

(p): pause of 2-3 seconds

(P): pause of 4-5 seconds

(LP): long pause of 6-7 seconds

(VLP): very long pause or silence of more than 7 seconds

... indicates voice trails off

Items in italics are words that were emphasized in speech

Items underlined are words that were very strongly emphasized in speech

\\ indicates a slowing of pace or a lowering pitch of voice

// indicates a louder pitch or more animated voice tone

(I:) refers to the Interviewer

[] indicates side comments usually indicating emotional overtones or activities, such as [laughs] or [cries]; also used to indicate tone of voice, such as [angrily] or [in monotone].

(Angrosino 2002:51)

[Laughing]

(I: Nineteen seventy... one)

Oh

(I: Long time)

Been out of here a long time and have you been at Acadia all this time?

(I: No. Since two thousand and eight)

[Louder] Oh

(I: Okay so...)

And in between?

(I:[laughing] ugh long story. Let's [incoherent] start

[Laughing] I'm not doing the interview

(I: and then you can interview me [more than one person laughing]

(I2: Good try)

(I: So Greta Nemerall (**spelling of last name?**)

[Interrupting] Rita

(I: [Louder] Rita, Rita **Nemerall** Hoff (p) Hoff)

Hoffman-**Nemerall**

(I: Hoffman-Nemerall. Thank you for agreeing to interview, I'm particularly interested in interviewing you as more of a witness (p) to when the survivors came to Montreal. You contacted me (P) uh, after the article saying that (p) uh you worked in the (p) **Giass (sp @ 51. sec)** clothing room or you volunteered there

I was volunteered by my mother [laughing]

(I: by your mother)

I was ten years old

(I: You were ten?)

//Well the thing was that um, my mother and two other... I mean the, the whole Holocaust is part of my life although my parents are from Vienna (p) we're from Vienna. They came here in nineteen-thirty

(I: Before the war?)

Yes and I was born here and they didn't- they came here sort of as economic immigrants, my father was a chemical engineer and you know there was very little going on in Vienna at the time and and in Austria after the first world war really. (p) And then we had

relatives here already (p) And uh so the uh [clears throat] the Holocaust I mean is most of my lived memory is a memory of the war uh (p) because I was born at the end of nineteen-thirty-seven (P) And uh (p) my father tried to get his entire family out of Austria uh to Canada- could not get one. **He was of one of the none is too many Jews (She speaks very low here- please confirm @ 1.43)** and he didn't get anyone out. Uh he got them out to the States and to Australia and to England but no one to Canada

(I2: And what was his name?)

Ernest Hoffman (P) and uh (p) so it's from my earliest memories really you know, the talk or when my parents would lapse in German- which I of course understood perfectly well but they would go into another room and you felt (p) you certainly felt their worries and uh \\\you know the- there were lists that would come out and then boats would come in and then...

(I: And what year was this?)

//I guess I mean I was born at the beginning of thirty-eight, I mean I uh I guess my memory(p) really starts probably around forty-one (p) And I think in nineteen-forty-two it- I was very little, my father was sitting in the living room- we lived in **NDG (confirm @ 2:32)** and my mother said go and um- he was sitting in his usual chair smoking and she said go and um, go and, go and give daddy a kiss, his mummy died (p) and I did go and I remember I had my chest against his and uh and I gave him a kiss and I felt he wasn't sad enough (P) he didn't seem all that sad and I couldn't understand this but years later uh he died when I was nineteen but it was really quite shortly before he died I asked him about it, and he said well you know his mother died in her own bed (P) so he was relieved. You know she was eighty-four and uh (p) you know he (p) so and I could feel that

(I: And where was she- in Vienna still?)

In Vienna

(I: So the- it wasn't occupied by the-)

Well, no, the the annexation or the **(German word, please confirm 3:23)** as it's called took place in thirty-eight

(I: Yeah)

In March of thirty-eight, but the final solution really came through in forty-two. But they were already getting rid of old Jewish people but I think he- she managed, I mean she was still alive, she was still living in her apartment. // There is some thought that she might have starved to death, we don't know (P) \\\but she was at home and I think he was just relieved that she wasn't murdered by someone

(I: So-)

[Interrupting] One of his sisters did die in Auschwitz

(I: So you did know about the war)

Oh yes

(I: Very much so)

Well yeah because every night we'd listen to the six o'clock BBC news, we had one of these radios that looked like a cathedral you know. And my parents would gather there and of course my- // I don't remember about my sister, she's older than I but I certainly would hang out there- and I was terrified because you know they saw U-boats in the St. Lawrence river (p) uh they actually saw them and I and I I knew that the U-boats meant they were German and this was not good news and uh [clears throat] and uh in fact I

mean the story is that when D-Day, when the end of the war came, my mother came to the sandbox in the garden where I was playing and she told me the war was over and I said oh good- we won't go to a concentration camp (P) and she had no idea that I even knew such things existed and she said well, you know why would we go? Well if Hitler came here, we would be put in a concentration camp and she said uh there are no concentration camps in Canada, which wasn't true- there were actually for **interned (please confirm @4:51)** people and so you know why would we – and I said yes but they could make one in **Saint Sevey (confirm @ 4.57)** (p) cause we used to go to Morin Heights and through **Saint Sevey** you passed the **Presebtaire (confirm 5:03)** and there was a big chain-linked field and this is where I thought would be a good place (p) So I had some concept and then my mother said well you know how would they find us- [laughing] she was intrigued you know- how would they find us. Well Mr. Wallace would tell them...

(I: And who was Mr. Wallace?)

He was our neighbour, and she said well why would he and I said well we have a much nicer garden and \so then he could take down the fence and he could have both gardens. //So in some very primitive way I had a concept you know of the kind of horrible things people do to each other

(I: Were they irrational?)

Well no it's very rational to enlarge your garden by a hundred percent [laughing]

(I: No no no, I mean but you know it takes that type of...)

Yeah and so I seemed to, //and I mean and I I and we always had we had refugees staying with us all the time I mean uh, \my parents would really be very older and it was fairly large house and they would be open to having people stay with us and refugees were wonderful to me (p) none of them seemed to have children and so they would, they would spoil me and my sister and tell us stories and take us for walks, so they are a very *warm* memory to me of the war. But I remember my mother told me that they once went down to the harbour because they saw that somebody- a couple who had the same names as a cousin of my fa-father's, his wife , I forget their names were on the boat. So you go down to the harbour and-

(I: [interrupting] //when was this?)

This was sometime in the forties, before the end of the war

(I: Before the end of the war)

Oh yeah, yeah yeah this was still during the war and you tell the **personer/prisoner?(confirm 6:32)** on the boat but they keep the boat- the people on the boat for a long time because they were looking for spies you see. And so they got a hold of a person and they said you know you tell these people that- because they'd get the lists you see the manifest- uh would you tell them their cousins are waiting for them. So uh hours and hours later the **personer (please confirm 6:52)** arrived with this couple who they didn't recognize, so it was other people with the same name (p) and uh Fleischman was the name Oska Fleischman and my uh...

(I: So they escaped before- in the middle of the war?)

People would go through France

[Speaking together] And then through Spain and Portugal and

(I: New York...)

Yeah

(I: So those were the people who were-

So yes

(I: who stayed at your place)

\\And so they they came and uh and my mother- and they- when they saw it wasn't their cousins they looked heartbroken and my mother said well you'll come anyway \\ and so they came and stayed with us...

(I: So Greta a number of people have said they just didn't know (p) they just didn't know what was going on)

Well I don't think that's the case with my family

(I: But why do you think so many people didn't know? //Some people said absolutely they- some people said they kind of knew, some people said they just didn't know)

I don't think people- I I don't- I don't doubt- I mean I don't really know but I doubt very much my parents knew all the details but they certainly knew about deportations, and they knew about disappearances and they knew that there were concentration camps because //even uh you know (p) when you read people like um Bruno Bettelheim, the psychoanalyst or uh he was in Buchenwald and he got out before the war started and he made his way to the States so there seems to have been- there seems- and then Hermann Leopoldi who I just read about in- he was a Viennese Jewish Cabaret artist and I saw him when I was a child- he came to my creole (Confirm 8:22). And I always wondered about him and I was in the Jewish public library a few weeks ago- there was a biography of him (P)

(I2: Who is this?)

Hermann Leopoldi, Herman with two N's Leopoldi L-E-O-P-O-L-D-I, and he wrote very funny songs in the Viennese dialect, which of course I knew because my parents spoke it (p) and uh he uh he also got out of Buchenwald, he spent about six or seven months there but he got out, because at that time it was a forced labour camp, they didn't have the final solution. You know if they could kill off people they did but they didn't have it as organized. (p) So you know most people did come and did say what was going on, they- they were not uh so I don't I don't really know about that but I certainly know that [chuckles] I was conscious of it as a child and very very frightened, and I think one of the things that frightened me was that my father was constantly going back and forth to Ottawa, to see if he could get his family in and his family I mean, Canada needed doctors and his sister was a doctor (p) \\ but not that kind of a doctor. So she-he finally got her and another sister to New York and she ended up in Syracuse New York having a very good practice. So I-I can remember the-the feelings and I don't think I knew all of the intricacies at the age of five or six of you know of what happened but I knew he was terribly devastated and disappointed and he come home from Ottawa and he hadn't had any luck and he had spoken to people who treated him rudely (p) Uh and so I---

(I: [interrupting] these were civil servants?)

Yes. So my feeling was you know I think, can he protect me? (P) You I don't I don't know if I thought that but I think I might've. But the clothing room was another thing because...

(I: So one second, hold on before we go there)

Yeah

(I: So when do you first remember survivors coming to Montreal?)

Well I- the people I remember must have come when I was four or five years old (p) But I remember-

(I: No one after the war?)

After the war (P) well I think... I remember through the clothing room because, I think it must of taken a while for my mother and these two other women in particular, Mrs. Stone and Mrs. **Marsden, Marsten (Confirm @ 10:37)** to set it up

(I: And your mother was Nem-Nemerall?)

Hoff- my mother was **Irani (confirm @ 10:40)**

(I:Irani)

and Hoffman was my maiden name

(I: Okay)

And uh with my mother uh and these two other women uh somehow I don't know how they negotiated it with the Jewish immigrant date society- which at the time was on **(Word @ 10:56)** in this big old- one of those big old houses... //But they got the top two floors (p) and they had- they decided- they found out they wanted to help the people who came and they found out that many of them didn't have clothes...

(I: So did your mother organize it independently or through a group like Hadasa **(confirm @ 11:16)**)

No no my mother was not a group joiner, my family was in fact completely- never belonged to a synagogue, never observed any Jewish holidays, and my mother had in fact been catholic- had been in the- one of the families Jews are always warned about because uh they had been Jewish in the nineteenth century but they converted to Catholicism in Vienna in order to improve- but it didn't do any good to them (p) \ that's what everyone says // but she hated the- btch my parents were devout Atheists

(I: So she was raised Catholic but she was...)

She was raised- well she went to a Catholic school and I and I don't know if she ever had a First Communion or anything, she had a- she did not like the clergy of denomination, and uh neither did my father. He was Jewish but again from an extremely assimilated family uh that had been in Vienna for a while and uh they didn't have any uh...

(I: But she was considered Jewish by the State or?)

Well the State (P) I don't know about the State I-I don't know to the extent in-in Canada they-they identified...

(I: No not Canada in Austria)

I think she was considered a Catholic

(I: Oh okay so...)

Yeah yeah the family- but it's a strange story I mean my grandfather- there were three brothers, one remained Jewish, one became Protestant, and one became Catholic. So you know go figure. But none of them- none of them followed any religion whatsoever so it uh but she was um she you know she felt pretty strongly about the war and uh she wanted to-she was a do-er \ she was a do-er very **(speaks very low @ 12:47, I couldn't figure out what she said)** she was a ceramicist and uh (p) a character (p) quite a character, and uh so she and- she knew these other- //I don't even know how well she knew these other women but they were German-they were German Jews and they were German speaking and they were- [laughs] they were Jewish they were not like her at all but uh I don't know how they got about setting it up but they did and they had other people who volunteered there. And what they had to do- what they had – well first of all a lot of clothing had been

rationed during the war and one of the big issues was winter clothes (p) because the refugees who came here were not prepared for our winter, and not only that, a lot of them were obese, because **there wasn't it wasn't? @ 13:26** two or three years after the war, they'd been in DP camps, and so had to get coats that'd fit them (p) and so my mother uh would stop obese people on the street – 'do you have- do you happen to have an old winter coat?'

(I: People put on a *lot* of weight very quickly)

Yes and they uh uh and I think they were fed very starchy diets too. So she uh she- so they would get these clothes in and they'd go through them and they'd be sent to cleaners so they would be washed and then they would be set up-but the reason why I was there had nothing to do with-with my ideology which was sort of vague at the age... but I was a terrible brat as a kid- I was quite unmanageable and on thur- we had a maid and on Thursdays were her day off and my sister absolutely refused to babysit me because she wanted to jitterbug with her friends... and so my mother had a-a taxi driver called Mr. Nathan Creechman who just died in his nineties- and he would come to Saint George's school where I went on the mountain and then he'd take me to the clothing room after school, and then once I was there I had to help (p) and so what I would do was I would measure the waists of things and then there were these little tags with pins through them that you wrote the-how many inches and then you'd put the tags through and then you'd turn them. And uh so that's what I did and as I- the people would hang out there a lot uh they'd serve tea and coffee and biscuits and uh (p) the thing with the-with the greeners- with people who came was that they all spoke German, not very well a lot of them but they all spoke it because that's how they would survive in the camps. And so they would tell stories, and they would sit there and tell their stories and I would listen (p) and so I heard a lot

(I: They would tell the stories to each other?)

Yeah and they would compare and they weren't all- and they- and one of the- I always say I learned-one of the things I learnt... very quickly was that suffering doesn't (**Enoble? Check at 5:23**) people and some of them they went and had terrible fights about clothes. My mother kept a meticulous **yekka (check @ 15:30)** list of- of um- of you know **intern (check @ 15:34)** for the coats and people would try to jump the queue and they'd get very angry and they'd say things like 'you should've gone up the chimney.. Hitler should've gotten you'' and so to me that was quite shocking as a child. The most shocking thing were the things that people had suffered and why did- why did people do this to them- I mean it was all so very puzzling to me, uh very very puzzling, and I got to know quite a few of these people because they'd come back (p) And uh..

(I: So there was a quota on the clothing?)

(P) we-in the clothing room?

(I: Yeah)

Well there wasn't a quota but winter coats in particular were- because during the war people had not bought new coats, and so they were-they were not that easy to come by. And so you know my mother and I guess the ladies all together uh decided that they would just you know \\have a list and when a coat came in for a size for someone they would let that person know. And all those houses that I already gentrified on **Espanad (check @ 16.31)** were rooming houses (p) at the time, and so many of these people lived there, sometimes I would be sent to go and tell someone that a winter coat had come, and

uh and then they had difficulty with a **Haseaden (check @ 16:45)** because a **Haseaden** had a-had this notion of kosher coats. So it had to be all one material so they wanted to tear the lining out before they tried it on and\ of course I mean this could completely... //So it was a very dynamic kind of place, a lot of- a lot of (**Jewish word I can't make out @ 17:03**) uh, a lot of screaming and uh...

(I: Were there a lot of- was there mostly women?)

\No there were a lot of men too, (**mumbles @ 17:10**) I don't know if there were- there were some elderly people uh I remember the first baby who was born there in Canada with you know from the- from the clientele, and this was an amazing- the women made this beautiful cradle for- in the clothing room, they were so uh..

(I: Who made -who made it, which women?)

The women- the volunteers, they made it up and they attached lacy stuff, I uh I have uh I can see it in my mind's eye and uh this was of course you- the replacement right, and\ it was very exciting for people... But it was a-it was totally forming of me, I dis- my sister and I are quite different in our view of the world and uh I dis- I discovered only in the last two or three years she never was- never was in the clothing room in her whole life. \ She never set foot into it and I think that that...

(I: Did she have a curiosity about the survivors?)

Herda? (**Name @ 18:05**) I don't know, I think she was um (p) she was a teenager, you know very into her own world uh, I don't really know, but she said you know I never set foot in there and I was really surprised because it was a very very important informative experience for me // and it was very important to my mother and she was eventually honoured at a Jewish event in the community for her work, they did this for years and then these women were all you know sort of bourgeois Jewish **yekka (Jewish word@ 18:40)** women and uh and it was open two nights a week I believe, two. And so-or maybe one night, I don't remember how many nights- but Mr. **Crechman (18:51)** would pick them up and take them- they liked to go out for pink lady drinks after, away from their husbands, they would have a little outing I think it closed at nine and they would go to this establishment called the **Masonette carard (French name @ 19:06)** which was in a brownstone on Peel between (**mumbles two French street names @19:12**) which doesn't exist anymore and uh Mr. **Carard** was gay and this was very titillating to me, he was a Russian and he didn't have a liquor license and they would drink cocktails out of teacups and they just loved the naughtiness of it all, and once or twice I was brought along and I remember that but I think uh you know in retrospect I think it was extremely stressful for them being there, you know they were dealing with people who had just gone through such terrible things and often had to have a lot of patience with people too. Uh (p) uh people would want to hoard, you know and they would say well you know then other people can't get any- we will always get new clothes don't worry about it. // But I think it was very hard and I I think with my mother I was- I never saw her drink anything (laughing) anywhere else ever... So I think there was something just about their going out and afterwards and doing this, it uh, it was quite interesting... // and I used to I mean the clothing room was just some- I didn't question that I had to go there

(I: Was it- it was called the clothing room?)

That's what they called it, was it- Gia's clothing

(I: Yeah no that's what the case files seem to refer to)

Yes that's what they called it

(I: And um, were there line-line-ups to get in?)

Not really (P) no I don't think so

(I2: so you said it was open in the afternoons or..?)

It was open I think in the afternoon- //I think, I don't know when my mother left I mean I was at school and then I would be picked up after school and brought there—

(I2: sure)

And it would probably be open- they would probably be there until six o'clock the day I was there. \And then we'd come home and uh... So they, you know they got I don't know they must have gotten donations and I'm sure they got money from Gia's itself, Um. For the taxi, for Mr. Creechman because uh it was quite far, all these women in NDG (p) and uh, I don't remember what their arrangements were- how they got the clothes delivered, I think people would phone them and then they would send someone to get them or be delivered...

(I: So they would organize the clothes to people if they had extra clothes?)

Yeah and they would you know they- and my mother's I said she would stop people on the street

(I: Aside from coats, were there any problems getting coats or were there..

Coats?

(I:Clothes)

I don't think so, I don't remember them complaining about it at all- but I remember the winter apparel was was hard. And uh children's clothes I didn't think they had much difficulty getting... and sometimes they would actually get new things from manufacturers, they you know they would they would spend a lot of time I think trying to raise, get stuff, raise money, I I often wonder they- I seem to have the dimmest memory, but it might you know just be bad memory, of them also having dishes and pots and pans and things that...

(I: No no there were, you're right. Yeah you're absolutely right there were, but if they needed anything new like boots, right, they would be they would get requisitions to Eaton's right...)

Yes yes

(I: And then they would have to pay back Gia's, yeah

The thing is I don't uh, I know that um well one of the soc- well she's dead but her daughter is still alive- one of the social worker's, Mrs. Kramer uh, who had been in Auschwitz and her daughter Eva became a very good friend of mine and my sister's and uh \Mrs. Kramer was a social worker at Gia's but she's been dead a few years now... but it was um... it was uh... you felt I don't know I felt the (P) I felt the echo, I felt the shadow of the camps on these people, I mean I, I uh (p) I just got a feel about it you know it's not something I can really explain but just being there and hearing them and... you know the the... so much of their lives had been stolen from them and uh they suffered so much and we became very aware of that and uh...

(I: Did you hear them talk about, their experiences in Montreal, how other people treated them, how the...?)

Well they were called greeners and they didn't like that and I always use it sort of with inverted uh...

(I: Yeah)

They didn't like uh, well no- there were various things, for example I remember there was a young woman- now how old she was I don't know I would say she was between eighteen and twenty-three, and she uh she- I became very attached to her, she would come in quite often

(I: Do you remember her name?)

No. And my uh parents I had persuaded them to invite her, and they invited her on a Sunday afternoon and it became very clear that she was hoping they would take her in. And I'm sure she'd lost everybody, she was a- //And I was hoping that they'd take her in but they didn't, and I remember having a conversation with my father and accusing him, I must have been ten years old and how could you not? And he said well why her and why not the other people and \\we- I just can't take that on. But I remember that very clearly being very disappointed uh that he didn't or that they didn't (P) but um I can remember, I mean on thing that I remember that made a huge impression was that there was one man there that was young, probably uh early, maybe late teens and he described- it was as story one has certainly read of as well- he was from Poland and um their village- uh you know they were all lined up and they had to dig out their own graves and they had to stand around it and they shot and he fell in but he wasn't shot but his dead family fell on top of him, and he was about eleven or twelve years old at the time and uh he knew that he should not move- he was afraid that they'd start throwing uh, uh the earth over them but they didn't they- it was the end of the day so they left to come back the next day and he just stayed there very quietly under his dead family and then he went and he found the partisans and he joined them. And uh but it was like to me, as a child, the most horrendous kind of story you know and uh... \\ it uh... so you know and so in many cases I mean I didn't have anything that could resemble a political analysis of things you know but it was, it was just like a sheer (P) like tidal waves of sheer suffering

(I: And so coming here, the reception here by- like you said they didn't like being called greeners)

No and I remember I mean I- I started McGill in nineteen fifty-four and there were still you know, people who had been children immigrants and uh \\ they were not nicely treated by the Jewish community necessarily

(I: How so?)

Well they were greeners, they were- I can remember girls who had boyfriends and the parents disapproved entirely, you know where will they go you know get a nice Canadian Jewish boy, it's just as easy to fall in love with them. And I think they felt very marginalized, so even when I was older and I began to uh as a teenager and uh I think that kind of stigma stayed for quite a while with people

(I: So why-why did the Jewish Canadians have this stigmatizing?)

(P) Well (p) they're the other... the other, you know these were people who ... well first of all its hard I mean, there were various levels of Jewish community in Montreal right, there were people who had been here a long time who had- I mean you had the Hearts who had came in the eighteenth century right they were in three rivers, but then you sort of had uh some people who belonged to the (Can't make out @ 26:45) synagogue and the Temple of manuel they were west mound, west end Jews. And they were usually quite well off (P) a- then there were the Jews around (Can't make out @26.56) area around St. Lawrence boulevard and in fact the first year I went to West Hill High school which was nineteen fifty-two, was when Snowen(check @27.06) that whole area was very very

Jewish and all these kids who had gone would have gone to **Barringbing high school (@26.13)** ended up in West Hill high school and I can remem- and they were all- they were mainly working class families you know because uh... the mortgages were you know, they were central housing and mortgages were made favourable-mortgages, they built these uh five and a half room duplexes, an there were blocks of them... // and so I mean for those families it was you know- it was very nice for them to move there and- and uh they uh they moved there and when they came to West Hill, first of all there were the old time (**can't make out @ 27:44**) Jews who resented them and then the teachers (p) I mean they would say things that were- and I came from St. Georges school so I was completely out of everything I mean I wasn't in any of these-these particular cliques, but I remember a Miss Graham we had teaching and she would say 'there is certainly a new element here' she said... so you know when you're faced with anti-Semitism I think when you're discriminated, I think there is a tendency to laterally discriminate. So people whose families had come here in the twenties or you know had escaped the (**Can't make out @28.22**) from nineteen hundred to nineteen twenty or the Russian Revolution or the- the various events that certainly didn't work towards the favour of Jews. When they came here and they-they came here and they worked very hard and often worked in factories (**she mumbles here, I can't make it out @ 28.35**), But they'd established themselves a little bit so I think these- I mean in retrospect I mean I think that the greeners, were a threat to them you know it's sort of reflected on them, these people who were uh who could have been like them but couldn't anymore because they'd gone through this, and I think that there was- there was discrimination I mean I uh- you know it's a typical discrimination though that you see in the Jewish community, you know that they would certainly help them (p) you know with the clothing room or with **Gias (confirm @ 29.08)** or with something but on the other hand...

(I: Not in my backyard)

Yes, Yup. And I think that there was uh definitely that thing and of course the... //And eventually because I started teaching at Concordia which was in Saint George's University in nineteen (p) sixty-four... and there was still you know quite a few people of that generation who had missed out on schooling who- who came to university and their stories were still incredible

(I: Yeah no a lot of people we interviewed said they went back to university finally, they had settled they had made it they'd made money they were able to go back and upgrade it)

And it was enormous, and some of them didn't make a lot of money but they still came and uh in fact in the eighties I taught an uh-uh an adult course at (**Name of college @ 29:58**) it was in the North of Montreal and they had a program for elderly people and there were three of four //couples who were survivors and you know they had never been able to go beyond the sixth or seventh grade and you know they were delighted to- they were delighted to read Shakespeare, it meant something so much to them a kind of arrival you know... and they were marvelous to teach (p) and uh (p) so you know I mean I think that when you arrived and I came from a completely atypical family, I mean they came in nineteen thirty, they were sort of bourgeois a- you know intellectuals, it was very rare in the Jewish community at the time

(I: So were you raised like culturally Jewish or secularly?)

I always say that there is a special room in Jewish heaven for people like me, and in Jewish hell (Man chuckling in background) uh because no I never- I mean we were never told we were anything but Jewish and certainly you know...

(I: Okay)

But we-we did nothing, there is not one Jewish holiday we ever...

(I: But you were told you were Jewish?)

Yeah, yeah

(I: Not half Jewish, Jewish)

Yeah, my mother converted

(I: To Judaism?)

Yes under- now my father didn't ever ask her to convert and she was still engaged and uh he picked her up at work one day in Vienna and she said you'll never guess what I did today, and he didn't (laughing) she had converted, and when I asked her I said why you know daddy doesn't believe, you don't believe, why did you bother converting? She said, for the children that we would have, and I said but you know we celebrate Christmas, we don't celebrate Jewish holidays so why... rationality was not in the picture at all

(I: How would they feel if you were or your sister dated an immigrant? Would it- would it bother them?)

My sister did, my sister did for some years, I think their objection to him was that he was a lot older than her and they didn't like this, I think it was the age more and he was a communist, so these were two things that would not enchant my father, they didn't do anything to stop it, but uh they were-they were not happy

(I: So your sister was political or not?)

No no, he was very handsome (p) (laughing) my sister is uh started McGill at the age of sixteen or fifteen I mean she was-she... and uh so you know that was when all these guys were coming back from war

(I: Mhmm)

So there were a lot of older guys around and uh no they didn't like that, they didn't like it, but I don't think it was because he was an immigrant at all, I think really it was because he was uh (p) well because he was older, she was like sixteen and he was twenty-eight, I thought this was you know... // And also he was communist and when he had discussion with my father they did not end well... (laughing)

(I: (laughing))

(I2: Your Mom's name?)

Was Lisl, L I S L and then Iranyi, I R A N Y I, the family name was originally Israel (VLP) so... (P)

(I: So interesting the Jewish-Canadian (p) community... were interested in helping the survivors from afar

Yeah

(I: Ah through material goods, but not on a personal, you know you keep you know...

Yeah I did I certainly uh my impression and even the way uh the women who worked there you know who volunteered there would talk about these people (p) they were-they were-they were empathic, they were you know, but they-they also had a kind- they were Western European Jews and they had a certain attitude to Eastern European Jews...

(I: Like?)

//Well that they spoke Yiddish, you know and of course they didn't really have any analysis of what Yiddish was and uh they, you know I mean everyone thinks that Yiddish is like German but it isn't, the verbs are like German but the nouns are Hebrew mainly and so I mean I once heard Isaac Bishop the singer speak (laughing) in Yiddish and I could tell what somebody was doing but to who (laughing) and with what and for what reason, I had no uh (Man laughing in background) uh I had no uh no way of understanding, there's a kind of you know there was certainly the um you know the, there was certainly the kind of Western European but that was these particular women you know sort of looking down on the uh on the Eastern European Jews there's no question in my mind about that. // But on the other hand they were very passionate about helping them and tremendous ambivalent and uh... but you know there was a time when there was a numerous (Can't quite catch what she's saying @34:44) at McGill where you couldn't buy a house in Hamstead (@ 34:49) where there were all sorts of reasons- I remember when we were at Saint George's my sister was invited to a birthday party from a kid who was not Jewish and it was going to be at the MAAA, the Montreal Amateur Athletic Association which was closed to Jews, so how could she go? And I don't remember the outcome she- I must have- she must have been about ten or eleven, you know... So it was um, you know I've always said you know and-and when the people I have not liked and who I have felt were discriminatory in Montréal were the Scotts (p) They ran the Protestant school board, they ran McGill, they you know they were very- it wasn't the French-Canadians, they had their own (word at 35:31) and their own troubles, it was the Scotts who ran many of the institutions and you certainly felt this, you felt this when you were at McGill I mean when I was at McGill I started in fifty-four and-and you felt that it was an institution, // What's interesting is that I never felt any gratitude to McGill for anything uh and in nineteen eighty-four eighty-five I think it was the hundredth anniversary that women could go to McGill and they published a book of memoirs and I was asked to contribute to it and uh I certainly contributed to it and I talked about you know how McGill appeared to me and Sarah Pauldelle (Check @ 36.08) who grew up you know was from an Eastern European family and grew up on Esplanade (36:13) and uh then became the head of Jewish schools in Montreal and finally became the Director General of Dawson, and Sarah her- and- and she's probably fifteen years older than I am, and her uh her account was full of gratitude, for these institutions for taking her in for allowing her in and so one, so it's-it's sort of interesting, so those were the two choices you had bite the hand that feeds you or uh-but I mean I always felt that there was-// uh look the-the scholarship book for McGill when I was there, there were most of the scholarships (stumbling over words) I wasn't- I-I wasn't the—available to because they were for white Christian males (P) That's what it said, white Christian males, so and that didn't refer to mean you know..

(I: In any way)

Yeah and I think things that females could get- females would at the point so below (laughing) you know so beneath anything that you didn't even have to be uh

(I: Mhmm)

You didn't even have to be white Christian you if you could- it was interesting but I often wonder what they've done like I- they can't do that anymore so I've often wondered about the legality of how they got around these (p) requests you know that they could- they would have to open them to everybody, // So in a sense also preps what we saw in

the Jewish community was just a reflection, of the kind you know-it-you know of the-the-English establishment in Montreal and why did the Jews come to the English establishment? Because we couldn't go to French schools, we couldn't go because they were catholic, they didn't want non-Catholics and—

(I: That was an issue for a number of the Francophone survivors who came here

That's right

(I: A number of them came here from Paris cause (p) you know they spent a few years in Paris...)

Yes Poland via- Paris right from Poland

(I: And they wanted- they knew French right? They wanted Montreal because it was French and then they come here and...)

It was only in the late fifties and the sixties where Jews started coming from Morocco and Egypt (p) that you know- but even so and there was a very divided community I mean in Montreal there's a Israeli film festival and there's a French Jewish film festival you know and uh and it's a different entourage that goes to those places. And-and uh for a while I was using the gym at the YMHA and it's amazing you know they have these sort of (@ 38:35) Jews and there's the Moroccan Jews who are completely different in their manners and you know they'll uh- I love listening to their conversations of the different uh groups but uh I think it's all so- I think it's all so you know people do take on the values of their oppressors so-so good on you if you find someone to oppress (VLP)

You're hearing the thoughts of a rather cynical person I must say

(I: You-you're experience in the clothing room were the early days of the survivors right, the very early days-

Mmm, very well

(I: So...)

(I2: Can I ask you—)

(I: One second can I finish my sentence?)

(I2: Oh I thought you were done)

(I: No, (man laughs) Um and did you follow any other them, did you hear stories of what happened to them over the next few years?)

Not those people I mean I wouldn't-

(I: Just generally, did you get the sense-)

Well yes I mean in some cases- for example at the time a little later because I was already uh in high school and then in uh university, some of them were Hungarians and they opened coffee houses that no longer exist, the (both interviewer and Greta in unison) Pam Pam Press, the Café, (Just Greta) yeah and the guy from the Pam Pam whenever my mother went in there I mean she'd get a royal thing because he got his first winter coat in Canada from her and uh so you- yes uh certainly uh in that sense I mean I don't remember the individuals but I know that-that my mother oyu know if someone had managed to do-do well, she would be very very thrilled for them, and very excited for them

(I: Mhm)

She-she felt, you know-but I-I remember that when I was at-I mean I'll never forget this story- when I was teaching English at Concordia at St. George's it was- I had a student whose parents had met in a DP camp and had gotten married and uh they came here and the mother worked as a bookkeeper at some kind of clothing factory and the father

worked too, and then the mother gave birth to the first child who was a son and the father took to his bed and he never worked again (P) and they had- subsequently two more and the mother kept it all together, she worked and she cooked and he just gave up...

(I: Because?)

Well the girl would tell me and the girl was pretty messed up- the son, his son, that son was already you know doing all sorts of illegal things and so he was, I don't remember exactly what but he was in trouble with the police and the mother was very upset because the father you know did not take any kind of a leadership role, she couldn't manage him, and then the girl that I taught um worked in the pharmacy and the pharmacist was a married Jewish man and she wrestled him away from his wife and she ended up with him and uh I don't know what happened to her after that, brilliant girl- brilliant brilliant girl, but uh ah fragile, very fragile

(I: So the father had a psychotic break)

Yeah yeah something but it you know but you know- this mother just you know carrying on and there was a third child I don't remember-I think it was a girl... but uh so you know uh you sort of hear- and a very good friend of mine actually, Eva the daughter of **Mrs Cramon (@41:59)** she uh uh she is now eighty-four and she is attached to life by an oxygen tube that she can take around her house and she is in terrible condition but by god you know she says 'I survived Auschwitz I'm going to survive as long as I can' uh she uh certainly had a long term- but she came she became a physiotherapist she would have liked to be a doctor but she had to (**speak so low I can't catch it @ 42:22**) and she married a non-Jew uh French-Canadian and uh they have a son //and a son who is now in his fifties he married uh someone from a uh (p) uh middle-eastern Jewish family and he- they live a kind of Jewish life which is sort of interesting

(I: Mhm)

So uh (p) and Eva, my friend Eva, she's very happy with him and with his life but uh I don't really know I mean there were individuals who I guess my parents-//and my sister had two friends when she was at McGill, she was in Honours Psychology, who were both in Honours Psychology with her and they were definitely um (P) they were definitely and I think they were orphans and they both became doctors and in fact I met one at eh **Shiva (43:14)** of my ex-brother-in-law a couple of years ago he had turned his wives were friends and I said his name I said 'oh are you' and he said yes and he seems to have made a life for himself uh

(I: Do you know his name?)

(P) I can ask my sister, I'm sorry I don't remember

(I: That's okay)

I'm really I'm-I'm, it's disgusted to be seventy-six and not remember things like that, and students I'll say I know the just the book for you and then uuuuugh so I email them later on

(I: Yeah)

(laughing) when it rises to the surface a few hours later

(I: John you were going to say something?)

(I2: I was going to ask I-um, you talked briefly about the times you were in there and the times people would start to-would start to **Covech (44:00)** at times and the **Coveching**)

Coveching

(I2: I'm using that word I don't know- you said it was at times really crude insults)

- Mmm but it was **coveching, coveching** is sort of whining on, but no they'd yell
- (I2: And it would be?)
Raw, very raw
- (I2: Were they yelling at your mom?)
No they were yelling at each other
- (I2: Each other)
Sometimes they yelled at the women but mainly they would-no they would suddenly it was like- like suddenly a little bomb that went of you know something there would be a discussion or people were talking and they would fight but it didn't really happen like that or you think you had it hard let me tell you what I had you know it was more that kind of thing
- (I: A hierarchy of suffering)
Yeah yeah and it was – but it certain- you know you- this it through the ears and eyes fo a child
- (I2: Sure sure)
And (p) it was always very mysterious to me because you-you just, and it wasn't that I didn't live in a family where there- I mean people would fight in my family but it was a completely different kind of fighting (p) you know it-it was um there was a, if I think of it there was a **ronus (45:05)** it's the only way I can explain- these people had *not* recovered you know they were-they were still there they were terribly worried about uh you know about having things and about what they needed, they were very anxious I think and uh what were they going to do they didn't all just walk into jobs uh
- (I: They're fiercely protective of their own family's right)
Yes and of their own stories, very protective of their own stories because their stories were the memories of people who had been murdered people- people they loved who had been murdered and all right in front of their eyes
- (I; And most of the people were young)
There were some older people, I-it's hard to tell because at ten, so many people looked old
- (I: Over thirty looks old (all three laughing)
Yeah, so I mean I don't , I remember people, well I have a picture which I uh of these three young guys uh who they used to-I don't know they'd throw a ball around- they'd do something in Fletcher's field which was right in front of Gia's and I was allowed to go over and play if there were other adults there you know and I just thought they were fabulous and I took a picture of the three of them, and somehow when I look at it, I think they do look like sort of how you'd expect Greeners to look, you know they had that look of , the younger people I think had the look of suffering but they also had the look of hope, you know they were going to make it. I uh my-my ex-husband had a very good friend who was called Sam Lux who was in (**46:34 can't make it out**) and he was- he and his younger brother were eventually adopted by the **Magio (confirm at 46:41)** family in Montreal who were big in construction uh and they came here and uh you know their life was- Sam told me he-they were Polish originally but they were in um they came through Belgium
- (I: Mhm)
And he told me that uh there- when he went to Belgium uh (p) god it must have been in the eighties when he went there was um a memorial for all of the Jews who had been

deported from there- from that district which had been a very Jewish district, and he looked for his parents' name and he couldn't find it, and so he tho- he had this whole thing with they might be alive and he was like a man in his fifties by this time, and he sort of blanked out, he said be totally blanked out and then he went- when he looked the next time he saw their names right there...

(I: So it's almost like hope against hope)

Yeah just and you know he was sort of a very sort of reality based engineering type you know but you know those stories- and there- I know other- I mean when I was at McGill there was another guy who has now become a physicist, I mean now he's retired in California- he was certainly uh he and his mother came- no I knew-I knew Greeners I mean who were at McGill with me, now that I think of them but there they tended to hang out a lot with the communists, the communists- there were still communists you know and communists were um, much more welcoming of everybody its true

(I: Well you know a lot of them were also liberated by the Russians)

Yes

(I: (@48:14) who liberated there's I mean people who were liberated by the Americans or the British or like I know my father was liberated by the Americans and he just always loved the Americans)

They could do no wrong

(I: No wrong at all, no wrong at all so you know there's that weird loyalty)

Yeah but I think also that the-that um it's true that when- because I have a lot of friends who were communists that's my cat in his box (referring to the scratching noise), I had a lot of friends who were communists that I met in high school uh Jewish communists and I was- it was during the (@48:47) period that I was not permitted to sign anything and my father- my father did business in the States he was actually working for a subsidiary of an American company and you know he was very afraid that he wouldn't be able to work and I considered it extremely you know just so morally decadent that he wouldn't think (laughing) that you know and he once pointed out to me that you know the various extravagances that I had which were as a result of his job and I was silenced briefly by that but I had lots of friends who were in the communist movement and uh quite a few of the people who were at McGill because I had friends who were a year ahead of me in school (p) they would-they would hang there and I don't think there was any kind of bad feeling about our discrimination against them at all, and it's not that I'm pro-communist but it was... //I think first of all they liked having more people you know

(I: Mhm)

But it was-it was a different atmosphere

(I: So overall...)

Yeah

(I: You know not totally or completely, the survivors very quickly within a decade made a comfortable living)

Some of them, I don't think that all of them did

(I: Not all of them, but the majority did)

One of the things that has struck me is the- you don't see them anymore at the (50:05) plaza, you know it?

(I: Yeah)

- Yeah well you know it used to- I'd say ten to fifteen years ago during the day it was *full* in the winter in particular of old Jewish people who lived in boarding houses on (**names of streets 50:19**) who were concentration camp survivors and I think of the um the kosher bakery and then there was the Saint Lawrence bakery which wasn't kosher- everybody who served you had numbers so those were people working on service jobs
- (I: Jobs yeah, no I know there wasn't there was you know- but generally right it-it is a story of success of people who did well fairly quickly and even if they were working class a lot of them and their children-)
- Oh yes their children went to university
- (I: Yeah their children went to university and...)
- Well that's what it was all about
- (I: Yeah. So what account and if you geographically map)
- Yeah
- (I: The migration patterns of the survivors from the time they came, most of them moved to more affluent, like NDG, Saint Luke)
- Saint Luke wasn't there I mean when I was (**talking over each other can't make out @51:16**) it was an apple orchard
- (I: Yeah I know but by the late fifties the first houses started)
- Yeah but they-they would go I think the trajectory was from around Saint Lawrence to Snow...
- (I: **Trous demache (51:29) Snowden**)
- Yes between Trous demache and...**
- (I: **Or vills sa (@51:29-51:40 talking over each other, nearly impossible to make out)**)
- Then new things were built up in Ville Saint Laurent
- (I: And then (**more talking over each other about French locations @51:40**))
- (I: So if you try...)
- (I2: Well let's have the order here, **Saint Lawrence, then Snowden**)
- (**Interviewer 1 and Greta in Unision**) **Snow c'demache (@51:44)**
- Then-then there was uh then there was Ville Saint Laurent and then I think a little bit later was **Coate Saint Luke (51:53)**
- (I2: Okay)
- And Hamsted was after that as people got...
- (I: But Hamsted was a *highly* affluent neighbourhood)
- Yes
- (I: You know the **Coate Saint Luke** you could get little bungalows right, that were...)
- That was still much more expensive though than Saint Laurent (p) Coate Saint Luke was more expensive
- (I: Expensive yeah)
- And now uh
- (I: Then there was (**Shaun Bedei? 52:17**))
- And there was Shaun Bedei yeah
- (I: Yeah // but the point-the point--)
- And now (**mumbles off @52:23**)
- (I: Yeah, I guess the point I'm trying to make is that they were able- and a lot of these places were bought purchasing their own homes)
- Yes, oh yeah well I think that was a very important objective...

(I: Objective. So how did they do it and it was quickly, it was within a decade)

Well they-they were very I meant the people I knew, their parents were very good at handling money and uh you know saving uh because I think when they lived around Saint Lawrence you know they didn't own their places and I think saved a lot I mean I think they were uh you know they-they, they lived more as they had lived in Europe before the war

(I: Mhm)

You know they, I mean I had a boyfriend who was not- his parents were not refugees and they lived in uh I didn't even know what a cold water flat was but then I realized his mother heated the water you know and how hard it was and uh his father worked in a bakery and she would bake using the covers you know of the big barrels flour came in and uh you know this was all very new to me I didn't know

(I: And there were a number of- there were a lot of cold water flats in Montreal)

Yes

(I: And unheated flats)

Yeah and so I think that they-they then after being here for some years their standards changed too of what they wanted and then they moved, // but they did move but I can remember people who bought particularly in Saint Laurent uh and what an incredible feeling of arrival it was for them you know (p) they had to- now they had to work very hard and working in the needle trade I mean it uh I mean- a lot of the jobs were unionized and I think that helped people too \\ you know that they were unionized and that there was a limit to how much they could be, and some of the- //I had friend's father who were cutters, and that was a highly skilled job and uh you know they-they were able \\ to buy houses and their sons became doctors and lawyers and professors (p) but it's-it's a // also we have to say that I mean when they came there was a- certainly after the second world war- there was a slight depression in the economy but then the economy started to rise and so they came at a time that was(54:40 can't make out) too eventually

(I: Jobs were not as easily available as people like to think I mean if you – as I read through these case files, you know people would get jobs very quickly and then be laid off three days later because of the slack season)

Yeah yeah, it was seasonal

(I: You know so everything was seasonal, everything was precarious, people did a lot homework, people worked in the factory brought homework)

Yeah

(I: So it-it was hard)

It was hard, no question

(I: It was hard, it wasn't that you know the economy was booming-)

But a lot of the people were exploiting them were Jewish manufacturers

(I: Yes, this I know)

A story we have to uh face

(I: Yes, most of the employers were Jewish, some were kind and some were not so kind)

Yeah, I remember a friend of mine had a bet who would move from Bagg Avenue, Bagg Street to (French word @ 55:37) and uh they had bought a duplex and the upper duplex was rented by a young couple and uh he was a Canadian Jew I mean he was born here but the way he treated and talked about the people who worked for him was just appalling,

and when he'd talk about the Greeners and how stupid they were, it was obvious that they were stupid and they didn't understand anything...

(I: Because they didn't know the language)

Yeah, but I can tell you that years later I went to some sort of a factory and- somebody arranged this to get a coat- I'd never done this before and most of the women working there at that time were Greeks and Italians and they treated them exactly the same, \ you know it didn't matter... it was really quite, awful to see but uh... so yeah but you know I mean it seems to me when the-when the refugees came or the immigrants I mean they came into a situation that was very ambiguous (p) you know how do you- how do you sort it out (p) you know that yes Gia's will try it's best for you and it- but on the other hand you know people will not treat you very well and uh- // and the people, the people they came most in touch with were other Jews (p) you know because they could also speak to them in Yiddish

(I: Well Yiddish became a common language that even if you didn't speak Yiddish you learned Yiddish)

Yeah

(I: You know it became right, it was the thread)

Yeah

(I: You know, and then English became the common language very quickly)

Yeah because of the children (p) do you think that they did better than other immigrant groups?

(I: I do , and I think there's statistics to that)

Well I'm sort of interesting in uh...

(I: Yeah, no-no no they are much- I mean again it's not universal but on average, yes)

Because-

(I: There's much more affluent, much higher percent- I-I mean what are the markers of success right? They're proportionally higher home-owners uh proportionally uh moer the children went to university, they were proportionally more owned their own business right?)

Yeah

(I: They proportionally more seen as middle class and on and on it went)

Yeah and now the middle-eastern people who come to Montreal have many of those patterns

(I: Yeah and you know it'll be interesting to see)

Interesting to see is right

(I: And you know, I guess you have to compare them to other refugee groups right)

Yes

(I: Because they weren't your typical immigrant work they were refugees)

No, exactly

(I: You know so compared to Vietnamese boat people, remember when they arrived like-you- I mean you don't hear much about it right)

No but some of them did...

(I: What?)

Well

(I: Well but not by the same markers)

I'm not sure about that, I'm not sure

(I: Children going to university like you know)

- Yeah I taught a lot of Vietnamese students
(I: You did teach Vietnamese?)
Mhm
(I: Like I know the Asian community in terms of...)
Well the Asian community too but that's a different- they're not refugees
(I: No, no)
They're not refugees, but no it seems to me, I mean everybody who comes- I mean you talk to people who come, cause I also teach, you know I teach a lot of adults who are here maybe not as refugees in the same sense but they're immigrants who come for economic reasons, their reason is opportunity. // and that's it they want their kids to go to university
(I: That's right)
That's it and they want- I have Chinese students for example who um you know you have to bribe to get this and you have to bribe to get that and-and they are amazed you know that all you have to do is get good marks but you don't have to bribe someone, that in itself is already uh
(I: I think the common thread among a lot of the refu- among a lot of the refugee groups is how hard people work)
Yeah and what they-
(I: There's no such thing as a- you know not working seven days a week or not working ten hours a day or it's just work work work)
No chilling out, no no there's no tolerance for that at all
(I: No no chilling out)
No it's been- I-I recognize it so well you know and I see it and I know oh yeah, you know that's the way it is, it's uh- and then of course I mean often they get very disappointed in their children who don't know deprivation and uh don't want to hear about it. I mean one of the things with Chinese kids from Chinese immigrant families is I'm shocked at how few of them know the language and how few of them want to know the language and how few of them even know what village their parents come from (p) and I sort of say
(I: You mean Chinese, how few know Chinese)
Yeah yeah the kids of Chinese immigrants
(I: They don't know Chinese, so they were totally assimilated)
Yeah and they didn't want to, they-they if you really talk to them of course they understand, but often it's a dialect, it's not Mandarin or uh yeah, or Cantonese but it's interesting there's a tremendous reaction- I once took a course that was given years ago on the Greek community in Montreal and the guy- the guy who gave that course had done a study of the Greeks and he was comparing them to the Italian community and the percentage of children of immigrants in Greek community who went to university was significantly higher than Italian and he attributed this to the fact that, in both communities when people come they tend to just you know rent an apartment and whoever is in the family is there and they might be very very crowded but the Italians basic objective was to um buy a house with a garden and for Greeks it was to take the brightest child and make sure he became an engineer or a doctor , very ervery different goals
(I: Yeah so there are definitely differences in the different ethnic groups)
Yeah (p) Yeah it's so interesting
(I: You have any questions?)

(I2: Um, no, I think it's great, we have really good insights (laughing) these sort of day by day insights are just (@1:01:48) we won't you know, abuse their use)

Well, when I read-when I read about you I thought I have written about my experience in the uh in the clothing uh I've had a couple of published, not in any academic but in a book on Jewish feminism

(I: Can I have a copy of those when you get back?)

Yeah I can send them to you

(I: Yeah)

(I2: And any Fletcher's field pictures if you could)

I will definitely

(I2 : if you could dig them out of the box)

Yeah they're in there

(I2: Yeah they're in there, that we'd love to- we'd love to)

Yeah no I will-I will definitely do that and I think I also have pictures of my mother receiving her-her award from the Jewish community

(I: Yeah that'd be great)

So but uh I know that I did because I had gotten a camera for my birthday and the first thing I did was take those pictures, and uh Baby Browning will remember it all and uh // you I don't- I you know I sort of wondered about myself as a child you know because I was very acutely, and it has affected me I mean I've been an activist my whole life, and I'm sure that

(I: I'm sure too)

Yeah, absolutely sure, this horrible uh notion of people not helping uh my uh- my father's brother was an artist Robert Hoffman and uh he was on his way to his studio when a neighbour intercepted him and said 'they've been there looking for you' so he never went back and you just you know you just imagine, imagine you know so I've uh I've always uh no it had a huge effect on me (p) huge

(I: Thank you)

Angrosino, Michael V. 2002. *Doing Cultural Anthropology: Projects in Ethnographic Data 2nd Edition*. Long Grove, IL: Waveland Press Inc.