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Friedlander, Martin and Susie oral history interview

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MARTIN AND SUSIE FRIEDLANDER

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Steve Hochstadt: . . . about their whole reasons for going to Shanghai and life there and then life a little bit after Shanghai, things that, that Kranzler didn't cover.[1]

Martin Friedlander: Let me start, my wife can do it later. I started to get an affidavit for Llamada, or anything, during the year of 1936, end of 1936.[2] And they promised me, all kind of promises were made . . .

SH: This is from the Americans?

MF: No, I . . .

SH: An affidavit for, for what?

MF: America, America, I couldn't go, because I had, it's a long story. But America, I, I could not go at this time because I had no relatives. And without having relatives in America who would sponsor you, you couldn't go to the, to the United States.

SH: Thank you.

Susie Friedlander: Okay.

MF: So I tried to go to Israel, which was then not, also not possible for me, because I had not enough money. If you had money, you could have gone to Israel. The, the English, by showing a thousand pounds, you could go to Israel.

SH: Just that you had that money, you didn't have to pay it, you just had to have it.

MF: You would have to have it, that you, that they know that you are able to, to buy food and things like this in the beginning. I had nothing. And at first, then I wanted to go, either through, to Israel with a factory which manufactured bedrooms in, in Berlin, and they wanted to emigrate to Israel and took some workers along. And I was promised that they would take me along.

SH: Were you working for that factory?

MF: No, I was friends of them. Then, but the, for one or the other reason, the Gestapo did not permit to take so much money out from the Germans. And so it became later and later, then I tried to get to, to go to Brazil. And this (unintelligible), I got constantly promises that I would get a permit. But was just their promises, I paid some money, and I didn't get anything. Then suddenly, came an offer where I could, if I paid, this for me and for my wife, five thousand Mark, we could go with the Usaramo, this is a German ship, to Shanghai. This ship, I got the tickets, we paid the money, and the 20th of April, on Hitler's birthday, 1939, we left Germany. We left, actually, at one minute after midnight because

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[1] This refers to the standard work on the subject by David Kranzler, Japanese, Nazis and Jews: The Jewish Refugee Community of Shanghai, 1938-1945 (New York: Yeshiva University Press, 1976).

[2] Friedlander refers here to getting official papers for emigration to Latin America.

the crew, which were Germans, celebrated our Führer's birthday.

SH: So you were leaving from where?

MF: From Hamburg.

SH: From Hamburg.

MF: The ship went from Hamburg. As first stop, we had Las Palmas. Las Palmas are, how is the *Insel* group called? Azores.[3]

SH: The Azores.

MF: The Azores. Yeah. This was the first stop. There we could spend some money also, because this was the government, Franco was friends with Germany. On there, from there we went, next stop was Lobito, which is today Luanda, Portuguese Angola.[4] People were very nice to us, they sent foods, all kind of foods, to the boat. Until there were some, some, something happens, we had to leave in the middle then, we had not enough water, they had permitted to take, to take water on, but we had to leave. The ship actually had to leave. The next stop from there was Mauritius, which is an island in the Pacific already.[5] And from Mauritius we came to Batavia, which is today Jakarta, Indonesia, where we had cabled to them that we would come and that most of these people were, came from concentration camps, and, I go back now a little bit. We, the ship had actually room for about hundred passengers, but the Germans had provided in the downstairs where the, the storage rooms, they had put some beds and so we had about six hundred people.

SH: All Jews?

MF: All Jews. And about five hundred fifty came directly from concentration camps to the boat, to the ship.

SH: With their families, or just single, individual people from the camps?

MF: Single people, single people, these were single people.

SH: Do you know which camps they came from?

MF: No, no. But these were all single people. And the, the, it was paid by the Jewish communities, they paid for these men. It was a high price of two thousand five hundred Marks.

SH: For each one?

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[3] Las Palmas is actually in the Canary Islands, just of the Moroccan coast.

[4] Lobito is on the coast of Angola.

[5] Friedlander means the Indian Ocean.

MF: For each one.

SH: And they were all men, or virtually all men?

MF: Yeah, men, men. They were mostly, yeah. Yet not out of the, they had a, a few pants, maybe two, and a shirt, and also they had money, board money for the fifty marks, for seventy-two days, that's not much. Well, anyway I, I come back now to Batavia. Batavia was, was instructed that we would come. And they had collected, from the richest people to the poorest people, money and things in order to help us. And so, everybody on the ship got cash money and we got, all got out with ten Marks, every one, equalled four dollars.

SH: Was this the Jews in Batavia who arranged this? To give you money?

MF: The Jews in, the government of, the Jews too, but all, everyone, the coolie, the coolie in the street, the government, the Jews, everybody gave for the ship.

SH: So they knew that, whom the ship was transporting.

MF: Yeah, yeah, yeah, yeah. And it was a real celebration what they did for us, and with fireworks and everything as we arrived, and then the, the government, the mayor from Batavia came on board with all kinds of other officials. And then it started to come in, they had also suits and underwear and writing material and any clothing you wanted. Toothpaste, writing material, I said already, everything you can think of. This is what they brought us.

SH: And the Germans allowed you to have it?

MF: Oh yes, oh yes. So that everybody got a certain amount of money, I don't know exactly, it could be about fifteen dollars, equalled fifteen dollars. But it was a lot of money for us. And for those people who were pregnant, the women who were pregnant, they got a hundred and fifty dollars. And we had a lot of artists, there were many artists on board and they performed then for them which nobody saw it, this was by radio, it then came to Batavia. There was, you could even see singing from there to the ship, we were by the far outside but surely you could hear them singing along the sea, the people on the boat.

SH: These artists were people who had been in the concentration camps?

MF: Maybe one or two, yeah, but the others were not in concentration camps.

SH: Like yourself.

MF: Yeah, yeah. We were lucky to buy it. So, so we arrived, and from there we went to Shanghai, arrived there, and were recognized by the Jewish committees, and brought to a so-called *Heim*.

SH: Could I stop you there and ask some more questions about the trip and before then?

MF: Go ahead.

SH: So the whole, the whole purpose of this boat was to take Jews from Germany to Shanghai.

MF: Mm-hmm.

SH: There was no other reason for it, that was all the passengers . . .

MF: Were Jews. The, let me put, make input there. The Germans wanted Jews out. Later on came in Shanghai, also one or two months later, the Jewish organization in Shanghai asked the Americans, the French and English, they stopped more influx to Shanghai.[6] They stopped it. The Japanese at this time, and the Germans were those who permitted Jews to go to Shanghai.

SH: You're the first person I've spoken to who's gone, who went on a German ship, instead of one of the Italian ships, so I want to ask you a little more about that. What, how did you find out that this German ship was going to Shanghai? How did that, how did you get that information?

MF: The information I got from a friend who worked in a travel agency. And they called up . . .

SH: You were in Berlin at this time.

MF: Yeah. And they called up and they said, this is come, will come out, and you know the Worman line - this is the line to whom the, to whom the Usaramo belonged, this is the line of the boat, the ship, is hired by the Gestapo, so they want this ship going to, also they want some money, and we know that they want, also permit some people from concentration camp that they could go direct, and if they go directly to the boat no, nonstop anywhere, this is how also I was informed, on account of friends.

SH: So you knew that concentration camp people would also be on the boat . . .

MF: Oh, sure.

SH: . . . before you went there?

MF: Yeah, yeah.

SH: Were there, was it hard for you to get a ticket? Were there many, many people who wanted tickets?

MF: Well, not too many people had the money. I was in a comparatively lucky position. I was married to a, a woman, her mother was a very rich woman, so she could pay it. But, for my part, I could, I never could have paid this. Well, now, let's come back to the ship. The ship was, had prepared food, fruit, eggs, and things like that for the ship. They were, they thought about that Jews don't eat meat, pork, there was no pork for the, for the Jews on board. They could not get it. Beef,

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[6] In spring 1939 leading Sephardic Jews in Shanghai petitioned the Japanese to close Shanghai to further refugee immigration. After August 1939, refugee influx was slowed considerably by monetary restrictions. By the time Italy entered the war in June, 1940, closing off the Mediterranean, the German-speaking immigration had slowed to a trickle.

they didn't want to give too much, so what, what we got was cheap.

SF: You mean lamb.

MF: Lamb. So we got then, as was progressed and the beef was eaten up, we got then in the morning and in the afternoon and evening served beef and all kinds, mutton, also lamb.

SF: That's why he won't eat any now.

MF: I still don't need it. I, I know we, when we met people from the boat in Shanghai later on, we didn't say hello, we said "baaaa". (laughs) Now I was one of the fortunate who had, instead of the fifty marks, five hundred Mark *Bordgeld*, which I had to spend anyway. I took, I couldn't take anything out from there, I could buy, on the boat, maybe one or two items which were salable, like 47-11 or maybe a cheap camera, but I didn't buy. I buy, I bought some 47-11.[7] Then I used the money, mostly I helped people from my money, and I felt a good thing. They helped me later on in Shanghai.

SH: So let me, let me understand this. You were only allowed to take ten Marks in cash.

MF: Four dollars. (unintelligible)

SF: Excuse me, wasn't it hundred Marks?

MF: No. Four dollars.

SH: You and your wife each? Or . . .

MF: Each. Each refugee could take out four . . .

SH: Four dollars. But you could, you could pay five hundred marks and then use that money on the ship.

MF: Oh. This is, was incorrect, yes. When I go out, as we emigrated, we, we took five hundred Marks as *Bordgeld*, but at which we understood had to be spent . . .

SH: On the ship.

MF: . . . on the ship.

SH: I see. And the, the price that you paid for the trip . . .

MF: Uh-huh.

SH: . . . was that a reasonable price, or was it an inflated price?

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[7] 47-11 is perfume.

MF: No! We had to pay for return, too.

SH: You had to pay round trip.

MF: The round trip, sure.

SH: So they were trying to take extra money from you in that way.

MF: Yeah, yeah, yeah. Everybody who had it was happy to be on the ship, money was not the, was not a question. I even received money back from Germany on account of the ship. They sent me, I don't know how many, hundred or two hundred dollars, I don't know, I cannot say. Germany returned some money.

SH: Is it after the war?

MF: Yeah! From, also, what I paid, what I overpaid.

SH: Could I ask some questions about . . .

MF: Any.

SH: . . . before you left. You said that you were, well, I guess I'd, I'd just like to know the barest details of . . .

MF: Go ahead.

SH: . . . of your life. When you were born and what you did in Berlin.

MF: Go ahead.

SH: And then, I wonder why, in 1936, you wanted to leave. I mean, that seems like an obvious question, but many people were not ready to leave in 1936, and you were thinking about leaving already.

MF: I was born 1913, the son of a tailor. My father had no employees or something, he worked. And we always have trouble just to pay the rent. But I went to school and learned Latin and Greek, a little bit, a little bit of French, little, hardly any, any English. As I came out of school, I was, I had to leave school a little earlier because my parents got divorced. And my, I had to help my mother. So I left 1931 the school and started, and got a job through my grandfather, who was in politics, a bigshot. I got a job in the union. What you have here, a socialist . . .

SH: Your grandfather was in the SPD?

MF: The SPD. Yeah. A bigshot, bigshot he was, and Senator of Berlin, which is a . . .

SH: What was his name?

MF: Pinner, P-i-n-n-e-r, Gustav Pinner. So I worked for the, for the union 'til '33, when I was told that very soon all Jews will be thrown out and it was possible that they will put them in working camps or work, concentration camps was not known at this time.

SH: Who told you that?

MF: Huh?

SH: Who told you that?

MF: Friends of mine. Well, I always had friends who, who gave me the right tips.

SH: Jewish friends or German friends?

MF: Germans! These were all Germans, who told me to get out, go out fast, and see that you get another job or not another job, but your, this what you are doing will be done by other people from the party. Or, well, anyway, you have nothing, you have nothing to lose here anymore. So I went out. This was 1933 and I was jobless, and I collected unemployment. In the year '34, a friend of mine came to me and said, if I wanted to learn and make bedsprings. I said, "Yes." And so we, I, we opened a very small company, which was very, very small, under my name, and we manufactured bedsprings. It was not so easy to get the (unintelligible), because everyone who opens an, something in Germany needed, if you manufacture something, you needed, they're called *Meister*, somebody who had three years of a learned, a . . .

SH: Apprenticeship?

MF: . . . apprenticeship, and one or two years then as a . . .

SH: Journeyman?

MF: Yeah, a journeyman, and then one year, at least one year of master. This one I would have to have in order to open up this, the bedspring manufacturing. So I came to the, to this guy who could give me that stamp, and permit me that, and he said, "Look, I can't help you. How can I help you? These are the laws, and you don't know from nothing. And I, I cannot give you." So I said to him, "Look, my parents, your parents, they were born in Germany. My bad luck is that I'm Jewish. You're an Aryan. I just want to make a living, I don't want to get rich, I just want to live, be able to, my mother is, needs help now, also my father will need help, and can't you give me a chance?" And so he looked at me, suddenly he yelled at me, "You don't need that from me. Give me a name where you just are putting things together, also, you are not manufacturing, *sondern* you are assembling things. For this, you don't need to be . . ." This was his idea, this was his, he taught me that, and from that I could start working. Later on, you couldn't get steel, what you need in order to manufacture. You couldn't get it. So I went to the Rhine, also part of, of the Rhineland, where these big factories are, are there, and asked them if they can not give me, I had a certain allotment, which was very small, and if they can not give me a higher one. These were all Catholic companies. And then they gave me, I don't know, they sent me this under what, all kind of names . . .

SH: Not your name.

MF: No, no, no. They gave it, they sent it to me, but they sent it as sand, or anything, but not under "steel" or anything like this, or "springs", no. But they helped me. During the *Kristallnacht*, Crystal Night, I slept at home, or I wanted to sleep at home. The police came at, maybe in the morning, this happens in the, in the, at night. In the morning, around the corner was a police officer. They came, they called my mother . . .

SH: This was before, before the night, rather than the morning after?

MF: The morning, before the night, before they picked up the people, and so on and so forth. I was, she, they told her, "Your son cannot sleep tonight at home. Let him sleep where no men can be, if possible, with, with Aryans, if not, with Jewish families where no man is in the house registered." So, I was, I knew Jewish families where no men were, I slept there. They came for me. And . . .

SH: They came for you that night?

MF: Yeah. Another night . . .

SH: Now, say again, who was this who came to make the warning?

MF: Police.

SH: That you knew, that knew your family?

MF: Yeah. We, we lived there fifty years. We were always decent to, to everyone.

SH: So someone that you knew, that . . .

MF: Yeah, yeah. We played, also I, I played soccer with them, in one club, and I cannot complain. I always said, if you are decent to people, people will be decent to you. That did not work out later on in Germany, but most of the time, it works. So this is, yeah, '38, and then, after the *Kristall-*, Crystal Night were, my customers were mostly, were almost all Jewish, they had closed the doors, and so I had no work.

SH: Your business was closed then?

MF: Was closed.

SH: And bank accounts and things like that?

MF: Bank accounts, I had no bank accounts. I still had no bank account, I never had, I never had a bank account in Germany. Never. Never had enough money in order to do that. If I had money, I could go out, I had motorcycle. I had a father, who was nine-tenths blind, he was married, I gave him money. My mother, I, she had a small store, I gave her some money. (unintelligible) Money was always gone.

SH: Was her store also closed after *Kristallnacht*?

MF: Oh sure, sure. So this was also '38, and, to remember, you, this is November '38 the Crystal Night. April '39 I left Germany, and arrived in, in Shanghai. What I did in Shanghai?

SH: Well, I wanted to ask one more question, that I said before. You were thinking of leaving, already in 1936. But other Jews were not so interested in leaving. Why do you think you were thinking about it?

MF: You know, I had always a feeling of one thing, which also helped me here, here, say for instance, as a finisher in furniture. I went, when I went by, they worked and I just went so, like this, I felt, well-sanded or it was, it needed more work. So I, I called it (unintelligible), because I feeling in my fingertips. I knew where I was wanted, and I knew where I didn't, where they didn't want me, and I felt, all over, that I wasn't wanted there. Well, I tried, let me see what else I tried, I went, I went on Hachsharah, and which was from the Jewish community in Berlin.[8] But after we were there together maybe three months, two-and-a-half months, Gestapo prohibited it, because too many Jews on one, in one place at a time.

SH: What kinds of preparations did you make to go to Shanghai? Did you sell things, or give things away, or . . .

MF: Oh. My, whatever I, I had, I had not much, I left with my mother-in-law, and whatever we bought, you know, furniture, or anything like this, we wanted to go out. What we bought were things to wear. So I had not much. My books, now I got, gave, I had a lot of books. I gave them away. I had, this was dumb, I had a lot of stamps, I gave them away. And then I had an okay, I could take out certain gold things, and so on and so forth. But this was before the Crystal Night. I, I had the okay, but this was now canceled. And the Germans, they knew exactly, I had, for instance, a watch and a chain, and they knew all these things because they were okayed. So I had to bring all these things to an appraiser, who gave me money for them. I had to leave it there, and I got maybe 10% what the value was, and I got, but, in contrary to most people, they, everybody throws out things. I didn't. All my, everything I got, bills from Germany, also from, as I was, as I was independent, taxes I paid in Berlin. The receipt, that I gave up the gold, I kept. I brought everything here to America. I sent these in. From me, they have not one wrong statement. I send 'em in, everything, I don't even make copies, that's where I made a mistake, but I, and I got money for . . .

SH: You sent them to Germany?

MF: Yeah. Say, for instance, from the appraiser, I, a few hundred dollars. I got this. I got the money for it.

SH: You, can I ask you when you were married, when, when did that happen?

MF: I got married in December '38. I got divorced '41. It was wrong. But we, we had no laws there.

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[8] Hachsharah refers to a series of agricultural training centers organized by the He-Halutz, or pioneer, movement, for preparation of Jewish youth for emigration to Palestine.

We were German refugees, and that means we are falling under Chinese laws. And the Chinese, Chinese law to get a divorce takes much less time than we could sit here and talk. You eat, please.

SH: I wanted to make sure that my thing is running here, thank you. Did you try, or did you talk with your mother-in-law about her coming with you to Shanghai? Or other relatives?

MF: She didn't want to. They didn't want to.

SH: What did she . . .

MF: As, yeah, they, as we left, they bought us to the station, railroad station, and I said to my wife, I said, "Look out. I don't think we see any one any more." I was right. Also, anyway, they didn't want to. They didn't want to go, my mother didn't want to go. Later on, as I was in Shanghai, I got letters: help us to get out. I, I couldn't. People who had money, and had real estate in Shanghai, also when you had real estate you could vote. If you voted for the Japanese, they would permit you to come to Shanghai.

SH: But otherwise, you couldn't convince your relatives, your older relatives . . .

MF: To come with me.

SH: . . . to come.

MF: No. No. No. I could not. No. I don't want to go into every detail, but . . .

SF: Do you want coffee?

MF: Yeah.

SH: Excuse me?

SF: Do you want coffee?

MF: Yeah!

SH: Sure.

MF: Me, too.

SH: Thank you. Should we . . .

SF: I don't, I don't have any cream, I didn't buy . . .

BREAK IN RECORDING

SH: I wanted to ask you one more question about your trip. And then . . .

MF: Yeah. Go ahead.

SH: . . . if it would be all right, to find out from Susie, about the time before Shanghai, and then . . .

MF: I am interested to hear her time also. (laughs)

SH: Good. Was anyone from the ship allowed to go ashore in any of the places that you stopped?

MF: Yes. We were permitted in Lobito, which is now Luanda, Angola, Central Africa. There we were permitted to go on shore, at shore. And there was nothing to buy, or anything, but it was interesting to see how the natives lived. At this time, a native could not, had to be three feet or six feet from the white man. He could not come close to you. This was under Portuguese rule. They worked, the blacks, they worked on board, on our, on our ship, because they, the coal was in the back, or in the front. They had to bring it to the ovens. And while they worked, you should see this, the heat, this is the equator, the heat and coal dust, you get black in no time. And the Portuguese in white with an *Schäferhund*, also, a German shepherd, and, and . . .

SF: Beating on . . .

SH: Whipping.

SF: Whipping.

MF: And they used it if they feel . . .

SF: If they felt it was necessary. Terrible.

SH: Did anyone, but then you all had to get back on the ship. No one could stay there? Could anyone stay there if they wanted?

MF: No, no.

SH: Everyone had to come back on?

MF: Well, I had even an offer, but they looked at my wife. They, I wanted to go to Brazil, so we had a little knowledge of Portuguese. And they appreciated it so much that they could, that we could make ourselves, ourselves understood. We were invited for dinner out there, and beautiful hotels, and also they offered me a job in, in one of the offices. But I, I knew they, they didn't look at me, they wanted my wife, and nothing else. An white woman there . . .

SF: You were sure about that?

MF: Hundred percent. The white woman was, was rare. The, the biggest deal, you could be a white woman there.

SH: So, on the whole trip, was anyone able to get off the ship permanently?

MF: No.

SH: No. So everyone . . .

MF: Yeah. And this was the only place where we could go on land. There was nothing.

SH: If I could now ask you . . .

SF: Sure.

SH: . . . the same, the same story. From the beginning of why you went to Shanghai, making the decision, maybe a little bit about where you lived, and, and your family, just to set the stage.

SF: Okay. I was the only child of a comfortable, comfortably well-to-do parents. Not rich, not poor, but we had everything that we needed.

MF: You had a maid.

SF: We had, yes, that's correct. My mother had me, and had a full-time maid who lived there permanently, and did the housework, and cooking and she went shopping, and took care of me. And I had a very nice childhood. I had, went to a Christian high school, to which I only was permitted because my father was twice wounded in the first World War. He had both the first and second class of the decoration, how do you call it that?

SH: I don't know in German, in Eng-, in American it's a Purple Heart. I don't know what it is, Iron Cross?

SF: Yeah, Iron Cross, something like that.

SH: It was the Iron Cross?

SF: Yes. And he was wounded, and on account of that, this was the only reason why I was admitted to this school, which was very good, it was a private . . .

SH: So were you the only Jewish girl there?

SF: No, no, no, no, no. We were quite a few, but, of course, very much in the minority. And it was different in Germany, I also lived in Berlin. Now, I mean before the wall was torn off, I always knew this would happen, sooner or later. But, you know, when it happens, it's affecting you even though you are here. We would have been in the Russian zone, Russian sector, or rather East Germany, where I lived. And I had, the majority of my girlfriends were Christians, Gentiles, and . . .

SH: From school?

SF: Yes.

SH: Was this because of school?

SF: From class, right. And, in fact, one of my girlfriends who lived across the street, her father was a carpenter, I think, more or less. He made a completely furnished, illuminated doll house for me, for, for one of my birthdays. Can you imagine? I have never seen the likes here. I don't know how much it would cost, but a fortune. And she was one of my best girlfriends. I had nothing to do, I was so used to having both of the good things, Hanukkah and Christmas, and Passover and Easter.

SH: In your home?

SF: No, no. But . . .

SH: Hanukkah in your home, and Christmas with friends, and . . .

SF: Yes, of course. We were going over and under the tree, it was customary to hang chocolate goodies onto the tree, besides the globes and the decoration, and always after New Year, we were eating it clean. (laughs) And it was a lot of fun, and everything that went with it. And, in addition, I might add, my mother's brother was married to a Gentile lady, who, by the way, knew better when the Jewish holidays were and everything about the Jewish religion than many of our Jewish fellow men would.

END SIDE A, TAPE 1

BEGIN SIDE B, TAPE 1

SF: . . . and it was observed because she, after all, was not Jewish, and she celebrated that. And my uncle, because of her, was saved to die the horrible death of the other Jews in concentration camps, because he was, he was forced to hard labor during the hardest time, the most difficult time, that our people were already picked up and brought to the camps. We had no, no way of knowing all these things, of course. We only found out after the war was over, we still couldn't believe it. And he, he was, as I said, spared the horrible end that any other person who went would ordinarily have to, and he looked very Jewish-looking, with bent nose, I mean, you could see from ten steps away that he was Jewish. So, so my mother, she looked it, too. My father not. I come after him. And we went even to hear Hitler speak, just out of curiosity, at the prime of his popularity. And, of course, in order not to . . .

MF: (unintelligible)

SH: No, fine.

SF: . . . in order not to attract attention, we had to also say, "Sieg Heil!" and lift our hands, but, of course, if we hadn't done it, we would have been in trouble. Then we didn't go there any more. My father's business really, he was a merchant, self-employed, who manufactured solenoid, I believe is the

word, articles for signs for, for department stores and any, any shops or bigger stores that would have to price the food or the merchandise they were selling. And especially during Hitler's time, he made a very good business, due to the fact that, as I remember, everything had to be changed from a quarter-pound to 125 grams, half a pound, 250, one pound, 500, so that all the people needed his services. And we, even after *Kristallnacht*, which, of course, we were horrified to not witness, but hear about, because we lived very far away from where it happened. But it also happened in our synagogues close by. And, I would say, up until the time that, although we had to wear yellow bands already, showing that we were Jews, they left us alone and were relatively kind and nice to us. I would say that my father finally had real concern and deep thoughts about our getting out of Germany altogether, no matter where, when he knew, I'm sorry, would you like more coffee?

SH: Oh, no, I'm fine, thank you.

SF: Until the time that we knew that they were making arrests. We did not know where people were going to be transported. But, of course, the best quote-unquote of the evils that could have happened to any one of us who would have been arrested would be, would be jail, and we didn't want that.

SH: This was already in 1939, that these arrests . . .

SF: Towards, oh, yes, '38, I would say. And we tried, people were telling us, "Get out, get out." And my mother always said, "Leave me alone. I don't want to leave."

SH: Jews or Christians were telling you?

SF: Well-meaning Christian friends and Jews, of course, alike. And many of our Jewish relatives had already left much, much earlier than we. One, one part went to Australia, to Sydney, the other went to Africa, South Africa, to Johannesburg, and I think we could have done the same thing, if we had only seen what the situation, what, what would lie ahead. You know, we had no idea. Well, at any rate, finally there was a passage on a ship to Peru available, and, I will never forget it, I went to my very good girlfriend, who was, I believe, a quarter Jewish, from England, one of her grandfathers was Jewish. She was raised as a Gentile. And we always were together, we had piano lessons from the same teacher, and we went ice skating, and spoke English on the way to show off our knowledge, you know. And her father told us, when we informed them that my father had made a down payment to go to Peru, of five, five hundred marks, which was quite a lot of money at the time, he said, "How can you go there? The Indians will scalp you!" And, you know, (laughs) we almost believed it, that it wasn't safe to go there, of all places, don't go to Peru. We could have done it, maybe we should have done it, and from there we could have then emigrated into the US, which we always wanted.

At any rate, we then waited around too late, too long for our comfort, so that my father's coat and hat was always at the second entrance or exit, out to the yard. In, in case there would be police coming up in the front, he could just, my mother could just take the door, and he could try to make a clean getaway. It never happened, thank God. But this was the situation. And my mother finally was talked in by my husband, my, my husband, I'm sorry, my father and me, too, and consented to picking up whatever we could, packing our laundry, personal belongings, of course, no furniture, nothing of that sort. And we, he, my father heard of, somehow, that there was a passage available on the Conte Biancomano, which was an Italian ship, Italian crew, German, Panama, I don't know, it was a whole mixed up, you know, on a ship. But the original, the original, how shall I say? It was an Italian ship, the original, how do you say? Even though, even though it was a mixed crew, and . . .

SH: It was owned by Italians?

SF: Owned, exactly, thank you. I couldn't think of the word owned, isn't that stupid? And we had to go from Genoa, in order to get to Shanghai.

SH: Could I just . . .

SF: They all, yes.

SH: . . . interrupt for a minute?

SF: Yes.

SH: How, how do you think he heard about this ship and about going to Shanghai?

SF: Either he read about it, I really am not sure. I don't, I don't believe I remember that.
SH: But he came home and said . . .

SF: He came home and said . . .

SH: . . . we can go to Shanghai.

SF: . . . this would be our chance, and we would just regard it as a springboard, to tide us over for a couple of weeks at the most, and then we would be able to legally enter the US.

SH: I see. So that was the idea.

SF: So that was the idea. Of course.

SH: And you thought this was a good idea?

SF: I didn't think it was a good idea, but at least we get out of there, because we knew that they were threatening us with horrible things that would happen, and they, in the beginning, they were giving people, I don't know how much money, on top of it, if they only would get out.

SH: And your mother wasn't so sure, though.

SF: And my mother wasn't sure. No, she did not want to. She, she had hardly any command of the English language. She didn't know what would lie ahead of us, for us in a strange orient-, oriental country, of which we didn't know anything about, whose language we didn't know, and the cultures and the, the whole customs, and everything sounded, not Chinese but very Greek to her, you know, as you say. And, no, she, oh, tears were spilled, and please, I don't want to go, you go and leave me here, and that would of course be horrible. No, we would not hear of it. And then I had a chance to go to England, to London, with a children's transport, which would mean I would be separated from my parents. Again, they did not want that. We stay together.

SH: Could I ask you about that, how did this chance to go to England come about?

SF: We heard about it from friends.

SH: And you could have just gone along with them? Wasn't anything special to . . .

SF: No, I would have to apply for it, I guess. But we did not, we did not do anything of the sort, because my parents would not consent to my being separate from them, separated from them.

SH: How old were you then, at that time?

SF: I was fourteen, going on fifteen. And finally, my husband, my father came home, I keep saying, my husband, it's such a long time, that I am talking about my parents. My father came home, and he said, "This is it," and he does not want to fool around any further. And this is not a joke, this is very serious business, and our lives are at stake, and finally he convinced my mother. And there were, there were two passages available for male passages, and, and two female. So that meant my father had to room with another strange gentleman in the cabin on the ship, and my mother and I together. You know, these two cabins were available. So, that's what we did. We could not take any money other than what we were supposed to take out, but my father had transferred a small amount of our money to Genoa, to a bank, and thought we might as well live it up for about a month, it was a little less than that. But we had a very nice time staying there.

SH: So you went to Genoa a month before . . .

SF: We went to Genoa before, right.

SH: When was this?

SF: This was in, we left in March, in March of '39. I don't remember the day, anymore. It was a very, very unpleasant, dreary, wet day when we arrived in Genoa. Oh, no, I'm, I'm too far. On the, on the train, we had to go by train, and passed the Brenner Pass, which is dividing Germany and Italy, and on the train, my father had again thought he meant well, and he bought a Leica and a Contax, which were, at the time, the two best cameras that you can buy for money. And I got my first little onyx ring, with some little diamonds, and I was wearing that, too, so, just, you know, to use some of the money. And my mother had her rings, which, at any rate, they came in then, requesting all of us, not requesting, demanding to see what we had, what we had to declare. If anything that we had taken along to leave Germany before entering Italy would be in, in accord with, in accordance with their rules and regulations. So my father, had, had shown the one camera at first, and the man confiscated it, and he turned around, and with a speck, my father opened the window and threw the other one out of the window, because he didn't want to let them have it. This was just a small thing. Then came the horrible . . .

SH: And the diamonds and the onyx and all that . . .

SF: The onyx . . .

SH: . . . that was all taken?

SF: Yes. I had to, right. It was taken also. I didn't have any, so it was the only one. And then the fun started, when we were made to get out. The men were supposed to go to a certain spot, and the ladies to another place, and we had to disrobe completely, because they wanted to see if we had concealed any, anything at all, on our person. And that was so disg-, degrading, and it was so, ooh, I'll never forget that. So then we went up onto the train again, and proceeded on to Genoa, and we had the first taste of what would lie ahead for us in case we had stayed on, you know, and not left, so anything after that, we figured, couldn't be so bad.

SH: Could I interrupt again?

SF: Yes.

SH: And ask you about other preparations that your family made to leave. You said, he sent some money to a bank in Genoa. What other, kinds of other things, selling furniture, or giving things away, what did you . . . ?

SF: Of course. Yes. We gave it away. Sell? To whom could we sell it? We give, we left it, I think we left most of it, we had lovely furniture there, really nice things, and we gave it to, left it with our friends, with relatives who were still there. And other than that, we had no, no chance to make any arrangements whatsoever, because there was a time limit. We had to be out by a, a certain time.

And then, in Genoa, of course, we, we spent a very nice time. The weather wasn't so much in our favor. In fact, we came to the hotel, and I thought at first that the temperature was quite cold, and it was set on *caldo*. And I didn't realize that *caldo* is warm and *freddo* is cold, and I turned it to *freddo* and it became more, much colder. That was just one little incident. And then we came onto the ship. And that was my first experience on an ocean liner. I never have gone there. We used to travel all the time by train, to the, either the sea shore, either to the North or the Baltic Sea, or to the Bavarian mountains, or Schlangenbad or Baden-Baden, you know, the usual places, spas. And, but I never have done, had the luck, good fortune, to be on an ocean liner. So. My father, at that time, said already, all right, you're going to get a long gown, because, after all, I have to have the, the money is there, might as well use it. And I had a sea-green, sea-green, light color, pleated, it would be very fashionable now, long gown, all pleated, with a, with a salmon-colored velvet sash and I stood up there and saw down below the half-moon shaped tables that were brimming, you know, bursting with food, and beautifully displayed, and I, I couldn't believe it. I just, I was speechless. And the whole, we had a lovely, a lovely time on this boat, on the ship. Because, besides the not-so-pleasant thing that we could not go ashore in Colombo, let's say, we saw it at night. Singapore, the same. In Bombay, however, they let us go ashore.

SH: I'm fine, thank you.

SF: They let us go ashore. And we had met on board of the ship a very, very nice Indian gentleman, who gave us the time of our life for almost the whole time that we were allowed to stay there, and showed us around, things that you would not see, if you go, would go on your own. You know, that was really a nice treat. And that was one nice, pleasant thing. Otherwise, we had a, an uneventful trip, which lasted a little less than two weeks, I believe. And then we arrived in Shanghai.

SH: Did anyone, was anyone able to get off the ship and stay off?

SF: I don't, not to my knowledge. If they did, I don't think how they could have done it possibly. As I mentioned, the places where we were allowed to go off were very few. Most of the places we had to stay on board. Why, I don't know, but we were displaced persons. Now, we were not German refugees anymore, German citizens, we were DP's.

SH: Was, were all the passengers Jews?

SF: Excuse me. I don't believe they were all Jews. No. They were mixed. They must have been, because, as I mentioned, the Indian . . .

SH: This Indian man.
SF: Right. They were mixed. But I think the majority were Jewish refugees.

SH: Were some of them from concentration camps?

SF: No. There were no concentration camps yet, at that time.[9] We did not see anyone from, we did not even know about it. We didn't know even while we were in Shanghai, all the, all these years until, the war was over. That's when we heard about it, a rumor that we thought could not possibly be true. And unfortunately, we heard later on that it was so. Well, in Shanghai, we arrived, and everything that we had anticipated did not come true. We were taken on trucks like animals to, to camps. As, first, first to one camp, which was the, the "Embankment," it's mentioned in the book there, too, which was right close to the pier. So this was the first step. And from there, people were then sent on to other camps. We landed in Chaoufoong Road camp.[10] And there we had to be again separated, my father with other men, and my mother and I with lots of other women, in large, plain, hall-like rooms with beds which were just consisting of a, a tent, a place to sleep. We didn't know where to put our clothes or things, and they said, "Don't worry, anywhere." And I don't even remember what we did with the boxes. They must have been in storage, because we had them later on, and couldn't possibly have taken them along. So I think my father must have made some arrangements, he was able to do that. We had some pots and pans, and our feather beds and pillows, and, you know, things, towels, things that we salvaged and took along. And naturally these all had to be packed in the cases. So they must have been somewhere, where later on we, maybe they were also brought over to the Chaoufoong Road camp, I don't . . .

MF: They had a storage room there.

SF: They had a storage room there?

MF: Sure.

SF: I don't recall that any more. I really don't, it's a shame. At any rate, we stayed there for a couple

[9] By 1939, many Jews in concentration camps were being released on the condition that they show proof they were about to emigrate.

[10] The Chaoufoong Road *Heim* was opened in April, 1939, on property donated by the London Mission Society.

of weeks, and we got food served from the IRA, UNRRA, and later on the AJJDC, which is the American-Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, and my last job in Shanghai was, luckily, working for them, in an office.[11] But, at that time we got, like my husband had lamb almost every day, we got there red beans in the soup, that's why I don't touch these anymore, at all. Red beans, I can't see. And the soup was meat and potatoes, all one-pot dishes, which were sometimes tasty, sometimes not so.

MF: A glass juice?

SF: Pardon me?

MF: A glass of juice?

SF: A glass of . . .

MF: Juice.

SF: Juice?

SH: Oh, no, thank you.

SF: Oh.

SH: I'm fine, I'm fine. Thank you.

SF: I have more coffee, too.

SH: I'm . . .

SF: No?

SH: . . . really fine.

SF: And then we were looking for a, a room to stay, to get out of there, because it was really a very limited way of living, limited space, and, I mean, space was enough, but we wanted to be on our own. And we found a very nice room on Baikal Road in a house which belonged to Austrians. Very nice family. And they had the house, and rented different rooms to different people. We got . . .

SH: Austrian Jews?

SF: Yes. And we got one room, which was with a wooden floor, with a little balcony, and the sun was shining in, so we were very fortunate, compared to what was going to be later on.

[11] The Joint Distribution Committee is an American Jewish relief organization, which funnelled considerable funds to Shanghai refugees and eventually opened an office there to oversee relief operations.

SH: Is this also in Hongkew?

SF: Yes, also in Hongkew. Then we, I had all kinds of, oh, yes, when we first arrived in Shanghai, my father saw to it that I took a course at a business college in shorthand and typewriting, because he thought it was important that I should know that, in case I find a job suitable for that purpose, where I had to know it. And I did that, and still could not find an office job which was, which was suitable for me, because soon we were told that we had to move. How many years was that, before the ghetto?

SH: The ghetto was in 1943.

SF: In '43, yes? So during, during that time, before '43, I had jobs in local jewelry stores as a salesgirl. I worked, in fact, I worked for the American army as a salesgirl in their PX sales store.

SH: This was before the war?

MF: After. This was after the war that you . . .

SF: It was after the war? Was it after the war? Oh, yes, you're right, after the war. I hitchhiked in trucks and jeeps and now I wouldn't dare do that anymore. And nothing happened, they didn't even, you know, they didn't even try to get fresh or anything. Very nice. And this was after the war. Before the war, I had . . .

MF: As nanny.

SF: Yes. I could freely travel in and out of Hongkew to Shanghai. And my parents, too, of course. So I had two different jobs as a nanny.

SH: And you're just a teenager at this time?

SF: Yes.

SH: Fifteen, sixteen years old?

SF: No. Well, in the meantime I was sixteen, seventeen, yes. The one family had two real brats, I mean, they were terrible, terribly behaved, and also they were vegetarian people, never eating meat. And I was a young girl growing up, I wanted meat. (laughs) And after two weeks, two weeks being there, spinach cutlet and, and oatmeal in the morning, and all these things that I wasn't used to, my father said, "That's it. You don't have to go back there any more. Try to find something else."

SH: This was a European family?

SF: This was, no, an English, a British family. And they left . . .

MF: Why don't you speak about your father?

SF: My father was still alive then, Martin. My father, at that time, he was always a heavy smoker and drank also, not overly, but he enjoyed his beer. And he had developed a gall bladder problem,

and in Germany he already had some colic pains and he was told he had to live according to his diet, or else be subjected to surgery, whatever. He did not listen to that. So finally by the time we got to Shanghai, he was getting very sick and had to be operated on. He was recuperating fairly well after that, but sometime later he had more problems, so that a second surgery was necessary. The first time they just took the stones out, and he should have been all right, but apparently it was progressed too far, so that the, the liver was affected. And he then read about the horrible end that any person with such a disease would take, if he was, if he was to live on until the time that it happens, and the end would come. He did not want to do that. So he, after having recuperated sufficiently to order a, a rickshaw to go to a park. I had worked in a, a factory nearby, to make some money. Got a call, all of a sudden, that my father was in a coma, and he was in such-and-such a hospital, I should come right away. What happened is, he went to all sorts of drug stores, got whatever medication he could, aspirin or other sleeping tablets together, went in to a restaurant, ordered a cup of coffee, and took his life. He never recovered consciousness, and he was in a coma for four days, and then passed away. That was the end of my father. So now there was my mother and myself only.

SH: Could I ask when that was, what . . . ?

SF: That was in '41. It was the end of the summer in '41. Well, we had to, we had to keep up, keep the, how shall I say, try to make go of our lives there, as best we could, after this happened. And I was always together with my mother, and she didn't want me to date, always said I want to come along, and don't leave me alone. And you know how it is. And at the time when my father was still alive, he was, we always went to, in fact, one of the places mentioned, Dachgarten, the roof-garden, where they always chaperoned me, and there was a row of young gentlemen, who were waiting for me to dance with them, in the meantime I'm (unintelligible). So there were some good times, in that respect, too. And we had local talent that was performing, and we would, at the time when my father was still alive, go and eat in those places, and later on have the cabaret night and enjoy, we had a very good pianist, who was very, very popular, and they always asked him to play "Star-", Martin.

SH: "Stardust"?

SF: I don't, "Stardust"? I think it's "Stardust".

SH: I think that's right, too.

SF: Yeah. "Stardust". Right? Yeah.

MF: And, and, and when I . . .

SF: And "Rhapsody in Blue", "Rhapsody in Blue".

MF: When I came in, he played for you the "Moonshine . . .

SF: "Moonshine Sonata", yeah, that too. Right.

MF: "Moonshine Sonata" and that (unintelligible).

SF: Right, that, too. Yes, well anyway, we had very good, very good talent, and a comedian who

was, a couple of comedians. Very, very good.

SH: Now this is, this is in a, a regular club, or where . . .
SF: No, no, they . . .

MF: Restaurants.

SF: They came into restaurants . . .

SH: Into restaurants.

SF: . . . and performed there.

SH: These were Jews?

SF: Only Jews.

MF: There were Jewish restaurants.

SF: There were Chinese, there were Chinese restaurants, you know what Chinese, we, we were cooking on a flower pot, a little pot, with wood coal, and fanning the coal so that it would glow.

MF: I did that, too. Don't . . .

SF: Yeah. Martin did it, too, but I didn't know him at the time.

MF: Yeah.

SF: So that what we would do, in the winter especially, we would cook rice first, and then put it into the . . .

MF: Bed.

SF: . . . bed, into the feather bed, because it would stay warm. And then make . . .

MF: And it cooked by itself.

SF: Well, just let it, let it boil, and it simmered . . .

MF: (unintelligible)

SF: Yes. And then continue with whatever else we wanted to have. One good thing was, we had fish, usually that was fresh, swimming in the water right in the barrel in the supermarket, in a very, very plain Chinese outdoor market, where we always bought fresh fruit, vegetables, whatever was available from whatever money we had at our disposal. But we could point, my mother could point, so she wants that fish. And then it had to be cleaned and killed first, oh, they did that, but cleaned and the whole big thing. These Chinese vendors or salesmen, in their respective field, be it vegetable or

fish or meat, it, unbelievably, would learn not only to speak German, but they would learn to speak Yiddish, with an Austrian dialect, anything and everything that you can imagine. Because my mother could not speak English too well, and she, like *Mame-loshn*, you know, she more or less pointed, with a few words of English in between.[12] So they picked up very fast. And the same, I would say, held true with regard to the manufacturing of anything that our immigrants had tried to establish a place of their own, a store, a shoemaker, they imitated it, or a tailor, they imitated it, and, of course, at a much cheaper price. So that there was quite a, a competition going on. And we did not go into store, I did not go into store, bought new things, I bought second-hand clothes, and I had my boots, ice-skating shoes, I had taken the skates off, and was wearing my shoes, because it was bitter cold in the winter time. Very, very hot and humid in the summer and very cold in the winter. And later on came the law that made us move into the area which was like a ghetto.[13] And our landlord, these very lovely Austrian people, had waited too long before trying to trade in their house with one within the ghetto.

SH: You were in Hongkew, but outside of this area?

SF: Outside of the area. Let us say, let us say that this, this was . . .

MF: Outside the area.

SF: . . . this was the ghetto. If we had lived on the same street on the other side, this wouldn't, would not be good enough. We would have to make arrangements, somehow, to find a place, a room, an abode, anything, within that area or segregated area or ghetto. And that was very, very bad, because they had to find room themselves. They sold the house. I think they, well, they lost money, but it wasn't our concern, we were trying to find a room to stay. So finally we found at the end of, of a long lane, sort of going down a little bit, which was bad because if it rained, it was inundated and terrible. And at the end of that lane was a room, if you call it that, which had stone floor, and just wood, wood bars making, making a, a . . .

MF: Wall.

SF: . . . instead of a wall. So that anyone coming by, from the outside, could, if he wanted to really look in. We put something in front, you know, later on. And there was a, where we had a bath before, outside, but we could use it, now we had, yes, a shower, too, it was a community shower. The bathroom . . .

MF: I don't know if this is of interest to you.

SF: No. Yes, it is.

SH: No, it is. Yes, I want to hear all these details.

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[12] *Mame-loshn* literally means "mother tongue" and refers to the Yiddish language.

[13] Susie Friedlander refers here to the Japanese edict on February 18, 1943, which forced all stateless refugees, meaning recently arrived Jews, to move to a bombed-out square mile in Hongkew, called the Designated Area.

SF: Was the bathroom, wait a minute, was, I don't think, I think, I think we went somewhere.

MF: Sure, I had no bathroom at all.

SF: I don't remember even.

MF: Nothing.

SF: The toilets, of course, were no WC, and, oh, it was terrible.

MF: Buckets.

SF: On, on top of it, we had eight yeshiva *bochers* living in back further. Lovely, lovely young men, but they always shaved Friday, Shabbos night, with no blade but the sulfur type, that they smeared around their beard, and then, you know, took it off, I'm sure you heard about it. And that smell from the sulfur, which came right into us, I'll never forget. (laughs) And upstairs from us was a lady and her husband, he was a butcher, and they were working, and we always got meat through them much cheaper. And another one was a former pharmacist, he passed away, and then she just remained with her cat, who slept with her. It was a horrible thing when the cat wasn't there. And you just got adjusted somehow, like it or not, to living these very unfamiliar and very poor way of life. Water you could not boil, you had to pick up from the front, at the entrance of the lane, where there was a stand.

MF: You could boil your water. It was only cheaper to buy . . .

SF: Boil the water, where? We didn't have, we didn't have a, a range, or an oven, or anything.

MF: Yeah, all over was water.

SF: You could drink it from the water tap, but boiling water I'm talking about.

MF: Yeah, you could boil it on your pot.

SF: We didn't want to do that, in the morning especially. So we went to the front and bought it.

MF: We bought, everybody bought their water.

SF: Yeah. And those matzoh-like cakes, whatever they had there, I forgot already. Or we had bread, too. We got then, we got bread and margarine. Butter? Never. One ounce of butter, if we would buy it, it would cost a fortune, and we just didn't. Milk was also a, a big word, in fact, fact, the first real container of milk that I had was when we arrived in Honolulu on the way to America. And we were, I mean, in between, of course . . .

MF: (unintelligible)

SF: This was the first American milk that I got.
MF: Well . . .

SF: It was good tasting . . .

MF: . . . there was Chinese milk.

SF: Chinese milk, it didn't taste that good. Did you like it?

MF: I didn't drink it.

SF: Well, I did. (laughs) It didn't taste that good. And, of course, during the time, during the time we were there, we were quite ill with all the usual dysenteria and . . .

MF: Amoebia.

SF: Well, yeah, amoeb-, amoerb-, ammervia, amoebia, dysenteria.[14] It's very, very hard to get rid of, if you don't have the right medication to kill the germs. You know? And we were quite, quite ill with that. And I had scarlet fever as a grown-up, you know, and I didn't have that in a, I had to go in a hospital. I was real sick at home, by the time it came out, I wasn't feeling that bad anymore. But all my letters that I sent to my mother had to be disinfected.

SH: Which hospital did you go to?

SF: In Shanghai, in Shanghai . . .

MF: In the Jewish section . . .

SF: . . . in the Jewish, Jewish section. Or was it Shanghai?

MF: In the Hongkew section. Was it Ward Road Heim?

SF: No, I think it was in Shanghai.

MF: When did it happen?

SF: That's a good question. I think it was not, it was not the Ward, it was not Ward Road, it was not the Ward Road hospital. And I remember having been, felt very, very lonely there, especially around the holidays, and I wasn't allowed to see anyone else but the nurses. And then finally I came home okay, everything was taken care of as far as that went. We had, we were about, close to thirty thousand refugees, I would say.[15]

MF: Not true!

SF: How many?

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[14] The disease is amoebic dysentery.

[15] The total number of European Jewish refugees who arrived in Shanghai is not precisely known, but estimates center around 18,000.

MF: Seventeen thousand.

SF: What?

MF: Seventeen thousand.

SF: Oh, twenty, I'm sorry.

MF: Seventeen!

SF: Close, close to twenty. No, it was more than that.

MF: Seventeen!

SF: Where did you hear that?

MF: I know that.

SH: Can I ask you, were you, were you working and your mother working at this time?

SF: My mother was never working. I tried to get all kinds of jobs, anything that I could, working in the factory, in a, as I said, in a jewelry store, as a nanny. I, oh, yes, in the ghetto I got a few children together, from mothers, I got the permission, and they paid me a little pocket money, and I took them to a park, and played with them, and sang songs and poems and all sorts of rhymes, you know, children rhymes. And they liked me and I liked them, and I enjoyed doing that. And sometimes, even when it would rain, and I couldn't come, they would cry, they would like, they would like to go with me. Later on, at the end of the war, it was brought to our attention, that the very park that I took these children to had ammunition, and . . .

END SIDE B, TAPE 1

BEGIN SIDE A, TAPE 2

SF: Okay, what was I saying?

MF: I'll say . . .

SH: Mrs. Friedlander, this says "Certificate of Divorce".

SF: That's not me. That's you.

MF: That's mine.

SH: This is Mr. Martin Friedlander.

SF: He was married and then divorced.

SH: (unintelligible) So you, your working was sufficient to buy the food that you needed?

SF: No, no, it was not. We, it was just helping somehow. We could not have existed with the measly salary that I would get. In addition, I would have to have a, an okay from the Japanese authority to enter the, to enter Shanghai. This was across the Garden Bridge which connected Hongkew with Shanghai and vice-versa. And no one could go out without that passport. They had, right in the middle of that bridge, similar to the booths that they have here at the turnpike, or, better even, booths that they would have at the Holland or Lincoln Tunnel, Tunnel in New York, soldiers stationed and they would . . .

MF: You had to . . .

SF: . . . insist . . .

MF: (unintelligible)

SF: . . . you had to, you had to bend down, almost like a Japanese geisha, or . . .

MF: Geisha!

SF: . . . well, Japanese person would, and acknowledge them, as the big power, and then they would say, "Go ahead," if I had the passport. But in order to get the passport, that was a different story. We had to apply for that passport, and the opportunity to work outside of the ghetto, at a, at an office, standing in line, queue-type, until it was our turn. And sometimes he would grant us the passport, and other times he would say, "Why do you want to work in Shanghai? You don't have to. You stay in Hongkew. Get job in Hongkew. Refused." And that was it.

SH: Is this Mr. Ghoya?

SF: Right. Right. And I was lucky, he just said that in a very firm, stern voice, very loud, very rude, but that was all. But in some other instances, with some of the men, he verbally, he really abused them. He hit them and beat them, it happened, too. Not too often, I believe, but at times.

MF: Let me interrupt this.

SF: Yeah?

SH: Can I invite you to come sit with us? I can . . .
MF: Most people who went to Mr. Ghoya tried, with everything possible, to get this passport. This meant a lot. So they didn't shy to tell them some lies, tell him some lies. So he expected, when the people came, that they were liars. He expected that. Very few exceptions were there who really had possibility . . .

SF: A legitimate reasons for a job.

MF: . . . of a job. The others, not. There, for instance, all those people who went with some material and sold this, or tried to sell it to Japanese . . .

SF: (unintelligible), you know.

MF: . . . and . . .

SF: . . . selling . . .

MF: . . . also, anyway, all these people . . .

SF: . . . yard goods, cloths or men's worsted.

MF: Japanese liked to buy, because there were then German tailors also involved, and they liked to buy that. But they had here, they had to get first this okay from Mr. Ghoya. And Ghoya didn't give it, because, for him was this illegit-, illegitimate.

SF: Illegitimate. Right?

MF: Yes, I wanted to bring this up.

SF: Illegitimate.

MF: Let me tell you a very short story. I was eating in a, in a Jewish restaurant one day. And I don't know how it came, but one very nice dressed Japanese said if he could sit at, I was sitting alone, and there were no, not too many tables available, or no tables available, if he could sit there, he asked, in English. And so I said, "Please." And there came, usually a, a Japanese did not go into European restaurants, and there came all kinds of remarks there, like, "How come that this jerk, or fucking bastard," or whatever, these expressions came over.

SH: But he wouldn't understand that? He wouldn't . . .

MF: And we ate. And suddenly he asked where I came from, and I told him. And he said, "Tell me, I speak a little German and I was in Tsingtao." Tsingtao was formerly German. And, "What they, what did they say?" I says, "Better don't say that to you." And he (unintelligible) the remarks which . . .

SF: He wanted to have the translation for these.

MF: Yeah, he wanted to hear a translation for himself.

SF: Maybe, maybe he didn't understand it.

MF: Well, no, he said, he was pressing me. I said, "No. I don't tell you this. This is not nice. These people have no right to say these things, and I'm ashamed that they say that to you. Especially where

you are a guest on my table." And he thanked me. And even we went out together, out of the restaurant, and outside, he said, "You know where I went to school?" So I said no.

SF: Heidelberg? Heidelberg?

MF: No, in New York.

SF: Oh, New York.

MF: So, he spoke German grammatically better than a German.

SF: Can you imagine?

MF: High educated, he spoke English better than I do. And . . .

SF: That's how careful you have to be, huh?

MF: . . . he told me, you see, he said, "You know, you are an honest man, so far as I can see, and if you need something, let me know. I can give you, he gave me his card and, "If you have to go to Mr. Ghoya, show him the card." And I never went to him, for I didn't need to go out. And, well, as I said . . .

SF: Oh, did you tell . . .

MF: . . . before, if you are nice to people, people are nice to you.

SF: Yeah. Did you tell about your parachute rigging?

MF: Oh no, this is . . .

SF: Why not?

MF: This can . . .

SH: Well, maybe we can pick up your story. We left you with coming into Shanghai.

SF: Yeah.

SH: Could you pick up your story from that point, please?
MF: Well, I tried to get jobs, but it was almost impossible to get something or to find something. And I had a, a man, whom I had helped . . .

SF: Sit closer.

MF: . . . whom I had . . .

SH: It's fine, it's a good microphone.

MF: . . . whom I had helped on, on the ship, with money. And we were, we became good friends. His name was Herzberg. And they opened an, a butchery, a butcher, in Avenue Haig, the French . . .

SF: Settlement.

MF: . . . Settlement. And they were money-wise very well off. And he had employed a guy, *ein* Chinese, who was a very bright man. And one day he came to this, to Mr. Herzberg, and he said, "Mr. Herzberg, I know that the Jewish institution are buying meat. I can get you meat cheaper than anyone else. I can get you not only meat, I can get you vegetables and so on and so forth. And so . . .

SH: Thank you.

MF: . . . Herzberg said to me, "Martin, when he brings you the prices for this, for his meat, bring it over to the Committee, and we share the commission on it. And we came, and we got orders from the Committee. And well . . .

SF: Oh, did I take your plate?

SH: No, I don't need any more, thank you.

MF: The, the Chinese paid us 3% . . .

SH: That's my plate, that was my plate.

SF: Keep it, keep it, there is another.

MF: And I told him, that I think 1% for me is enough, and you take 2%. And so I had, during the war, a very simple job where I got the prices, they brought me the prices, I went to the Committee, and I get an order, then I, I got back to, in the, in the noontime around, not noontime, around four o'clock, they came up with the, with the cars, where they delivered the meat and vegetables, and the Jewish Committee then weighed, you know, how much the pounds of this, and the pounds of that. Then they signed it, I get, I took these signatures, and went on the end of the week to the Committee and asked for the money. This was my job, also, most of the time, most of the time, not always, also, this was a little bit later. Before that, I was in, I had no chance to, to get any, to do anything.
SH: So how were you supporting yourself or your wife, and how was that? What were you using for money? Where were you living?

MF: We, we lived in a room, which had about the size from here to the wall.

SH: Ten feet?

MF: This is six, this is nine, yes, something like this. Well, seven feet, and in width, maybe, like that. This was the room size.

SH: Seven by eight, or seven by ten, or something?

MF: Yeah, yeah, yeah. There was a bucket, you know, where you went to the, no shower. If I wanted to take a shower, I had to go to the, to the *Heim*, and I had to pay a pen-, one, one cent. It was a lot of money.

SF: One cent? I don't remember that any more.

MF: That's right, but I know, I had to pay it. It was a very, very hard time. Then we had some things, we sold partially this, there was some, whatever we had, we sold, *bis*, until I got there this job, then I, as I had this job, for my part, the war could go on forever.

SH: How long was that, between when you landed and when you got this job, do you think?

MF: About a year.

SH: So a difficult year?

MF: A very difficult year, yeah, very difficult. But it was just not possible. I tried, I tried all kind of things, you wouldn't believe it. Coal for the, for the stoves. Hard pressed coal. It was done like this. They were in an, a gadget, in, and like presses, and there were then four guys, and you went then around, like you see horses running, so this was done . . .

SH: To make charcoal . . .

MF: Yeah.

SH: . . . briquettes.

MF: Briquettes.

SH: So you did that for a while?

MF: I did this. But here, if you do this in the, during the summer months, I guarantee you, after ten minutes, you're black, because everything is black around, and you're black, and you're thirsty. The only thing what they had there is, is tea, tea stands there, and everybody is drinking, the more you drink, the sweatier you get, and the blacker you get. It is a mess, it is.

SH: How long did you do that?

MF: A few weeks.

SH: But then you, why did you stop? Because it was awful work or . . .

MF: Horrible work, real horrible. (unintelligible) got in on your lungs, and, well, very bad, very, very bad. And then I came and had the luck, and worked for the Chinese guy, and he became a big man later on. He worked, he worked for the Japanese and supplied them with, with food. Big, big, big wheel he became. But so I, I cannot, I cannot complain. After the war, shortly after the war, I worked for the American forces, I became a parachute rigger. I worked for the Air, Eighth Air Force.

SH: How did you get that job?

MF: I heard that the American are hiring civilian employees.

SH: So you went there?

MF: I went there. Whatever they gave me, I would, they ask me, what do I want? I said, "What do you have?" And so I became an parachute rigger. I got even a license to pack it, because they train you for a while, and then they check it over, and then you have to sign. It's a clean job, very clean job. And nobody worked hard on this job, not at all. But they paid well. Well, this, with this, I had worked maybe one year, two years, something like this, then I, I worked as next, as interior decorator. And I had good help, and we, we did good jobs, very good jobs.

SH: Whose places did you decorate? Europeans, Chinese?

MF: Chinese and Europeans. Yeah. Oh, if I could tell you what I did, for, what type of job I did, I'm, I still don't believe that I did what I did. And, with this, if I would have done this in the beginning, when I came, if I would have the connection in the beginning, I would be a very, very rich man.

SH: So that was through a connection that you managed to do that?

MF: Always, just by a connection, nothing else. Even as I came here, the job didn't pay anything. But only through connection. But the job didn't pay anything. I don't know, if I got thirty-five, thirty-five dollars a week, and I worked usually around sixty hours. Then I told him and they raised me to forty dollars.

SH: How did the, the ghettoization affect you in 1943?

MF: The ghetto, I, I lived in the ghetto. I didn't move, I didn't have to move. And what Susie said, you couldn't go out, and you had to, you were not checked by the guy on the Garden Bridge, you were checked by us. The Japanese put us in charge to control the Jewish people who go out. This was called Pao Chia and . . .[16]

SF: Pao Chia was help, assisting the police.

MF: That's correct. So every able man had to do certain, also certain, four hours or so a week, two and two hours, or three and three, six hours, I don't know exactly. And you got a certain spot, also, where the ghetto ended, and this, you were, you had a band here and a stick, and we made a, me, I never checked anybody. But . . .

[16] The Pao Chia was an auxiliary police organized by the Japanese in September 1942, and staffed by refugees. After the creation of the Hongkew ghetto, it guarded the entrances, insuring that refugees had the required passes to enter and exit.

SH: That is, you let everybody go through?

MF: I, I don't, I didn't see 'em. I couldn't care less.

SH: That didn't worry that you were, you would get in trouble for doing this?

MF: They, they, if they were out, you know, they didn't check outside. They were not, they were not Germans, where you would be picked up, no, no, not, not the, not Japanese. They didn't do that. They were most of the time friendly to us, most of the time. So I, I had, I personally had no, no complaint whatsoever.

SH: Did it make a, so you were living in the ghetto, did it make a difference to you that all of a sudden people were leaving, and more people, Jews, were coming in to the ghetto. Did that . . .

MF: Not at all . . .

SH: . . . change your life at all?

MF: No, no, didn't change at all. Because they, you know, I like to play cards. I play bridge, and another game, this is called scat, and I, I was one of the better players. And they didn't know that I had another job, these . . .

SH: Oh, my goodness.

SF: Have some. No, I don't want it.

SH: Just a little bit, thank you.

SF: Okay.

MF: So they, they always said to, the player, they spoke for me, or if they play, talked to me, or about me, the, the, the professional player. Susie wasn't sure and afraid also, that I would play here.

SF: Afraid? You played in New York.

MF: Yeah, but, but, also, I played, one day or two days or three days . . .

SF: Yeah, right.

SH: But in Shanghai you played every day?

MF: Every day. Every day. When my work was, was, finished, some, sometimes at one, mostly at one o'clock. I have to get up earlier, but at this time, the people were sleeping. When I got up, people were asleep. Then I came back at one o'clock, oh, well, this was not a, a big deal, so, in the after-, in the afternoon I went and played cards. Yeah.

SH: And whom did you play with?

MF: With, with Jewish people.

SH: But other people who were not working, or how, how did they manage to have the afternoon?

MF: They had all kind of jobs. One was in, had an, a, a drugstore. Another one had an, a, was an optician. Another one had an restaurant. These, some, this type of people. We didn't play for high, high stakes.

SF: Certain, certain people had . . .

MF: Had their money.

SF: . . . made, made, made a, made a living, made a, they were not rich, but they made enough to . . .

MF: To live.

SF: . . . to exist in a decent manner.

MF: Also when, in order to tell you, during the, also, before the war, if I made six, seven dollars, US dollars, eight dollars, a month, did, did I say a month? Yeah, I think, a month, I could pay my rent, I could go out every day and eat outside in a Jewish restaurant, I could have, girlfriend was too expensive, to me came an girl, also sent by a friend, a Chinese girl, and she took care of everything I needed. And all for these seven, eight dollars. Like a king.

SH: Tell me about the end of the war. How, how things changed at that moment, or how things changed for you.

MF: The end came, we didn't believe it. *Und* somebody said that the war was over, and the Japanese are not in the streets, you cannot see in the streets any, any Japanese. So we went out to the Garden Bridge. Also this was quite a, a stretch to walk. And looked around, and everything was quiet, and so we went back. And the change came quite late. The Americans came in, I would say, maybe two months after the war was over.[17] It took about two months, then they, before they started to settle down, and so on. Then they, they had employees, they, they didn't work much, also, whatever the work was to be done, it was not done by Americans. That's for sure. Anything, everything, you can do that.

SH: I guess I, I want to ask you more. You were buying food for the Jewish community?

MF: Yeah.

SH: Which was then using the food for their *Heime*, for example?

MF: Right.

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[17] American forces arrived in Shanghai in September, 1945.

SH: What, what can you tell me about the organization of how they were doing the food? Were they well organized, were they efficient or not, or . . . ?

MF: Better, better organized than you imagine, and also as, as was credited here, by Mr. Kranzler or whatever his name was. I gave in the price of beef, grade A or B and C, and many other people gave prices in. This is, was, just like, here, the Air Force had, or some government, gives away a job. You got at least four or five, sometimes more, people who gave prices in, and then the, the people from, from the Committee, they gave then orders away. Sometimes they gave away the order to people they knew well, sometimes to people whose prices . . .

SF: Have some, it's good, good.

MF: . . . whose prices were right. Sometimes, maybe . . .

SF: That's it.

MF: . . . who were bribed.

SF: Bribed? By who?

MF: Bribed, they were not bribed. I'll say, for instance, one Committee member would get coal, you needed coal for the winter. Say the market price, say, just in order to say something, is ten dollars for ten pounds. Then I would go to him and would say, look, I know somebody, where I could buy coal very, very reasonable. You could have this, maybe, for ninety-nine cents. Is not a bribe. He paying for it, right? This is how things were done. Sometimes illegal and sometimes legal.
SH: And then they took all this food that you bought, and . . .

MF: Yeah. This was then cooked.

SH: Were you buying it for all the *Heime*, or just for one?

MF: Yeah. Later on it was centralized, just one *Heim* cooked for everybody, except . . .

SH: In the beginning it wasn't, it was just for one?

MF: No. Yeah, yeah. But, except there was a Polish *Heim*, where they said, also, the central cooking is not kosher enough for them. They cooked then for other people, not, there was not many people, I would say maybe a few hundred, where they cooked for, where they adhere to the kosher. Here was everything almost kosher. There was something was not kosher, their rabbi came and made it kosher, yeah. But the good thing is the people survived, more or less. A few died. This always happen. But with all that, the, the only bad part was, in the beginning, where very little organization was there, and the Jewish people started to stop the flow of emigrants to Shanghai. This is what, not only, of course, America was in it, too. I think, the HIAS, so many organizations, is a shame, you can read this.[18]

[18] HIAS stands for Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society. It was the oldest of the societies for helping

SH: Yes, I know, he talks about that.

MF: It is true, what he writes.

SH: He talks about that.

MF: Yeah.

SH: What, tell me about the end of your time in Shanghai. About, or, about when you first began to think about leaving.

MF: Leaving? I had two choices. Leaving, I had no, nowhere, nowhere to go. Relatives in America I didn't have. My former wife left for America. I bought her, she, on her affidavit was my name, I could have gone with her (unintelligible) .

SH: This is when, at what time?

MF: This was in, I left '49, '47. And I wanted to be free. I didn't want to go to the United States, I always said, with a suitcase. I, I wanted to be without any suitcases.

SH: She was the suitcase, is that what you mean?
MF: Yeah. Then I heard that the Joint Distribution Committee would offer affidavits for, look for people who had no criminal records, and who had nobody else. So I went to them. Before that, I had a girlfriend. And, she went to Australia, and she wanted to see if she could get me an permit for Australia. So to me was one thing sure, whatever comes first, if I get the affidavit first, I go to America, if I get the permit for Australia, I go to Australia. You know when I got that permit for Australia? As I picked up my trunk and suitcases for the United States, on this day I got the permit for Australia. I show you this. I have it still. Then we went (unintelligible). It was a former transporter, a, an troop transporter, this boat, this ship, the "General Max" was the name, where we got army food and landed in San Francisco and stayed in an hotel, paid by the Joint Jewish Committee.

SH: You had no money from Shanghai? Did you have anything saved up that you could . . .

MF: I, I, I had some money, I had some money. But I didn't tell them. But I paid back my trip from Shanghai to America. I paid it back here.

SH: That was paid for by the Joint also?

MF: Uh-huh. But I paid it back.

SH: Was that understood? Anyone who, who wanted to go could get their trip paid for by the Joint?

Jewish immigrants. Many German Jews were able to enter Shanghai in 1939 through funding guarantees by HIAS.

MF: Yeah, who had the money could, yeah, no question about it. Yeah, I, I, I did for them several things. For instance, later on, we had about ten Jewish people where I worked, and we worked then every week, every week, one hour overtime, which was deducted from our pay, and this was, we sent this for the Jewish, the American Joint Distribution Committee.

SH: This was when, when was that?

MF: 1950. Right?

SH: Were these other people who were doing that also from Shanghai?

MF: No. They came partially, they came all from camps.

SH: I see.

MF: (unintelligible)

SH: Were you thinking about the Communists coming at all? What did you think about the, the threat of, of Chinese Communists coming into Shanghai?

MF: I wanted to go out from Shanghai. I didn't see any, any chance to make a living there. No, the Communists, I was not interested in any politics, I just wanted to go out. I wanted to go out, and if I would have to walk, I would walk.
SH: Would you tell me about meeting Susie? That was still in Shanghai?

MF: Yeah, this was still in Shanghai. By chance, on the street, I saw her. She really, she, she was my type, she was a pretty girl. She still is, to my . . .

SF: (laughs)

MF: You stay out! And then we started to talk, and we came closer, and later on . . .

SF: You didn't say how you met me.

MF: It was in the street.

SF: Well, where, where, where was I going to go?

MF: To school.

SF: To hear what?

MF: I don't know.

SF: Well, (laughs) I come in then.

SH: Maybe you should tell the story.

SF: Yes.

MF: From her, it might be better.

SF: Okay, but we're, we're jumping the gun. This was not, this was not happening. Do you not need a . . .

SH: I, I've had a little, thank you.

SF: What, what, what, this is delicious. It's a Linder, try it. It's delicious. Real good.

SH: Thank you.

SF: Put it in, all together. (laughs) I had, after having been a nanny to a few children, seven or eight, and gotten a small denumeration for my services from all the, from the parents who always liked to see me, and pick up their children, and play with them. I felt I still should do something else, because after all I took a, a course at the business school in the beginning to learn shorthand and typewriting, and I felt it was a waste to just be together with children, which I enjoy doing, but I wanted to do something, and in that, get, get experience.

SH: This is still before the end of the war?
SF: Oh, yes. So I, I got a job with a woolen worsted manufacturing company, Chinese, in the city, Shanghai. I got a passport, it was okayed. And I worked there for quite a while. And I was treated like a, like a friend, really, it was a terrific way of, how they went about, polite, nice, treating me sometimes for lunch, you know, with all different dishes in a Chinese restaurant. And I worked, I was in charge of writing letters of credit to London, opening letters of credit, asking them to okay certain transactions that they made, and I had to do that. I, I, I don't know, I lost my train of thought now, I can't speak as well any more as I could at that time. I don't know why. I did all these things, and on my own, and successfully, without ever having gone to a college. You don't need that, in certain instances. And then I had a couple of other jobs, too, but the last one, of course, was the best one, which was the American-Jewish Joint Distribution Committee.

SH: This is now after the war? Or this is still during the war?

SF: It was my last job that I had in Shanghai, while I was still there. I could have, I could have had, you see, you like it (laughs), you're going to ruin your appetite for dinner later. I could have had, see that, I don't know what I was going to say. I could have had other jobs, but it would have been too far in traveling to the French, and I didn't want that, too time-consuming and expensive, you know fare was not that easy. By bus, they were hanging out like sardines, and a pedicab it takes too long. It was all a problem, you know? And the food that we got in addition to the money that we received as pocket money was really not that bad. It was, we could exist from it. We got medical, I don't know if Martin told you this, medical services, that . . .

SH: This is from the Joint, your job with the Joint.

SF: . . . yes, yes, rendered to us. What is that?

SH: This is Martin Friedlander's application or admission to Australia.

SF: Oh. For the permit, his permit has (unintelligible).

MF: No, this is not!

SH: This is not . . .

MF: This is not a permit.

SH: No, this is just saying, it's the beginning of the process.

MF: Yeah.

SF: Yeah. And the okay, the actual, the actual okay came only a day after he got the call to come to the American consul.

MF: No! My, my, some, my things were picked up already. Then I got the permit.

SF: Oh, you told me that later. Well, anyway, coming back to my story, at the time when I wanted to date, I did date, and with great difficulty, because my mother didn't want to be left alone, and there was always a problem. And, finally, I read a notice in an ad in the local paper which said that there would be an American lecturer speaking on ways and means of the United States. And following that there would be a bingo game and refreshments served. And I thought, why not? So I was on my way to get pedicab or rickshaw and, no, I was on my way to the bus stop, that's what it was, and Martin keeps walking along, and I knew him by sight, but not really, didn't talk to him. I knew him as you knew many other people that were living in the ghetto. And he greeted me, and he wasn't shaved, and he had on khaki shorts and knee socks and really didn't look that inviting, but he said, to where I was going, he asked where I was going, and I told him. He said, well, it was on his way, he lives very close there, and he, we take a pedicab, and that's what we did. I reluctantly went in and he dropped me off at the school and he left. And then I listened to the very interesting speech by the lady from America, telling us about customs and ways and means, and, you know, how things are so different from the way we were used to, living there now, at the time. And, all of a sudden, I look up, and there stands Martin, he came back again. And, oh, I played bingo, and I won even, and then he treated me for coke, and a . . .

SH: Had he shaved in the meantime and changed his clothes?

SF: I don't remember that, but apparently. And he then even got me a job in the office through a, an uncle who was a pharmacist, a chemical, he had an office, but I was lasting there two weeks because he yelled too much. I couldn't take that. And that was that. And then later I, I found the job . . .

MF: He told me, he told me . . .

SF: I wasn't good.

MF: He told me, yes, I would fire her, or I fired her. And you should do the same. That means . . .

SF: Why?

MF: To get rid of you!

SF: Why?

MF: No reason, he just gave me the advice.

SF: (laughs) He has a really sense of humor. He was a, later on he went to, back to Germany and didn't end in too good a way, although he wasn't in a concentration camp. Let's not talk about that. At any rate, we, I had gotten, I was on the German quota to come to the US, which was the largest, largest one compared to . . .

END SIDE A, TAPE 2

BEGIN SIDE A, TAPE 3

SH: All right. Yes, in fact, I do want to hear the horrible things, too, but only . . .

SF: You want to hear the bad things.

SH: . . . I don't want you to say anything that makes you feel uncomfortable, or if you . . .

SF: No, no, it's just that I, I like to erase it from my mind, you know.

SH: I understand, but I, I feel I need to know the good things and the bad things.

SF: Okay. All right. Are we on?

SH: Yes.

SF: Okay. Let me, let me go back to the time where, before the war was over. By the way, when we would have a clear, cold, starlit, moonlit night, we could always almost be sure that we would get a, an attack by American planes. We could hear them whiz over and because, after all, Shanghai was occupied by the Japanese, and Japan was in war, and the Americans tried to, to bomb them. We then, if it was during the day, we would seek shelter, we were told to seek shelter, in the best constructed building, which was the jail, which was just, not really across, but it wasn't very far. And we were told to go downstairs, into the shelter, and it would be the safest for us. We did so, in various instances, and only after the war was over did we find out that right on top of the very jail where we were seeking shelter from the attacks, from the air raids, during the air raids, they also, similar to the underground in the little park where I took the children, had hidden ammunition, in the jail, on top somewhere, which was unbeknownst to us, of course.

SH: So it wasn't a very safe place after all.

SF: It wasn't a very safe, and if, if that jail would have gotten a full hit, then good-bye, all of us. Most probably, we wouldn't be here to talk about it. But, as the saying goes, the less you know, the less, how does it go? What you don't know doesn't . . .

SH: Doesn't hurt you.

SF: . . . doesn't hurt you. In German, *Es was man nicht weiß, macht man nicht heiß*, you know, doesn't make you hot. In the meantime, we had all the natural catastrophes take hold, like typhoons, and due to the fact that our room, if you would call it room, quote-unquote, I would say, an abode, was like a cellar, more or less, was at the end of the very primitive lane, the flooding was, of course, more prevalent there than even on the street. So, at one particular morning, I would wake up in the tent, which my mother had mended, because it kept tearing, and this was our bed, and we put something under it, to make it a little more comfortable. At night, sometimes rats would crawl over us, and hide in back of the boxes that we had, where we had . . .

MF: They didn't eat you!

SF: They didn't eat us, no, but it wasn't a very pleasant feeling. And there wasn't anything we could do about it. I mean, we tried to clean. We had a broom, like, like one of these outdoor brooms, that was our, and a shovel, of course, and a smaller shovel, and we tried to keep clean, as much as we could, ourselves and our surroundings, but it was almost impossible. And at one morning, after the typhoon had reached its peak, I would find myself completely in water, the slippers, the head, everything was, we would walk knee deep in water, outside, wherever we would. If you had a boat, it would have, it would have helped a great deal, but we didn't have one. So we just had to walk there, and, of course, eventually, it was, oh, flowing off somewhat, and life would get back to as normal as it could under those circumstances. We would see, very occasionally, very frequently, rather, it was so often that we, we did not, it did not even bother us, and we didn't even give it a second look, that very, very poor plain Chinese people would sit in the street, alongside the curb, lousing themselves. You know, they had lice.

MF: This was . . .

SF: And . . .

MF: . . . meat!

SF: Meat, yeah. And, ooh, numerous instances that, begging us, to give us anything, and we didn't have much either. We did, you know, we tried to be as compassionate as we could, with what little we had. There were always lines for wet sugar, wet brown sugar, mostly, or rice, or bread, mostly. As I mentioned before, butter was a luxury. You just only heard of, or remembered from back, way back when you were growing up. You bought an ounce at times. We would eat bacon. My mother any . . .

MF: (unintelligible)

SF: Yeah. My mother anyway was not very religious. But ham we liked all the time.

MF: (unintelligible)

SF: But if anyone was religious, I don't know how he really survived. You had to have some kind of fat in your, in your bones, you know, in your system. Why do you say I should stop? It is true and we did eat that. And the soups were, were cooked also with pork, mostly, or pork or beef, chicken sometimes.

MF: Not from the Committee.

SF: Not from the Committee?

MF: No.

SF: How do you know?
MF: Because I know!

SF: You were the only person who delivered the food there, the meat?

MF: No, they did not, they did not use any, any of these . . .

SF: They did not.

MF: Not!

SF: All right then, we went, okay, my mistake, I'm sorry. At any rate, finally the war was over, V-Day was there, and I, in the meantime, I had gotten a, a job working for the PX sales store as a sales girl. And they, they got, they went cuckoo over a blonde, white girl working there, and wanted to make all sorts of attempts to get me to go out with them, which I didn't want to. And, of course, it was standard, that they sang "If I knew Suzy, how you knew Suzy, oh, what a girl." They sang that.

MF: (unintelligible)

SF: It was a, a different way of life when the Americans were finally there, and were making certain jobs available to young and old alike, if you were qualified. Then I got the call to come to get my affidavit for America, because my mother's brother, she had two, one of, one of whom I mentioned before, was, never left, he stayed in Germany, the other one got out with his family via England and finally arrived in America. They themselves had been in the U.S. too short a time in order to send us an affidavit right away, so that did not work out. But then finally, the call came, and I could have gone in 1938 already, I could have left. But my mother . . .

SH: 1948?

SF: Thirty-, forty-eight, I'm sorry, yes, that's correct, I'm sorry. You know better than I do. I did not want to do that because it would have meant leaving my mother alone. Because she had an, although

she was born and raised in West Prussia, Germany, was considered a, a Polish quota citizen, due to the fact that, that, that part of Germany, which was West Prussia, had been entered to Poland after the end of the first World War. And this was the day that, this was the date they, they used as a deciding factor in establishing the quota. So my mother, although she was born in West Prussia, Germany, was labeled Polish quota citizen. And therefore her, her Polish, her number was not at all up yet. So I said no, I don't want to go. And in the meantime, I met Martin, and he then left for the United States, leaving me behind. And I felt like something was missing.

MF: Oh, yeah.

SF: You know? I didn't know if it was love, we only, we only were together a, a few months, half a year, maybe. It was nine, (laughs) nine, nine years, oh, stop it. He's not a romantic type, as you can tell. (laughs) Never was and never is and never will be, I guess. Well, it's one of those things, I chalk up as experience and accept. That has nothing to do with my Shanghai experience. (laughs) When he was here already for quite a while, he first went to Connecticut, because he wanted to see his former wife. And there he did not want to stay for certain reasons . . .

MF: (unintelligible)

SF: I did not want to go into detail, Martin. It's immaterial and unimportant. You chose not to stay there. Right? Right?

SH: Right.

SF: Okay. And then returned to New York, went on to New York, or rather Paterson, Paterson, right? You went to Paterson? Oh, yeah.

MF: Actually, first in Paterson.

SF: Yes. Then all of a sudden I received a letter and a telegram, and another telegram, "Please come over, I want to marry you." And I said, "How can I do that? I can't leave my mother." So we discussed it at length, my mother and I, and we had two options at that time, in order to stay together, that is, my mother and myself. Either to go back to Germany to stay with a brother, who never had left, who wanted us to come. But my mother didn't think it was a good idea for me, as a young person, to do that. Or the second choice would have been to go to Israel, then Palestine. There we were advised very strongly against doing so, because of the very feeble health condition of my mother, her not being able to speak English or Hebrew, Yiddish a little bit, and the most important factor that people advised us against going there was that the health, the conditions, the living conditions generally would be very primitive. We would have to be in a camp first also, maybe for a lengthy period of time. And, and at any rate, she decided against it, and thought that the best would be for her to go back to Germany, and for me to follow Martin's invitation and offer to get married, so that I have a choice for a better life. And she would then come over and join me, which never materialized, because the quota was, how was it, the quota was still not there, her turn was still not . . .

MF: You were not a citizen.

SF: I was, that's correct. I was not a citizen yet, right. And we were, we got married, and two years

later our son was born, and she already had, no, I'm sorry, she wanted to see me very much, so after he was a year-and-a-half old, I went over with him to Germany to see her. And it was then diagnosed that she had already been quite ill, eventually she would pass on because of the sickness that she had, colon cancer. I sometimes cannot help but thinking, if I had stayed with her, would I have been able to, not prevent things from happening, but . . .

MF: Yeah.

SF: Martin, don't be sarcastic, please. Would I have been able to convince her to subject to surgery, which is not pleasant, and she never wanted that. She had me, and that was it. At that time already, I think they could have done something to prolong her life, and that way she was just like a vegetable, you know, rotting away, and she was there, and I was in America, and that was it. I did not mention, the first job that I had upon my arrival in America, where Martin, of course, was greeting me at Pennsylvania Station, where I, since I came from China, arrived in San Francisco, and I stayed there for almost a month, having had some friends, and the lady was very nice, and showed me a real nice time, showed me all the points of interest in San Francisco. And then I, as I arrived at Pennsylvania Station, I . . .

SH: You took the train across the country?

SF: Right.

MF: Me, too.

SF: I came, Dome Vista, on top, through the Rocky Mountains, and it was a sight. Three days, three nights I did not sleep. But it was worthwhile, it was beautiful. It was just unbelievable.

MF: (unintelligible) you went only to Chicago.

SF: No, I went all the way through. And then I arrived at my, I stayed at my cousin's apartment, of course, for two weeks until I found a furnished room that was near where she lived, Riverside and 95th, or West End and 97th or 8th, you know, that's where she and her husband and my aunt lived. And I still did not get married to Martin until over a year later. My first job in New York was working for the Jewish Agency for Palestine. And after three months, about, I was, I had lunch at the Central Park soup cafeteria, and found out from someone that a, an opening was at the American-Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, and would I want to accept that job, would I want to look further into it. Of course, I was overjoyed at the thought. And I did do so, and worked for a year, until we got married and it was time to leave, you know, because we moved away from there. I worked for the legal department of the United Nations, and we got all the General Assembly, Social Security, Economic Commission, Economic and Social Council, Commission, all these documents in, and I, my job was to file, type, take shorthand, and I did that. And Mr. Abba Eban was walking in and out, like, at that time, it was unbelievable, it was such a thrill to hear him speak and he did, you know, he always liked to speak, and every word was like a pearl, hearing him speak about Israel, he always talked. Little did I know that he would become a foreign minister and such an important personality.

SH: Did you ever meet one of his assistants, Josef Tekoah?

SF: No, no, I didn't. No. I did not.

MF: If you . . .

SF: My boss, my immediate boss was not Mr., Mr. Eban, he just happened to come as a visitor.

SH: I understand.

SF: My boss was, my boss, oh, my god, Dr. Robinson, right, a certain Dr. Robinson. And his assistant was Miss, Mrs . . .

MF: Mrs. Robinson.

SF: Oh, no, I forgot the name already.

MF: The name was Mrs. Robinson!

SF: It's been such a long time. I know, a Mr. Appenschlack worked there also, alongside me, and he then passed on. That was the first time I saw an open viewing of a casket. I'll never forget that. At any rate, when, when, when I told them I would stop working, they gave me a party, they took me out for lunch, gave me a nice present, and then moved into, into, moved into New York, why didn't I stay with them? Let me think. I was working in New York and we were living in New York. I don't think you wanted me to work at that time.

MF: I?

SF: Mm-hmm.

MF: I was (unintelligible)

SF: Wait a minute, but I worked then.

MF: I never would say no, that you don't . . .

SF: . . . when, when I was pregnant with Kenny, I worked for the, for the legal office. Why didn't I stay on at the Com- . . .

MF: Baloney! You didn't, you didn't work for a legal office.

SF: Sure I did. Marcus and Levy.

MF: Yeah!

SF: What do you mean, baloney? Why are you always belittling me?

MF: I don't belittle you.

SF: I worked there until the end of the eighth month of pregnancy. I think that's about as far as anyone can go. I don't know if you know it.

MF: Then you, you retired.

SF: Then I retired, and then I worked part-time again.

MF: You retired.

SF: Martin, let's not discuss that, please. It was physical, for physical reasons that I . . .
MF: She retired.

SF: I would like you to know, it took somebody to clean here and then, then take a job. Why not?

MF: You can, you can clean without taking a job.

SF: I know, I know that.

MF: I told you that hundred times.

SF: I know that. But, what I'm trying to say, it's easier sometimes to work outside, than being at home, believe me. At any rate, that about sums it up.

MF: You have to get dressed?

SF: Get dressed?

MF: Yeah.

SF: Into what, an evening gown?

MF: I don't know.

SF: (unintelligible)

MF: With that, that thing I don't go.

SF: I can't, my hair is completely messed up.

MF: You must be kidding.

SF: No. So horrible, huh? It looks artificial, I know. I was going to, I was going to set it, and I didn't. Should I take it off?

MF: Horrible.

SF: It doesn't feel good, I never, never wear it.

SH: Don't wear it on my account, please.

SF: No, okay.

MF: Anyway, you want to become an writer?

SH: Well, I, I do some writing as it is. I want eventually to write a book about Jews in Shanghai. That will be a while from now, after I do many more interviews.
SF: How many have you planned?

SH: How many have I planned? I haven't planned, specifically, any more than tomorrow. I have one more tomorrow.

SF: Oh.

SH: But I will, I want to do probably a hundred, and I've done fifteen or eighteen.

SF: A hundred!

MF: Oh, sure.

SF: But then, let me ask you this. Why do you need all this extra little bits of information, which are more or less very personal, good or bad, if you get a very good summation of it in that book?

SH: It's a good question. My idea of history is different than Mr. Kranzler's. And I think that, that, the, the things that you talk about, the little bits, about your daily life, those are of interest to me. Especially when things that happen to you are not so different than things that happen to other people in, in, who are also in that situation. And then I can say something, see, what I found when I read his book is that . . .

SF: Oh, you had read it already?

SH: Yes.

SF: Oh, and my husband thought it was something new, that he was going to surprise you.

SH: No, I've, I've already read that. But that, when I read it, there wasn't any, there weren't any living human beings in his book, so . . .

SF: It was just summarized.

SH: Lots of information . . .

SF: Yes . . .

SH: . . . and . . .

SF: . . . general information.

SH: I want to write something about the living human beings, and use, one of the reasons that I do it this way is that I can use your, not only your stories, but I can use your words to, to write with.

SF: To quote us.

SH: Exactly, and so, so I don't have to make things up, or summarize so much, I can let you tell your own stories. And that's really why I want to do that.

SF: I don't know if that's a good idea, I mean I'm, I'm known to go, not come to the point right away.

SH: You've told me some wonderful stories, and . . .

SF: Oh, I don't know.

SH: . . . and described very, you've described some things that nobody else has told me. For example . . .

SF: Oh! And I forgot, I forgot another, another thing.

SH: Please.

SF: Bed bugs. Bed bugs. You know those little, that you squeeze, and they suck your blood. Thank god we don't have them here. (laughs) Oh.

MF: This Hongkew was infested.

SF: Hongkew was infiltrated, it was infested. Which is a better word? Either one.

SH: Both of them. Infiltrated is good, too.

SF: Infiltrated.

SH: Yes.

MF: Both is good, infiltrated is, infested . . .

SF: You could not, you could not, you could not escape from them.

MF: No.

SF: There was no way.

MF: Nowhere.

SF: He's looking at me now. (laughs) Okay, I'll take this off.

SH: No. No, no, I'm thinking about something else.

SF: What?

SH: Because I want to ask you both . . .

SF: Okay.

SH: . . . what you think about your time in Shanghai now . . .

SF: (whispering) Come closer. Sit here.

SH: . . . when, when you look back on it. Obviously, it was a very difficult time, but when you think about yourselves being there, things that you've learned about yourselves, or that you learned about the world from your time there.

SF: What about the world. The regularity of my world stood still for almost ten years, in regard to the fact that I was sheltered by my parents. My whole life was planned, was scheduled, I went to a, I went to the Christian state school, all girls, because my mother did not want me to take the bus and go to the Grosse Hamburgerstraße, which was the Jewish school, where I would have liked to go there, but no, I would have had to take the bus, and it's quite far away. I think I would have liked it better than walking the whole distance to the school that I attended, in wind and weather and rain and shine, and I had lots of tonsillitis and sicknesses to, to show for that. I mean, I don't know which was better. The school was good, I started with English, and after having had English for two years, I then had French for the remainder of the two years. And the teachers would come into our classroom, rather than the teachers here going to, no, I'm sorry, the students going to the teachers' classrooms. And during the time of Hitler, you know, before we left Shanghai, it was always customary for the new teachers to ask for a count of all of those who were of the Jewish religion. And every time they wanted to know that, I got up and they kept telling me, "You sit down!" because I had blue eyes and blond hair, light blond, and anything else but a Jewish girl would look, you know, and they did not think that I possibly could be Jewish. And at one particular point, I always had Hebrew lessons separate from the regular curriculum that we had. And that was in the afternoon always, and I learned even to write script in Hebrew, with and without pressure. You know, I had a certain little hand at . . .

MF: Would you like to stay and eat with us?

SF: Yeah. All right.

SH: I'd be glad to, yes.

SF: That, you know you had to dip in the inkwell, of course, and then write. And I learned that, don't ask me if I still remember it. I am, ah, oh yes, I was singing, I always loved music, and I was in, in Oak, no, first in East Paterson, where we used to live, I was in the temple choir, and my robe might

still be hanging there. And also in Oakland, New Jersey, I was in the, very active in my, in our temple. And here my first venture with Tamarac was also at the Tamarac Jewish center, or Temple Beth, Beth Torah. I was for the first three years also in temple choir, a member of the temple choir. And now I'm singing with two different choral groups that are not, one is a gentile gentleman and the other is, well, a young lady who is a terrific human being besides a very able pianist-conductor at the same time. She plays . . .
MF: Is that from here, from the Jewish community?

SF: That's from, that's from here, from the JCC chorus. And yesterday I was informed that our own little sing-along, which has nothing to do with singing from notes, today, at one o'clock it would have been held, and I said I'm sorry, I can't make that, we have a very important interview.

SH: Well, I thank you for . . .

SF: You're welcome.

SH: . . . for skipping that.

SF: So I skipped that. And . . .

MF: Would you, would you please put that stuff away?

SF: Yes, dear.

MF: I don't want to get it . . .

SF: What did I, forget anything?

MF: Nothing. That's it.

SH: Whether, you know . . .

SF: Oh yes, oh yes, oh yes, oh yes . . .

SH: . . . other things about how you felt about Shanghai in general.

SF: Yes. Well, we've, we had reunions. We had Shanghai reunions. Don't you have that book?

MF: No. Not, it must be somewhere.

SF: Oh, god. The first one was . . .

SH: In Oakland?

MF: Was in New York.

SH: Did you go to the big one in Oakland? There was one in Oakland, there was one in upstate . . .

SF: No, we didn't. Right.

SH: . . . upstate New York.
MF: Yeah. We were in upstate New York.

SF: We were in, we were in Oakland.

MF: No, we were not in Oakland.

SF: We lived in Oakland.

SH: Well, I mean, that the first big reunion was . . .

SF: No, this was in Oakland, California.

SH: Yes.

SF: We did not go to that one. But the second one was in, in New York, at the . . .

MF: Concord.

SF: . . . Concord Hotel. And I met, I met a man who is married meantime, whom I had dated, and, oh, he couldn't believe it, and I couldn't believe it, it was really, it was really unbelievable. And the next one was just now in Israel.

SH: Did you go to that one?

SF: We did not. We chickened out because, for two reasons. Number one, my husband has a difficulty with his leg on lengthy flights. But the main reason was that we heard too many things that went wrong in regards to the safety of anyone visiting. People being killed and bombed and stoned and all that. And we, we didn't think it was . . .

MF: Are you getting dressed now or what?

SF: . . . it was a good time to go. We still would like to, but not, you know, that particular time we did not go. And, oh, we had, looking back on all that, we had some nice, pleasant things, together with the unpleasantries that happened to us, I would say, if I speak for both of us. Naturally, most and uppermost in our mind was the good feeling that we were safe after all, and had not remained back in Germany, because if we had, we would not be here to talk about it, most probably. And that was one good thing. When I, when I first deferred, I think is the word, my coming to America, because I did not want to leave my mother behind, I went even to the American consul, pleading and begging him, please to reconsider my mother's case, and he said that he sympathized with our situation and felt for us very much, but his hands were tied, could not do anything about it. And I just wanted, wanted him to intervene, in some way, to get my mother to come and enter the U.S. together with me, which was not possible. It's early.

MF: We have to take that stuff away.

SF: Okay, okay, okay. And that's that. In the meantime, our son just sent us these pictures, we just met them in, in Disney World. These are our grandchildren. And she is going to an all Hebrew school. She was just eight and we celebrated her birthday at Disney World. And this little charmer is five years old, and we have a letter coming in the mail, where he signed his name and other things. And he doesn't even go to school.

SH: My children are also eight and five.

SF: Really?!

SH: But they're the other way.

SF: Ah, isn't that something.

MF: But he goes . . .

SF: He will also go to the same Hebrew school.

MF: I am not religious at all.

SF: No.

MF: And they are . . .

SF: This is our son.

MF: . . . they have a kosher, kosher house.

SF: Kosher house, everything kosher. This was when he was born. So? (laughs) He called, yesterday was his birthday . . .

MF: Susie! Will you please get rid of . . .

SF: And we were supposed to call him after ten, because he had, he's going to college . . .

MF: Would you please . . .

SF: . . . to try to make some credits.

MF: I want to show you what I did here.

SF: What?

MF: Will you please get rid of this stuff! What you see here was done in the factory where I worked.

SH: Where you work now, or where you worked in, in America here?
SF: Where he worked.

MF: In America.

SF: Yeah.

BREAK IN RECORDING

MF: Then later on a foreman. I became later on . . .

SH: Now, is this in Paterson?

MF: We were, first we were in Fair Lawn, in New Jersey.

SH: So this is just at the time that you were married?

MF: Yeah. And then we moved to Paterson, then we moved to East Paterson, then we moved to Clifton. I worked first as an assembler, and became foreman of the finishing department, and, later on, I was a plant superintendent. I had, we had about two unions to work with, we shipped for, we shipped more than about seven million dollars out of our plant. Not big, but from the, from the start, we were so small, and, and I stayed with this company to the end. It was not always easy, because I, I, this is my fault, the company didn't put me under pressure, but I, myself, want to do a certain thing, and not always achieved it as I wanted to, especially with the unions, very, very difficult working. Until I got through with, with my bosses, where we put an incentive system in, where as soon we reach a certain shipment, that the, that we are giving out, according to the shipment which were above that, bonus to the men.

SF: (whispers)

SH: No, thank you.

MF: And, and with that it made it, life for me much easier. And the good part was, that I recognized one thing, that I cannot make it work alone. And I gave as much responsibility to others. Then whatever they did, I didn't have to do.

SH: Could I ask you also to reflect on your, the time in Shanghai, and say something about how you feel about it now, or what it, how it changed your life.

MF: Shanghai, as I remember it, for me, is nothing good to report. People died there. Everybody, more or less, had great difficulties, even if they didn't show it. And I'm thankful that they permitted us to come, to, to go there, but I wouldn't go back. I wouldn't see it. Even if I had, were swimming in money, I wouldn't go there.

SF: Excuse me, Martin, I think you should mention also that some fortunate people like your uncle

and his parents were fortunate enough to have a lovely house with every comfort that you can possibly want in the French Settlement, outside, in Shanghai.

MF: That has nothing to do with the average . . .

SF: There were, there were a few who were, were able to . . .

MF: Maybe, maybe ten to twenty people.

SF: No. More than that.

SH: My grandparents lived in the French Concession . . .

SF: Yes?

SH: . . . had a huge apartment, and my grandfather is a, was a doctor, and he . . .

MF: Yeah, when did he go out?

SF: What was his name?

SH: Hochstädt.

SF: Oh, also Hochstadt.

MF: When did he arrive there?

SH: In '39, 1939.

MF: So.

SH: But they did very well, they never went to the ghetto.

MF: Then he had, you see . . .

SH: They had money and connections.

SF: See? That's what I mean!

MF: No, not, not good enough, not good enough. You had to buy, like, for instance, my relative, he became a Portuguese. He bought, he, he . . .

SH: Some people did that. So tell me about that, that, because I've heard about that, but never talked to anyone who did it themselves, or . . .

MF: There's nothing much to say, to tell you. People could buy foreign passports.
SH: From whom?

MF: From consulates, with a certain amount of money, which, they were told that this is a passport for Shanghai. They couldn't go with that to Portugal.

SH: But it was good in Shanghai.

MF: It counted in Shanghai.

SH: Now, when was this done? Why would someone do that? To avoid going into the ghetto?

MF: He didn't want to go in the, in the ghetto.

SH: So you would buy the passport only after the order to come in the, go in the ghetto.

MF: Right. Right. Right. So, he . . .

SF: Provided you had the funds available.

MF: Yeah. Well, he was a very rich man and . . .

SH: This is your uncle.

MF: Yeah. He had a house there, which was probably, would cost now millions of dollars. He had maybe fifteen hundred flowers. He had, had a big garden with it, and just a, just a fantastic house.

SH: When did he go to Shanghai?

MF: '39.

SH: Also '39. From Berlin also?

MF: And if you *schaltet* this off, I will tell you what happened.

END SIDE A, TAPE 3

END OF INTERVIEW

Martin Friedlander was born in 1913. He left Berlin for Shanghai in April, 1939, on a German ship. He worked supplying food to the Jewish camp kitchens in Hongkew, as a parachute rigger for the American Army, and as an interior decorator. Susie Friedlander left Berlin with her parents in March, 1939, at the age of 14, and sailed to Shanghai from Genoa on the Conte Biancomano. She worked as a nanny and in an American PX. They met in Shanghai after the war and were married after coming to the United States in 1949. They now live in Florida.

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