALITY, YOU HAVE TO TAKE ON THE MAN'S NATIONALITY. SO, THAT WAS OUT COMPLETELY.
 - SO, THEY TOOK MY GERMAN PASSPORT AWAY AND THEY GAVE

ME A STATELESS PASSPORT WHICH I STILL HAVE, WHICH IS
A MUSEUMS PIECE. IT'S NOT GOOD FOR A THING BECAUSE
YOU CAN'T EVEN ENTER A COUNTRY UNLESS YOU HAVE A
VISA WITH A SPECIAL THING IN IT. YOU HAVE NO
RIGHTS. IT'S JUST A MATTER OF IDENTIFICATION,
THAT'S WHAT IT IS. IT'S NOT AN ANZEN PASS, THAT'S A
DIFFERENT PASSPORT. THAT'S A PASSPORT THAT YOU CAN
GO EVERYWHERE. BUT, THIS STATELESS PASSPORT WAS
LIKE NOTHING.

- Q. WHY DID THEY GIVE YOU THAT RATHER THAN A POLISH PASSPORT?
- A. BECAUSE MY HUSBAND, HE WAS NOT CONSIDERED A POL ANYMORE. SINCE HE DIDN'T SERVE IN THE ARMY.
- Q. WAS HE ALSO AN ANZEN?
- A. NO, HE HAS A POLISH PASSPORT WHICH WOULD NOT HAVE
 BEEN USED IN GERMANY THOUGH, OR ANYWHERE ELSE. HE
 HAD HIS VISA IN IT, STAMPED INTO IT. BUT, IT IS OF
 NO VALUE. IT WAS OF NO VALUE TO HIM ANYMORE. BUT,
 A STATELESS IS MUCH WORSE THAN THAT BECAUSE AS NO
 GOVERNMENT WOULD VOUCHE FOR YOU. WITH A STATELESS
 PASSPORT, NO GOVERNMENT WANTS YOU TO STAY THERE
 NEITHER.
- Q. BUT AT THE SAME TIME, TO GET OUT, YOU DID HAVE TO BE MARRIED TO HIM?
- A. WELL, I DIDN'T HAVE TO BUT I WANTED TO. WE HAD THE

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IDEA AND IT WAS FOR MY ADVANTAGE, ALSO. SO, WE HAD TO GET MARRIED AND IT WAS VERY DIFFICULT TO GET ALL THE PAPERS. GERMANY IS KNOWN FOR THEIR PAPER SHUF-FLING AND THEIR PAPER DRAGGING. I HAD THEM BUT, SOME OF HIS WERE DIFFICULT TO COME BY, BUT, WE FINALLY MADE IT BECAUSE WE HAD TO BE MARRIED BY THE STATE BEFORE WE COULD GET MARRIED BY THE RABBI. SO, WE WERE ABLE TO GET MARRIED AND I WROTE A WHOLE STORY ABOUT OUR WEDDING DAY. WE HAD TO GET TO THE CITY HALL AND WE STOOD IN FRONT OF THIS MAN THAT WAS GOING TO MARRY US BY THE STATE AND BY THE NATIONAL -ISTIC STATE OF GERMANY, LOOKING AT THE PICTURE OF ADOLF HITLER. AND, THAT TOOK PLACE AND WE JUST SHIVERED, WE JUST SHIVERED, REALLY. I STILL HAVE THE FEELING, AND I KNOW FOR A LONG TIME FELT, STAND-ING THERE BEING PRONOUNCED MAN AND WIFE UNDER THE CONDITIONS.

WHEN WE GOT HOME, MY MOTHER, WHO WAS A MAGICIAN, HAD LAID OUT THE TABLE WITH ALL KIND OF GOODIES.

- Q. GOD KNOWS WHERE SHE HAD GOTTEN THEM ALL FROM?
- A. WE DIDN'T ASK. AND, THE HUPA I THINK WAS A TABLE

 CLOTH. NOTHING WAS AVAILABLE ANYMORE. ONE OF HIS

 TEACHERS WAS STILL AVAILABLE. HE DID THE MARRIAGE

 CEREMONY. MY SISTER'S BIRD, SHE HAD ALWAYS A LITTLE

 CANARY, STARTED TO SING WHILE WE WERE UNDER THE

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HUPA. FOUR OF HIS COLLEAGUES HELD THE FOUR
STICKS OF THE HUPA. SOME OF THEM HAD ALREADY
COME BACK FROM CONCENTRATION CAMPS. THEY HAD
RELEASED THEM BECAUSE THEY WERE ABLE TO GET OUT THE
FOLLOWING DAY. THEY WERE ALL SHAVED, THEY HAD
THEIR HAIR SHAVED OFF.

WE SAT AT THE BIG DINING ROOM, WHICH WAS A LONG
DINING ROOM WITH A LONG TABLE. AND, SHE HAD THINGS
ON THE TABLE, WHERE SHE GOT THEM, WHO GAVE THEM TO
HER WAS WONDERFUL. MY UNCLE CAME. WAS THE ONLY
MEMBER OF MY FAMILY THAT WAS ABLE TO COME. AND, MY
WEDDING GIFTS WERE TWO SEFER TORAHS, WHICH HE SAVED
IN THE TOWN OF MY BIRTH IN THE SYNAGOGUE OF THE TOWN
OF MY BIRTH WHILE IT WAS BURNING.

- Q. FROM THE CRYSTAL NIGHT?
- A. FROM THE CRYSTAL NIGHT, YES. AND, THOSE TWO, FORTUNATELY, THEY WERE SMALL SEFER TORAHS, I WAS ABLE TO
 TAKE THEM WITH ME WHEN I LEFT, AFTER A WHILE. THEY
 WERE SLIGHTLY SINGED. THE MANTELS OF THE TORAH
 WERE SINGED. BUT, OTHERWISE THEY WERE ALTOGETHER
 AND THOSE SEFER TORAHS ARE NOW IN TWO SYNAGOGUES.
 ONE IS IN BETH AM IN LOS ALTOS HILLS, AND THE OTHER
 ONE IS AT THE SYNAGOGUE IN BOLDER, COLORADO IN THE
 ARON, AND BOTH ARE BEING USED.
- Q. AND, THOSE BELONG TO YOUR GRANDDAUGHTER?

A. YES. THEY BELONG TO MY GRANDDAUGHTERS. THEY WERE GIVEN FROM ME TO THEM AT THEIR BAR MITZVAH. BUT, IF THEY EVER MOVE, THEY WILL TAKE THEM WITH THEM. WHEREVER THEY RESIDE, THEY WILL BE IN THE SYNAGOGUE OF THEIR TOWN OR OF THEIR VILLAGE. AND, THEY WILL FORM A BOND.

SO, BOTH SEFER TORAHS, ONE GOT A NEW MANTEL BECAUSE IT WAS SINGED. ONE OF THE CONGREGANTS IN BOLDER WOVE A BEAUTIFUL MANTEL. AND, I THINK THE ONE IN BETHAM HAS A NEW ONE TOO. THEY DON'T LOOK LIKE ORPHANS.

- Q. SO, YOU DID ALL OF THAT IN FIVE DAYS?
- A. OH YES, THE FIVE DAYS. WE WERE ABLE TO FIND A PLACE WHERE WE COULD BE TOGETHER WHERE NOBODY ELSE WOULD BOTHER US FOR ONE NIGHT. AFTER THAT NIGHT, I BROUGHT MY HUSBAND TO HAMBURG ON THE TRAIN SO HE COULD REACH HIS SHIP THAT WE HAD BOOKED TO GO TO THE UNITED STATES. THAT NIGHT, WE COULD NOT FIND A PLACE TO SLEEP. IT WAS ALWAYS FORBODEN, JEWS FORBIDDEN, WHEREVER WE TRIED TO GO. SO, WE FINALLY WENT INTO THE RED LIGHT DISTRICT OF HAMBURG BECAUSE WE FIGURED THE PIMPS AND THE PROSTITUTES WOULDN'T MIND US AROUND.
- Q. HOW HAD YOU GOTTEN TO HAMBURG, HOW FAR AWAY WAS THAT? ON THE TRAIN?

A. OH YES, THAT WAS PROBABLY A FIVE, SIX, SEVEN HOUR RIDE ON THE TRAIN.

- Q. SO, YOU WERE STILL ABLE TO TRAVEL? WERE YOU CON-STANTLY BEING CHECKED FOR WHETHER YOU WERE A JEW?
- A. WE WERE CHECKED.
- Q. WERE YOU WEARING A STAR?
- A. NO, WE DIDN'T HAVE THE STAR THEN, YET. THAT CAME

 AFTERWARDS, RIGHT SHORTLY AFTERWARDS, YES. BUT, YOU

 KNOW, THEY ALWAYS COULD TELL IF WE WERE JEWS OR NOT.

 THERE WAS A LOT OF -- WHEN YOU SAT DOWN, FOR IN
 STANCE, WHAT WE CALLED THE KUPAY IN THE TRAIN. IF

 SOMEBODY ELSE WANTED THE SEAT, THEY'D SAY "JEW, GET

 UP". SO, YOU'D NEVER KNOW. YOU'D SIT THERE AND

 HOLD YOUR BREATH.

THEN, THE SHIP WAITED ON THE NEXT DAY. I BROUGHT HIM TO THE SHIP AND THE WORST THING WAS I HAD TO GET BACK NOW. I HAD TO TAKE THE TRAIN BACK TO BRESLAU AND I DON'T RECALL THAT TRIP BACK. IT MUST HAVE BEEN TERRIBLE. I MUST HAVE BEEN LIKE, I DON'T KNOW. IT'S ALL BLACK, THIS PERIOD, MY TRIP BACK. I CAN'T RECALL THIS TRIP BACK. I WAS FRIGHTENED, I KNOW THAT. BECAUSE, I SAID, "WHAT'S GOING TO HAPPEN TO ME NOW?".

THE MINUTE I WAS BACK HOME, I HAD TO SHOW MYSELF AT THE GESTAPO. FIRST OF ALL THEY TOOK MY PASSPORT.

SO, IN THIS STATELESS PASSPORT, THEY PRINTED IN THAT I HAD ONLY SIX WEEKS TO REMAIN IN GERMANY. IN SIX WEEKS, THEY WILL PICK ME UP FOR MAUTHAUSEN, THE CONCENTRATION CAMP, ONE OF MANY. A NOTORIOUS ONE, ALSO. MOST OF THEM WERE NOTORIOUS. AND, EVERYDAY I WOULD HAVE TO COME TO THE GESTAPO AND SHOW MYSELF. EVERYDAY THEY WOULD GIVE ME A TIME IN THE MORNING. THIS WAS NUMBER ONE THING. IT WAS A VERY FEARFUL SITUATION BECAUSE I HAD NOWHERE TO GO. THAT'S WHEN I REMEMBERED I HAD AN UNCLE IN ENGLAND AND I KNEW THAT ENGLAND NEEDED DOMESTIC SERVANTS. WE KNEW THAT THIS WOULD BE MY ONLY HOPE TO GET A PLACE TO BE A DOMESTIC SERVANT AND THEN POSSIBLY SEE THAT MY SISTER GETS OUT TOO, MY MOTHER WORKED ON THAT. WE WORKED FEVERISHLY ON THAT.

- Q. WHAT DID YOU DO?
- A. NOW, FIRST OF ALL, THE MAIL SITUATION WAS VERY TOUGH
 FOR US BECAUSE IN THE MEANTIME, WHAT HAPPENED TO US
 ALSO, AND I DIDN'T MENTION THAT, JEWS HAD TO ADD
 NAMES, DIFFERENT NAMES TO THEIR SURNAMES, TO THEIR
 FIRST NAMES. ALL JEWISH WOMEN HAD TO PUT THE NAME
 SARAH NEXT TO THEIR FIRST NAME AND ALL JEWISH MEN,
 THE NAME ISRAEL.
- Q. AND IT WAS PUNISHABLE, IF YOU DIDN'T DO THAT?
- A. PUNISHABLE BY THE WORST. THE PUNISHMENT FOR THE

JEWS WAS ALWAYS THE WORST. THERE WAS NO EASY PUNISHMENT. WE DID THAT. NOW, EVERY LETTER, THE
SENDER HAD TO SHOW THIS NAME. THE REASON FOR THIS
WAS THAT THEY IMMEDIATELY KNEW THAT THIS LETTER
CAME FROM A JEW AND IT WAS OPENED. IT WAS ALWAYS
OPENED. MAYBE LATER ON, I'LL SHOW YOU ONE OF MY
LETTERS, WHAT IT LOOKED LIKE WHEN IT WAS OPENED.
SO, WE HAD TO WATCH VERY CAREFUL HOW WE WROTE THINGS
OUT AND SO ON. WE GOT A LETTER GOING WITH MY UNCLE
IN LONDON WHO WAS AN ENGINEER AND HAD A VERY GOOD
JOB THERE.

- Q. YOUR MOTHER'S BROTHER?
- A. YES, MY MOTHER'S BROTHER WHO SURFACED ONCE IN A
 WHILE. HE WAS VERY MUCH OUT OF THE JEWISH GROUPS.
 HE WAS A VERY SELFISH PERSON ALL HIS LIFE. VERY
 CLEVER. AND, ALWAYS HAD VERY GOOD JOBS LIKE, WORKED
 FOR MERCEDES BENZ AS AN ENGINEER. HAD A DOCTORATE
 IN ENGINEERING. A VERY GOOD JOB.

SO, WE BEGGED HIM TO FIND SOMEWHERE, A PLACE FOR ME.

EVEN IF THEY WOULDN'T PAY ME ANYTHING. JUST SO I

WORKED THERE FOR MY KEEPS. AND, HE ACTUALLY CAME UP

WITH SOMETHING. AND, I HAD A PERSON.

THEN, MY SISTER WAS ACCEPTED BECAUSE THEY WERE WOR-RIED ABOUT HER HEALTH, HER PSYCHOLOGICAL STATE OF MIND, HAD A GUARANTOR, HAD A PERSON WHO WOULD GUA-

RANTEE FOR HER NOT TO TAKE ENGLISH HELP, NOT TO HAVE THE GOVERNMENT WORRY ABOUT HER. IN OTHER WORDS, THERE WERE MEN THERE OR A PERSON, OR A WOMAN WHO WOULD PUT X-AMOUNT OF POUNDS TO TAKE CARE OF HER IN CASE SHE COULD MANAGE WHEREVER SHE WAS GOING TO GO TO.

- Q. AND, YOUR UNCLE ARRANGED THAT, TOO?
- A. NO. THAT WAS ARRANGED THROUGH THE JEWISH FEDERATION. THAT'S A JEWISH OUTFIT THAT ARRANGED THAT.

 I THINK IT COULD HAVE BEEN THE B'NAI B'RITH, BUT,
 I'M NOT SURE.
- Q. SO, THIS WAS APRIL OF '39?
- I WAS MARRIED THE 20TH OF JANUARY AND THE 25TH MY
 HUSBAND LEFT. THE 20TH OF JANUARY I GOT MARRIED,
 THE 25TH HE LEFT AND THEN SIX WEEKS, NO, IT HAD TO
 BE, IT WAS SIX WEEKS LATER, ANYWAY. I WAS ABLE TO
 GET THE JOB AND MY SISTER WAS TAKEN ONTO THIS CHILDREN'S TRANSPORT. I WAS ASKED TO CHAPERON THE
 TRANSPORT OUT.

NOW, WITH A STATELESS PASSPORT, I COULDN'T GO
THROUGH HOLLAND. I HAD TO LEAVE THROUGH ENGLAND
DIRECTLY FROM HAMBURG. THE CHILDREN'S TRANSPORT
WENT THROUGH HOLLAND. AT THE BORDER OF HOLLAND I
LEFT THE TRANSPORT AND SOMEBODY ELSE CAME INTO IT

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FROM HOLLAND. I TOOK THEM TO THE BORDER, A VERY
NOTORIOUS BORDER, BY THE WAY. TERRIBLE THINGS HAPPENED THERE. SO, I TOOK THE GROUP OF CHILDREN. IT
WAS THE LAST DAY OF MY SIX WEEKS, SOMEWHERE IN MARCH
OR SOMETHING.

MY MOTHER BROUGHT US BOTH TO THE STATION IN THE MORNING. I MET THE GROUP OF KIDS AND I DIDN'T HAVE ANY FEELINGS. EVERY DAY, EVERY MINUTE THERE WAS SOMETHING ELSE TO WORRY OR THINK ABOUT, BELIEVE SHE SENT BOTH OF US. A MOTHER SENDING HER CHILDREN OUT AND AWAY, NEVER TO KNOW IF SHE'S GOING TO SEE US AGAIN, BUT, SHE DID A WONDERFUL THING TO DO THAT. SHE KNEW THIS WAS THE ONLY OPPORTUNITY. SHE HAD MORE INSIGHT AND PROBABLY MORE KNOW-HOW THAN WE KNEW SHE HAD. AND, BEFORE WE LEFT WE SAT DOWN AND MADE A CODE. WE WROTE LETTERS IN CODE. INSTANCE, I REMEMBER SOME OF IT, HITLER WAS 'AUNT GERTRUDE'. WE NEVER COULD MENTION THAT NAME, HIT-HITLER OR NAZIS WERE 'AUNT GERTRUDE'. MONEY WAS SUBSTITUTED BY 'PHOTOS'. SO, WE MADE A WHOLE VOCABULARY OF DIFFERENT NAMES.

- Q. DID YOU WRITE IT DOWN, OR DID YOU JUST MEMORIZE IT?
- A. I MEMORIZED SOME OF IT, YES. SOME OF IT, I MIGHT
 STILL FIND SOMEWHERE. BUT, WE MEMORIZED THAT WELL
 BECAUSE WE HAD TO. YOU CAN NOT MAKE A DICTIONARY

OUT OF IT. SO, THAT CAME IN QUITE HANDY BECAUSE WE WERE ABLE TO COMMUNICATE WITH EACH OTHER TO SOME EXTENT, EVEN THOUGH THE LETTERS WERE OPENED.

- Q. WERE YOU FRIGHTENED TRAVELING BY YOURSELF?
- A. NO. YOU DON'T GET FRIGHTENED ABOUT THOSE THINGS

 ANYMORE. YOU JUST DON'T HAVE TIME TO BE FRIGHT
 ENED. YOU REALIZE THAT THERE'S NO TIME. IT COMES

 AND YOU GO.

NOW, WHEN I TOOK THE CHILDREN, I REMEMBER THAT. IT
WAS REALLY AMAZING BECAUSE THEY WERE IN GOOD HUMOR
AND IN GOOD MOOD. IT'S AMAZING HOW WONDERFUL CHILDREN CAN GET USED TO TIMES AS SUCH AND GET THROUGH
IT. I DON'T REALLY THINK THAT THEY KNEW AT THE TIME
WHAT REALLY HAPPENED. BUT, I KNOW WE LEFT AND I
THINK THE TRAIN WAS JUST ABOUT STARTING. IT WAS
ABOUT FIFTEEN MINUTES ON THE WAY WHEN THEY STARTED
PULLING EVERYTHING DOWN. THE SUITCASES AND STARTED
TO EAT. AND THIS AND THAT, AND THIS ONE HAD THAT -I LET THEM -- SO WHAT.

WHEN WE ARRIVED AT THE BORDER IN HOLLAND AT THE GERMAN BORDER TOWN, I CHANGED TRAINS AND THOSE CHIL-DREN HAD TO GET OUT. NOW, I HEARD FROM MY SISTER LATER THAT IT WAS A TERRIBLE SITUATION AND I HAVE WRITTEN AND I HAVE CHRONICLED THIS ALSO.

IT WAS THE MOST NOTORIOUS BORDER TO CROSS. I THINK

THEY HAD THE MOST SADISTIC PERSONNEL IN THE BORDER STATION THAT THEY COULD POSSIBLY FIND. BOYS AND GIRLS HAD TO UNDRESS IN FRONT OF EACH OTHER. NAKED THEY HAD TO STAND THERE. THE LITTLE TRINKETS THE GIRLS HAD AROUND THEIR ARMS OR THEIR NECKS WERE TORN OFF THEM. MY SISTER HAD A LITTLE BRACELET WITH A MOGEN DAVID ON IT. IT WAS TORN OFF. THEY SINGLED MY SISTER OUT. I DON'T KNOW WHY. SHE WAS A VERY PRETTY GIRL, SHE HAD BLACK BRAIDS, BEAUTIFUL EYES. SHE HAD A LITTLE SUITCASE. HER SUITCASE WAS PICKED TO PUT AN IRON ROD THROUGH IT. IN OTHER WORDS, THEY RAPED HER SUITCASE.

OTHER KIDS HAD TO OPEN THEIR SUITCASES. THINGS WERE TAKEN AWAY FROM THEM. THEY WERE RIDICULED. THEY WERE LAUGHED ABOUT. THEY WERE SO ASHAMED ALREADY, TO STAND THERE, THAT IT WAS AN INCREDIBLE THING. THIS HAS NOT REALLY COME OUT IN BOOKS, REALLY. THERE ARE OTHER INSTANCES SUCH AS THIS. I KNOW THAT WHEN MY SISTER ARRIVED IN ENGLAND, FIRST OF ALL, SHE WAS NOT PICKED UP FROM VICTORIA STATION. EVERYBODY WAS PICKED UP BUT HER.

- Q. HOW OLD WAS SHE?
- A. SHE WAS FIFTEEN. AND, FIFTEEN, AT THAT TIME, FOR A GERMAN GIRL, A GERMAN JEWISH GIRL, IS A YOUNG AGE.

 THEY WERE NOT AS SOPHISTICATED AS THEY ARE RIGHT

NOW. THEY WERE REALLY STILL CHILDREN. SHE DIDN'T KNOW WHO WOULD COME FOR HER BECAUSE EVERYBODY WAS PICKED UP AND EVERYBODY PICKED SOMEBODY NICE LOOK-ING. IT WAS A VERY TRAUMATIC EXPERIENCE FOR HER. WHEN SHE WAS PICKED UP BY A WOMAN IN A SORY, A LOVELY WOMAN PICKED HER UP. THEY CALLED HER MATRON. SHE WAS TAKEN TO A HOME IN MADEVILLE, IT'S PART OF LONDON. IT WAS A HOME FOR JEWISH GIRLS THAT WERE STRANDED, OR THAT NEEDED CARE, THAT NEEDED TO GO TO SCHOOL. THAT WERE SAVED, ACTUALLY. ACTUALLY, LIKE AN ORPHANAGE, NOT QUITE AS BAD.

- Q. AND, THIS WAS JUST ENGLISH PEOPLE WITH BIG HEARTS, WHO WERE DOING THIS?
- A. NO, THESE WERE ENGLISH PEOPLE WHO HAD A CERTAIN

 AMOUNT OF MONEY GUARANTEED FOR THEM. BUT, WE KNEW

 AT THE TIME, WE HAD A FEELING WHO THE PERSON WAS

 THAT GUARANTEED. NEVER REVEALED HIM OR HERSELF.

 AND, I CAN'T BELIEVE IT. I'M AFRAID TO MENTION THAT

 NAME. I MUCH RATHER NOT BECAUSE IT WAS A VERY WELL

 KNOWN JEWISH MAN.
- Q. AND, YOU HAVE A FEELING, YOU'LL NEVER KNOW FOR SURE, BUT YOU HAVE A FEELING?
- A. OH, YES, YES, YES.
- Q. YOU FOUND OUT?
- A. BUT, IT'S NO USE TO OPEN THIS UP NOW. I WOULDN'T

WANT TO DO DAMAGE TO ANYBODY NEITHER. JUST THAT SHE WAS ABLE TO GET OUT. BUT, SHE HAS NEVER MET THIS PERSON. A LOT OF THE KIDS HAVE MET THEIR PEOPLE OR GONE TO THEIR HOMES.

SHE WAS IN A SIMILAR SITUATION LIKE WHAT YOU CALL AN ORPHANAGE. WELL, WHEN MATRON CAME AND PICKED HER UP AND TOOK HER, OF COURSE, SHE HARDLY SPOKE ENGLISH, ALSO. SHE HAD HARDLY ANY ENGLISH. SHE DIDN'T GO TO SCHOOL. SHE DIDN'T SPEAK. THE FIRST THING SHE DID WAS WENT TO BED, IN THIS HOME, AND WOULDN'T GET UP. FOR THREE DAYS, SHE WOULDN'T GET UP. THEY BROUGHT HER SOME FOOD.

FIRST OF ALL, SHE WAS AFRAID SHE WAS IN AN ORPHANAGE BECAUSE SHE USED TO VISIT SOMEBODY IN THE ORPHANAGE IN BRESLAU, THE JEWISH ORPHANAGE AND SHE WAS HORRI-FIED BY THE PLACE. SO, THAT'S THE FIRST THING, WHEN SHE WALKED INTO THIS PLACE, THAT SHE WAS GOING TO COME TO AN ORPHANAGE. AND, IT FRIGHTENED HER, SO SHE WOULDN'T GET UP. SO, THIS WOMAN DID THE BEST THING FOR HER THAT SHE COULD DO. SHE GOT HER OUT OF BED. SHE WAS A STRICT PERSON AND SHE TOLD HER THAT SHE CAN'T BE IN BED, THAT SHE HAS TO COME DOWN TO EAT, OR THERE'S NO FOOD, AND GOT HER ON THE RIGHT TRACK. SHE WAS LOVING, BUT SHE WAS STRICT. SHE WAS A BRAHMIAN, HAD A MARK. MY SISTER, TO THIS DAY

REMEMBERS THE RED MARK ON HER FOREHEAD. AND, WAS
WONDERFUL TO HER. THEY WERE ABLE TO FORM A VERY
CLOSE RELATIONSHIP. A VERY CLOSE RELATIONSHIP.
AND, MY SISTER SAW HER MANY YEARS LATER, STILL. SHE
UNFORTUNATELY DIED A TERRIBLE DEATH WITH CANCER.
BUT, DUE TO THIS WOMAN, SHE WAS ABLE TO MAINTAIN
HERSELF AND DO WHAT SHE WAS DOING, AND GET OUT OF
HER DEPRESSIONS.

AND, UNFORTUNATELY, SHORTLY AFTER THE BEGINNING OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR, THEY WERE BOMBED OUT. SHE WAS FORTUNATE, SHE WAS ONE OF THE FEW THAT WAS ABLE TO SIT UNDER THE STAIRCASE AND WAS ABLE TO SURVIVE THE BOMBING.

AFTER THAT, SHE BECAME A STREET PERSON. THERE WAS NO PLACE FOR HER ANYMORE. NOW, MATRON LIVED ANOTHER FEW YEARS AND SHE STAYED IN TOUCH WITH HER BUT, MY SISTER WAS A STREET PERSON. AND, FOR A LONG TIME, SHE DID VARIOUS DEALS. SHE SANG FOR THE SALVATION ARMY 'ONWARD CHRISTIAN SOLDIERS'. SO, SHE WAS GETTING BUNS AND TEA, TEA AND BUNS. AND, SHE WAS ABLE TO WORK HERE AND THERE. NO SOONER DID SHE GET A JOB, THE PLACE WAS BOMBED OUT. SHE LIVED IN THE UNDERGROUND FOR A LONG TIME, IN THE UNDERGROUND STATION. SUBWAY WAS CALLED UNDERGROUND IN ENGLAND. IN PENINGTON STATION.

Q. WERE THERE A LOT OF OTHER PEOPLE DOING THE SAME THING?

- A. YES, SHE SAID IT WAS WONDERFUL DOWN THERE. THEY
 HAD EVERYTHING. THE SALVATION ARMY CAME AND BROUGHT
 THINGS AND, SHE SAID THEY WERE WONDERFUL. AND, THE
 LIBRARIAN CAME AND BROUGHT BOOKS. THEY PUT ON LITTLE PLAYS AND EVER SO OFTEN, THEY WENT UP TO GET
 AIR, THEN THEY CAME BACK DOWN. IT SAVED HER.
 LATER ON, SHE WENT INTO THE ENGLISH LAND ARMY AND
 FELL TREES OUT IN THE COUNTRY. AND, WHEN THE WAR
 FINISHED, SHE WAS TAKEN INTO THE AMERICAN ARMY. SHE
 WAS TAKEN INTO THE THIRD ARMY WITH GENERAL PATTON.
 FIRST, SHE TRAINED IN FRANCE AS AN INTERPRETER AND
 WAS NEVER TO REVEAL THAT SHE CAME FROM GERMANY. SHE
 WORE A UNIFORM.
- Q. WOULD SHE HAVE BEEN SEEN AS A ---
- A. SHE WAS A CID, IN THE CIVIL INTELLIGENCE DIVISION.

 SHE WAS ATTACHED TO PATTON'S ARMY, THE THIRD ARMY.

 SHE OPENED DACHAU WITH HIM.
- Q. WHY WAS SHE NEVER TO REVEAL THAT SHE WAS FROM GER-MANY?
- A. BECAUSE SHE WORKED LIKE A SPY. SHE LISTENED TO PHONE CALLS, SHE OPENED MAIL, SHE INTERPRETED.
- Q. FOR THE AMERICANS, AGAINST THE GERMANS?
- A. YES. WELL, THE WAR WAS OVER THEN.

Q. THE WAR WAS OVER?

- A. YES, BUT THERE WAS STILL -- SHE CAME IN WITH THE FIRST CONVOY IN APRIL WHEN AMERICA CAME IN. SHE CAME IN WITH THE THIRD ARMY.
- Q. WAS THAT BECAUSE SHE WANTED TO?
- A. SHE WANTED TO FIND OUR MOTHER, YES. THAT WAS WHAT
 WAS BEHIND IT. SHE HAD NEVER, YOU KNOW, THAT LOOSE.
- Q. WAS THAT WHY SHE HAD GOTTEN INTO THE AMERICAN ARMY
 IN THE FIRST PLACE?
- A. YES.
- Q. THAT WAS THE DRIVING FORCE?
- A. SHE FOUND OUT IN ENGLAND THAT THEY WERE LOOKING FOR PEOPLE AND ALL DIFFERENT NATIONALITIES, YOU KNOW, WITH DORMAGING, WITH INTERPRETING. SO, SINCE SHE HAD A GOOD RECORD WITH THE LAND ARMY AND, WHATEVER, SHE'S ALSO A VERY GOOD LIAR. YOU LEARN TO DO THIS WHEN YOU ARE A REFUGEE AND YOU TAKE CARE OF YOURSELF ALL THIS TIME. SO, SHE WAS ABLE TO GET IN AND SHE WAS TRAINED IN PARIS WITH THE THIRD ARMY AND CAME IN ON THE FIRST CONVOY.
- Q. WAS THE ENGLISH ARMY SO THAT SHE COULD HAVE A
 REGULAR BITE TO EAT, AND HAVE A REGULAR -- WHY HAD
 SHE DONE THAT?
- A. WHEN SHE WAS IN THE LAND ARMY? NO. THEY STOLE A

 LOT. WELL, THEY LIVED WITH FARMERS VERY OFTEN AND

FARMERS HAVE USUALLY SOME FOOD AND SO, THEY WERE

- Q. WHY HAD SHE GONE INTO THE LAND ARMY THOUGH?
- A. BECAUSE SHE WAS HUNGRY. BECAUSE SHE NEEDED TO DO SOMETHING. SHE HAD A VERY DIFFICULT JOB. SHE WAS FAILING TREES AND PULLING THEM DOWN THE RIVER AND IT WAS A TOUGH JOB.

THEN, THERE WAS AN AMERICAN OFFICER'S CAMP NEARBY AND THEY USED TO BE VERY NICE AND SEND THEM SOME STUFF, HERE AND THERE. CHOCOLATES, WHICH THEY LOVED, AND, YOU KNOW, IT WAS DIFFICULT. BUT, THEY LEARNED TO STEAL. I KNOW THEY STOLE THE FARMER'S FOOD.

- Q. CAN WE BACK UP NOW TO YOU TRANSFERRING AWAY FROM THE TRANSPORT?
- A. YES. I WENT FROM HAMBURG TO ENGLAND TO SOUTHAMPTON
 AND MY UNCLE MET ME AT VICTORIA STATION. I REMEMBERED HIM, BUT I HAD NOT REALLY CLOSE CONTACT WITH
 HIM. REAL RED-HAIRED MAN, AND INTERESTING, A LOT OF
 FUN.

BUT, HE TOOK ME TO MY JOB IN EDGEWEAR, LONDON EDGE-WEAR WHICH WAS AT THAT TIME WAS THE LAST STATION OF THE UNDERGROUND GOING OUT THIS WAY. TOOK ME TO MRS. COOPER IN EDGEWEAR ON NUMBER SEVEN, LABITCLOSE.

AND, SHE WAS A VERY NICE JEWISH LADY AND PAID ME

HARDLY ANYTHING BUT, HAD REALLY NOT THE RESOURCES OF EVEN PAYING ME VERY MUCH. SHE DID IT OUT OF THE GOODNESS OF HER HEART, SHE, HERSELF WAS AN IMIGRANT FROM POLAND OR RUSSIA. SO, SHE UNDERSTOOD AND SHE LET ME SLEEP IN THEIR SALONE WHICH SHE HARDLY EVER USED BECAUSE IT WAS VERY COLD AND AT THAT TIME, THEY HEATED ALL THE ROOMS WITH FIREPLACES. AND, SHE SHOWED ME AROUND AND I WAS ABLE TO CONVERSE WITH HER IN ENGLISH BUT, SHE WAS ABLE TO WORK HER YIDDISH OUT WITH ME, AND GERMAN ALSO. BUT, I WAS ABLE TO SPEAK ENGLISH. I HAD ENOUGH ENGLISH AT THAT TIME, NOT VERY WELL, BUT, I COULD GET AROUND.

AND, HERE I WAS. IN THE MORNING I HAD TO GET THE KIPPERS READY, WHICH I DESPISED. I HAD TO GET USED TO ALL THE DIFFERENT FOODS AND BRING IN THE COAL AND

KIPPERS READY, WHICH I DESPISED. I HAD TO GET USED TO ALL THE DIFFERENT FOODS AND BRING IN THE COAL AND SET UP THE STOVE AND GET ALL THE FIREPLACES GOING AND, EVERYTHING WAS DONE ON KNEES. THAT'S WHY THERE WERE SO MANY DOMESTIC SERVANT JOBS AVAILABLE. BE—CAUSE, NO ENGLISH PERSON WANTS TO BE A DOMESTIC SERVANT. EVERYTHING HAD TO BE DONE ON KNEES. THEY HAD NOTHING WITH STICKS. AND, THE FRONT STEPS HAD TO BE CHAULKED RED EVERY WEEK, ONCE AND, ALL THE WINDOWS OUTSIDE HAD TO BE WASHED, NEVERMIND THE INSIDE, BUT, THE OUTSIDE HAD TO BE VERY CLEAN.

Q. HARD WORK?

- HARD WORK, HARD WORK. BUT, I ATE. NOT VERY WELL, I Α. WAS HUNGRY THERE BECAUSE SHE WAS NOT A WEALTHY PERSON AND, I HAD TO STEAL A COUPLE OF TIMES. CRACKERS, AND THINGS LIKE THAT. I WAS HUNGRY, AND I REALLY DIDN'T HAVE ANY MONEY. MY DAY OFF WAS WEDNESDAY AND I WROTE A STORY ON WEDNESDAY.
- DID SHE HAVE A FAMILY? WAS THERE ANYBODY AROUND FOR Q. YOU TO TALK TO?
- MY SISTER, WELL, MY UNCLE WAS BUSY. HE HAD LOVE Α. AFFAIRS GOING. SO, HE WAS NOT THAT INTERESTED IN ME. I COULDN'T ASK MORE OF HIM. I MEAN, HE SAVED MY LIFE, SO TO SPEAK.
- SO, YOU WERE IN CONTACT WITH YOUR SISTER? Q.
- YES, BUT, I HAD A TERRIBLE DEAL WITH THE TELEPHONE BECAUSE I DIDN'T REALIZE THAT THE CALLS WERE SO EXPENSIVE. AND, YOU KNOW, YOU CAN'T JUST USE THE TELEPHONE. SO, I GOT INTO HOT WATER ABOUT THAT.
- BECAUSE YOU USED THE TELEPHONE AND CHALKED UP SOME Q. **EXPENSIVE CALLS?**
- NOT REALLY VERY MANY, BUT A FEW I DID, YES. SO, I Α. OFFERED TO PAY HER BACK WITH WHATEVER I HAD. LEARNED THE HARD WAY, YOU DON'T USE SOMEBODY'S TELEPHONE JUST LIKE THAT. BUT, I MET MY SISTER ON MY DAY OFF WHICH WAS WEDNESDAY.
- YOU WENT TO THE ORPHANAGE? Q.

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I DON'T WANT TO CALL IT ORPHANAGE. SHE CALLED IT THE HOSTAL. TOOK THE UNDERGROUND, LEARNED HOW TO DO ALL THOSE THINGS. AND, MET HER THERE AND USUALLY WALKED TO HYDE PARK, IT WAS NOT THAT FAR FROM HER. WE LOVED IT. THEY HAD A LITTLE TEA HOUSE IN HYDE PARK AND IN THE LITTLE CAFE, THE TEA HOUSE, ON THE TABLES WERE BEAUTIFUL PASTRIES SET UP. AND, THEY HAD THE HONOR SYSTEM THERE GOING. IF YOU TAKE ONE, YOU PAY FOR ONE. WE DROOLED OVER THOSE THINGS. THIS DAY, I CAN'T GO BY PASTRIES. AND, HONEST TO GOODNESS, I STOLE ONE. WE HAD REALLY NO MONEY. PAID FOR TWO, BUT, WE ATE THREE. I HAD THE ONLY MONEY. I HAD TO HAVE ENOUGH MONEY TO GET ME BACK ON THE UNDERGROUND AND VANITTI AND I ATE TWO THERE. THEN, WHEN WE LEFT, WE LOOKED AND THERE WERE TWO MORE THERE. AND I SAID, "DO YOU THINK ANYBODY WOULD KNOW IF I TAKE ONE?" SHE SAID "ONE DOESN'T DO THAT HERE". I SAID "BUT, I'M SO DARN HUNGRY, I WON'T MAKE IT UNTIL I GET HOME". SO, WITHOUT HER LOOKING, I TOOK ONE OF THOSE BEAUTIFUL PASTRIES AND SQUASHED IT IN MY HAND AND WE CALMLY WALKED ACROSS THE LAWN AND OUT OF HYDE PARK. AND AT THE EDGE OF IT COMING THROUGH THE GATE, I SAID TO HER "YOU KNOW, YOU CAN HAVE HALF OF THIS, A LITTLE CRUSHED BUT WE CAN EAT THIS NOW". AND SHE SAID "YOU STOLE IT?" I SAID

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"WELL, I CAN'T HELP IT, I'M TOO HUNGRY, I WON'T MAKE IT HOME. I MEAN, I WON'T MAKE IT ALL THE WAY TO EDGEWEAR AND I KNOW THERE'S NOTHING FOR ME TO EAT THERE WHEN I COME HOME BECAUSE SHE'S PROBABLY FIN-ISHED WITH HER DINNER AND EVERYTHING". SO, THIRTEEN YEARS LATER, I REPLACED THIS PIECE OF PASTRY.

- Q. NO? YOU WENT BACK AND BOUGHT ONE?
- A. NO. I WENT BACK WITH MY YOUNGEST DAUGHTER AND I
 SAID "LET'S GO TO HYDE PARK AND LET'S GO TO THE TEA
 HOUSE. I HAVE TO REPAY ONE OF THE PASTRIES". BUT,
 WHAT I DID IS I PAID FOR THREE INSTEAD OF TWO.
- Q. THAT HAD BOTHERED YOU ALL OF THOSE YEARS?
- A. WELL, IT DIDN'T BOTHER ME BUT, I KNOW IT WAS SOMETHING RIGHT AND I WANTED TO DO JUSTICE TO IT. SO, I
 WROTE A STORY ABOUT IT, ABOUT THE PASTRY OF HYDE
 PARK.

AND, OF COURSE THE LIONS PLACE WAS OUR PLACE, THE UTMOST TO GO TO LIONS. WELL, WHEN I CAME BACK TO ENGLAND, I SAW LIONS AND I SAID "HOW CAN ANYBODY EAT AT LIONS"? BUT, FOR US, FOOD WAS A VERY IMPORTANT THING, FOOD WAS. FOOD IS A VERY IMPORTANT THING. I KNOW MRS. COOPER'S OLDER CHILDREN LIVED AROUND AND USED TO TORTURE ME. I KNOW I DIDN'T KNOW WHAT THE WORD 'DISGRACE' WAS IN MY ENGLISH VOCABULARY SO, THE OLDEST DAUGHTER WHO DIDN'T LIVE THERE ANYMORE BUT

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CAME TO INSPECT THINGS TOLD ME THAT THE BATHROOM WAS A DISGRACE. SO, I SAID TO HER "WHAT IS A DISGRACE"? SO, NOW I KNOW WHAT A DISGRACE IS. I DIDN'T THINK IT WAS A DISGRACE. AND, ALSO THE DOUBLE BEDS. WE WERE NOT USED TO DOUBLE BEDS AT ALL AND HOW TO MAKE A DOUBLE BED, THAT'S A DIFFERENT STORY.

- Q. WHY WERE THEY SO MEAN TO YOU?
- THINK THEY DIDN'T REALLY THINK I NEEDED TO BE
 THERE. SEE, THE OLDEST SON WAS STILL LIVING THERE
 TOO AND THAT MIGHT HAVE BOTHERED THE SISTER. I WAS
 REALLY BENEATH THAT. I MEAN, THEY WERE ALREADY
 ANGLESIZED WHERE THE MOTHER WAS REALLY A NICE PERSON. I SNITCHED THE CRACKERS FROM HER SOMETIMES
 BECAUSE I WAS HUNGRY. AND, WHEN I CAME BACK TO
 ENGLAND, I TRIED TO CALL HER AND TALK TO HER BUT,
 THERE WAS NO ANSWER ANYMORE. THERE'S NOBODY LIVING
 THERE ANYMORE. SHE MUST BE EITHER DEAD OR GONE.
 SO, I COULDN'T TALK TO HER.

BUT THEN THE WAR STARTED. I WAS THERE AND THAT
MEANT I MIGHT NEVER GET OUT. SO, THE SECOND WORLD
WAR STARTED AND THAT NIGHT, THE NIGHT BEFORE, MY
MOTHER TALKED TO ME ON THE PHONE. SHE TALKED TO ME
ON THE PHONE AND, I HAD ANOTHER GAL WITH ME. THE
DAUGHTER OF A FRIEND OF MY MOTHER'S. WE WERE TALKING TO HER ON THE PHONE. SHE CALLED BECAUSE I THINK

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ALSO, I HAD ALREADY A VISA. ABOUT THAT TIME, MAYBE TWO DAYS BEFORE THE WAR, I WENT TO THE CONSULANT, AMERICAN CONSULANT. MY VISA ARRIVED. MY HUSBAND

THEY KNEW THAT THIS WAS GOING TO HAPPEN.

SENT ME A VISA FROM AMERICA.

HE HAD FOUND A JOB. HE PLAYED THE VIOLIN FOR MAJOR BOWS. NOW, YOU MAY NOT KNOW MAJOR BOWS BUT, DO YOU REMEMBER THE 'INK SPOTS', THE GROUP THAT WAS CALLED THE 'INK SPOTS'? WELL, MAJOR BOWS WAS AN AMATEUR HOUR, AN ORIGINAL AMATEUR HOUR. BUT, ALSO HAD A UNIT OF MUSICIANS AND ROAD WHEEL ACTS THAT WENT AROUND THE COUNTRY. WELL, MY HUSBAND ONCE PLAYED A VIOLIN. NOT REALLY VERY WELL, BUT HE PLAYED A VIOLIN LIKE EVERY JEWISH BOY HAD TO PLAY A VIOLIN. AND, HE KNEW HOW TO HANDLE THE VIOLIN.

SO, SOMEBODY SOMEHOW RELATED TO ME, YOU KNOW, YOU FIND ALL KIND OF RELATIVES IN SUCH A SITUATION, WAS OFFERING TO PUT AN AFFIDAVIT FOR ME OUT. AND, THEN I NEEDED THREE AFFIDAVITS. CAN YOU IMAGINE A PERSON -- I WAS TWENTY-ONE YEARS OLD AND I WAS PRODUCTIVE. I WAS ABLE TO WORK. I NEEDED THREE AFFIDAVITS TO COME INTO THE COUNTRY.

- Q. THREE AFFIDAVITS FROM PEOPLE IN AMERICA?
- A. YES. THREE AFFIDAVITS, THREE DIFFERENT PEOPLE FOR

 ONE PERSON TWENTY-ONE YEARS OLD. SO I WOULDN'T EVER

ASK THE UNITED STATES FOR WELFARE ASSISTANCE OR ANYTHING ELSE.

- Q. GOD FORBID.
- A. GOD FORBID. UNTIL I WILL BE A CITIZEN, AT LEAST FIVE YEARS.

SO, HE WAS ABLE TO GET THE THREE AFFIDAVITS AND,
THEREFORE GOT A VISA. I WENT IN FRONT OF THE AMERICAN COUNSEL IN BLOOMSBERRY PLACE, GRAVENO PLACE,
EXCUSE ME. AND HE SAID TO ME "TRY TO GET A TICKET
IMMEDIATELY". I DIDN'T REALIZE IT AT THAT TIME.
"TRY TO GET A TICKET IMMEDIATELY, BECAUSE OTHERWISE,
YOU WON'T BE ABLE TO GET OUT." SO, I SAID "HOW WILL
I GET THE TICKET, I HAVE ABSOLUTELY NO MONEY". SO
HE SAID "DO ANYTHING AND EVERYTHING TO SEE IF YOU
CAN GET A TICKET".

OVER TO BLOOMSBERRY. BLOOMSBERRY HOUSE TOOK CARE OF A LOT OF JEWISH IMMIGRATION THINGS. AND, I ASKED THEM TO LOAN ME THE MONEY FOR THE TICKET BECAUSE I HAD NO MONEY ON ME. I MEAN, I HAD A WEEKLY CHECK THAT DIDN'T MEAN ANYTHING. WOULD HAVE NEVER BROUGHT ME OUT. I SAID "I HAVE TO GET OUT. MY HUSBAND IS THERE AND I AM HERE AND WE'LL SEND YOU THE MONEY BIT BY BIT". WELL, THEY SAID TO ME "WELL, MAYBE YOUR HUSBAND CAN SEND THE MONEY FOR AT LEAST HALF THE

AMOUNT". SO, I THINK THEY SENT A CABLE AND HE DID BORROW HALF THE AMOUNT. AND, THAT WAS SENT TO THEM. I KNOW, I WENT RIGHT TO THE SHIP'S LINE FROM THE BLOOMSBERRY HOUSE AND GOT THE TICKET. IT WAS INCREDIBLE. I WORKED OVERTIME, REALLY. MY LAST MONEY WAS SPENT. I HAD NO MONEY FOR THE UNDERGROUND TO GO HOME. SO, I HAD TO GET BACK TO BLOOMSBERRY HOUSE AND I SAID "GIVE ME THE MONEY SO I CAN GO BACK". WHICH THEY DID.

THEN, I HAD ALL THE ARRANGEMENTS MADE. I LEFT

SEPTEMBER 10. THE WAR WAS DECLARED AND I HAD TO GET

TO THE SHIP. THE SHIP LEAVES FROM SOUTHAMPTON, IT

DOESN'T LEAVE FROM LONDON. IT HAS TO LEAVE FROM A

PORT. SO, I HAD TO GET ON THE TRAIN IN LONDON.

MY UNCLE WAS NICE ENOUGH -- AND, ALSO THE BLACK OUT

WAS ON ALREADY. THE BLACK OUT, AND THE FIRST AIR

RAID WAS ON. I MEAN, ALL THE TIME WE WERE WAITING

FOR THIS, THERE WAS ALL KIND OF THINGS HAPPENING.

THE ENGLISH WERE DIGGING FOR SHELTERS. THE BARAGE

BALLOONS WENT UP.

- Q. WHAT ARE BARAGE BALLOONS?
- A. THOSE WERE THE BALLOONS THEY THOUGHT COULD KEEP THE
 BOMBS AWAY. THEY DIDN'T MEAN ANYTHING LATER ON.
 THEY WERE LIKE BIG ZEPELINS. ALL AROUND THE CITY OF
 LONDON. THEY FLOATED IN THE AIR. AND, I REMEMBER

ONE NIGHT, THE NIGHT BEFORE THE WAR WAS DECLARED, OR THE NIGHT THE WAR WAS DECLARED, MRS. COOPER AND I COOKED JAM ALL NIGHT. SECURED THE WINDOWS WITH TAPE AND BLACK OUTS. IT WAS A VERY DIFFICULT TIME. NOT ONLY THAT, I BECAME, AGAIN, AN ENEMY ALIEN. THI TIME BECAUSE I WAS GERMAN. I HAD TO GO EVERYDAY AND SHOW MYSELF, IN EDGEWEAR. THAT WAS THE MOST HORRIBLE FEELING. ALL OF A SUDDEN I BECAME A GERMAN AGAIN. IT WAS AN INCREDIBLE SITUATION. IT FELT SO AWFUL, I DIDN'T KNOW WHERE I WAS. LIKE A MAN, A PERSON WITHOUT A COUNTRY.

SO, SOMEHOW I MADE IT. I STAYED A NIGHT AT MY

UNCLE'S HOUSE. PITCH BLACK DARK, YOU HAD TO GET

USED TO THIS DARKNESS. YOU LATER ON DO, YOU WORK

WITH THE STARS VERY WELL, IF THERE ARE STARS. AND,

I LEFT ALMOST ALL MY BELONGINGS. I DIDN'T HAVE VERY

MANY BELONGINGS. I TOOK THE SEFER TORAHS. I DIDN'T

CARE, I HAD MY DRESS ON AND MY COAT ON. NOTHING

CARED. YOU DON'T CARE FOR THOSE THINGS ANYMORE, IT

DOESN'T MATTER. HE TOOK ME TO THE TRAIN THE FOLLOW
ING DAY. ALSO, AIR RAID AGAIN. BLACK OUTS AGAIN.

I MADE IT TO THE SHIP. IT WAS THE 'ACRITANIA'. IT

WAS THE LAST SHIP THAT LEFT AS A PASSENGER SHIP FROM

THE SHORES. IT WAS A SHIP THE AMERICANS WERE CALLED

HOME ON. AND, IT WENT WITH TWO DESTROYERS ON EACH

SIDE, AND ON A ZIG-ZAG COURSE. SO I, OF COURSE, HAD A THIRD CLASS TICKET. I SLEPT RIGHT OVER THE ENGINES AND THEY WOULD STOP AT NIGHT, AND I PRAYED, PLEASE JUST GO, GO. I DIDN'T CARE. I WASN'T AFRAID OF BOMBS, I DIDN'T CARE ABOUT SUBMARINES. IT DIDN'T FAZE ME. I JUST WANTED TO GO. YOU KNOW, YOU JUST DON'T EVEN THINK. IT WAS TERRIBLY CROWDED AND YOU IMAGINE, THIRD CLASS IS NOT THE BEST PLACE EVER ASKED FOR. FOUR OR FIVE PEOPLE IN ONE OF THOSE LITTLE CABINS. AND, IT TOOK MUCH LONGER THAN THE USUAL CROSSING BECAUSE ON ACCOUNT OF THE ZIG-ZAG COURSE AND WE HAD THOSE BIG DESTROYERS AND OF COURSE WE DIDN'T SAIL AT NIGHT.

SO, I FINALLY ARRIVED IN NEW YORK, AND WOULDN'T YOU KNOW ON THE SHABBOS. SO SINCE MY HUSBAND'S FAMILY WAS VERY ORTHODOX, THIS WAS AN ABSOLUTE NO, NO. HOW CAN ANYONE HAVE THE HUTZPAH TO ARRIVE ON A SHABBOS? ON A SHIP THAT GOES, DON'T THEY KNOW ANY BETTER? NO, THEY DON'T KNOW ANY BETTER. SO, WE HAD TO FABRICATE. IT WAS WONDERFUL TO SEE MY HUSBAND AGAIN. I HAD NO PROBLEMS GETTING OFF.

- Q. HE WAS WAITING FOR YOU?
- A. HE WAS WAITING FOR ME, YES. WE CABLED, YES, HE WAS
 WAITING FOR ME. AND, HE HAD TWO DOLLARS AND I HAD
 TWO DOLLARS AND WE HAD TO GO AND FIND A PLACE TO

LIVE.

- Q. WHERE WAS HE STAYING?
- A. HE STAYED WITH HIS FAMILY, HE WAS PART OF HIS FAMILY. AND, WE REALLY HAD TO GET A ROOM SOMEWHERE.
 THEY LIVED ON THE EAST SIDE, EAST SIDE NEW YORK, AND
 THEN IN WILLIAMSBURG IN BROOKLYN, ALSO ON THE EAST
 SIDE. I CARED LESS. AND I NEEDED TO GET A JOB,
 ALSO.

SO, HERE WE HAD FOUR DOLLARS. WELL, FOUR DOLLARS
WAS MORE THEN THAN NOW. SO, FIRST HE SAID TO ME,
"YOU TELL THEM THAT YOU CAME YESTERDAY AND WE JUST
WENT SOMEWHERE. TO YOUR AUNT'S OR TO THIS ONE, I
DON'T KNOW WHAT". WE FABRICATED THE STORY, I STILL
THINK IT'S VERY FUNNY.

SO, WE WENT TO WILLIAMSBURG WHICH IS IN BROOKLYN.

I COULDN'T UNDERSTAND A WORD OF ENGLISH. I DIDN'T

UNDERSTAND WHAT THEY SPOKE THERE. I WAS HORRIFIED.

I THOUGHT I COULD REALLY SPEAK IN ENGLISH, KING'S

ENGLISH. "WHAT ARE THEY SAYING?" I COULDN'T UNDER
STAND THE PUSHCART PEOPLE, WHAT THEY WERE SELLING.

I SAID "WHAT IS IT, WHAT LANGUAGE ARE THEY SPEAK
ING"? I DIDN'T KNOW YIDDISH NEITHER. I LEARNED AS

MUCH LATER BECAUSE I LOVED IT.

Q. SO, ALL YOU USED WAS AMERICAN ENGLISH AND YIDDISH, PROBABLY, RIGHT?

A. THAT'S ALL. AND, YOU NEVER UNDERSTAND ANY OF THE VENDERS. THE PUSHCART VENDERS ANYHOW, BECAUSE THEY HAVE THEIR OWN LANGUAGE. AND, THIS WAS VERY DIFFICULT.

SO, WE RENTED ONE ROOM WITH ONE BIG BED AND A THOU-SAND COCK ROACHES. THE BATHROOM WAS ON THE FLOOR.

- Q. THE BATHROOM ON THE FLOOR, WHAT DO YOU MEAN?
- A. SOMEWHERE, YES. ON THE STAIRCASE SOMEWHERE. NOT IN THE ROOM, OF COURSE. WE HAD ONE BURNER THAT WE COULD COOK ON.
- Q. HOW DID YOU DO IT WITH THAT FOUR DOLLARS?
- A. I DID IT. WE PAID THE RENT. LUCKILY, THE FAMILY HAD SOME FOOD FOR THE FIRST FEW DAYS FOR US. WE COULD EAT THERE. WE COULDN'T BUY ANYTHING. WE WALKED A LOT. MY HUSBAND, BOTH SHOES OF HIS, THE ONLY PAIR HE HAD, HAD HUGE HOLES IN THEM. AND, HE USED TO STICK CHEWING GUM INTO IT.
- Q. WHAT WAS HE DOING THERE IN AMERICA?
- A. NOW, HE WAS THROUGH WITH MAJOR BOWS AND HE DID MAKE SOME MONEY SO HE WAS ABLE TO HELP HIMSELF AND BUY SOME THINGS TO WEAR. ALL THROUGH THIS TIME, THAT YEAR THAT WE DIDN'T SEE EACH OTHER, HE HAD TO SURVIVE THIS WAY. BUT, HE ALSO LEARNED ENGLISH. HE SAT IN MOVIES, HE SPENT A LOT OF MONEY ON MOVIES.

AND, THAT'S HOW HE LEARNED, LOOKING AT FILMS. BECAUSE HE HEARD THE SPEAKING, BECAUSE WITH HIS FAMILY, HE SPOKE YIDDISH. HE NEVER HAD ANY ENGLISH IN
SCHOOL BECAUSE HE TOOK ALL LANGUAGES. LATIN AND
GREEK, AND HEBREW. SO, HE HAD TO REALLY LEARN FROM
SCRATCH.

I REMEMBER, I WENT IMMEDIATELY TO WORK. PRACTICALLY THE FOLLOWING DAY, WORKING CLEANING HOUSES.

- Q. HOW DID YOU FIND THE HOUSE?
- A. MY FATHER-IN-LAW WAS ALREADY IN THE STATES. HE
 WENT, YOU REMEMBER? BUT, HE LIVED IN A CELLAR HOLE.
 WHAT HE DID WAS HE SORTED SACKS. SACKS FROM RICE
 AND GRAIN AND STUFF. SORTED THEM, AND THEN WE SOLD
 THEM.
- Q. WAS YOUR HUSBAND CLOSE WITH HIS FATHER?
- A. I DON'T THINK ANYBODY WAS CLOSE TO HIM. HE WAS A

 VERY QUIET MAN, A VERY NICE MAN. THIS WAS A MIXED
 MARRIAGE, HIS MARRIAGE AT THAT TIME. HE WAS MUCH

 OLDER THAN HIS WIFE. HIS MOTHER, THE WIFE OF BENJA
 MIN, BENJAMIN WAS THE FATHER, WAS A VERY FUN-LOVING

 PERSON. LOVED TO GO TO OPERAS AND PLAYS, AND A

 BEAUTIFUL PERSON. I HAVE AN OLDER DAUGHTER THAT

 LOOKS LIKE HER. SHE'S REALLY GORGEOUS, BEAUTIFUL.

 THEY WERE COMPLETELY MIS-MATCHED.
- Q. MOYSHE'S MOTHER?

A. MOYSHE'S MOTHER.

Q. I SEE, WAS THE LIVELY ONE?

A. YES, YES. MY MOTHER WAS TOO, BUT, EVERYBODY
LOVED HER. I KNOW THAT WHEN HIS FAMILY THAT I KNOW
NOW, SOME OF THE FAMILY IN ISRAEL, THEY ADORED HER
BECAUSE SHE ALWAYS LOOKED VERY NICE AND VERY FUNLOVING AND LOVED MUSIC AND SO ON.
SO, HE LIVED AND HE WAS HORRIFIED THAT I WOULD WORK
FOR JEWISH PEOPLE IN A HOUSEHOLD. HE SAID "THAT
CAN'T BE, THAT MUST NOT BE. A YIDDISH'S KIND MUZ
ARBEITEN FOR YIDDS?" THAT WAS A NO, NO. I DIDN'T
CARE. TO TELL YOU THE TRUTH, I DIDN'T CARE. IT WAS
A VERY FUNNY SITUATION. SHE HAD BIG BOYS, THEY WERE

- Q. HOW DID YOU GET THE POSITION?
- A. GOD, I DON'T KNOW.

MEN ALREADY.

- Q. YOU JUST GOT IT SOMEHOW?
- WHERE THEY HAD IT LISTED. IT WAS A HORRIBLE LONG
 RIDE ON THE STREET CAR AND IT WAS VERY COLD. AND,
 SHE WAS A MEAN LADY. SHE KEPT ME ALL THE DISHES
 FROM THE NIGHT BEFORE AND IT WAS ALWAYS OVERFLOWING
 FROM THE WHOLE DAY BEFORE. THAT WAS THE FIRST THING
 I HAD TO FACE. THEN, I HAD TO IRON THE UNDERSHORTS,
 THE UNDERWEAR OF THE BOYS, I HAD TO IRON THEM. IT

WAS REAL CRAZY. EVERYTHING HAD TO BE JUST SO. SHE WAS MEAN, BUT WHO CARED, I HAD A JOB, AND I GOT MONEY. I DIDN'T KNOW. AMERICA WAS A NEW COUNTRY TO ME. I DIDN'T KNOW WHO'S WHAT AND WHAT'S WHAT. SO, I TELL YOU ONE THING. YOU LEARN TO ADJUST VERY QUICKLY IN SITUATIONS IF YOU'VE EVER BEEN A REFUGEE.

- Q. SURVIVAL TECHNIQUES?
- A. YES. IT'S WONDERFUL TO LEARN TO DO THIS BUT, I
 COULD FIND A DIFFERENT WAY OF TEACHING. BUT, I
 DON'T RESENT THIS, THAT THE WOMAN WAS MEAN, OR NOT
 MEAN. I LEARNED TO DO THINGS. MAYBE I DIDN'T DO
 THINGS RIGHT. NOT FOR HER SAKE, ANYWAY.
- Q. WHAT DID SHE THINK OF YOU BEING A JEWISH REFUGEE?
- A. SHE DIDN'T THINK ANYTHING. SHE DIDN'T ASK ANY QUESTIONS. SHE DIDN'T REALLY WANT TO KNOW, TO TELL YOU THE TRUTH. SHE DIDN'T WANT TO KNOW.

 SO, THAT DIDN'T LAST VERY LONG BECAUSE HIS FATHER WAS VERY ADAMANT THAT I CHANGE MY JOB. SO, THERE WERE THREE BROTHERS IN THE FAMILY THAT WERE SUBCONTRACTORS OF CHILDREN'S UNDERWEAR PRODUCTION. ON

MINUTE. YOU KNOW, IMMEDIATELY IF THERE WAS THE

JAMAICA AVENUE IN A PLACE THAT WOULD BURN DOWN ANY

SLIGHTEST SPARK, RICKETY OLD BUILDING. SO, THEY

TOOK ME ON. I NEVER WORKED ON A POWER MACHINE, A

POWER SEWING MACHINE. IT'S REALLY FRIGHTENING WHEN

YOU FIRST GET ON ONE. I WASN'T VERY GOOD AT SEWING, FIRST THING. BUT, I SAID I KNEW.

- Q. THESE WEREN'T BROTHERS OF MOYSHE?
- A. NO, THEY WERE FAR, FAR COUSINS. YOU KNOW, YOU DIG

 UP THOSE PEOPLE. AND, THE REST OF THE FAMILY WORKED

 THERE. SOME OF THEM. YOU SEE, THOSE WERE IMIGRANTS

 THAT WORKED THERE.

THEY TOOK ME ON AND THEY PUT ME ON COLD, LIKE I WAS HERE NOT KNOWING, ON ONE OF THOSE POWER SEWING MACHINES. SO, I SAID, "OH YES, I KNOW HOW TO DO THIS". YES, BUT, THEN I WOULD WHISPER TO SOMEBODY NEXTDOOR, YOU KNOW, "CAN YOU SHOW ME?" WHEN THIS THING BROKE, THE THREAD, I DIDN'T KNOW HOW TO THREAD THE NEEDLE BECAUSE IT WAS DIFFERENT.

SEAMS ON TOP OF CHILDREN'S PETTICOATS ALL DAY LONG.

YOU WERE ALLOWED TO GO TO THE BATHROOM ONCE, I

THINK, OR SO. AND, ONE OF THE BROTHERS WOULD ALWAYS

STAND IN FRONT OF THE BATHROOM DOOR AND WATCH THE

CLOCK, HOW LONG YOU SPEND IN THE BATHROOM. I'LL

NEVER FORGET THAT.

ANYHOW, WHAT I DID IS I SEWED TOGETHER THE SHOULDER

THE WORSE THING WAS THEY COULDN'T UNDERSTAND, THEY
WERE HORRIFIED WITH ME. TO THIS DAY, I HEAR THEM
SAY "A YIDDESHES KIND UN ES KENNISHT SHMUSEN YIDDISH?" (A YIDDISH'S KIN AND SHE CANNOT SPEAK YID-

DISH?) AS SUCH A THING SHOULD HAPPEN TO THEM? YOU KNOW, SO, I DECIDED IT'S TIME TO LEARN THE YIDDISH. I KNEW THE GERMAN. MY YIDDISH IS NOT THE GREATEST BUT I CAN WORK IT OUT AND MAKE MYSELF UNDERSTOOD. SO, I PIECED IT TOGETHER AND THEY JUST COULDN'T GET OVER THAT.

- Q. WHAT COULDN'T THEY GET OVER?
- A. SUCH A PERSON THAT CAN NOT SPEAK YIDDISH WOULD WORK FOR HIM. THIS WAS BEYOND THEM. SO, I SAID "WELL, I'LL LEARN".

THEY GAVE ME TWO BIG BUNDLES OF THE FRONTS OF THE PETTICOATS AND THE BACKS. ONE LEFT AND ONE RIGHT. AND, THEN YOU TAKE ONE UP, THE NEXT UP, PUT THEM TOGETHER AND ZOOMED THEM UP AND YOU MAKE THE SEAM. WELL, I DON'T UNDERSTAND. I ALWAYS HAD SOME LEFT OVER.

- Q. OF ONE OR THE OTHER?
- A. OF ONE OR THE OTHER. YES. SO, OBVIOUSLY, SOME KIDS WORE BOTH FRONTS OR BOTH BACKS. THERE'S A VERY SLIGHT DIFFERENCE. I WOULD NEVER TELL THEM THAT. I HAD AN APRON ON AND I HAD A POCKET IN IT AND I STUFFED ALL THOSE RAGS IN THE POCKET AND I HAD MORE RAGS TO TAKE HOME. USE THEM FOR HANDKERCHIEFS. THAT WAS TERRIBLE.

I HAD THAT JOB FOR A WHILE AND WHEN MY HUSBAND

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FINALLY GOT A PULPIT IN CALIFORNIA, HE SAID "DON'T GIVE UP THIS JOB, I MUST FIRST SEE IF THIS IS OKAY FOR ME". THIS WONDERFUL JOB THAT I GOT \$.35 AN HOUR, DON'T GIVE IT UP.

I ALSO HAD TO GET INTO THE UNION AND I HAD NO MONEY
TO PAY THE UNION, WHICH, AT THAT TIME WAS \$20 OR
SOMETHING. I AM IN THE GARMENT'S UNION. I STILL
HAVE A CARD. I WENT TO THE UNION AND I STOOD IN
FRONT OF DUBINSKY AND PLEADED MY CASE THAT I COULD
STUTTER OFF THIS UNION BOOK. SO, HE TOLD ME I COULD
STUTTER IT OFF AT SO MUCH A MONTH FOR THE BOOK.

- Q. WHAT IS THE BOOK?
- A. YOU HAVE TO HAVE A UNION BOOK. IT'S LIKE A MEMBER-SHIP CARD.
- Q. WHO WAS THIS MAN?
- A. DUBINSKY.
- Q. WHO WAS THAT?
- A. HE WAS THE PRESIDENT OF THE GARMENT UNION. I STOOD
 THERE IN FRONT TO PLEAD MY CASE. I'LL NEVER FORGET
 THAT. THEY ALLOWED ME TO DO THIS.
- Q. YOU MEAN, TO GET IT WITHOUT PAYING THE FULL PRICE FOR IT, INITIALLY? PAY IT OFF?
- A. YES, PAY IT OFF BIT BY BIT. I PAID IT OFF, INSTALL-MENTS.
- Q. BECAUSE YOU COULDN'T WORK UNLESS YOU HAD IT, RIGHT?

- A. YES, IT WAS A UNION SHOP THEN, ALREADY. AND, THE UNIONS WERE NOT THAT OLD. SO, I HAVE A UNION CARD. THAT WAS IN 1939.
- Q. ALL OF THAT HAPPENED IN 1939?
- A. WELL, CONTINUALLY THINGS HAPPENED. SO, I FINALLY
 WORKED WITH JEWISH PEOPLE AND SOME OF THE FAMILY
 WORKED THERE. SO, EITHER I WAS ON THE POWER MACHINE
 AND THEN I WAS A FINISHER. A FINISHER TAKES OFF THE
 THREADS THAT ARE LEFT. THEN, I FOLDED. THEN I WAS
 A FOLDER, I FOLDED THE STUFF.
- Q. WAS THAT STEPS UP, OR WAS THAT JUST SIDEWAYS? WAS IT BETTER TO BE A FINISHER?
- A. NO. I THINK THE POWER MACHINES HAD PREFERENCE.

 BUT, I GUESS THEY FOUND OUT HOW BAD I AM. THEY

 CAUGHT ON TO IT, MISSING PIECES. BUT, IT WAS A

 TERRIBLE PLACE, IT WOULD HAVE BEEN CONDEMNED NOWA
 DAYS. WE WOULD NEVER BE ALLOWED TO WORK IN A PLACE

 LIKE THIS.
- Q. DID YOU KEEP TO YOURSELF?
- A. NO, I NEVER KEPT TO MYSELF. I HAVE A WAY OF GETTING
 QUITE WELL ALONG WITH PEOPLE AND IT DOESN'T MATTER
 TO ME WHAT THEY ARE. THANK GOODNESS, I NEVER KEPT
 TO MYSELF. I TALK TO PEOPLE. AND, THEY WERE REALLY
 QUITE NICE TO ME. THE THREE MEN, I COULDN'T WARM UP
 TO THEM. IT WASN'T NECESSARY. BUT, SOME OF THE

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PEOPLE THAT WORKED THERE WERE VERY HELPFUL. THEY
WERE VERY NICE. THEY KEPT TOGETHER, YOU KNOW. NOW
ONE WORKED THERE, A DISTANT COUSIN OF MY HUSBAND'S,
WORKED THERE FOR A LONG TIME AND SHE BECAME A VERY
FINE TEACHER AND TAUGHT, AND YOU KNOW, I HAVE MET
SOME OF THE PEOPLE BACK.

- Q. SO, YOU EVENTUALLY JOINED YOUR HUSBAND IN CALI-FORNIA?
- YES. HE FINALLY CALLED ME AND SAID "YES, I GUESS I Α. WILL KEEP THIS JOB." SO IS SAID "HOW AM I GOING TO GET OUT THERE? WE DON'T HAVE ANY MONEY," I WAS STILL SURROUNDED BY COCK ROACHES AND, HE SAID "I DON'T KNOW. THE CHEAPEST WAY OUT IS THE GREYHOUND BUS." I SAID "OH, THAT SOUNDS REAL GOOD, I'LL SEE AMERICA". I TOOK THE GREYHOUND BUS BUT, I NEVER REALIZED IT WAS FIVE NIGHTS AND FIVE DAYS NO THE SAME BUS AND I TOOK ONE SUITCASE OF SOMETHING, WE DIDN'T HAVE ANYTHING ANYWAY, YOU KNOW, WITH ME. AND, I HAD NEVER ANY CHANGE WITH ME. I DIDN'T REALIZE I WOULD GO THROUGH DAY AND NIGHT AND DAY AND NIGHT. SO, WHEN I CAME TO CALIFORNIA, IT WAS FEB-RUARY, I THINK, AND I WAS SO HOT. I TOOK EVERYTHING OFF ME. PEOPLE THOUGHT I'M CRAZY. BECAUSE IT WAS COLD IN THE EAST. IT TOOK ME A WHILE TO GET USED TO IT.

CONGREGATION THERE. AND, I BECAME PREGNANT REAL QUICK. THEN, IT'S ANOTHER LONG STORY.

SO, YOU HAD FOUR CHILDREN, AND THEY'VE ALL DONE

THEN, I HAD TO LOOK HALF-WAY DECENT. THERE WAS A

- Q. SO, YOU HAD FOUR CHILDREN, AND THEY'VE ALL DONE

 QUITE WELL FOR THEMSELVES. A NUTRITIONIST, AND A

 MANAGER FOR MERRILL LYNCH, AND A SOCIAL WORKER, AND

 AN OPTOMETRIST? I WANTED TO KNOW WHAT GOT TALKED

 ABOUT WHEN THEY WERE KIDS AND WHAT FEELINGS YOU

 THINK THEY HAD ABOUT YOU AND YOUR HUSBAND'S EXPERI
 ENCES?
- A. WE TALKED ALWAYS AT THE DINNER TIME, WHEN WE WERE

 ALL TOGETHER. I INSISTED UPON BEING TOGETHER AT ONE

 TIME IN THE DAY TIME. THAT ONE TIME WAS DINNER

 TIME, USUALLY. WE FELT VERY STRONGLY, AND SO DID

 THEY, I THINK BECAUSE, THEY WERE WONDERING WHERE ALL

 THEIR GRANDPARENTS WENT. SO, THAT HAD TO BE AN
 SWERED. AND, IT WAS ANSWERED AND THERE WAS EVERY

 BIT OF TRUTH SPOKEN WITH IT. THEY WERE NOT IN

 HEAVEN. WE TOLD THEM WHAT HAPPENED TO THEM. WHEN

 THEY ASKED QUESTIONS, THEY WERE READY TO HEAR THE

 RIGHT ANSWERS. SO, YES, THEY KNOW WHAT HAPPENED TO

 US.
- Q. DID THEY HAVE NIGHTMARES OR ANYTHING?
- A. NO, NOBODY HAS NIGHTMARES. THEY SLEEP VERY WELL.
- Q. ANOTHER THING IS A SYNDROME AMONG CHILDREN OF SURVI-

VORS, IS THAT THEY FEEL LIKE THEY CAN NEVER LIVE UP
TO THEIR HEROIC PARENTS WHO SURVIVED THE WORST POSSIBLE THING THAT WE KNOW OF?

- THAT'S A GOOD QUESTION. I REALLY DON'T KNOW HOW
 THEY FEEL ABOUT IT. ONE WOULD REALLY HAVE TO TALK
 TO THEM BECAUSE THERE MIGHT BE TIMES THAT THEY HAVE
 QUALMS ABOUT THAT. IT'S A GOOD QUESTION THAT I
 WOULD LIKE TO ASK THEM MYSELF, I HAVEN'T. THEY HAVE
 BEEN MANAGING THEMSELVES VERY WELL. THEY ARE VERY
 JEWISH, IF THERE'S SUCH A THING AS BEING VERY JEWISH. THEY ARE ACTIVE IN VARIOUS JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS. THEY HAVE BEEN TO ISRAEL, AND IF THEY
 HAVEN'T, THEY WILL GO. AND, THEY SUPPORT JEWISH
 CAUSES.
- Q. YOUR GRANDCHILDREN ALSO ARE VERY ACTIVELY JEWISH AND AWARE OF YOUR STORY?
- A. YES. MY GRANDCHILDREN ARE. I WON'T REALLY LET THEM FORGET BECAUSE TWO HAVE THE SEFER TORAHS NOW. THEY KNOW WHAT HAPPENED. I SPOKE FROM THE PULPIT. IN FACT, I WAS THE MAIN SPEAKER AT BOTH OF THEIR BAR MITZVAH, AND EXPLAINED TO THE CONGREGATION WHAT THEY WERE ALL ABOUT. I ASKED THEM TO BE KIND TO THE TORAH. SO, THEY HEARD ME, MY WHOLE FAMILY HEARD ME. THE GRANDCHILDREN ARE, IN FACT, THE REASON I'M WRITING ABOUT IT. THE CAUSE OF IT IS MY OLDEST GRAND—

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DAUGHTER WHO WAS ASKED IN SUNDAY SCHOOL IN COLORADO TO INTERVIEW AN OLDER JEWISH PERSON. NOW, IT DIDN'T HAVE TO BE ABOUT THE HOLOCAUST. SHE THOUGHT THE NEAREST TO HER WOULD BE GRANDMA. WELL, I HAPPENED TO BE IN COLORADO, BUT ONLY FOR A VERY FEW DAYS. SO, I SAID TO HER "WELL, NAOMI, YOU DON'T WRITE VERY FAST, AND I HAVE A LOT TO TELL. HOW WOULD IT BE IF I TALK IT ON TAPE?" AND SHE SAID "THAT'S A VERY GOOD IDEA, GRANDMA." I SAID "WELL, ASK YOUR TEACHER IF THIS WILL BE ALL RIGHT TO DO SO, AND THEN YOU CAN TAKE IT OVER AND WRITE IT DOWN." SO, IT WAS AC-CEPTED AND I MADE THE TAPES AND MY HUSBAND WAS NOT CAPABLE OF DOING THAT. HE COULD NOT MAKE A TAPE OF IT WAS JUST TOO PAINFUL FOR HIM TO DO THIS. IT. HE NEVER WROTE ABOUT IT, NEITHER. WE HAVE HALF OF A TAPE, NOTHING OF SIGNIFICANCE ON THIS TAPE. I MADE THE TAPES AND WHEN I HEARD THEM, MY DAUGHTER HAD THEM TRANSLITERATED AT THE UNIVERSITY IN COLO-RADO, IN ENGLISH. I MEAN, IT IS IN ENGLISH ANYWAY, BUT I MEAN, FROM THE TAPE TO PAPER. I COULDN'T BELIEVE HOW AWFUL IT IS. IT SOUNDS LIKE THE DAY I CAME TO AMERICA. IT WAS JUST UGLY, WHAT I WAS TALKING ABOUT. I GUESS THE EMOTIONS CARRY YOU AWAY WHEN YOU TALK ABOUT IT. SO, THAT'S WHEN I STARTED THAT'S ACTUALLY WHEN I STARTED TO WRITE. TO WRITE.

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YES.

- Q. MAINLY FOR JEWISH CAUSES, RIGHT?
- A. ONLY.
- Q. ONLY FOR JEWISH CAUSES?
- A. WELL, I DID WALK FOR THE MARCH OF DIMES, AND THINGS
 LIKE THIS, YOU KNOW. BUT, YES. VERY MUCH SO. IN
 FACT, I HAVE CONSIDERED GOING TO ISRAEL BUT, IT'S
 JUST THAT I HAVE TOO MUCH FAMILY HERE.
- Q. TO LIVE IN ISRAEL, YOU MEAN?
- A. YES. I GO EVERY TWO YEARS AND I SPEND THREE TO SIX MONTHS THERE.
- Q. HAVE YOU EXPERIENCED ANY ANTI-SEMITISM IN THE UNITED STATES?
- A. OH, YES, OH YES, DEAR. MY CHILDREN HAVE IN THE SCHOOLS. OH YES, ONE OF THEM SAID "MY GOD, YOU'RE JEWISH, WHY DON'T YOU HAVE ANY HORNS ON YOUR HEAD?"

 OH YES, IN HAYWARD YES. MY SON STAN HAD A BIG FIGHT WITH SOMEBODY WHO CALLED HIM A DIRTY JEW. IT WENT ON FOR TWO DAYS, THIS FIGHT. THE PRINCIPAL FINALLY CALLED ME TO SCHOOL. I SAID "WELL, YOU CALL AN ASSEMBLY. YOU CAN DO THAT. NOBODY WANTS TO BE CALLED ANYTHING, NOT EVEN THIS. THERE'S NO NEED FOR THIS, EITHER". AND, WE FOUGHT, YES. OH, YES. WE FOUGHT IN HAYWARD.
- Q. WAS THERE A JEWISH COMMUNITY IN HAYWARD?

A. SURE. HAYWARD'S IN SALEAMOND, MORE OR LESS. THE

MAIN TEMPLE IS IN SALEAMOND CASTLE VALLEY. CASTLE

VALLEY HAS A SMALL TEMPLE. OH YES.

- Q. HAVE YOU HAD MANY NON-JEWISH FRIENDS IN THIS COUN-TRY, OR HAVE YOU MAINLY BEEN INVOLVED IN JEWISH FRIENDSHIPS?
- A. YES, I HAVE NON-JEWISH FRIENDS. PEOPLE I WORK WITH AT SCHOOL ARE VERY FRIENDLY. AND, THE PRINCIPLE I HAD IN THE SCHOOL IN HAYWARD WAS A VERY DEVOUT CATHOLIC, INSISTED THAT I PUT THE HANNAKAH THING ON. AND THEN IT GOT SO THAT I WAS THE HANNAKAH LADY OF HANNAKAH. WENT TO TWENTY SCHOOLS IN HAYWARD. BUT, I THINK THEY COULD SAY WE CAN PUT CHRISTMAS ON TOO, YOU KNOW. I'M NOT REALLY FOR THAT, TO TELL YOU THE TRUTH. I WISH NONE OF IT WOULD GO INTO SCHOOLS. BUT, SINCE IT'S NOT EVEN A RELIGIOUS HOLIDAY. AND, I SAID THAT, VERY LOUDLY.
- Q. SO, YOU'RE FOR THE COMPLETE SEPARATION OF SCHOOL AND STATE?
- A. OH, YES.
- Q. RELIGION AND STATE, RATHER?
- A. YES. IF YOU CAN'T HAVE ONE, YOU SHOULDN'T HAVE THE OTHER, NEITHER. BUT, HE INSISTED AND THE WHOLE AUDITORIUM WAS FULL OF CHILDREN.
- Q. CAN YOU DESCRIBE THE OTHER ACTIVITIES THAT YOU'VE

 TOLD ME ABOUT? THE THINGS YOU DO NOW RELATED TO THE HOLOCAUST. YOU WRITE SHORT STORIES ABOUT YOUR EXPERIENCE IN THE HOLOCAUST, DO YOU GET SUPPORT FOR THAT?

- A. YES, I DO. BUT, I ALSO WRITE ABOUT OTHERS. I HAVE
 A VERY GOOD FRIEND WHO IS MUCH OLDER THAN I WHO HAS
 TOLD ME MANY THINGS.
- Q. ABOUT THE HOLOCAUST? YOU MEAN ABOUT OTHER PEOPLE'S EXPERIENCES?
- HER AND, I THINK IT NEEDED TO BE PUT DOWN, I ASKED HER AND SHE SAID OKAY. BUT, SHE DOESN'T WANT TO SEE IT. AND, IT'S INCREDIBLE. SHE CAME OUT OF AUSCHWITZ. AND, SHE COMES ORIGINALLY FROM HUNGARY. AND, I FEEL THAT SOME OF THOSE STORIES, I MEAN THEY'RE REALLY HEROES, SOME OF THOSE PEOPLE, THEY'RE REALLY HEROES. WE ALL ARE HEROES TO SOME EXTENT. THAT NEEDS TO BE DOWN. THE MORE WE WRITE ABOUT IT, THE BETTER. LET EVERYBODY READ ABOUT IT. AND, I'M IN A WRITING GROUP AND I'M GOING INTO FOOTHILL COLLEGE, START AT FOOTHILL, NOW. YOU KNOW, THERE'S ALL KINDS OF PEOPLE IN THERE. MOST PEOPLE CAN'T UNDERSTAND THAT THIS ACTUALLY HAPPENED.
- Q. EVEN PEOPLE THAT YOU TELL ABOUT YOUR EXPERIENCES,
 THEY HAVE A HARD TIME BELIEVING?
- A. WELL, IF I TELL THEM, BUT RIGHT NOW, WE USUALLY HAVE

A SMITHER OF JEWISH PEOPLE AROUND, YOU KNOW. SOMETIMES, I WONDER IF THEY UNDERSTAND IT. BUT, I TELL YOU, IT JUST ISN'T KNOWN. IT IS UNBELIEVABLE TO SOME PEOPLE. THEY CAN'T SEEM TO COPE WITH THIS AT ALL. AND, THEY DON'T WANT TO HEAR IT. THEY DON'T WANT TO HEAR IT. THAT, I CAME TO THAT.

- Q. YOU'VE TRIED TO TELL PEOPLE AND HAD THEM SAY "STOP"?
- A. WELL, IF WE'RE A GROUP OF TWENTY-FIVE OR THIRTY

 PEOPLE SITTING THERE, AND YOU SEE, A MANUSCRIPT IS

 BEING READ. EITHER I READ IT OR WHOEVER IS IN

 CHARGE READS IT, OKAY? TO THEM, THEY NEVER HEARD OF

 IT.
- Q. DO PEOPLE WALK OUT OF THE DOOR?
- A. NO. NOBODY HAS EVER WALKED OUT.
- Q. THEY'VE JUST NEVER HEARD OF IT?
- A. THEY CAN'T BELIEVE IT'S TRUE.
- Q. ARE THESE PEOPLE YOU CONSIDER RELATIVELY WELL EDU-CATED?
- A. YES. THEY'RE TEACHERS AND ALL HAVE VERY GOOD POSITIONS. A LOT OF TEACHERS IN THERE.
- Q. DO YOU THINK ANYTHING COULD HAVE HAPPENED DIFFERENTLY? DO YOU THINK IF THE WORLD WOULD HAVE REACTED
 DIFFERENTLY?
- A. YES. IF AMERICA WOULD HAVE INTERVENED, IT WOULD HAVE BEEN DIFFERENT. AND, THEY COULD HAVE ---

- Q. DO YOU THINK THEY WERE BASICALLY ANTI-SEMITIC, THE COUNTRY?
- I DON'T KNOW BECAUSE I DIDN'T LIVE HERE AND I DON'T Α. KNOW WHAT IT WAS AT THE TIME. YES, THEY COULD HAVE. THE STATES PEOPLE COULD HAVE. THE PRESIDENT HAD THE MIGHT TO DO THAT WITH HIS CABINET. HE DIDN'T HAVE TO ASK THE PEOPLE ABOUT SUCH A THING. BUT, I THINK THEY KNEW. THEY THOUGHT THE BAD THING WOULD GO AWAY, YOU KNOW.
- I WANTED TO FIND OUT ABOUT YOU BEING REUNITED WITH Q. YOUR SISTER. HOW, AND WHEN, AND WHERE?
- Α. OH, THAT WAS NOT UNTIL -- I DIDN'T SEE HER BACK UNTIL, I THINK WE WERE SEVEN YEARS AWAY FROM EACH OTHER.
- DID YOU HAVE ANY OPPORTUNITY TO WRITE TO HER? Q.
- YES, BUT, SHE NEVER WROTE BACK. SINCE SHE PAINTS, Α. SHE WON'T WRITE. SHE DOESN'T KNOW HOW TO SPELL. SHE HAD FOUR OR FIVE YEARS OF SCHOOL AND IT WAS A HERE AND THERE SCHOOL, YOU KNOW. NOTHING FOR HER. SHE WAS FORCED TO SIT ON A SEAT. THAT'S WHAT IT WAS.

BUT, WHAT SHE DID WHEN SHE WAS IN ENGLAND, WHEN SHE WAS THERE AND SHE COULDN'T SPEAK ENGLISH EITHER, SHE WAS ABLE, WITH HER TALENT TO TELL THE BOBBY, YOU KNOW, THE POLICEMEN IN ENGLAND, THAT SHE LOST HER

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WAY. THEN SHE PAINTED EVERYTHING DOWN, SHE DREW EVERYTHING DOWN AND THEN SHE KNEW HOW TO TAKE HER HOME.

- Q. SO, THAT'S HOW SHE DEVELOPED HER PAINTING ABILITY?
- A. WELL, NO. SHE ALWAYS HAD IT. IT RUNS IN MY FAMILY.

 THERE'S A LOT OF PEOPLE THAT HAVE TALENT.
- Q. SO, DID SHE MAKE HER WAY TO THE STATES FINALLY, OR WHAT HAPPENED?
- A. I WAS ABLE TO GET HER HERE AND THAT'S QUITE A STORY.

 WE NEEDED FIVE HUNDRED DOLLARS FOR HER TO COME OVER.

 SHE'S ALWAYS OUT OF MONEY. I'M SURE THE ARMY DIDN'T

 PAY SO WELL.

SHE WAS ABLE TO GET A SHIP BACK FROM ENGLAND. SHE WAS IN GERMANY AT THE TIME. THERE WAS A RAILROAD STRIKE ON IN FRANCE AT THE TIME AND EVERYTHING HAD TO BE DONE FAST, AGAIN. SO, I NEEDED FIVE HUNDRED DOLLARS. WELL, MY GOD, MY HUSBAND HAD JUST OPENED A SMALL BUSINESS. WE HAD ALL THOSE KIDS AND NO FIVE HUNDRED DOLLARS. YOU KNOW, FIVE HUNDRED DOLLARS WAS A LOT OF MONEY.

SO, I WENT TO THE JEWISH FEDERATION IN OAKLAND AND ASKED THEM TO LOAN THE MONEY, MAKE A LOAN FOR FIVE HUNDRED DOLLARS. "WE HAVE A BUSINESS AND WE'RE RESPECTABLE PEOPLE, WE'LL PAY THIS OFF IN ONE MONTH OR SIX WEEKS" WE SAID. IT WAS A VERY SHORT PER-

IOD. THEY COULDN'T GIVE IT TO ME.

SO, I BELONGED TO THE HADASA. I WAS VERY ACTIVE IN THE HADASA, I BECAME A HADASA PRESIDENT, AND, I KNEW THERE WAS A WOMAN THERE THAT WAS QUITE WEALTHY AND SINGLE. AND, IT WAS TERRIBLE BECAUSE I BECAME A SCHNORE.

- Q. WHAT'S THAT MEAN?
- A. A SCHNORE? IT'S A BEGGAR. AND, I ASKED HER IF SHE WOULD LET ME HAVE FIVE HUNDRED DOLLARS AND I GAVE HER EXACTLY FOUR WEEKS OR FIVE WEEKS, YOU WILL HAVE THE WHOLE MONEY BACK. BECAUSE WE WERE IN A TRANSITION BECAUSE WE HAD JUST BOUGHT THIS BUSINESS. AND, WHEN YOU HAVE FOUR LITTLE KIDS, YOU HAVE TO HAVE FOOD ON THE TABLE.

I KNEW IT WAS VERY IMPORTANT THAT WE HAVE TO GET HER OVER HERE. ALSO, MY HUSBAND PROMISED THIS TO MY MOTHER, THAT HE NOT ONLY WOULD TAKE CARE OF ME, BUT, ALSO HER. BECAUSE MY MOTHER WAS VERY CONCERNED ABOUT HER BECAUSE MY SISTER IS A DREAMER. SO, I FINALLY GOT BACK. IT WAS CABLED OVER. SHE GOT IT AND WE PICKED HER UP A WEEK OR TWO LATER IN HER ARMY UNIFORM. SO ON AND SO FORTH, FROM THE RAILROAD STATION IN OAKLAND. BUT, I'VE NEVER FORGIVEN THE JEWISH FEDERATION FOR THAT. AND, I WAS ON THE BOARD OF THE JEWISH FEDERATION IN OAKLAND. AND, THEY

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QUESTIONED ME, HOW MUCH I WOULD PAY. I SAID,
"YOU'RE NOT GOING TO QUESTION ME BECAUSE I DIDN'T
QUESTION YOU NEITHER. YOU DIDN'T COME UP, WHEN MY
SISTER NEEDED TO COME HERE, YOU DIDN'T TRUST ME." I
SAID "I PAY MY -- " IT WAS A TERRIBLE THING. I
WALKED OUT OF THE WHOLE MEETING AND I WAS ON THE
BOARD. I WAS ANGRY BECAUSE FIRST OF ALL, I DON'T
LIKE TO BE QUESTIONED ABOUT MY DONATIONS. EVERYBODY
MORE OR LESS KNOWS WHAT THEY CAN GIVE. AND, I KNOW
I CRIED ALL THE WAY HOME, I WAS SO UPSET.

- Q. SO, YOUR SISTER CAME AND SHE ESTABLISHED HERSELF IN CALIFORNIA?
- LITTLE TRACT HOUSE, WITH ONE BATHROOM AND KIDS.

 AND, SHE CAME FROM ENGLAND WITH ONE SUITCASE. THE

 SAME SUITCASE WITH THE HOLE IN THE MIDDLE. AND, IN

 HER UNIFORM AND NOT MUCH CLOTHES. NOT MANY CLOTHES,

 ARMY CLOTHES. FATIGUES AND STUFF LIKE THAT.

THE DAY AFTER SHE CAME, SHE SAID THAT SHE WOULD LIKE TO GO HORSEBACK RIDING. SO, MY HUSBAND LOOKED AT

HER AND SAID, GOD, WHAT KIND OF SCHMUK DO WE HAVE HERE?' FIRST OF
ALL, WHEN SHE FIRST CAME, SHE ATE EVERYTHING UNDER
THE SUN AND SHE GOT DEATHLY ILL. BECAUSE THE FOOD.
I THINK SHE ATE A HALF A POUND OF BUTTER AND I DON'T
KNOW HOW MANY EGGS AND BANANAS.

- Q. JUST BECAUSE SHE'D BEEN DEPRIVED OF IT?
- A. WELL, THE FOOD WAS, YES. THEN, SHE GOT DEATHLY ILL

 AND WE HAD TO CALL THE DOCTOR. AND, JUST ONE BATH
 ROOM WITH ALL THOSE PEOPLE. SHE USED THE BACK YARD

 AT NIGHT. SHE BROUGHT HARDLY ANYTHING BUT, SHE

 BROUGHT FEENAMINTS. DO YOU KNOW WHAT FEENAMINTS IS?
- Q. (NEGATIVE GESTURE)
- A. IT'S WHEN YOU'RE CONSTIPATED. YOU CHEW THAT STUFF.

 IT'S ALL IN THE COATING. SO, DAVID WAS TWO YEARS

 OLD, AND VERY NAUGHTY, I THINK. HE CRAWLED OUT OF

 HIS BED AND WENT INTO HER SUITCASE AND SAW THESE AND

 THOUGHT THEY WERE CANDIES AND ATE THE WHOLE BOX OF

 FEENAMINTS. ONLY THE OUTSIDE OF IT, OF COURSE,

 BECAUSE IT WAS SWEET. ANYHOW, SHE THOUGHT IT WAS

 HORRIBLE TO BE PUT TOGETHER WITH ALL THOSE KIDS.

 SHE STARTED TO PAINT ALL THE WALLS OF MY HOUSE, WITH

 MURALS, YES. BUT, SINCE WE HAD NO MONEY FOR OIL

 PAINT, WHICH IS EXPENSIVE, SHE DID WATER PAINTS. IT

 WAS AN INCREDIBLE EXPERIENCE.
- Q. WERE YOU FEELING TOLERANT OF HER, OR WOULD YOU GET ANGRY?
- A. NO, NO. YOU WORK ALL DAY, YOU HAVE ALL THOSE KIDS RUNNING AROUND.
- Q. SHE WAS LIKE ONE MORE KID TO TAKE CARE OF?
- A. WELL, IN A WAY. BUT, ALSO, THE FOLLOWING DAY, SHE

NEEDED TO GO HORSEBACK RIDING. FIVE DOLLARS TO GO HORSEBACK RIDING? WHAT IS THIS? WE HAD NO MONEY. WHEN SHE FIRST CAME OFF THE TRAIN, MY HUSBAND TOOK HER TO SAN FRANCISCO AND GOT HER A DRESS AND SOME THINGS AND TOOK HER OUT. IT WAS ALL LIKE SHANGRI LAI TO HER, YOU SEE.

- Q. SO, SHE LANDED, SOMEWHERE ALONG THE WAY, SHE LANDED
 A HUSBAND AND BECAME A PAINTER?
- A. YES. A HUSBAND SHE LANDED ON ACCOUNT OF US. YES.
- Q. OH, YOU INTRODUCED HER?
- A. WELL, MY HUSBAND COULDN'T STAND IT ANYMORE. ONE OF THOSE DAYS, ON A SUNDAY, HE SAID "I'M GOING TO TAKE YOU DOWN TO THE JEWISH COMMUNITY CENTER IN OAKLAND AND, I KNOW THEY HAVE A DANCE OR SOMETHING GOING ON IN THE AFTERNOON. YOU BOTH STAY THERE AND I'LL GO TO A MOVIE." I SAID "I'M NOT GOING TO STAY THERE, WHAT AM I GOING TO STAY THERE FOR?" HE SAID "NO, NO. YOU STAY AND WATCH VANITTI." AND SO, WE WENT. HE DROPPED US OFF AND HE WENT TO THE MOVIE. I SAT THERE AND SAID "OH MY GOD, ALL THOSE BAR MITZVAH BOYS HERE". IT WAS TERRIBLE.
- Q. WHAT DID SHE MEAN BY THAT?
- A. WELL, THEY WERE ALL YOUNG LOOKING.
- Q. OH, THEY WERE ABOUT THIRTEEN YEARS OLD?
- A. NO, NO. THEY WERE OLDER BUT SHE SAID THEY ALL

LOOKED LIKE BAR MITZVAH BOYS. SHE WAS IN THE ARMY, YOU KNOW. SHE HAD CAPTAINS, AND SHE HAD, YOU KNOW. SO, SHE HAD SOME EXPERIENCE, DON'T FORGET. SHE WAS A STREET GIRL FOR A LONG TIME. SO, I SAID "VANITTI, STOP THAT. WE HAVE TO SIT HERE. WE CAN'T GO ANY—WHERE." IT WAS, AT THAT TIME, THE JEWISH COMMUNITY CENTER WAS IN A TERRIBLE NEIGHBORHOOD, MANY YEARS AGO. AND, SO WE SAT. AND, ALL OF A SUDDEN JERRY WALKS IN. HE HAD JUST BROKEN UP, I THINK, WITH A GIRLFRIEND, OR SOMETHING, AND FELL ON TO VANITTI. VERY NICE LOOKING MAN. THAT DID IT. I HAD TO WAIT FOR MY HUSBAND TO COME PICK ME UP. THEY HAD A WONDERFUL TIME. SHE DIDN'T GET HOME UNTIL THREE IN THE MORNING.

- Q. AND, HE WAS DOLLINGER?
- A. IN MY CLOTHES.
- Q. IN YOUR CLOTHES? AND HE WAS DOLLINGER?
- A. DOLLINGER, YES. AND, IT JUST WAS SHARED LIKE THIS.

 AND THEN THEY SPENT WEEKS AND DAYS ON MY GREEN COUCH

 IN THE FRONT ROOM. THERE WAS NOWHERE TO GO. MY

 HUSBAND AND I TOOK THE ---
- Q. YOU WERE SO GOOD TO HER?
- A. WELL, I'M SO GLAD THAT HAPPENED. WE DIDN'T KNOW WHAT WOULD HAPPEN.
- Q. BUT, SHE DIDN'T WANT TO TALK ABOUT THE PAST. SHE

WASN'T AS ABLE TO DO THAT AS YOU WERE?

- A. OH YES, SHE'S STARTING NOW, LATELY. SHE FINALLY

 TOLD ME A STORY ABOUT WHEN SHE OPENED DACHAU. SHE

 OPENED DACHAU. AND SHE GOT VERY ILL FROM IT, YES.

 SHE WAS THE FIRST ONE THAT OPENED IT. SHE WAS

 LOOKING FOR MY MOTHER. WHEN SHE SAW IT, SHE DIDN'T

 WANT TO EVER MEET HER AGAIN.
- Q. DID YOU KNOW THAT YOUR MOTHER HAD GONE TO DACHAU?
- A. NO. WE DIDN'T KNOW WHERE SHE WAS.
- Q. DID YOU EVER FIND OUT?
- A. I KNOW FROM AN EYE-WITNESS THAT SHE WENT TO AUSCH-WITZ. BUT, SHE HAD CYANIDE ON HER BECAUSE THE JEWISH HOSPITAL IN BRESLAU GAVE IT FREELY AROUND TO PEOPLE -- SEE, SHE ALREADY BECAME THEN A LICENSED NURSE, ALSO. SO, SHE WAS IN THE HOSPITAL. HER HOME FOR YOUNG PEOPLE BECAME AN OLD AGED HOME BECAUSE THOSE PEOPLE WERE NOT ALLOWED TO GO OUT. THAT WAS ANOTHER THING WITH THE UNITED STATES. YOU HAD TO BE PERFECTLY WELL TO GET INTO THE STATES. I HAD VERY BAD NAILS THAT HAVE BEEN SHOT, I MEAN, RUINED. AND, THEY NOTICED THAT.
- Q. WHY? MALNUTRITION?
- A. YES. I WAS BORN DURING THE FIRST WORLD WAR IN '17

 AND IT PROBABLY COME FROM THAT.
- Q. FROM NOT BEING FED THE RIGHT THINGS?

- A. WELL, THERE WAS THE HUNGER SITUATION, THE HUNGER YEARS.
- Q. HOW ARE YOU, OTHERWISE, PHYSICALLY?
- A. FINE. THAT'S WHAT KEISER TELLS ME.
- Q. DO YOU EVER HAVE NIGHTMARES, OR BAD DREAMS, OR HAVE
 YOU WORKED MOST OF THAT OUT?
- A. NO, I WORK MOST OF THAT OUT BECAUSE I SPEAK ABOUT IT.
- Q. YOU THINK ABOUT IT AND YOU TALK ABOUT IT?
- A. RARELY, RARELY. I HAVE A FEW THINGS LEFT. WHEN I
 HEAR A SIREN, I GET VERY UPSET. I GET VERY NERVOUS
 WITH SIRENS.
- Q. AND FIRES ALSO?
- A. FIRES, I'M TERRIFIED OF FIRES. TERRIFIED.
- Q. AND THAT'S FROM THE CRYSTAL NIGHT?
- A. YES. IT COMES FROM THAT PERIOD. AND, ALSO, I CAN'T GO TO THE POLICE STATION. I HAVE A TERRIBLE TIME. OR, ANY OF THE BEUROCRATIC PLACES WHERE I HAVE TO SHOW MYSELF BECAUSE, WHEN I WENT EVERYDAY TO SHOW MYSELF AT THE GESTAPO, THEY PLAYED HAVOC WITH ME. THEY CALLED ME A BIRD, AND SAID "WE CAN DO ANYTHING WE WANT WITH YOU", EVERYDAY. YOU SEE, I HAD TO GO EVERYDAY FOR SIX WEEKS, EVERYDAY. AND, I CRIED ALL THE WAY BACK HOME. IT WAS JUST GRUESOME. YOU KNOW, THE BIG BLACK BOOTS AND ALL THE STUFF, I CAN JUST

1 SEE THAT STUFF. 2 THEY REALLY EXPLOITED THE SITUATION FOR ALL IT WAS Q. 3 WORTH? 4 Α. OH, YES. OH, YES. 5 WEREN'T YOU EVER SCARED, I MEAN, DID YOU HEAR ABOUT Q. 6 WOMEN BEING RAPED OR ANYTHING, WHEN YOU WERE GOING 7 BACK AND FORTH TO WORK? 8 IT WASN'T TALKED ABOUT. EVEN NOW, I KNOW WHAT Α. 9 HAPPENED IN THE CONCENTRATION CAMPS. THEY HAD TO 10 THEY HAD CHILDREN THERE, THEY HAD TO FEED THEM 11 SOMETHING. 12 Q. YOU MEAN WOMEN SLEEPING WITH OTHERS? 13 YES, A LOT OF WOMEN. Α. 14 WHEN DID YOU FIND OUT THE EXTENT OF WHAT HAPPENED IN Q. 15 CONCENTRATION CAMPS? WHEN YOU CAME HERE, OR WHEN 16 WAS THAT? 17 WELL, FIRST OF ALL, I HAD CONTACT WITH PEOPLE SINCE Α. 18 I WORKED WITH THE JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS, I HAD A LOT 19 OF CONTACT WITH PEOPLE THAT CAME. ALSO, PEOPLE THAT 20 CAME FROM SHANGHAI. 21 HERE, WHEN YOU WERE IN THIS COUNTRY? Q. 22 Α. BECAUSE WHEN WE WERE THERE, WE DIDN'T REALLY 23 KNOW WHAT WAS GOING ON THERE. I ONLY KNEW THAT THEY 24 HAD SHAVED THEIR HEADS, 25 WHAT ABOUT THE FOUR MEN THAT CAME TO YOUR WEDDING, Q.

OR THE FEW MEN THAT HAD SHAVEN HEADS?

- A. THEY WOULDN'T TALK.
- Q. DO YOU THINK THAT'S BECAUSE, I MEAN, IN RETROSPECT,

 DO YOU THINK THAT'S BECAUSE THEY ---
- A. SCARED. NO, BECAUSE THEY WANTED TO LEAVE. THEY
 DIDN'T WANT TO GO BACK. THEY WERE AFRAID SOMEBODY
 WAS LISTENING.
- Q. DID THEY END UP GOING BACK TO THE CONCENTRATION CAMPS?
- A. WE NEVER SAID ANYTHING BECAUSE NO MATTER WHERE WE WERE. SEE, THE PHONES WERE BUGGED, AND YOU NEVER KNOW WERE SOMEONE THERE THAT WAS GOING TO LISTEN TO US. WE WERE REALLY LIKE IN A PRISON. THEY TOOK OUR RADIOS AWAY. OUR SILVER, OUR GOOD PAINTINGS, OUR CARPETS, PERSIAN RUGS. THEY TOOK EVERYTHING AWAY. GOEBBELS BROADCASTED, YOU KNOW, AND EXACTLY THAT'S THE WAY IT WAS. IF THEY DIDN'T WATER US, WE WOULD GO TO PITS. YOU KNOW, "LEAVE THEM AND LET THEM DIE."
- Q. BUT, DURING THAT PERIOD, YOU WERE REALLY MORE ABSORBED IN DAY TO DAY SURVIVAL, NOT THINKING ABOUT
 THE FUTURE OF THE JEWS, OR THINKING THAT THE JEWS
 WERE BEING EXTERMINATED? YOU WERE JUST CONSTANTLY
 THINKING ABOUT THE SITUATION?
- A. THAT'S RIGHT, JUST LIVE ONE DAY AT A TIME. THAT'S

WHAT YOU DO. YOU DON'T MAKE ANY PLANS.

- Q. SO, YOU DIDN'T FIND OUT THAT JEWS WERE REALLY BEING EXTERMINATED?
- A. WELL, WHEN I SAW WHAT I SAW AT THE CRYSTAL NIGHT, I
 MEAN, WHEN I WAS THERE, AND ALL WHAT HAPPENED, I WAS
 SORT OF IN THE MIDDLE OF IT. THAT WAS A PRETTY BIG
 SHOCK. BUT, THEN, MAYBE I DIDN'T WANT TO THINK ANY
 FURTHER. I JUST HAD TO LIVE DAY BY DAY.
- Q. WHEN WAS IT? SO, WHEN YOU CAME TO AMERICA, YOU

 STARTED TO FIGURE OUT THAT MILLIONS OF JEWS HAD BEEN

 EXTERMINATED?
- WELL, I KNEW THAT THAT WAS WHAT THE FATE OF THE JEWS WAS. I KNEW THAT AND I KNEW THAT I MIGHT NOT SEE SOME OF THE PEOPLE ANYMORE. BUT, YOU KNOW, YOU HAVE TO PUSH IT AWAY IN ORDER TO LIVE IT THAT DAY. I HAD TO GET WORK, I HAD TO FIND SOMETHING, I HAD TO MAKE MONEY, I HAD TO, YOU KNOW, WE WERE SO THIRSTY FOR DRINKS, FOR JUICES AND STUFF, I WANTED TO DO THAT. AND, IT WAS JUST A SURVIVAL TECHNIQUE. TO TELL YOU THE TRUTH, IF YOU WANTED TO SURVIVE, WHAT COMES FIRST, COMES FIRST. AND, ONE DAY, I SAID I WILL BE ABLE TO WRITE IT SOMEDAY. BUT, FIRST I HAVE TO RAISE CHILDREN AND I HAVE TO GO TO WORK.
- Q. SO, WHEN YOU DID LEARN THE FULL EXTENT OF IT, IT

 WASN'T A SHOCK OR A SURPRISE TO YOU? IN A SENSE YOU

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HAD KNOWN ALL ALONG?

- A. I KNEW ALL ALONG. YOU KNOW, YOU HAVE IN THE BACK OF YOUR MIND, YOU HAVE A STORAGE PLACE. AND, IT WAS ALL STORED. IT'S JUST AS CRYSTAL CLEAR NOW AS IT WAS THEN. MAYBE MORESO.
- Q. HOW DO YOU THINK YOU DEVELOPED SUCH GOOD SURVIVAL TECHNIQUES?
- WE'RE JUST SURVIVORS, I THINK. BECAUSE, YOU KNOW, Α. MY FATHER FOUGHT IN THE FIRST WORLD WAR AND MY MOTHER BECAME A WIDOWER WHEN SHE WAS THIRTY-FIVE, SHE WAS A SURVIVOR. AND, SHE FENDED FOR HERSELF. THERE WAS HARDLY ANY MONEY FOR HER THERE AND SHE BUILT UP THE SCHOOL AND SO ON. I THINK MAYBE, WE GOT THAT THROUGH OUR MOTHER. WE'RE KIND OF TOUGH. AND, YOU HAVE TO, BUT YOU CAN'T GET TOO TOUGH. THERE'S A LIMIT THERE. I MEAN, TOUGH AND TOUGH TO SURVIVE. BUT, YOU HAVE TO BE SOFT SOMEWHERE ELSE. I WORKED WITH SENIOR PROGRAMS AND I GO INTO THE HOMES WHERE THEY ARE SHUT-IN AND I JUST FINISHED THE HANNAKAH, DOING THINGS. I LIKE TO DO NICE THINGS. I DON'T WANT TO SIT HERE AND STEW SO, IF I WRITE IT, IT'S OUT AND DONE WITH. THEN, IT CAN BE PASSED ON. I THINK IT NEEDS TO. MY TEENAGE YEARS ARE NOW. I'LL TELL YOU VERY FRANKLY, I LIVE THROUGH MY TEEN-AGE YEARS NOW BECAUSE I ENJOY LIFE IMMENSELY, BE-

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Q. WAS THAT RECENTLY?

A. YES, LAST WINTER,

Q. WHAT DID SHE TELL YOU?

CAUSE BEFORE THAT, I DIDN'T HAVE A CHANCE.

Q. YOU DIDN'T HAVE A YOUTH?

A. NO, I DIDN'T. SEE, MY SISTER WAS YOUNGER. AND, SHE HAD A BALL IN THE ARMY. SHE WAS VERY GOOD LOOKING AND SHE HAD ALL THE OTHER MEN AROUND HER. SHE WAS ABLE TO. THOUGH, SHE ENDED UP WITH A TERRIBLE STOMACH ACHE SITUATION. AFTER SHE OPENED UP DACHAU SHE COULDN'T SLEEP SO, SHE HAD THE LIGHT ON ALL NIGHT. AND, EVEN WHEN SHE CAME TO US SHE HAD THIS LIGHT SITUATION. AND, THEN, FINALLY SOME YEARS AGO, SHE GOT TERRIBLE STOMACH ACHES AND THEY FINALLY MADE EXPLORATORY OPERATION AND THERE WAS NOTHING WRONG. AND, SINCE THEN, IT STOPPED.

SO, WHEN SHE TOLD ME HER STORY -- ONE DAY, GOD, WE WENT TO A MOVIE AND IT WAS A REAL RAINY DAY AND THERE WAS A COFFEE SHOP NEARBY, IT WAS REAL GLOOMY. I FINALLY SAID TO HER, I SAID "VANATTI, TELL ME ONCE, AND I WILL NOT EVER ASK YOU AGAIN. WHAT HAPPENED IN DACHAU?" SO, I TOOK ALL THE PAPER NAPKINS FROM ALL THE PLACES BECAUSE I DIDN'T KNOW WHERE TO WRITE. SHE SAID "YOU PROMISE ME NOT TO ASK ME AGAIN?"

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A. WELL, I CAN READ IT TO YOU, IT'S SO SHORT, IF YOU WANT.

Q. IT MUST BE HORRIBLE.

SHE HAD HOPED TO FIND MY MOTHER, SHE SAW THE SKELE-Α. TONS, I MEAN, THEY HAD TO BURY THEM, YOU KNOW. S.S. HAD TO BURY THEM. AND, THE INMATES WERE ALL EUPHORIC. THEY ALL LOOKED ALIKE. THE SUNKEN IN EYES, THE VERY REDDISH CHEEKBONES, OUT. THEY WERE ALL REAL GIGGLY, REAL EUPHORIC FROM THE HUNGER. AND WOMEN, YOU COULDN'T EVEN TELL THE DIFFERENCE IN THE STRIPED OUTFITS THEY HAD ON. AND SHE SAID SHE WAS SUPPOSED TO TRANSLATE THINGS FROM THEM. THEY WERE SO EUPHORIC AND SO GIGGLY, SHE SAID IT WAS IT WAS, TO SEE THIS, AND THE STENCH IN FRIGHTENING. THE CAMP, YOU KNOW, BECAUSE THEY DIDN'T BURY ANY-BODY. IT WAS NOT TO BE BELIEVED. AND, SHE SAID "YOU KNOW, I SAW IN EVERY PERSON THAT WALKED AROUND THERE, MOTHER. AND I THOUGHT, "IS THAT MAYBE MOTHER? OR IS THIS MAYBE MOTHER, OR IS THIS?" AND SHE FINALLY SAID THAT DAY, "I DON'T WANT TO MEET MOTHER", SHE WAS AFRAID, SHE WAS AFRAID. "I DON'T WANT TO MEET HER." SHE DID THE CRAZIEST THING, SHE WENT OUT DANCING WITH THE G.I.'S. SHE WAS TWENTY-SHE SAID "I'M TWENTY-ONE YEARS OLD. ONE YEARS OLD. I HAVE TO DO SOMETHING ELSE." SO, SHE WENT DANCING

TO ME IN CODE, THE FIRST LETTER I RECEIVED IN
ENGLAND THAT "TANTE GERTRUDE, AUNT GERTRUDE WANTED TO SAY GOODBYE TO YOU BUT, SHE WAS SO SORRY
THAT SHE DIDN'T FIND YOU WHEN SHE CAME TO KNOCK
ON THE DOOR. YOU HAD GONE."

- Q. I WONDER WHAT YOUR MOTHER HAD TOLD THEM?
- A. I HAD GONE.
- Q. AND, "TANTE GERTRUDE" WAS "HITLER" IN YOUR CODE, RIGHT?
- A. YES.
- Q. SO, IF YOU HADN'T GOTTEN OUT THAT DAY?
- A. OH, I WAS GOING TO MAUTHAUSEN, I KNEW THAT. I KNOW
 THE PLACE AND EVERYTHING.
- Q. WAS THAT A TRANSIT CAMP?
- A. NO, THAT WAS A PRETTY BAD CAMP, ONE OF THE, NOT THE BETTER ONES, IF THERE IS SUCH A THING. I CAN SHOW IT TO YOU ON THE MAP. I'M TRYING TO BE PRETTY ACCURATE. WHEN I WRITE, SOMETIMES I CAN FICTIONIZE BUT, WHEN IT COMES TO PLACES.
- Q. IS THERE ANYTHING ELSE, ANY OTHER MOMENTS THAT
 YOU THINK REALLY CAPTURE SOMETHING ABOUT THE
 WHOLE BUSINESS FOR YOU?
- A. WELL, I HAD IN MY FAMILY, SOME VERY UNHAPPY
 SITUATIONS HAPPENING TOO. MY FIRST COUSIN AND
 HER CHILD, HER HUSBAND STAYED FOR THE BERLIN JEWS

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COMMUNITY. YOU REMEMBER THAT. THEY REMAINED THERE, HE HAD TO BE STAINED AND TAKEN CARE OF HIS WIFE, A GORGEOUS WOMAN, AND THE TEN YEAR OLD CHILD, MARY ANN, WERE TAKEN ONTO ONE OF THOSE FREIGHT CARS. AND, NEVER GOT ANYWHERE. CARD WAS FOUND, THAT IS 'THE POSTCARD THAT FLIES IN THE WIND', I HAVE MADE A STORY OF THAT. THE CARD WAS WRITTEN BY THE CHILD, THAT "MOMMY AND I ARE ON THIS TRAIN". AND, THE CARD WAS FOUND. NOW, I WOVE A STORY AROUND THIS, LIKE A FAIRY TALE, WHEN THIS CARD FLIES, AND HOW IT CAME BACK. IT CAME TO THE GRANDPARENTS, AND THE OTHER FAMILY WHO WAS HIDDEN IN BELGIUM DURING THE WAR, IN A STABLE, AND, THE RED CROSS, WHEN THEY RETURNED TO BELGIUM AFTER THE WAR WAS OVER, TO BRESLAU, THE RED CROSS BROUGHT THIS TO THEM AND IT SAID THAT THE CARD WAS THROWN OUT OF THE TRAIN, THE TRAINS THAT CARRY JUST ANIMALS.

Q. CATTLE CARS?

A. CATTLE CARS, YES. AND, IT WAS FOUND. AND, YOU KNOW, THOSE TRAINS DIDN'T GO ANYWHERE. THEY WERE LEFT ON A DEAD RAIL. SO, I WROTE A STORY ON THAT. AND, SEE, THIS COUSIN, THEY WERE HIDDEN, IN A TERRIBLE SITUATION IN BRUSSELS, NOT IN BRUSSELS, THEY COULDN'T BE IN BRUSSELS, YOU KNOW.

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SO, THEY WERE IN A STABLE, NEXT TO A PEASANT PLACE. NOBODY COULD SEE THEM.

SO, AT NIGHT, THEY WENT TO COLLECT MUSHROOMS TO EAT. AND, THIS IS A LONG STORY TOO. THE PARENTS GOT ILL WITH PNEUMONIA AND MY COUSIN HAD TO WORK BECAUSE SHE HAD TO MAKE SOME MONEY AND GET SOME FOOD SO, SHE WAS FOLLOWED IN BRUSSELS, AND SHE COLLAPSED.

SHE WAS A THERAPIST AND, SHE WORKED FOR SOME OF THE PEOPLE AND THEY WANTED HER TO STAY WITH THEM. YOU SEE, BRUSSELS WAS A BIT DIFFERENT, THE SITUA-TION, I MEAN, THEY HATED THE GERMANS WHEN THEY CAME IN. SO, SHE GOT A WHOLE NEW CARD IDENTITY, A WHOLE NEW IDENTIFICATION FOR A LOT OF MONEY. AND, SHE WAS ABLE TO WORK WITH SOME PEOPLE BUT, SHE HAD TO LEAVE AT 3:00 IN THE MORNING BECAUSE PEOPLE IN THIS HAMLET, WHERE SHE WAS, WERE NOT ALLOWED -- SHE WOULDN'T WANT THEM TO SEE HER BECAUSE THEY WERE NOT SUPPOSED TO BE THERE. SO, SHE COLLAPSED AND SOMEBODY DID FOLLOW HER, I THINK SOME KIND OF NAZI OFFICIAL OR SOMETHING LIKE THIS, AND SHE COLLAPSED IN FRONT OF THE DOOR OF ONE OF HER PATIENTS AND THEY FOUND HER AND SHE WAS VERY ILL. SHE HAD BLEEDING OF THE KIDNEYS AND THE STOMACH.

WALKED AROUND, SHE WANTED THE LEFT OVER OF THE

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MILK AFTER IT WAS PROCESSED, WHICH IS VERY THIN.

AND, SHE WANTED MONEY FOR THIS. IT WAS VERY

DIFFICULT, IT WAS TERRIBLE. SHE LEARNED TO COOK

ALL KINDS OF THINGS OUT OF NOTHING. SHE MADE

CHEESE OUT OF THIS THIN MILK. SO, IT WAS DIFFI
CULT, VERY DIFFICULT. VERY DIFFICULT.

- Q. IS THERE ANYTHING ELSE THAT YOU WANT TO BE RECORDED?
 - WELL, I'D LIKE TO SAY THAT IT SHOULD NEVER BE FORGOTTEN. I THINK, MORE THAN EVER, IT SHOULD BE OUT BECAUSE PEOPLE TEND TO WANT TO FORGET IT. NOT SO MUCH THE SURVIVORS, THOUGH SOME OF THEM TO, I THINK THEY DON'T WANT TO HEAR ABOUT IT, THEY DON'T WANT TO BE REMINDED OF IT, AND I DON'T BLAME THEM. BUT, I THINK THE WORLD MUST KNOW BECAUSE, AND I CAN TELL YOU WHY I FEEL, MAYBE NOT NAZIS, BUT ANOTHER ORGANIZATION, OR ANOTHER GROUP OF PEOPLE. MAYBE WILL INITIATE SOMETHING LIKE THE NAZIS DID, SOMEDAY. AND, WHAT I HAVE SEEN IN SOME OF THE SCHOOLS ON T.V. TEENAGE BOYS AND GIRLS, THEY WEAR THE SWASTIK AROUND THE NECK, THEY CARVE THEM INTO THE DESKS. IT'S HERO WORSHIPPING AGAIN. AND, YOU NEVER KNOW. I'VE REALLY SEEN THIS, AND IT'S VERY FRIGHTENING. THEY ADDRESS MY WITH 'HEIL HITLER'.
- Q. KIDS DID? IN SCHOOLS THAT YOU SPOKE TO?

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A. YES. NO, I DIDN'T SPEAK THERE, I WORKED THERE.

Q. BECAUSE THEY KNEW YOU WERE JEWISH?

A. YES. BECAUSE I WEAR MOGEN DAVID ON ME. AND, I
ALWAYS WEAR IT. I WEAR IT OUT MOST OF THE TIME.

Q. IT'S BEAUTIFUL.

AND, YOU KNOW, I TALKED TO THE PRINCIPAL. I SAID "I'M SORRY, I'M NOT GOING TO WORK HERE." AND, WHEN I ONCE WORKED, I WORKED ON A STEADY BASIS, THAT WAS WHEN I SUBSTITUTED. BUT, WHEN I WORKED ON A STEADY BASIS, I WORKED IN A SCHOOL AND WHEN I CAME OUT AND HAD YARD DUTY, A HUGE SWASTIK WAS ON A WALL, I MEAN, SIX FEET BIG. I HAD THE YARD DUTY OUT THERE. I GOT SICKER AND SICKER AND SICKER LOOKING AT THE THING. SO, I SAID TO THE JANITOR, I CAN'T WORK UNDER THOSE CONDITIONS. PLEASE CALL THE PAINTERS TO HAVE THIS MOVED AWAY. HE SAID, "WHY DON'T YOU GO HOME INSTEAD?" WELL, I DIDN'T TAKE THAT VERY FAR. I SAW THE PRINCIPAL AND HE SAID "ABSOLUTELY, IT'S GOING TO BE DOWN TOMORROW. YOU DON'T HAVE TO STAY." I TOLD HIM THOSE WERE UNWORKABLE CONDITIONS FOR ME, I CAN'T STAY ON THIS PLAYGROUND THIS WAY. AND, I TOLD HIM AND I GUESS HE HAD IT OUT WITH THE JANITOR. BUT, I MEAN, THOSE ARE THINGS THAT YOU SEE ALL OVER THE PLACE. I MEAN, CASTOR VALLEY HAD THEIR

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YES.

KLU KLUX KLAN RALLY. WALNUT CREEK HAD A NEO NAZI PARTY GOING THERE, AND STUFF LIKE THIS. ASKED US THAT TIME AT THE FEDERATION NOT TO BE NEAR THEM. I WASN'T SO SURE ABOUT THIS. I STAYED AWAY BUT, YOU KNOW, THERE ARE THINGS GOING WE NEVER KNOW. WE CANNOT FORGET. WE HAVE ON. TO BE VOCAL. I MEAN, I'M GOING TO SCHOOLS. PUT MY FOOT IN, I ASKED THEM "WHY DON'T YOU INVITE ME?"

- HIGHSCHOOLS, MAINLY? Q.
- YES, JUNIOR HIGH AND HIGHSCHOOLS. THE OTHERS ARE Α. NOT REALLY THAT NEEDED. I MEAN, I DON'T THINK IT WOULD BE FITTING INTO THAT.
- HOW DO THE KIDS REACT? Q.
- THEY'RE FLABERGASTED. THEY READ THE DIARY OF ANN Α. FRANKS, AND THAT'S -- HAVE YOU EVER LOOKED IN THE TEXTBOOKS ABOUT HOW MUCH IS WRITTEN IN THE JUNIOR HIGHSCHOOL?
- Q. HARDLY ANYTHING?
- HARDLY ANYTHING, YES. A FEW LINES. I FEEL VERY Α. STRONGLY. IF I GO INTO COLORADO, FOR INSTANCE, TO THIS SCHOOL WHICH IS A PREP HIGHSCHOOL.
- THE ONE WHERE YOUR GRANDDAUGHTER IS? Q.
- ROCKY MOUNTAIN HIGHSCHOOL? Q.

A. YES, COLORADO ROCKY MOUNTAIN HIGHSCHOOL. THIS

TIME, I WILL BE THERE FOR A WHOLE WEEK. AND, I

WILL ROAM AROUND ON THE CAMPUS SO THEY CAN COME

AND TALK TO ME.

- Q. IT WILL BE LIKE A SCHOLAR IN RESIDENCE?
- A. YES, SCHOLAR IN RESIDENCE, YES. I KNOW ONCE, I SPOKE AT WILBURN HERE, THE JUNIOR HIGHSCHOOL.

 JUST BECAUSE MY GRANDDAUGHTER WAS IN THIS CLASS.

 AND, THEY ASKED QUESTIONS. THEY HAD NO IDEA, I MEAN, NO IDEA. AND, HIGHSCHOOLS DON'T NEITHER.

 THEY REALLY DON'T.

MY WRITING GROUP WHO I MEAN, NOT THE JEWISH
PEOPLE, AND I WONDER SOMETIMES ABOUT THAT. BUT,
THE OTHERS HAD NO IDEA, NO IDEA. AND, THERE WERE
SOME TEACHERS, AT LEAST FIVE TEACHERS IN THERE.
NO IDEA. COULDN'T BELIEVE THAT THIS HAPPENED.

- Q. THEY HAD NEVER EVEN KNOWN ABOUT CONCENTRATION CAMPS?
- A. OH, YES.
- Q. BUT, THE EXTENT OF THE ATROCITY?
- A. WHAT HAPPENS REALLY TO PEOPLE. TO EACH OF US
 SOMETHING ELSE HAPPENED. THERE WERE A VERY FEW OF
 US THAT CAME OUT WITHOUT SCARS.

I HAVE MET PEOPLE WHO HAVE ERASED THEIR NUMBERS,
HAVE HAD SURGERY TO GET RID OF THEIR NUMBER. I
FEEL VERY GUILTY THAT I DON'T HAVE A NUMBER. DO

YOU KNOW THAT? I REALLY DO. IT'S JUST A STRANGE THING. YOU THINK, YOU MUST BE OUT OF YOUR MIND, YOU KNOW. BUT, I FEEL I SHOULD HAVE A NUMBER. I KNOW THAT I HAVE BEEN WITH PEOPLE WHO HAVE HAD NUMBERS. AND, I KNOW THAT SOME OF THEM HAVE BEEN SURGICALLY REMOVED. IN FACT, I WROTE A POEM ABOUT SOMETHING LIKE THAT. AND, I WONDER SOMETIMES. IT'S A BADGE OF COURAGE.

BUT, ON THE OTHER SENSE, IF THEY WANT IT REMOVED, THEY SHOULD HAVE IT REMOVED. I KNOW PEOPLE, I'VE BEEN AROUND WITH SOME OF THE PEOPLE. I GET AROUND WITH A LOT OF PEOPLE, I KNOW THAT HAVE GONE THROUGH MURDER BUT, THEY WOULDN'T TALK ABOUT IT.

THIS LADY THAT I KNOW HERE WAS EIGHTY-TWO, THREE YEARS OLD, HAS GONE THROUGH MURDER. I HAVE WRITTEN A LITTLE STORY ON SOMETHING ABOUT THIS. NOW, SHE TALKS AND PEOPLE WALK AWAY FROM HER. THEY DON'T WANT TO HEAR HER. SHE CONTINUOUSLY TALKS ABOUT THIS. AND I SAY SHE NEEDS TO TALK ABOUT THIS. THIS IS VERY IMPORTANT. YOU SHOULD KNOW ALL THAT YOU CAN DO. I MEAN, YOU HAVE TO KNOW ABOUT THIS BECAUSE YOU KNOW, ONE DAY, THAT MIGHT JUST RETURN. BECAUSE, WE ALWAYS SAID "AH, THIS WILL NEVER HAPPEN". AND, WE WAITED AND WE WAITED

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AND WE WAITED, AND IT HAPPENED. I WOULDN'T TRUST
A GOVERNMENT ANYMORE. JUST ONE LUNATIC CAN TURN
THE WHOLE GOVERNMENT.

- Q. WHAT DO YOU THINK OF REAGAN?
- A. I DON'T KNOW, I HAVE NO WAY TO TELL. I DIDN'T VOTE FOR HIM BUT, WHO KNOWS.
- Q. BUT, YOU ARE JUST IN GENERAL MISTRUSTFUL OF GOVERN-MENTS NOW?
- I THINK SO, I THINK SO. I FEEL GOOD IF I'M IN Α. ISRAEL AND ISRAEL HAS A LOT OF PROBLEMS. FEEL VERY GOOD THERE EVEN DURING THE WARS THAT I WAS THERE, I FEEL LIKE I'M WITH MY PEOPLE. ONE OR THE OTHER, IF THEY DIDN'T HAVE PROBLEMS AT THIS TIME, THEY HAD AT THE PROGRAMS. IF IT WASN'T THE PROGRAMS, IT WAS THE OTHER PART. MATTER WHERE, THEY ALL HAD THEIR SHARE. MOST OF THEM, AND, THEY HAVE THE MOST WONDERFUL CHIL-DREN, THEY'RE LOVED AND THEY'RE TAKEN CARE OF. AND FAMILY LIFE IS THEIR LIFE. IT'S IMPORTANT. I MEAN, THERE'S LOTS OF PROBLEMS THERE, MANY PROBLEMS. I'D RATHER BE THERE. I FEEL MORE COMFORTABLE WITH ALL THE MARSHAL GUARDS THERE. I COULD SLEEP THERE VERY WELL.
- Q. DO YOU EVER THINK OF MAKING THAT YOUR HOME?
- A. I'D LIKE TO. ONE OF MY SONS IS THINKING OF MAYBE

GETTING A PLACE THERE IN JERUSALEM. I HAVE TO PROBABLY GO BACK AND FORTH BECAUSE I HAVE GRAND-CHILDREN, YES. SOME OF MY FAMILY IS ALL GONE. YOU CERTAINLY CONCENTRATE ON YOUR GRANDCHILDREN AND YOUR CHILDREN. AND, THAT'S A LONG COMMUTE. I HAD A TERRIBLE EXPERIENCE THIS SUMMER. I HAVE A COUSIN IN BRUSSEL AND SHE INSISTED ON GOING TO MUNICH WITH ME. AND, I SAID ONLY FOR TWO DAYS.

- Q. BRUSSELS SHE LIVES IN?
- A. YES, IN BRUSSELS. SHE HAS A FRIEND THAT IS A

 RESTORER ON SOME -- HE'S NOT JEWISH AND HE'S A

 RESTORER ON SOME OF THE ARTIFACTS AND CHURCHES

 AND CASTLES IN MUNICH. THERE'S NEVERENDING CASTLES THERE.

AND, SHE SAID LET'S GO TO MUNICH. IT'S WONDER-FUL, IT'S GORGEOUS, IT'S MARVELOUS. I SAID, I DON'T REALLY WANT TO GO TO GERMANY, I JUST DON'T WANT TO. I WAS IN FRANCE FOR A FEW DAYS WITH MY COUSIN, WHICH WAS FINE.

THEN, IT TURNED OUT -- AND, I DON'T SEE HER VERY
MUCH BECAUSE SHE WON'T COME HERE. SO, THEN I

SPENT TWO AND A HALF WEEKS IN MUNICH. I WAS
PLUMB OUT OF MY MIND. I WROTE A STORY AND IT'S

CALLED 'THE S TRAIN'. SHE INSISTED UPON ME GOING
TO SEE ALL THE CASTLES. AND, IT'S A BEAUTIFUL

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SURROUNDING. BUT, WHEN THIS 'S TRAIN', IT'S CALLED 'S TRAIN', IT'S A VERY QUICK TRAIN THAT GOES FROM MUNICH OUT TOWARDS THE OUTLINE DIS-TRICTS, THE TRAIN STOPPED AT VARIOUS STATIONS AND I WATCHED FOR THE STATION THAT WE HAD TO GET OUT. AND, ALL OF A SUDDEN THE TRAIN STOPS AND IT SAID DACHAU ON IT. WELL, YOU KNOW, I THOUGHT I WOULD FAINT. I GOT SO HOT AND SO MISERABLE AND SO SICK THAT I JUST SHOOK, AND, SHE HAD FALLEN ASLEEP. SHE'S A BIT OLDER THAN I. I SAID, "WHAT AM I DOING, WHAT AM I DOING HERE?" AND, THEN, THE NEXT STATION WE GOT OUT, AND ALL THE STREETS WERE CALLED DACHAU STREET. DACHAU THIS AND DAC-HAU CANAL, YOU KNOW, ALL THIS KIND OF STUFF. GO TO THE CASTLE AND I SAID "WHY ARE WE HERE, LET'S GO HOME, PLEASE, I CANNOT STAND TO WHY? SEE, I CAN SMELL THE CAMP." I SAID "THIS IS THE CAMP MY SISTER OPENED". SEE, DACHAU ITSELF HAS A CASTLE, ALSO. AND IT'S A BEAUTIFUL AREA. BUT, I SAID "I JUST CAN'T".

AND SO, WHEN I FINALLY CAME HOME, I WASN'T HERE

ONE DAY AND I WROTE ABOUT IT BECAUSE I HAD TO GET

IT OUT OF MY SYSTEM. SHE TOOK ALONG BREAD TO

FEED THE SWANS AND DUCKS AND I SAID "YOU KNOW,

NOT FAR FROM HERE THERE USE TO BE PEOPLE STARVING

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TO DEATH, IN THE MIDST OF DACHAU". SO, I WROTE A DEAL ON THIS. SHE NEVER SAW IT. I'M AFRAID THIS WAS THE LAST TIME I WOULD SEE HER.

- Q. SHE WAS A CHRISTIAN?
- NO, SHE WAS A JEW AND SHE DOES A LOT FOR ISRAEL. Α. SHE LEFT A WHOLE APARTMENT TO THE JNF. NO. BUT, IT'S FUNNY, NOW, SHE WAS IN BRUSSELS AND SHE WAS THERE. NOW, SHE SAW IT FROM A DIFFERENT ANGLE AND IT MIGHT BE AN AGE SITUATION ALREADY. I HAVE THAT FEELING AND I FIGURED WELL -- AND, I WAS NEVER SO GLAD. I TOOK THE TRAIN BACK TO PARIS BECAUSE I LEFT FROM PARIS AND I WAS NEVER SO GLAD TO SEE -- WE WENT THROUGH STRASBOURG TO SEE FRIENDS. I WAS NOT COMFORTABLE, I WAS SO MISER-ABLE THAT YOU WOULDN'T BELIEVE IT. I WAS ALMOST IT WAS A TERRIBLE SITUATION, I DON'T KNOW SICK. WHY I DID THIS. I DON'T KNOW WHY I STAYED TWO AND A HALF WEEKS, I DON'T KNOW. BECAUSE SHE JUST BEGGED AND BEGGED ME. BUT, NEVER AGAIN. VERY HARD TO GET BACK. I WEAR THIS THING OUT ALL THE TIME.
- Q. YOUR MOGEN DAVID?
- A. YES, ALL THE TIME, RIGHT THERE, OUT OF FEAR THEY
 WILL SAY SOMETHING TO ME. IT'S SORT OF LIKE A
 SHIELD. AND, SOMEBODY SAID TO ME "OH, YOU SPEAK

VERY WONDERFUL GERMAN". AND I SAID, "WELL, I WAS ONCE A GERMAN. THEY DIDN'T ALLOW ME TO BE ONE. I ALWAYS HAD TO PUT SOMETHING IN IT." AND THEN, I FELT MISERABLE. I MEAN, I JUST COULDN'T SAY ANYTHING AND I BECAME NOT VERY CIVIL. IT'S NOT SO BAD NOW, IT IS WONDERFUL NOW, LOOK AT GERMANY, YOU KNOW, THEY'RE DOING, VERY WELL, GERMANY. THAT'S ANOTHER THING, THEY'RE WAY UP, WAY UP. THE MONEY THAT'S SPENT THERE, THE STORES, I MEAN, IT'S INCREDIBLE.

AND HERE, I WAS IN THE SHADOW OF DACHAU AND A FEW OTHER PLACES, YOU KNOW. MY SISTER SAID THAT BEFORE THEY BURIED THE PEOPLE IN DACHAU, BEFORE THEY DID THAT, THEY INSISTED ON ALL OF THE TOWN OF HAMLET, OF DACHAU, THEY PULLED THEM ALL IN. CHILDREN, BABIES, EVERYTHING, TO GO BY ALL THE MOUNTAINS OF SKELETONS AND THE STINK AND THE SMELL. BECAUSE, THEY SAID THEY DIDN'T KNOW THAT THERE WAS SUCH A THING IN THE BACK OF THEIR PLACES. SHE SAID, WE'LL SHOW YOU, WE'LL SHOW YOU. AND, VANITTI SAID IT WAS REALLY SOMETHING. SHE SAID, YOU COME AND SEE. SO, THEY TOOK THEM IN. EVERYONE OF THEM, THEY ROUNDED UP EVERYBODY.

- Q. THE AMERICAN SOLDIERS DID THAT?
- A. YES. BECAUSE THEY TOLD THEM "WE DIDN'T KNOW

THERE WAS SUCH A THING." HE SAID "WELL, WELL, WE'LL LET YOU KNOW, SO NOW YOU'LL KNOW." THEY DIDN'T SEE THE SMOKE? MY SISTER SAID IT WAS INCREDIBLE. SHE STILL WON'T TALK ABOUT IT AT ALL, NOT AT ALL, UNLESS SOMEBODY REALLY ASKS HER. IT'S A HEAVY TRIP.

- Q. SO, YOU'RE GOING TO READ A POEM NOW, THAT YOU'VE WRITTEN ABOUT?
- A. IT'S A PROSE. IT'S CALLED "THE LULLABYE".

A SHARP KNOCK ON THE DOOR, VOICES,

NOT AGAIN, TURN OFF THE LIGHT, RUN UP THE STAIRS INTO THE ATTIC. HURRY, HIDE UNDER THE OLD DESK."

"WHY?"

"THEY'RE HERE AGAIN!"

"WHO ARE THEY?"

"MEN IN BROWN SHIRTS AND TALL BOOTS ON THEIR FEET."

"WHY DO THEY COME SO OFTEN?"

TO DESTROY US. TO TAKE US TO FARAWAY PLACES
AND LEAVE US THERE."

"WHAT DID WE DO?"

"THEY SAY WE KILLED THEIR GOD, RUINED THEIR ECONOMY, STEAL, CHEAT, AND HAVE EVIL FACES."

"IS THIS TRUE?"

"HUSH."

ANOTHER KNOCK. THEIR BOOTS ARE ON THE STEPS. VOICES, COMMANDS, LAUGHTER.

"WHEN MUST WE LEAVE?" "SHA, SHA, BE STILL

MY PRECIOUS CHILD. CLOSE YOUR EYES. SLEEP

WILL GENTLY ROCK YOU IN THE CRADLE FILLED WITH

DREAMS. THE MICE AND RATS WILL SING AND NIBBLE

ON YOUR TOES."

THEY CAME AGAIN AND AGAIN, KNOCKING, SCREAMING, LAUGHING. FANATICS, MONSTERS. AND, THEY TOOK HER AND THE PRECIOUS CHILD. THE MICE AND RATS STAYED.

THEY LIVED HAPPILY EVER AFTER.

I REMEMBER OUR ATTIC, THAT'S WHY THIS CAME TO ME.

MY MOTHER HID STUFF IN THE ATTIC AND STUFF, YOU

KNOW.

- Q. I LIKE THAT THAT YOU SAID. "IS IT TRUE?" BECAUSE YOU WONDERED, IN A WAY WHETHER IT WAS TRUE.
 WHEN ALL OF THAT WAS HAPPENING, YOU THOUGHT "MAYBE I AM A BAD, DIRTY JEW, IF THEY SAY SO FORCEFULLY THAT I AM."
- A. YES, AFTER YOU HEAR THIS, AFTER IT'S DRUMMED INTO
 YOU, THEN, YOU WONDER IF YOUR NOSE IS THAT

CROOKED AND IF YOU HAVE SUCH EVIL MOUTH, AND YOUR EYES DON'T GET TOGETHER AND A HORRIBLE LAUGHING FACE. I CAN SEE THE PICTURES OF THIS STURMER BUILDING EVERYDAY, ANOTHER ONE AT THE NEWSPAPER, FULL OF IT.

- Q. YOU CAN STILL SEE THOSE?
- A. OH YES, I CAN STILL SEE THOSE, YES. AND, I SAW
 HITLER, MYSELF. AND, WHEN THEY CAME BY, THEY
 PLAYED THEIR WONDERFUL SONG "WHEN THE JEWISH
 BLOOD SPURTS OFF THE KNIFE, THEN THINGS WILL GO
 MUCH BETTER". THIS WAS IT. I WROTE A STORY
 ABOUT WHEN HE CAME TO TOWN AND I HAD TO SEE HIM.
 AT THE MOMENT, WHEN THEY MARCHED BY, THE MELODY GOES
 LA-NA-DEN, DA DA DA DA DEE (HUM). I REMEMBER THAT
 SONG. CAN YOU IMAGINE? YOU'RE DEVASTATED. YOU
 THINK YOU MUST BE IN THE GUTTER.
- Q. SOMEHOW, PART OF YOU DIDN'T THINK THAT? SOMEHOW PART OF YOU WANTED TO KNOW WHY?
- A. NO, BECAUSE WE HAD A LOT OF COMMUNICATION. OUR MOTHER AND THE PEOPLE THAT WENT IN AND OUT OF THE HOME. THERE WAS A LOT OF TALKING. WE WEREN'T ALONE. THIS IS THE WORST, YOU SEE. WE ALWAYS HAD SOME PEOPLE AROUND US SO WE COULD TALK OUT. SO, WE HAD TO WATCH WHERE WE TALKED.
- Q. IS THERE ANYTHING ELSE IN THERE? (INDICATING MATER-

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IALS)

A. THIS IS ABOUT THE NUMBERS ON YOUR ARM, WHEN I SAID
THAT I WISHED I HAD ONE.

SOMEBODY ASKED ME "DO YOU HAVE A NUMBER?"

"NO, I DON'T FEEL HAPPY ABOUT THAT. I SHOULD

HAVE HAD ONE ON MY WRIST. INSTEAD, I CARRY

THE TATTOO IN MY HEART.

MY FRIEND WAS A NUMBER 1921, ETERNALLY ETCHED INTO A FOREARM."

AND, THAT'S JUST ONE STANZA. I DON'T DO ANY
RHYMING. I WANTED TO WRITE ABOUT A VERY GOOD FRIEND
OF MINE BUT, SHE NEVER WOULD TELL THE WHOLE STORY
NEITHER.

LET'S TAKE A BREAK.