Key: IR - Ina Rothschild [interviewee]

EJ - Elsa Jaeckel [interviewee]

FS - Fred Stamm [interviewer]

IS - Ilse Stamm

Interview Date - November 10, 1981

*Tape one, side one:*

FS: I'm Fred Stamm, a student at Gratz. I'm interviewing Mrs. Ina Rothschild. The next voice you will hear is Mrs. Rothschild. Mrs. Rothschild, when did you come to the United States?

IR: After the war in 1946.

FS: Tell me, Mrs. Rothschild, what do you remember from the '20s after the First World War? Do you remember, how big a town, where did you live?

IR: I lived in the Darmstadt, there I went to school.

FS: In Darmstadt?

IR: In Darmstadt where I went to school, made my *Abitur* [final test before graduation from high school] in 1921.

FS: Excuse me. Was this a girls' high school?

IR: It was a girls' high school, girls only.

FS: While you were a student, do remember the actions of your fellow girl students? Was there any antisemitism?

IR: In the last two years, yes. Before, I was one of them and then suddenly when that--after the war in '19...

FS: 1919?

IR: 1919 after the war, there were groups that, what shall I say, poisoned the minds of these youngsters. There was one girl sitting next to me the last year in high school. She was a princess. I don't know where she came from, but somewhere in Hessen. She belonged to one of these groups, and she tried to poison the other girls. She was sitting next to me and always looked in my papers. And one day I said, "Listen dear, with the *Hakenkreuz* [swastika] on your paper. You proved that you don't want anything to do with me. Why do you have to copy my work? From now on, you sit here and I sit here. I don't want anything to do with you." That was the beginning.

FS: You mean to say in 1919 you already saw a *Hakenkreuz*?

IR: A *Hakenkreuz* on this girl's school work, on paper that she constantly painted on. And then I told her and I said, "From now on, I will sit elsewhere."

FS: You don't remember the name of the group which influenced her?

IR: It was M-A mark, mark...

EJ: In Hessen?

IR: Yes, in Hessen.

EJ: I remember it was a...

IR: M-A... No, that was a former officer who was naturally out of work and they started these antisemitic groups. That was before Hitler.

FS: Was this group led by Ludendorff?

IR: No, no, not Ludendorff

EJ: It might be Ludendorff. Ludendorff was a...

IR: No. no, it was something with M-A, a former officer that she knew, and they had started these groups. And after I was out of school, I had no connection with any of these girls any more. It was suddenly in '21 over. As a Jew, you had nothing, you didn't want anything to do with gentiles. You had deep down that feeling they don't want you. And then I wasn't there any more. I couldn't go on with my studies. Because actually, I wanted to study medicine but money was impossible. In '23 and '24, there wasn't enough money. So I did the next best thing. I had permission to teach the first three grades with the *Abitur* in Germany. You had already one year college in America. It was 13 years of study. So I could teach the first three grades. And there was always a need in Jewish families for a governess who could teach children. So I had always positions. There was one girl that had a club foot and couldn't go to work. In another town...

EJ: School you mean.

IR: To school. In another town I had a little Pincus who had tuberculosis. I had to bring her to Davos to Switzerland. From there I was in another family in Halberstadt where the girl was a night-walker.

FS: Approximately what...

IR: How many years?

FS: Now you were telling us about the various jobs you took when you could not enter medical school because there simply wasn't any money in your family to send you there. Now do you remember--can you tell us a little bit about the inflation itself. What did it take to live under such horrible economic conditions? How did you buy food? How did you buy clothes?

EJ: I can tell you about this. When I was in home, I lived in a small town with maybe 45 Jewish families. And most of the Jews, they were *Viehhandlers* [cattle farmers] or they had...

IR: Small business.

EJ: Business. We had what you call a...

IR: A dry goods business.

EJ: A dry goods business. And we had imported parts, in the inflation, first, it was everything all right. We could exchange. The people--it was around were more farmers anyway. Then in [unclear] we asked them, "Can you give us something?" They came, brought us bread, they brought us flour.

FS: So it was actually an exchange of goods and services?

EJ: In spite of, we had good business.

FS: The second voice you hear is Mrs. Rothschild's sister, Mrs. Elsa Jaeckel (J-A-E-C-K-E-L).

EJ: L, L.

FS: J-A-E-C-K-E-L, Mrs. Jaeckel. if you would continue.

EJ: And it was everything fewer but it was enough. We had around us not too many factories. It was a big--they make...

IR: Rubber.

EJ: Rubber wheels for *Fahrräder* and for autos. And then the people got laid off from the business.

FS: When did that occur? Which year?

EJ: It was during the inflation, 1921-22-23.

FS: And what did it take in those days to support a family? How many marks did you have to have?

EJ: We had to count in billions. The dollar was--I still remember. In the morning we didn't open the store before the paper came in. We saw how high the dollar was. There was not a radio on that we could hear. So we had to wait until the paper came. The paper came from Darmstadt. And then we saw how high the dollar was and then we had to multiply with our German money.

FS: And what did the average...

EJ: This was why neither of us could go to college because if you sold, but what you sold today the next day the prices were much higher when we went to Frankfurt wholesaler to buy, it was much higher than we sold it two days before.

IR: You couldn't replace...

EJ: You couldn't replace, but in another way, we had it. What we had before, we had good business. It was mostly farmers around and the people who worked the factories.

FS: And what happened when the inflation finally came to an end?

EJ: Lots of people were poor. I know our neighbors [unclear], you remember? Across from us. Our father went to the [unclear]. I want to tell you something. They were very rich people. They built [unclear] an *Apotheke* [pharmacy] for 100,000 mark in bar [cash] before the inflation. When the inflation...

FS: In pre-inflation Germany money?

EJ: Yah. And so we were close friends. The name was Harper, gentile. When the inflation was over, they were so poor that in between the son took the *Apotheke* over--where he was born.

VOICE: A pharmacy.

EJ: Yes, a pharmacy. But the parents had to go on welfare. And then both sons had to support the parents. They had to take care--they had their own children. It was a bad, bad time for everybody.

FS: Do you remember in connection with this when the inflation came to an end, was there a lot of talk about Hitler or these Nazis?

EJ: Yes. It started right away. All the people were without work, especially the poor people who worked in the factories. And lots of communists...

FS: Could you pinpoint the time a little closer?

EJ: I will be 75. It's very far back.

FS: Would you say '22 or '23 or...

EJ: Yes. It was the inflation from '21 to '23 I think.

FS: But the time you're talking about now, would you say about '23?

EJ: '23 it was over maybe. Yah. Then we started again.

FS: You say that people were out of work.

EJ: Yes.

FS: And did they turn to Communism or Nazism or both?

EJ: Lots to Communism and a lot to Nazism. This is the first time when we heard about the Nazis. But like we, we had to lots of antisemitism. You know, our father always told us from 18...

[Multiple Exchange]

IR: There was antisemitism in Germany. In the 1890s they had already started, but it had nothing to do with Hitler; there was antisemitism under Bismarck. And at that time already they had signs on some stores or houses, "No Jews or dogs allowed." Our father told us that he as a young man...

EJ: With the best friends.

IR: All right. It was in the '90s. At that time they fixed shutters on the windows outside the windows because the youngsters or oldsters, nobody knew, threw stones into the houses. So they put shutters on. That was before 1900. And then it disappeared. And as far as I remember as a child, I went to a so-called private girls' school that was in the parsonage. They asked my parents as Jews to send me there.

FS: This was a Catholic school?

IR: No. It was gentile. It was Protestant.

FS: A private Protestant...

IR: A private Protestant school in the parsonage. That was all right until 1916. In '16 I went to Darmstadt in school. There was still no antisemitism to be felt in school, nowhere. I had gentile friends; I had Jewish friends. And it started after the First World War, especially all these former officers who were out of work -- the war was over. They had to turn somewhere, and they found their *Führer* in Hitler. That's where it started. They had no jobs. They had no future. They needed something to do and he started the SS. He gave them jobs. He put them in uniform.

FS: You mean Hitler, Hitler started the SS.

IR: That started in the 1920s, '21, slowly.

EJ: But he...

IR: In '23.

FS: It was in 1923.

IR: In '23 when he had to go to Landsberg, was in Landsberg prison. That was the other side who revolted against him and his force. It was in 1923 when our nephew was born. And that night they threw stones in my oldest sister's window in the night when the boy was born and no doctor dared to come to the house.

EJ: In 1923.

IR: '23.

FS: You said before that both Communism and the Nazi party grew. Were there street fights?

EJ: Yes.

FS: What do you remember about that?

EJ: There were street fights. I knew that the Nazis had [unclear]. The Communists came in and they [unclear] shot one another. It was always one against the other. But the Nazis got more and more support from people and the Communists had to go down. You know, the Nazis got the overhand.

FS: Would you say that it was a matter of the Nazis being numerically superior or was it just a matter of better organization among the Nazis?

EJ: Better organization from the Nazis. And the people expected more from the Nazis. They already started to promise, "If Hitler comes to work, you all will get jobs." And these were the people, the people went out--he never would have got such power when the people had jobs. From my opinion, what I know, he never would if the people wouldn't be out of work. If they had work, they wouldn't have followed him like they did. When he came to work...

IR: To power.

EJ: When he came to power, they all got jobs. He put [unclear]. He started already before the war to work.

FS: Let's just for a moment go back to the '20s. Perhaps you remember some of the elections prior to 1930. Do you remember some of the elections, electioneering in your town?

EJ: I know. I went with my mother. We went to vote. And at this time [unclear]...

FS: Do you remember the year?

EJ: Maybe '25, '26. I don't know any more. I knew we already--we were democratic. We knew we were the only ones who couldn't go to the Communists. We were not Communists. But since we are democratic, we are in between. I knew the day I had a green dress on with the red flower. *Favus*, to show. But afterwards...

FS: To show what?

EJ: To show that we are democrats.

IR: Social Democrats.

FS: And the red was then a symbol of loyalty to the Social Democrats?

EJ: Yes. And then afterwards, the next vote when Hitler was [unclear] to vote for Hitler, we had to vote open. We had to vote for Hitler.

VOICE: You mean with an open...

EJ: We were forced, yes.

FS: Do you remember ...

EJ: I know we had to vote. They came and picked us up, and said, "You have to vote for Hitler." And gave us in the hand and they were watching us that we put it in.

FS: This was when?

EJ: This was before '33, 1933.

FS: Before Hitler came to power?

EJ: No, no.

FS: After Hitler came to power?

EJ: We had to vote for him so he came to power.

FS: Do you remember, did the Zentrum party, the Catholic party, play a big part in the life of your township?

EJ: No. We didn't have much Catholics.

IR: We had mostly Protestants.

FS: Do either of you remember any street fights between the Nazis and the Communists? Do you remember anything about the *Stahlhelm*? [rightist war veterans' organization]

EJ: Yes.

FS: Tell me what you remember about the *Stahlhelm*. Were they active against the Nazis? Who belonged to them, working people, Jews? Who belonged to the *Stahlhelm*?

EJ: I don't think Jews.

IR: No, no Jews belonged to the *Stahlhelm*.

EJ: It wasn't not apart from Nazis, *Stahlhelm*.

FS: It was led by Ludendorff.

EJ: Yes.

FS: Do you remember the *Reichsbanner* [Social Democratic war veterans]?

EJ: Yes. The Jews belonged to the *Reichsbanner*. I know I went to the masked ball of the *Reichsbanner*, [unclear].

IR: The *Reichsbanner* was the beginning of the Weimar Republic.

FS: Was the *Reichsbanner* organized like the *Stahlhelm* for example? Were they organized for street fighting against the *Stahlhelm*?

EJ: No.

IR: It was only founded as the opposite to the *Stahlhelm*. It was a Social Democratic Party's youth group, men and women. And they had their own, what shall I say, culture compared to the *Stahlhelm* who wanted to be followers of Ludendorff and the, what shall I say, *Junkers* in East Germany.

FS: By *Junkers* you mean the Prussian Officers [unclear]?

IR: Yes.

EJ: But I think the *Stahlhelm*, they went together with the [unclear] party [unclear].

FS: After 1932, yes. Of course right now we are only discussing the period up to January, 1933 before Hitler took power.

EJ: I knew about the *Stahlhelm*. You know, you didn't hear so much about the *Stahlhelm*. More you heard about Hitler. And I knew that some fight were between groups, but in our small town between the--what do you call it? What was it now?

FS: T he S.A. [Nazi stormtroopers]

IR: The *Reichsbanner*.

EJ: There were fights.

FS: There were fights, street fights, between the *Reichsbanner* ...

EJ: Maybe the *Reichsbanner* had some [unclear] and the *Stahlhelm* came in and they'd start fighting.

FS: Now before 1933...

EJ: It was before '33.

FS: No, no. My question is this. Before 1933 did you ever hear of the S.A. or did you also hear of the S.S.?

EJ: Sure, the SA was marching.

FS: I mean did you hear of both organizations?

EJ: More SA. SS came first after '33.

FS: Do you remember who was the leader of the SA? What's the name of the township you come from?

EJ: Darmstadt.

FS: Do you remember the name or what kind of background this person had?

EJ: This I really don't know. I know that one was something. He was [unclear] but it was in Rheinhessen. Hessen/Darmstadt was here and Rheinhessen was across the Rhein.

IR: Mainz.

EJ: Mainz. The headquarters were in Rheinhessen. I know the names but something stops...

FS: What I'm really trying to find out is where these leaders originated from. Were they trash, were they college people?

EJ: No, no college people. I don't think so.

FS: These early Nazi leaders that you know of, what way of life did they come from?

EJ: Middle class. In our town. Hans--you know, he had a father with a brick wall...

IR: Yes, I know.

EJ: They were middle class people.

FS: Do you remember anything about the early Hitler youth movements? Do you remember anything?

EJ: Yes, this was everything in our town. They had Hitler youth. But first came the *Arbeitsdienst* [workers' corps] but this was after Hitler came to power.

FS: No, before, before. Do you remember anything about the Hitler youth movement before 1933?

EJ: I couldn't say.

IR: You married in '33. You know what was before.

EJ: Yes, but I don't know whether there was a Hitler Youth, not before.

FS: You don't remember.

IR: Think about...

EJ: It was long before that, children, groups, people who never came out of the town. They took buses brought together by *Kraft durch Freude* [strength through joy]. This was for young people. [unclear] and it was grown-ups. They were enthusiastic about something else that they never had seen before.

IR: They saw another kind of life that they didn't know at all, from childhood on to the older ones who got work. They were suddenly happy. They had money. They had work.

EJ: They didn't have very much money.

IR: They had more than they had before.

EJ: What made them happy was that the party paid for this. They didn't have to pay.

IR: All right, but still they had enough to live, more than they had before. Now I don't remember these things because I was in complete Jewish surroundings. I had nothing to do with gentiles. I was in these families with these children, with sick children. I was in Halberstadt with Orthodox Jewish people who were among themselves. I didn't even hear much about it. I only knew later on that Hitler came to power. That was in Halberstadt.

FS: That was when, approximately when?

IR: That was in '28-29. And everybody said, "Don't go in the street. Hitler will march." That was before '30. I was in Halberstadt in '28. No. I was in [unclear] in '28. So it was '27 already. You wouldn't go into the street when you knew they were marching. You closed your doors.

VOICE: Who warned you against going into the street? Was it organized Judaism or who was it?

IR: The Jewish families, the congregation. The young people would go to work to *minyan* in the morning. They came back and said, "We heard today they will marching. Stay home." That was far back. I remember the years.

EJ: One day the march was Hitler. The next day it was Social Democrats. It was between this. But the Social Democrats, they didn't have so much money like Hitler. They got from groups, from all these big factories.

[Multiple Exchange]

IR: They were the working people. And the educated, what you would later call the Democrats, the teachers. They were Democrats.

FS: And you said they were persuasive to get these people into the Nazi party?

IR: Yes, they tried.

EJ: Sure they tried. A lot of people went in it to get business, you know. I was underground by people--remember the man was in the S.A. because he had a restaurant. Otherwise, we didn't go to the restaurant. So he went to the S.A. and the people came in his restaurant . And then they closed it and moved to Hamburg and I was underground by these people.

IR: ...in that small town. It was near Darmstadt, about an hour away. So she lived and grew up with gentiles like I did, but I left when I was 14 to go to school out of town. So she knew the gentile people. She went to dance with them, too at that time.

EJ: Two or three years later, you remember, you were home when we went to [unclear] and danced with us and the Nazis, came in and said they weren't allowed to dance with us. You remember.

FS: The gentiles were not allowed to dance with you?

EJ: They always. We went to dance, you know...

FS: These are not just Jewish dances?

EJ+IR: No.

FS: Social dances.

EJ: No, not at all. This was just [unclear]. This was in summer. You know what this was? Like a fair, a county fair. And it was maybe two hours away. They were all college students. They came and danced with us. They liked always to dance with the Jewish girls. The Jewish girls were prettier, they were more elegant. Then came the Nazis in and called them out. They came in and said, "I am sorry. We cannot dance with you."

FS: Now would you remember when this occurred?

EJ: This was maybe '27 already.

FS: In '27?

EJ: So early.

IS: But you must say here that Hessen was one of the known as one of the worst antisemitic areas.

FS: The second questioner, the questioner besides myself is my good wife, Mrs. Ilse Stamm.

*Tape one, side two:*

IR: [unclear]

FS: So actually what you're telling me now is that the leadership of the republic was assassinated.

IR: Yes.

FS: There was an election in Germany I believe in 1930 or '31 in which the Nazis went from, I believe, from 2 million to 7 million. Then in 1932 there was an election where the Nazis took a tremendous shellacking. Do you remember anything about these? This second election was just a few months before Hitler was appointed chancellor by Hindenburg. Do you remember anything about these two elections, ladies?

EJ: The first election I know, but the second I really don't remember.

IR: I don't know anything about it.

FS: Do you remember a comment of your parents or of your friends or of some elders what they said? When Hindenburg wanted to appoint Hitler to be chancellor and Hitler set conditions which Hindenburg did not accept. Consequently he appointed Schleicher as chancellor. Do you remember any comment from your parents or elders on this? Why Hitler wasn't appointed chancellor? Do you remember anything on that?

IR: I really don't know.

FS: Do you remember any comments by your parents when Hitler was appointed chancellor? What did your parents have to say about it?

EJ: My mother was sick already at this time.

IR: I was in Hessen already and everybody was shocked.

FS: Was there any fear among the Jews?

IR: Fear. Because my husband and I were house parents in the orphanage, a Jewish orphanage in Esslingen near Stuttgart. And that moment everybody knew there would be difficulties to send these boys, the 13 and 14 and 15 year olds, to evening schools for learning a trade. What had happened before, they were carpenters, they were bakers, and so on and after school hours they were sent to learn a trade. From that moment on, my husband would not let them go any more. He got the impression from all these people, "Don't send the boys any more. We will have difficulties with the authorities."

FS: By all these people, you mean the masters of the trades who employed them?

IR: Right, the gentile masters. And we had always about 10 or 12 boys in that age where they had to go to so-called evening school to learn a trade.

FS: Now do you remember anything? I believe April 10, 1933 [April 1, 1933 is the correct date], the stores in all of Germany were boycotted. Do either of you ladies remember any particular incidents or what happened in your towns?

EJ: Well, we lost a lot of customers. This I know.

IR: We were closing. They had a sign on, "Do not buy in Jewish stores. *Kauf nisht by Yuden*." So who dared to come in?

EJ: And already a person had a sign on, "Jews are not allowed."

FS: Jews are not permitted to come in?

EJ: Yes. Some butchers had it on. A lot of stores had it on.

IR: Some were fighting against it.

FS: You mean gentiles?

IR: Yes, gentiles. With the result they lost their stores or they worked so against them that they were glad to put the sign on in the next few days because they lost their customers.

FS: You mean the Nazis?

IR: Otherwise they lost their customers and their business was gone.

FS: Do you remember the behavior of gentile professional people, doctors, dentists, judges? Do you remember the behavior of this group of people in the early Hitler days?

IR: Very well.

FS: Can you tell us a little bit about it.

IR: I can tell you about Esslingen. It was a small town. The doctors all told my husband, "If you need us, we come. If you want to come to our office, send the children with a grown-up. They will not dare to do anything if a grown-up will accompany these children." We had children in the hospital at that time that I remember were wonderfully taken care of by the nurses, by the doctors, by everybody.

FS: Gentiles?

IR: It was '33-34. Because Jewish people--we had about 12 families. Some of them left already at that time. One shoe store closed right away because they knew nobody will dare to come in. It's a main street. There were bakeries who had resisted all that. They baked the challah every Friday night for us like they did before. They delivered to us like before. We had three cows. The surrounding farmers would bring the hay and everything like they did before. One or the other would come and say, "I don't know whether I can do it any more. I'm afraid." So my husband would tell them "Don't. I don't want you to get into trouble. I will find another way."

FS: Do you remember any reaction in the very early Hitler days by German professionals?

EJ: In the beginning, no. They were good friends what we had there. We didn't feel they would be against us. But a lot of people didn't come in.

IR: How many professions were there? A doctor, a veterinary, and a pharmacy. Who else?

FS: Could you go to the doctor?

EJ: Sure.

IR: And he would come to the house.

EJ: He would come to the house. He decided that.

FS: In the early Hitler days, there was no evidence.

IR: Our mother passed away in '33. The doctor came to visit in the house.

FS: Do you remember your mother's funeral?

IR: Yes.

FS: Were there any demonstrations against Jews?

IR: No.

FS: At the funeral?

IR: Nobody came to the funeral.

EJ: But nobody came. And we had a lot of friends before, but only was Jewish people there.

FS: Hitler came to power January 30, 1933. When did your mother die?

IR: On Rosh Hashanah, September.

FS: So in other words, it took approximately six months, seven months for the atmosphere in the town to change completely?

IR: That's right. And the stores were pretty much bankrupt because nobody...

FS: The Jewish stores?

IR: The Jewish stores.

EJ: Because nobody could come in. People couldn't come in any more.

IR: They were afraid to be seen.

EJ: Each one knew the other in a small town. [unclear] they boycotted in Darmstadt, Rothschild.

IR: That's our main store.

EJ: But a big department store.

IR: And one that was at least 150 years.

FS: Tell me who had become the leaders of your town. Was it intelligentsia? Was it trash?

EJ: Yes. No trash. They were people with culture.

FS: Do you remember anyone in particular and what they did before?

EJ: Yes, I know. What they did before they had a big business in bicycles.

FS: And what office did he take?

EJ: He was maybe the leader. What is that called, the *Obmann* [Chairman] I don't know any more what they called it.

FS: But the leader of the local Nazi party?

EJ: Yes.

IR: The Nazi party in a small town.

EJ: A couple of years ago they were dancing with us. We didn't say hello any more. They looked away when they saw us.

FS: How about the Bürgermeister?

EJ: The Bürgermeister was still *brav* [decent].

IR: To that day, but what was afterwards?

EJ: I don't know. I was married before. I really wasn't at home anymore.

IR: There was a Social Democrat mayor for many, many years.

FS: Do you remember what happened to him?

IR: No. I wasn't...

EJ: I think maybe he had to go when the Nazis came. I'm sure he had to go.

IR: I don't know who the mayor was later on. I never came home any more after my mother's death, after '33.

[Machine switched off and then on.]

FS: Now you were telling us the friendship was over.

IR: The moment we separated after the *Abitur*.

FS: Which was which year?

IR: '21. And I corresponded maybe twice with some of the girls. And then suddenly no answer. So I knew it's over. Then after about ten years I got a letter. I don't know where I was, somewhere in Germany. There was a reunion. Would I come? Question--not we invite you, would you come? I wrote no, I will not come, no reason, no nothing. I just refused to go. That was in the '30s, the beginning '30s before Hitler came to power. And then I didn't hear anything anymore from nobody. I remember that evening when Hitler was announced, that January evening.

FS: January 30, 1933.

IR: I was sitting in a café in Esslingen with a group of people, two Jewish girls and two gentile young men. One was an engineer. Another one I don't know any more. And I still see the radio in the corner and everybody was sitting there like a ghost. And I said, "Let's go home." That was the end of the friendship with these gentiles. [unclear] We were through.

FS: This was just after Hitler took power?

IR: That evening when we heard the announcement, then we knew now it's over for us. We didn't expect any phone calls any more, and we didn't get any.

IS: What did you think as far as the Jews are concerned?

IR: That was the end for us. From that moment on, people prepared to leave. One girl was an X-ray technician at the [unclear]...

EJ: I knew her.

IR: She's in Israel. By the first of April, she got a letter...

FS: First of April, 1933?

IR: She got a letter that she was fired. So she prepared right away to go to Israel. There was a couple with a son who went to college and a younger girl, they went to Lima in Peru and they came to say goodbye to us. And my husband said at that time, "They actually have nothing to do. His business is gone. What should he do? If he has a chance to get out now, it's the best thing what he can do. But we have the children in the orphanage." Not only did we have about 60-70, we got more every day because the schools in small towns where Jewish families lived told them right away, "It's better you take your children out of school. They are not safe any more." Our nephew who lived in a small town in [unclear] there was a Jewish school that had to close, or was forced to close. So my sister sent her boy who was about 11 to us to Esslingen to the orphanage. We suddenly didn't have orphans any more or problem children. We had children from Jewish families who lived in small towns who couldn't go to school any more. They were not thrown out, but the parents were told, "Take your children out. It is safer. They are not safe in school any more." So the *Waisenhaus* in Essen, the orphanage, had about 100 children instead of 60. And they came mainly, what we never had before, from southern Germany.

FS: We are speaking about the Roehm affair in 1934.

EJ: They said, what shall I say, he was not assassinated. They said he shot himself. But the people said all, who were not in the party, you know, the party said he shot himself. From Hitler out. He was assassinated.

FS: At the time they said he was...

EJ: He was a big shot in the party.

FS: He was the leader of the S.A.

EJ: Yes.

FS: And at the time they said that he was a homosexual. Do you remember this being discussed among the people, the you knew, among *goyim* or Jews, what his crimes really were? Do you remember any details what people said?

EJ: No.

FS: Do you remember anything, let's say from...

EJ: They said always Hitler was a homosexual too, people said but nobody knew for sure. They said in fact Hitler and Roehm were good friends in this way.

IR: I want to tell you one thing.

[Multiple exchange.]

FS: We're talking about Rabbi Schorsch who wrote a book on Germany Jewry.

EJ: The Gestapo stands with the people when they pack their lift.

IR: That's how it was done before. They left already when we came. He was a few weeks in Dachau and Buchenwald and the lift was packed before.

EJ: When he left in '38.

IR: But the lift was packed before. It was in England.

EJ: Not in '33. They didn't send a lift.

FS: Do you remember anything when the Nazi convention took place in the fall of 1935 when the German racial laws were passed? Do you remember any details about that when Jews no longer could have German maids?

EJ: I know. My girlfriend, my best girlfriend from a number of years before that got in jail. She still had the maid what she had for 18 or 20 years. She got in a year, for a half year in jail.

FS: This was a Jewish woman?

EJ: A Jewish woman who had a gentile husband. Her husband was director from [unclear].

IR: But she had a gentile maid.

EJ: A maid.

IR: And didn't let her go.

EJ: And didn't let her go. And the maid said, "I stay with you." And the Gestapo found out and the maid had to leave and she got in jail.

FS: And she was in jail for six months?

EJ: Well, six months. She was longer in jail, maybe she was a year. And her husband couldn't free her.

FS: And he was a gentile? Her husband was a gentile in a high position?

EJ: In a high position.

FS: And couldn't do anything for his wife?

EJ: Could not do anything. Could not do. But good friends who were in the S.A. brought her out. And a lot came to Auschwitz.

FS: Who came to Auschwitz?

EJ: Other friends. Maybe they were a hairdresser and so on. And they found out you went to a hairdresser, they came in jail too.

IR: Anybody.

EJ: Or they went to a store and the Gestapo went in a store and saw a Jewish woman, she went in a store and the sign was on. They would not allow any situation. I knew a lot. We had to work in a factory. What should I say? We made for the soldiers, for the *Lazarelt* [military hospital] we made clothes. They learned us to sew.

FS: When was this?

EJ: This was...

IR: I think it was in '40.

FS: Oh, this was in 1940?

EJ: Yes.

FS: I guess we're getting a little bit ahead but go on with your story.

EJ: But this was before. She came out from the jail and had to go to work. This was before.

IR: We had to let, in Esslingen, in '38, the gentile cook and everybody go. We had to work that whole house with youngsters, with people that we had to teach from Swabia [unclear] the girls from the department stores. We were about 16, 17, had to cook for 100 people. We all worked together like horses because the trained cooks and maids had to go.

FS: What do you remember about the assassination of von Rath in Paris by Grynspan which brought on the Kristallnight? What do you remember about that?

EJ: I lived at this time in Frankfurt. I was married and I lived in Frankfurt. And the store--you mean before the Kristallnight?

FS: No, the actual fact.

[Multiple Exchange]

IR: When you heard that news, you knew it was the end.

EJ: It was the end.

IR: It was on that day on the 9th of November.

EJ: The put already when the news came out, they put on the stores--you know, Frankfurt was a big town then.

FS: Two hundred thousand Jews.

EJ: No.

IR: Maybe more.

EJ: No.

IR: In '38, I know that.

EJ: And they posted Nazis in front of Jewish stores. When somebody came over, you were not allowed to go in.

IS: That happened long ago. In '38 you couldn't go in the store any more.

EJ: On the Jewish stores, they put Nazis in uniform. They put Nazis in uniform.

[Multiple dialogue]

FS: Now were your husbands taken to the concentration camp?

EJ: I had a gentile husband.

FS: Oh, you had a gentile husband?

EJ: And my husband was ordered after this to the Gestapo and they said, "Do you want a divorce from your wife? You can get it without anything right away."

FS: And what did he say?

EJ: "Or you have to give up your business." My husband was an importer. And he said, "I knew my wife was Jewish when I married her and I knew her for years before we got married. The parents were against us. But I don't want a divorce."

FS: This was?

EJ: This was after, right after Grynspan. They took the license away from his business.

FS: And how did he make a livelihood after that?

EJ: Somebody who was in the lodge but not the Jewish lodge. He was a gentile. His manager was *eingezogen* [drafted].

FS: He was drafted into the army?

EJ: Yes. He needed a manager. So my husband got the position. He knew he was against Hitler. He was not in the party, this man.

FS: Could you just pinpoint the year.

EJ: '38.

FS: 1938?

EJ: It was '38.

FS: And this business made clothing for the army?

EJ: No, they don't make nothing. They had a coal yard, a wholesale coal and anthracite.

IR: Then your husband went in.

EJ: And then my husband went in, yes, and he was the manager in this place.

FS: And how long did he stay there?

EJ: Until he had to go to the army. I think he was drafted in '40. All the men with Jewish wives. And he went right away to Finland [unclear]. He was already there and then he should come down to South Africa or something.

FS: North Africa.

EJ: North Africa. And at this time he came out. All the men had to go out of the army who had Jewish wives. My husband had always--he wrote me, [unclear] I come home before. He wanted to get out of the army. He was over a year up there and they had only three days of daylight up in...

FS: In Finland?

EJ: Yes, in Finland.

FS: Did he ever write to you anything about contacts with Finnish Jews?

EJ: No, no. They were in a camp. They were in a camp to watch the ships, the boats who came from America and elsewhere. They watched, and then the war went on between the United States and Germany I think.

FS: So these were ships going from the United States to Murmansk, is that correct? Did they try to torpedo them or was it just watching?

EJ: Watching what they did. My husband was by the airport and they had camps there in Finland. He never could write anything about what was going on.

FS: Was he permitted to write to you?

EJ: Yes.

FS: Did you get any kind of a stipend from the German government for being the wife of a soldier?

EJ: Yes. But I had in-between my name on, Sara is my name. Did you notice we had to put my name on, Sara. My husband didn't tell this, but I had to put my name Sara on.

FS: You mean you didn't tell your husband?

IR: He knew it but he didn't tell his officers.

EJ: So if I would have gone in to pick up my monthly--what you say?

FS: Stipend.

EJ: Then I had to put Elsa Sara. If I wouldn't do this, they would find out and they would send me to a concentration camp. So my mother-in-law, my husband's mother...

FS: Who was a gentile.

EJ: Was a gentile, did that for me for as long as my husband was in the army. I gave her the *Vollmacht* [power of attorney] and she could pick it up.

FS: And then he was dismissed in 1941?

EJ: Yes. That was maybe a good year. And then they were for four or five months when they came back. They came in the winter in the big ice and were for four months they were lost. And I was--I can't tell you what I did.

FS: In Finland?

EJ: On the way home the boat was frozen in. But nobody knew. I got a letter...

FS: He was missing.

EJ: Yes, the boat is missing. They didn't know where the boat is for four months.

FS: Were you being persecuted during this time when your husband was in Finland?

EJ: No. I'll tell you one story. We lived in a house in Frankfurt and the housemaster was, it was a Jewish house before. And the people all were from the concentration camp. [unclear]. They came all to live there. One morning in October, it was a rainy morning, I think the 18th of October, the Gestapo came. We were in the western [unclear]. And across the street the Gestapo had their *Hauptquartier* [headquarters]. I'll tell you what we hear, about the people there [unclear].

IR: Elsa, don't go into it.

EJ: And this morning they came and took all the people. Finally somebody rang my bell and it was two Nazis, standing. [unclear] across the street.

FS: Across the street.

EJ: And then they had parties and bands and anything. And the people...

FS: You mean the Nazis had parties.

EJ: The Nazis, the SS.

FS: In the same building?

EJ: In the same building. And we lived across the street. It was before a big Jewish apartment house. And then they came and I said, "You must be wrong. My husband is *beim Militar* [in the army]. They said, "We don't know about this. We'll come again." They didn't come any more. But I sort of shook for three days until I thought it was over. And then one day this house master was before, got everything from these Jewish owners before. And the owner went to the United States over *Russland* [Russia].

FS: Vladivostok. The Trans-Siberian Railway.

EJ: Yes. In house lived a couple. He went to the United States and his wife was a cousin to Ribbentrop. And she was here with two children and the children were not only Jewish but had the uniform on from the Hitler youth.

FS: Ribbentrop was a German Foreign Minister.

EJ: Yes. And this house master, when I came he said, "Where did you go buying? You are not allowed to go buying." And they bothered me so much, you know. They looked at me when I came...

*Tape two, side one*:

EJ: Shall I say in English or in...

FS: Whichever way you want.

EJ: ...was not the janitor. He was a maintenance, he was everything. He lived in the attic. And I have a complaint about this man. My husband is in the *Wehrmacht* [German army] and I don't know what to do. He bothers me every time. Then I told him. Another man came and I had to tell him my story.

FS: Another Gestapo man came to listen to you?

EJ: Yes, came to listen to me, somebody who he said, "You go home. We will take care of this." And I heard later that they had ordered him over. I didn't hear any word any more. It was only because my husband was in the *Wehrmacht* [German army].

FS: You were permitted to do your shopping?

EJ: Yes.

FS: And you were not bothered?

EJ: No, I was not. He couldn't bother me anymore. I was permitted to do my shopping.

IR: You didn't have to wear a star.

FS: You didn't have to wear a star?

IR: No.

EJ: I had to wear a star.

IR: In Frankfurt?

EJ: I sure had to wear a star. I didn't have children. Only the people who had children didn't have to wear a star. I had to wear a star but I didn't wear it all the time.

FS: Tell me...

EJ: We had to wear it. We went to work. We had to wear it. We had to go to the Gestapo to work. We were maybe 100 women from, you know...

FS: Mixed marriages.

EJ: Mixed marriages.

FS: Now let me just ask you this. Would you feel free to tell us when the Jews were deported from Frankfurt. Do you remember that time? Can you tell us.

EJ: [unclear] ride in the back of--everything in a jeep. And the Gestapo in front and I saw them very [unclear].

VOICE: Gustav Flörsheim's mother went from Frankfurt and they never saw her again.

FS: Gustav Flörsheim is the cantor of Tikvoh Chadosh in Philadelphia.

EJ: I saw very often.

FS: These groups that you saw, where were they marching, in the street?

EJ: In the street to the *Ostbahnhof* [East Station] to the train.

FS: Men, women and children?

EJ: Men, women and children, and the Gestapo was around them.

FS: Did you have any contact with Jews prior to their leaving? Did you speak to...

EJ: Anybody who had to leave?

FS: Yes. Did you speak to these people? What did they feel like?

EJ: I could not. I could not. I know one night 17 together. In Frankfurt in the new Jewish cemetery they're all buried. And one night 17 people who should come away. They got a postcard from hell. They got a letter, "You will be..."

FS: Deported?

EJ: Yes.

FS: And how did they take their lives?

[Multiple Exchange]

EJ: They hang them or they shot themselves with a revolver. They didn't live far from me. They all took their lives.

FS: Which year?

EJ: This was '41 I think.

FS: This was 1941. This was before the Germans invaded Russia.

EJ: Yes.

FS: Go ahead.

EJ: And I thought it was the 18th of October and all in our house they all came away. There was maybe five, six families or more in our house. They were standing all day in the rain and in the evening they took them away.

FS: And how much notice did these people have?

EJ: None at all. In the morning they came and in the evening were standing outside in the field, a field under the apartment. And I saw later on, days later, when the Gestapo came, took the [unclear] and took the *Teppich* [carpet] out and took all the valuables. I saw it.

EJ: I saw it and I saw people you never would have thought who were in the party, who would take it. Big businessmen.

FS: They came and...

EJ: Opened the seal and they sealed it again.

FS: They went in there and stole whatever they could?

EJ: Yes. They belonged to the S.A.

FS: Do you know any Jew who remained in Frankfurt who hid there?

EJ: Yes, we were.

FS: I'm not speaking about mixed marriages.

EJ: No, nobody. I don't think anyone was there anymore. Maybe some were.

FS: But none that you knew of?

EJ: No. And when the war was over, you know, we were close then together. But I didn't know one Jew who was married to a Jew.

IR: They were all mixed marriages who came back after the war.

EJ: They didn't come all back.

IR: But the ones who came back...

EJ: A lot were in Auschwitz. Came before in Auschwitz. When we worked, every day they took somebody away. Every day somebody said, we had a man from the city, he came and he'd say, "You know, you Jewish girls, somebody did something and she will not be working here anymore. She is deported."

FS: These are people who worked with you?

EJ: Yes, all Jewish women.

FS: And what kind of work did you do?

EJ: I had to repair and sew. They learned us sewing for the *Lazarett* [military hospital].

IR: For the hospital.

EJ: Yah. For the hospital we made hospital clothes and for the surgeons the clothes. And it was before when my husband was still there. My husband called me one day and I was in the office from this lady who had [unclear]. She said, "What job is your husband doing now?" And I told her. She said, "Oh, I need coal. I'm so cold at home. Would your husband--if it would be possible if he could bring me brickets and coals and I could give you a lot more privacy."

FS: These are people where you lived?

EJ: No, where I had to work.

FS: Where you worked.

IR: A gentile was in charge.

EJ: A lady was in charge of me. So I got--you know, it was for me. I could stay home a day, you know. I could come later. I could have an excuse because my husband...

IR: Brought her coal.

EJ: Yes.

FS: And when did you see your sister and your brother-in-law, Mrs. Rothschild and her husband? When did you see them last?

IR: In '41.

EJ: In '41. My husband and I...

IR: You were there when the war starts.

EJ: I was there in the Russian war.

FS: That was in 1942. No, '41, the 2nd of June, 1941.

EJ: My husband had come to Bitburg. He wrote me. He was not away at this time. He was not away and this is when I came to Stuttgart. They shipped them from here out to any town to make--this was before he came to Finland and it was in an outbuilding. I came back. I was chopping something for Ina and I hear on the radio--we couldn't have radios. We were not allowed to have radios any more. They took the radios on Rosh Hashanah in '38. They came in the morning in our house in Frankfurt. They took all the radios from the people. The Gestapo...

IR: We didn't have a paper, we didn't have a radio.

EJ: My second oldest sister, they had two parakeets. You did not allow to have parakeets or a pet. Can you imagine that? It was unbelievable.

FS: What were the relations between your husband and your sister's husband, Mr. Rothschild?

IR: We were friendly.

EJ: We were friendly. My two other sisters' husbands--my two sisters you know died in concentration camp with their husbands. Our husbands went on New Year 1938 or 1939 to Luxembourg to look for my two older sisters. They couldn't bring them. Somebody tried to bring them over the border to Belgium or to Luxembourg. And we had heard that if they could come over, it was a [unclear]. And we heard from somebody for money took the people over to Luxembourg. From Luxembourg...

FS: Across the river into Luxembourg.

EJ: The Rhine. They could come to Luxembourg and Luxembourg took these people to Paraguay. And my sisters could go. And my husband went and had everything arranged. And they said, "We have our houses. We don't want to go."

FS: Your sisters didn't want to go?

EJ: Didn't go, and both had to go to the concentration camp and die. And my husband could save them. My husband was with Ina and her husband. He went up and had...

IR: That was later.

EJ: When you came away.

IR: But you came before, a different time.

FS: What were your husband's--did he have any patriot feeling? Did he want Germany to win?

EJ: No. When he came he was in a *Lazarett* in Riga. He came and cried and said, "If you would know. The *Kinder* [children] and Hannah all the sisters should come away. If they cannot get out of the country, take they should their life. But I saw..." He told me. He said, "Don't tell them." I said, "I have to tell them," because he saw when the Jews in Riga all were shot and had to shot themselves and had to fill their grave. He told me this.

IS: How come he was in Riga?

EJ: He was in the *Lazarett* in Riga.

FS: Was he injured?

EJ: He had [unclear]. And he said not all the soldiers were Nazis. He said the soldiers came and told them crying, crying what they saw. And Jewish girls had to clean the floor from Riga, from Jewish families, the floors in these *Lazaretts* and so on. He said they gave them bread and everything. And one day the girls didn't come any more because they were killed. But today I cannot understand that they didn't know.

IR: Because they were not farsighted enough like so many people.

FS: You're speaking about your sisters?

IR: Yes.

FS: Go ahead. I'm sorry.

IR: They could have gone. They had nothing to lose. But they were not informed enough because they didn't know...

EJ: They could get papers for the United States but they didn't get it--on the other hand, shall I tell you one thing...

IR: Elsa, you know, Roosevelt didn't do anything.

[Multiple Exchange]

EJ: ...there was a consulate, American, they stole the papers and sold them to other people who'd pay maybe $20,000. Jews who had so much money and they got from other people...

IR: [unclear] my husband's number to go to America. We were never called. The consulate people from America had more leather pocketbooks and champagne and money and everything than they could handle because they sold the numbers to the Jews who could pay them. And the others didn't know about it [unclear].

EJ: They didn't know about it. I heard from somebody after the war...

FS: Now, Mrs. Rothschild, please tell us--bring us up to about 1942, until your deportation from Germany.

IR: On the 9th of November, they came to the house...

FS: Which year?

IR: It was the so-called... [unclear]

IS: Excuse me. Start telling a little bit, who organized the home, when it was started. That is interesting.

IR: Of course we were in peace with everybody because the houses were...

IS: No, you don't understand.

IR: In ' 38.

EJ: No, they want to know when the home was started.

IR: In 1831. It was 150 years old already. It was started for orphans in 1831. My husband was house father there and I married him later on when I was there as a governess. He was a widower.

FS: Who supported this home? Where did they get the funds?

IR: The Baden-Württemberg Jewish communities and was always regarded as one of the best and finest in Stuttgart. They'll give all the information in the world. They all know them. My lawyer, gentile lawyer, in Stuttgart was a friend of my late husband's. He does everything for me. I just need to write one letter. I met him later on. The house had a wonderful reputation. In that small town we could go anywhere, we could do anything. Everybody helped. Like I said, doctors and lawyers and everybody for nothing.

FS: Could you just repeat the name of the town please.

IR: Esslingen am Neckar near Stuttgart. And everything was fine until that day when the Grynszpan affair in Paris happened. We heard it and we were afraid--what will be next? And by 1:00 they came, "What do you have on the table in the home?" In uniform, without uniform, into the dining room where we were sitting with the children, came in like a hot oven. Bandits threw the tables over with everything and "out of here," and drove us out into the rain. It was a day like raining, drizzling, a Thursday afternoon from 1:00 on. There we were standing out in the open with the children. Who wasn't there? There were two younger teachers, Samuel and Jonas. They weren't there.

FS: Male teachers?

IR: They were Jewish teacher.

FS: Male teachers?

IR: Male teachers. My husband and I were standing in the back with the children. And suddenly we saw that they threw out of the office and out of our apartment and out of the synagogue everything--*Sefer Torahs*, books, the silver candelabras and everything--and let it go up in flames. And here we were standing with the children in that rain. And the children cried in fear. And one of these monsters came over and said, "If you are not quiet, we throw you in the flames too." And here we were standing until it was almost dark. Then they suddenly came and said, "You can go into the house, what's left of it." So we went in. The children were wet from up and from down. Nobody could go to a bathroom. And when we came in, there was no gas, no electricity, no water. Everything was turned off and everything full of glass. The windows, the little synagogue, completely destroyed. And we found there Samuel unconscious, beaten to a pulp. That other young teacher in another part. And no telephone. My husband sent one of the boys over to neighbors, a gentile neighbors. The house was on a hill, and said, "Call Dr. Spade, that's what his name was, he should come or should send. The two teachers are dying." And this doctor came and took these two men into the hospital on that afternoon. I don't know who else came to help. We had help. The gentile gardener came and said, "Wait until these guys are out. I turn the lights on. I turn the gas on. I turn everything on again. But I have to wait until they are out." This man was more than 20 years gardener, but he was a gentile man. He couldn't do anything as long as they were there. And he went and called Stuttgart and called for help, what to do with the children. So some of the children didn't even wait. In groups they went with nothing on, with nothing with them, walked to Stuttgart. On the way people picked them up and took them. They knew about that, what was going on. That little synagogue was something else. A few Jewish families were mistreated. This little synagogue downstairs everybody saw and heard what was going on in the orphanage in [unclear]. And we packed for these children as much as we could. And about midnight--meanwhile, my nephew was there. We packed him something and sent him down with money, "Go to the train and go to Elsa's."

FS: To where?

IR: To my sister, Elsa. Because his parents and my other sister were too far away. We knew it was all over the same story. And shortly afterwards two former inmates, boys who were working in Stuttgart, came with a truck and with a car, took children and took us as much as we could, took them to Stuttgart and we had relatives in Cannstatt. They took us there. So we left the house with nothing.

FS: Do you know what happened to the children?

IR: They were taken in by Jewish families. They were taken in by gentile people. Some tried to get home in these little towns, like I sent our Ginder to Elsa.

FS: Ginder was your son?

EJ: No, he was our nephew, my oldest sister's.

IR: We sent these children--we told them, go with them, here have a slip, go to [unclear] go to this one, to this one, to that one. My husband was, what shall I say, clear enough to do everything he could for the children, to organize them that they could get--and to the Jewish congregation in Stuttgart, not knowing that it's destroyed and everything's in flames. So these two older boys took us and the children and worked all night to bring these children to Jewish families. And we were in Cannstatt in this relative's house. And when we came everything was terribly upset. What happened? Hugo just left an hour ago before the Gestapo came to arrest him. I hoped he will be out of the country.

FS: Who was Hugo?

IR: His mother said. It was a sister-in-law of my husband. And we were there during the night. The next morning they came and arrested my husband. Yet before I have to say in Esslingen these guys came, took my husband after beating him and I don't know what, he should open the *Geheimarchiv* [secret] where the papers are. He said, "What do you think we are? We have an orphanage. We have no archives. Here are the papers, all the papers of the children in my office if you let me go in." But they had torn everything apart. Naturally there were all the files of the children torn apart, thrown around. And they were--we get out, let's say that. And we came to this relative's. The next morning they arrest my husband.

FS: In Stuttgart?

IR: In Cannstatt. The children were meanwhile part in Cannstatt, part in Stuttgart. Whoever heard about it, took these children in. And my husband was taken away, the way he was. So what could I do. They came and said, "Help us with the children. What should we do in our small apartments with children?" And for days I went from one office to another to ask them, let my husband get out so that he can organize it. I can't. I don't know all that, what he knows what to do with them. And after about five, six days--I don't know, it could be a week--he suddenly stood at the door. Don't ask me. A beard; the pockets in that gray overcoat full with bread. He hadn't eaten--he said, "That's what I got, bread and water." He hadn't eaten and that's the way he looked. He said, "You did one good thing. You said the children need me. Otherwise, I wouldn't be here any more."

FS: How did they get out...

IR: The Gestapo in Stuttgart reported what I wanted him for, what I needed him for. They didn't want the children. And the Jewish families said, "We cannot keep them. What shall we do with them?" The Stuttgart congregation and all the facilities were torn down too, so there were more children to take care of. So he came back and his first work was to start the school for children in Stuttgart, and bring the children together.

FS: Where in Stuttgart did he start it?

IR: In the...

FS: [unclear] house?

EJ: I know it was in...

IR: I don't know any more what the name of that was.

FS: Doesn't matter.

IR: That office that belongs to the--it had a Hebrew school already, and there we collected them. So we had them on the floors with straw, with mattresses, with everything we could get, and started them and a kitchen was started and all the women worked together to keep these children together as long as we could. And that was November, '38. And meanwhile we had to go back to Esslingen to go to the police, report what was stolen. The police said they don't know from anything. "That was a private group. We didn't know anything. You tell us. You tell us what to do." We said, "Let us go back to the orphanage. Let me take the children back. We cannot leave them there in the street." And by the beginning of January, '39, we brought our children back. We opened the house again, and Elsa came to help. And we had to find people, Jewish people, who would come and help us. In Esslingen there no Jews any more. They had taken the Oppenheimers away with their little boy. They had taken Mrs. Lindenbaum with Ilse and that young couple with their little boy. And they were all gone. We were the only ones left. And I went from Pontius to Pilatus to beg, "Give us food." The former baker said, "Naturally. You get your bread. You get your challah. You get everything like before. Let them come to me and I will tell them you are my livelihood for the last 20-25 years. I worked only for the orphanage and I won't do that." And he never, never let them take that away from him. There was a gentile butcher. The name was Strauss. They came in the evening and brought us meat. "I assure you it's not pork. You can give it to the children." But who would cook? We had to clean. We had to do everything. Neighbors, gentile neighbors, finally came in the evening and helped.

IS: How many children did you have?

IR: Sixty again. Slowly they all came back, whatever could come back. Did Ginder come back?

EJ: No, he was in Aschaffenburg with his parents [unclear].

IR: Our older sister lived there, that boy's parents.

EJ: I came to my other sister in Aschaffenburg and my other sister--what would you call it?

IR: The brother-in-law.

EJ: The other guy's Rudolph. In the First World War he collect intelligence. And they took him away in the Kristallnight and they put him in the in the concentration camp and he died in the concentration camp with my sister and her husband. They had to pay for it. They had to pay when they left, 100 mark for the [unclear] and the dog.

FS: For the part where?

[Multiple Exchange]

EJ: In the concentration camp to get to...

IS: You mean when people were taken to the concentration--now this was in '38. They weren't taken to Dachau.

EJ: This was later. The money for their train ride... [unclear]

IS: They had to leave money for their train ride.

[Multiple Exchange}

EJ: [unclear] and everything lying on the table. They had to sit it on the table and for each person who had to go away, 100 marks.

FS: The last few minutes on the tape. Can you tell us a little bit about your husband, what kind of person he was. He must have been a very dedicated person to do this, sacrifice...

IR: I can give you letters.

FS: Why don't you tell us a little bit so that people will know.

IR: He was a teacher all his life. He started as house father and he was a father to all these children. I have letters. I have people you can ask for in Stuttgart, New York and everywhere what kind of man he was. He just lived for his work, that's all. He didn't go to England. He could have taken a transport with children to England. That was in '40-41. But he didn't go because they didn't let me go. He said, "Either you let us go together and we are willing to leave everything here and take the children to England."

*Tape two, side two:*

FS: Could you tell a bit more about your husband.

IR: I was asked then to bring a group of children, retarded children, somewhere to the east. And I said, "Not without my husband. We go together to live or go to death together."

FS: Did you realize that...

IR: We knew that. We knew that these were retarded children in a home that was founded by nuns and they took care of them. We had Jewish children there and there were gentile children there. And they had hidden children there, Jewish children, for years. They wanted to take that away from these nuns and wanted me to go with them. I knew I wouldn't come back because before they had taken a group of children and the nuns asked, "Where do you take them?" There were enormous aluminum trucks completely covered except maybe little windows. And these nuns asked, "Where do you take the children?" "If you want to know, come along." And two of them went with them and they never came back. So we knew the answer. The doctor of this home sent to my husband, because he didn't have anything to wear any more, from himself, coat, underwear and suits. He knew him personally because he came very often there. There were Jewish children to visit. That was Kenenborg [phonetic], a home that was built I don't know how long. Rich people sent their retarded, mentally not normal, grown-ups and children there. He was the doctor and the nuns worked there. But he did that for my husband. He knew him. He sent them that he had to wear something because he had only one suit, the one he had when we left the house.

FS: I think we should quit for the night.

[Tape recorder off and then on.]

IR: In '39; until the war started with Russia. That was in September '39. Then we had to leave just the same way again because they needed it as a *Lazarett*, as a hospital for the soldiers. We had to leave everything.

FS: So you were there about six months.

IR: About six, seven months. They gave us a few days.

IS: A few days for where?

IR: To bring the children away and get away.

FS: And where did you go then?

IR: We went back again to my relatives in Cannstatt. We took the children to Stuttgart. It was meanwhile built up that they could be there. There was a school and there was a gymnasium where they had beds, where Jewish people and gentile people sent beds, and the possibility that the children were taken care of. And then the transport started to England for children. People took groups of children out in the country, out to Holland. The ones in Holland, or on their way to Holland, disappeared. Others had relatives in America, had influence and could get them to America. And we were there to the last minute to '42 to August '42. And that's what you have the story there.

[Additional interview with Louise Baxter is not to be included. Interview continues on Tape 3, Side 1.]