1 page *hay*

2

3 Introduction

4

5 The world says: "Not everything can be written down—and not everything that is written 6 is permitted to be printed." So, I did as much as possible like what my father taught me, 7 "Sit tight and don't do anything more than is necessary"—I haven't printed everything 8 that I've written. I also follow my father's dictum not to tell everything that I know, 9 because I could make myself look like a half-wit in the eyes of the good Jews. His *rebbe*, 10 the Insdorfer Rav, once admonished him not to talk about things he had revealed to him during the First World War in regard to the Coming of the Moshiach. As he writes in his 11 12 work, Toldos Shmuel, (Ch. XI)-in the time of war, "And the Master went by himself 13 and he closed the door and discussed with me various significant issues; and he 14 admonished me to be faithful and transparent, and not to hide anything." 15 16 My father was well known among the students of Insdorf, and he was following in the 17 tradition of his rebbe. Regarding the issue of the Redemption--hayn goaltee eschem 18 achariss k'beraishiss,"--which we say every Shabbis in the "Keser" prayer, my father 19 taught me at every opportunity that the translation of these words means that we will be 20 redeemed from the last exile with the same trials and tribulations as with the First Exile 21 [of 586 BCE]. And, indeed, we saw this and survived it. Because of this I am giving

22	myself the power and the license to articulate my own personal experience, and describe
23	it the way I saw it with my very own eyes, and how I felt it in my body and soul, because
24	I take to heart my father's words, being his child. And just as we saw the test of the exile
25	being actualized, so also do I believe that the redemption from the exile will take place
26	speedily in our time.
27	
28	I am by no means a talented writer. I also don't have the energy and the time to dabble in
29	all the details and all the memories, like a polished writer. In my book many facts are
30	dealt with in brief.
31	
32	Even when I was a young man in the yeshiva I would jot down notes and keep a diary
33	about various thoughts and occurrences. I continued to do this during the war period. I
34	took notes of facts and important
35	
36	p. vov
37	
38	personal experiences. When I discussed these things with my father, it made a great
39	impression on him. I came to understand that he profoundly understood the human soul.
40	

41	The diaries I kept about my life at home were lost during the war. Immediately after the
42	war, when I found myself among the survivors of the Shoah in Germany, I started jotting
43	down notes of those facts that I still remembered.
44	
45	What I'm trying to do in coming out with my work is not so much to tell the story of my
46	personal experiences or my courageous deeds, but to convey what I had learned from my
47	father and the providential aspects of my experiences.
48	
49	A. In <i>Toldos Shmuel Chaim</i> I write the biography of my father, may the memory of
50	the righteous be for a blessing. Actually, I could write a whole book about him,
51	but I'm writing only facts, and only those things that he told me about his life.
52	And this alone I consider providentialthat a child from an assimilated home
53	would end up in a [leading] city and nation of Israel [ir v'am b'Yisroel] like
54	Munkatch.
55	
56	B. In My Childhood Years I contemplate the idea of malchusoh d'areh k'ayin
57	malchusoh darkeeyah [the work here on earth is like the work in heaven]. This is
58	what the Torah teaches usthat pedagogy begins even before the fetus is formed
59	in the mother's stomach. As soon as a child can speak he is taught to say [the
60	prayer] Torah Tzeevah Looni ["The Torah that we were commanded"] And just
61	as we carry the banner of the The Holy Blessed One, who chose us to be his

62	soldiers, so it is necessary for us to instill in children a love of learning, which
63	was difficult for us at that time to do. What's more, we saw by the czar and also
64	by the communists and the German-Nazi barbarians—who according to our
65	tradition are Esau and the Amalakites-that they wanted to annihilate us, and
66	conscripted our children into the army. But we remained loyal soldiers, in spite of
67	all the pain they inflicted on us.
68	
69	C. Memories of the War. We say in the Kaboolas Shabbis prayers [Friday night],
70	sof
71	mahseh bemachshoovas tchilah [the completion of the deed begins with the thought]. We
72	also know that in the Torah, Chapter Ki Soovoi, it says, "And God said to Moses, I see
73	that the nation chazah v'chanach [?] are a stiff-necked peopleAnd Moses our Teacher,
74	may he rest in peace, prayed and defended the Community of Israel and said, "Because
75	they are a stiff-necked people." What he was saying is that this is not a dysfunctional
76	characteristic of a people, but indeed a virtue. They are an obstinate people and they will
77	not permit themselves to be led off the Righteous Path. The Holy Zohar [kabbalah] says
78	that the souls of those who went out of Egypt will be repaired [tikkun; i.e. resurrected] in
79	the time of the Righteous Redemption [i.e. the messianic period]. And that's what the
80	mishnah [original text of Talmud] in Tractate Sanhedrin means, where there is an
81	argument between Rebbi Akivah and Rebbi Eliezer, on whether the generation of the
82	desert received a share in the World to Come. If the Redemption had taken place before

in an earlier period they wouldn't have received a share in the World to Come, according
to *Rebbi* Akivah. But now that the Redemption comes *b'etah, zenen di chevlay moshiach zayer tikkun*, [need help with translating this] according to *Rebbi* Eliezer, they do have a
share in the World to Come.

87

88 D. In Germany, where I was situated for a considerable time after the Holocaust 89 among the survivors, we would ask each other, How is it possible, that on this polluted 90 earth, where our parents and family were annihilated, we have found an asylum more so 91 than in any other part of Europe? So we had to come to the conclusion that the souls of 92 our martyrs were the ones who went out of Egypt, and their souls were still with us there. 93 Soolam moitzav artzah v'rushoo mageevah hashmeemeh v'haim oilom v'yurdim boi. 94 *Eehu loi chazi avul mazli' chazi*.[?] The Germans, our greatest enemies, submitted to us, 95 and were the first to help us during the wars with the Ishmaelites [Arabs].

96

E. My Coming to America. In this chapter in some places I say "Thou" and sometimes I say "You." This is a separate chapter, which is a traumatic reminiscing of my life with my first wife. The Talmud says, "A person who loses his first wife, it is as though he experienced the destruction of the Holy Temple." (Sanhedrin, 22). I lived through all this, and witnessed the destruction, and I hope that with the Help of God, I will live to see the Coming of the *Moshiach*.

103

104	Shimon ben Shmuel Chaim Deutch
105	
106	Pages 2-8 are in Lashon Kodesh (Classical Hebrew). I am not competent to translate this.
107	
108	
109	
110	p. 9
111	
112	I began to observe the piety and wonderful deeds of my father when I first started
113	studying Talmud in cheder by the rebbe. The rebbe was a pious Jew, a God-fearing Jew,
114	but also a thief! After giving us a good beating for not knowing or bad behavior, he
115	would say to us: "I don't get paid for teaching you, for this I'm not allowed to take
116	money. [I only get paid] to hit you and to train you how to comport yourself in the way a
117	Jew needs to behave." He would tell us stories about righteous Jews and the Thirty-six
118	hidden Jewish saints. He toiled with the children from 6 AM until 8 PM. He lived in great
119	poverty, barely eking out a living and owning no luxuries. May his hands be blessed, but
120	they caused me much pain.
121	
122	When we would ask him why it was necessary to torture us so much, from early in the
123	morning until late in the evening, and we needed to review the material with bellowing
124	voices, so that even the walls would shiver, and so that our voices could be heard from

125	three blocks awaythis Yeed would inform us that the Torah was given with great noise
126	and thunder, ve'al y'day shechfa aleihem h'har chagigiss [?] and so to be a Jew and to
127	remain a Jew and be able to be able to suffer and endure the pangs [khevlai?] of the
128	messiah which we are waiting for [this is a sentence that needs work and assistance with
129	Hebrew translation]. So all of us little boys need to start to labor [over the books], to
130	review the page of Chumash [The Five Books of Moses] or the Mishnah, so that we will
131	never forget it. And this is how they prepared us for the time, which, as one of the
132	Talmudic rabbis once expressed it: "I want the Messiah to come but I hope and pray I'm
133	not around to meet him."
134	
135	At home I always saw my father rise early in the morning, go to the mikvah, [ritualarium]
136	come back home and say morning prayers,
137	
138	p. 10
139	
140	word for word to the very end. Then he would hand me a pitcher of water so that I should
141	wash my hands. For his lunch he prepared himself in the same way that he did his
142	davening. When he said Grace after meals he would break out in tears. People would
143	stand up when he enetered the beis medrish [synagogue/House of Study], and waited for
144	him when they came to Shmah Yisroel [Hear O Israel] and the Shemonai Esreh [Eighteen
145	Benedictions]. At night he would invariably study a page of the gemorrah [Talmud] in

the small *beis medrish*. After dinner he would pour over his [holy] books until late intothe night.

148

Children used to say that if you see a person with many wrinkles on his forehead--this is 149 150 a sign that this is a Jew, a *tzaddik*. Shabbis when davaning in the beis medrish of the 151 ADMOR [an honorific addressing a Chassidic rebbe that stands for Adoni, my Lord, 152 Moreini, My Teacher, Rabbeini, My Spiritual Master], ha-Rav Hatz, may the righteous 153 be remember for a blessing, who was recognized by all the children as the most pious 154 person in the city. So one time I went up close to look at the wrinkles on his forehead, 155 and indeed he had many lines and wrinkles. An argument breaks out among the boys, my 156 contention being that my father performs more *mitzvass* and good deeds than the *rebbe*, 157 may his name be for a blessing. The children were certain that the rav was the greatest 158 tzaddik and the most learned--even more than my father--and that's why he's the rav. I stuck to my guns and continued boasting about my father—that he too was a *tzaddik*. 159 160 161 Later, when I was older, my father sent me to the yeshiva in Galanta, where I studied for 162 a number of years under ADMOR, Harav Ha-Gaon Reb Yehoishua Buxbaum, may the 163 righteous be remembered for a blessing (and who died a martyr in the *Shoah*). He taught

- 164 us Torah, ethics and *chassidus*, and set us on the Righteous Path. Only then was I truly
- able to understand my father's ways and good deeds, because everything I learned from
- 166 books about how to live an ethical life I saw by my father.

167

- 168 In between semesters, coming home from yeshiva--I was at that time 16 years old—I was
- 169 thinking about how I could honor my father,
- 170
- 171 p. 11
- 172
- 173 when I arrived home. I considered myself very privileged and proud to have such a
- devout Jew, who was thoroughly immersed in Torah and Fear of God, for a father. On the
- 175 way a Jew, a traveler, approached me. He noticed a young boy traveling by himself, so he
- 176 wanted to get a little *shmooze* in with him.
- 177 "Where is the young man from?"--he asks me.
- 178 "From the yeshiva in Galanta," I told him with a full mouth.
- 179 "And where are you going right now, young man?"
- 180 "Back home to Munkatch," I replied.
- 181 "And who are you in Munkatch?
- 182 "Shimon Deutch is my name."
- 183 "What is your father's name?"
- 184 *"Reb* Shmuel Chaim Deutch."
- 185 "Pray tell, are you really *Reb* Shmuel Chaim's son?"
- 186 "Yes, Shmuel Chaim's son."
- 187

188 After giving me some consideration this Jew gets up from the place he was sitting and 189 says, "Reb Shmuel Chaim's son!" 190 (My mode of dress wasn't quite like the standards of the Chassidim, such as long payis 191 192 and a round flat hat the way my brothers dressed, because this is how my father wanted 193 me to dress.) 194 As soon as one brings up a righteous man. 195 196 "Shimon," the Jew says to me, "do you have any idea who your father is? I don't know another Jew like this in the whole world." 197 198 199 (Here, as an aside, I should point out, that I also always wondered why my father didn't 200 permit me to wear more than little *payis*. When I came home from the yeshiva with 201 longer length payis he told me to shorten them. He said to me: "I know you better. Also 202 regarding the clothes he wasn't so meticulous.) 203 204 What did I learn and see in the yeshiva, and what did I see by my father? The ADMOR of 205 Galanta led according to Chassidic teachings. On Shabbis he would put on a shtreimel 206 [fur hat] and a *bekeshe* [black silken caftan], Friday night he sat at the table with his 207 children and about 300 to 400 followers. He distributed *shrayim* [food that the *rebbe* tasted first then distributed the "remains" among the Chassidim], of fish but only to a 208

209	selected group of Chassidim, for the most part, those who pushed and shoved to get to the
210	shrayim, because the rebbe, may his memory be for a blessing, didn't have a lot of fish,
211	and this was his main meal. Also, sometimes it was difficult to obtain fish for Shabbis. A
212	prominent baliboos of Neuhausel, Mr. Kahn, whose children studied under the rebbe,
213	would often send a private messenger to deliver fish to the <i>rebbe</i> for Shabbis. It was
214	fortunate [for the <i>rebbe</i>] that the preponderance of students came from Germany and
215	Austria [meaning, came from non-Chassidic backgrounds] and didn't feel compelled to
216	be pushing and shoving for <i>shrayim</i> .
217	
218	Now, by my father's table there was something to see and to learn, and especially to learn
219	how a Jew should comport himself. My father always used to say, "He who doesn't know
220	how to learn, doesn't know how to eat." Reb Shmuel Chiam knew how to eat and he
221	knew how to learn. I learned more from him than from all the ethical works put together.
222	The first Shabbis, as a young man back from the yeshiva, I got to truly understand and
223	recognized this Yeed: The kiddish with tears in his eyes, the blessing " Who made us
224	holy with His commandments" said with a broken heart, and the sheer joy of the
225	Shabbis—all of this is difficult for me to articulate in writing.
226	
227	He did an exhaustive amount of traveling, and generally didn't eat very much. Who is
228	even talking about meat and some of the more essential foods needed to survivewith the

229 exception of the foods my mother prepared for him. And how much could he take along

230	that would last for a whole week? A <i>tallis</i> and <i>tefillin</i> , a Talmud and a bottle of water—
231	this he carried around with him-in addition to the heavy suitcase with samples of the
232	merchandise of his trade (chocolate and candies). The joy of the arrival of the Shabbis,
233	the arrival of serenity, shone from his face. He ate with great diligence like a true <i>tzaddik</i> .
234	
235	
236	Bottom of page 12
237	
238	My Father's Shrayim ("Remains")
239	
240	[Shrayim is "holy food," which the rebbe distributes among his chassidim at the Shabbis
241	tish (table) after touching, eating and blessing it.]
242	
243	My father helped me conjure up old memories, and asked me in all innocence if I knew
244	the reason for <i>shrayim</i> . He then conveyed to me what our <i>rebbe</i> had told us about the
245	holy Sanzer Rov, may the memory of the righteous be for a blessing. Since most of the
246	boys of that time were Ashkenazim [in this context the word Ashkenazim means ultra-
247	Orthodox non-Chassidim, primarily from Germany, Austria and Hungary], and had never
248	seen a <i>rebbishe</i> table, and the whole concept of grabbing <i>shrayim</i> was alien to them,
249	
250	p. 13

251

252 so the *rebbe* told us about the time a *rav* from abroad came to visit *ha-Rav*, *ha-Tzaddik*, the Holy Sanzer Rebbe [the leading Galitzyahner rebbe of the mid-19th century] for 253 Shabbis. Post-Shabbis, for the Melaveh Malkeh feast, the visiting ray was sitting next to 254 255 the Sanzer Rebbe. When the Chassidim made a dash for the tables and benches to lunge 256 at the *rebbe's shrayim*, which consisted of borscht and potatoes, the foreign *rav* was 257 disgusted with what he saw; he was outraged that because of the mad rush he was being 258 squeezed in. The Sanzer tried to explain, and this is what he said to him: "We find in the 259 Talmud that if a denier [of God and the Commandments] bites into a whole bread, the 260 whole bread should not be eaten [by the pious]. So the question is, Why is the bite of a denier even more anathema than, say, mixing meat and milk? The answer is that by all of 261 262 these there's a limit, like *bootel b'shisshim* [one in sixty; i.e. if by accident there is less 263 than one part meat in sixty parts milk] k'dai kleepah udder niteeleh, [?] and the food of a 264 denier should be entirely thrown out. But the answer is, because the denier who comes 265 from the earth, is crawling in all the garbage, for this reason he gives the bread the taint of a strong and powerful pollutant, which is kasha lishkashe, worse than other 266 267 prohibitions. But a Jew who has a pure body-he doesn't think about what's not 268 permitted, he doesn't do what's not permitted, doesn't smell that which isn't permitted. 269 Here, where this type of a Jew eats from this type of bread--it's the other way around--270 each piece of bread has a certain elegance. After hearing the teachings of the Sanzer the 271 foreign rav started licking his plate! My father tore off a piece of meat and handed it to

272	me. And this is how he comported himself at all feasts, and he would give me <i>shrayim</i>
273	from every type of food.
274	
275	My Childhood Years
276	
277	I looked like other little boys from traditional Jewish homes-long, curly hair-which
278	awaited cutting off when the [Jewish] toddler turned three—with round
279	
280	p. 14
281	
282	red cheeks, which were ample enough to give a <i>knip</i> [pinch]. And <i>oy</i> did I have my share
283	of knippers! My father would take me along every Shabbis to the rebbe's bes ha-medrish
284	[synagogue/House of Study], Ba'al Minchas Eliezer, may the memory of the righteous be
285	for a blessing. As soon as we entered the bes medrish a tall Jew with the long red beard
286	and silken hat would come over to me and show me that he has some candies in his hand.
287	I already knew that he was waiting for me. He would take me by the hand, lift me up and
288	place me on a bench and then he would give me a pat on the cheek. I would quickly pick
289	my hands up and try to cover up my face and sometimes this would hurt a lot, but I didn't
290	cry.
291	

292 As was customary by us, my hair was cut on Lag B'Omer, even though I wasn't quite yet 293 three years old. (I was born in the month of Av, [this month usually corresponds with 294 August] and my mother would tell me how difficult it was to purchase meat for the 295 circumcision feast, which came out on the day before [the fast day of] Tisha B'Av. I was 296 left with small payalech. I was given a small tallis kooten [better known as tzitziss], a 297 new silk suit, and a *koppel* [*kippah*]. Early the next morning my father took me to the 298 cheder. The rebbe was a short man named Reb Yaakov, who held in his hand a thin stick 299 and standing next to him were two little boys with whom he was teaching the *alef beis* 300 from a big *sidder* [prayer-book]. My joy was great; I saw a whole bunch of little boys 301 looking at me, and all were smiling at me. The *rebbe* gave me a pat on the cheek and 302 asked me what my name was. Then he sat me down next to the other children. 303

304 And this marked the beginning of my adolescence.

305

The *behelfer* [teaching assistant] would come pick me up every morning and bring me to the *cheder*, and then drop me off back home during lunchtime. After lunch he would come again and with my little pack in hand we, and a bunch of other little boys, would march off to the cheder again. These were wonderful adolescent years. My father still didn't hit me, and the *rebbe* also didn't commence yet with beatings. And if I didn't feel like going with the *behelfer* I would receive some small change from my mother or a tasty apple and then I would be "reconciled".

313

314	Two terms (a term was generally six months) I learned under the <i>aleph-beis rebbe</i> until I
315	knew the Hebrew in the sidder without the use of vowels. By the time I was four I was
316	sent to the bigger cheder in town to learn under Reb Sender, where we were already
317	taught how to daven and learn Chimish [Pentateuch]. The rebbe was a tall, strong Jew,
318	and he always kept a stick in his hand. The kids would always say that he was a
319	policeman in the First World War. I wasn't especially afraid of him because he was our
320	next-door neighbor.
321	
322	This Reb Sender was well known as a very sober-minded person. The walls of the cheder
323	had a chalk-like white finish and the floor had an oily sheen to it. Every child had to have
324	a handkerchief or a little rag in which to blow his nose, clean hands, and nails that were
325	trimmed. Every Sunday morning he would make an inspection, and every student had to
326	show the handkerchief in their hands. He would also look into your mouth for bad or
327	loose teeth. When a child had a loose tooth he would stick one of his thick fingers in his
328	mouth, just touch the tooth, and then hand it to the little boy. "Throw it into the mouse
329	hole," he would say. When a boy's hair was too long he was cut it with his own hair-
330	cutting machine. He would usually charge for the haircut but would never take money
331	from the poor children.
332	

333	The cheders came under the auspices of the kehillah [Jewish communal structure].
334	Everyone had to register his child in the kahal's administrative office, and they would
335	determine which child should be sent to which melamed. Our cheder belonged to the
336	Machzikay Ha-Das consortium of cheders, located on Dankoi Street, where many of the
337	children of the city studied. It was a lovely looking edifice which the donor,
338	
339	p. 16
340	
341	
342	Reb Yitzchak Fuchs, may his memory be for a blessing, had built. It consisted of ten
343	rooms, with a large courtyard and trees and where we were able to run around and play.
344	Every morning each student had to clean out his room.
345	
346	There were also other <i>cheders</i> in the further sections of the city, which belonged to the
347	kehillah (Jewish communal structure). And there were also private tutors who were
348	outside the jurisdiction of the <i>kehillah</i> .
349	
350	By Reb Sender the Chimish melammed [Bible rebbe] I excelled in learning. He didn't hit
351	me hard, and never make me lie down on the table [for a spanking], like with the other
352	boys. He had me come to the front table for an examination. If I didn't know I would be
353	whacked over the feet with his stick, but not hard enough to make me black and blue. At

this stage my father also wasn't very severe with me, when he would examine me for

355 Chimish on Shabbis. If I didn't know he would deprive me of the "Shabbis-fruits."

356

357 A couple of seasons went by, and when I was five and a half I graduated to a higher class,

358 where they already studied a couple of chapters of *Chimish* with *Rashi* [commentary] and

359 some *Mishnayis* [the original and main text of the Talmud, which is also easier than

360 *Gemorrah* the second part of the Talmud, which is commentary on the *Mishnah*]. This

361 was a *rebbe* who had just entered the profession. He had just started learning with

362 children (and he didn't even have a nickname among the kids). He established a

363 reputation as a good *rebbe* who doesn't hit. He only kept around a thin broken little stick,

364 which we would make even thinner when he forgot it and left it on the table.

365

366 My father wasn't all that happy with me being placed in this *rebbe's* class. He wanted me

to go a class where the *rebbe* was an even more severe taskmaster. He even requested

368 from the administrator of the *Talmed Toireh* that I be placed in a *Gemorrah* class. "Only

369 one term will your young man to able to hold out, because every *rebbe* needs to have

370 students"—was his response. [Preeva, I don't quite understand this last sentence—it's

ambiguous.]

372

373	In the middle of the term I had already attained a level of achievement so that I had to
374	go-according to government law-to a school for secular studies. I was very happy-it
375	made me feel like a grownup,
376	
377	p. 17
378	
379	and I would now receive various books with pictures. My mother was also very satisfied,
380	hoping that I would become a mentch. In school one has to listen attentively, behave
381	properly, and be dressed decently. Indeed, for the occasion of my going to the school she
382	went out and bought me a new suit. I received a nice haircut and had to brush back my
383	payalech so that the teacher wouldn't make fun of me and call me a "dirty Jew."
384	
385	The first day of school finally arrived. Dressed up in my new outfit, nicely polished
386	shoes, with great pride, accompanied by my elder sister and together with some other
387	childrenwe marched across the bridge (to Rosvigov) to the school, to the first grade
388	class.
389	
390	In school all the children had to take off their hats, and remain seated bareheaded. We
391	were seated according to gender, one side the boys, on the other side, the girls. The
392	teacher spoke Czech and we don't understand even one word. But one girl who had
393	already endured the first grade and had flunked, and for that reason had to take this class

19 of 235

394	all over again. She already knew a little bit of Czech from the first year, and knew what
395	the teacher was saying—so she translated for us into Yiddish. The teacher often smiled at
396	us, [and he was] not like the mean-spirited rebbes in the cheder. He also didn't have a
397	stick. When the break period arrived the clock started to chime; and also when we were
398	going home. All the children would stand up and they would form two rows (the girls in
399	front and the boys behind them); and in this manner we would march out of the room into
400	the street.

401

I come back home and I see my mother looking at me with great pride. She tells me to greet her in a pleasant way when I come home. "Now that you're going to school you need to know how to greet people when you go and when you come, and not grow up to be a *katshelav*!" [? This is not a Yiddish word.] I was ashamed of myself for not behaving properly. I needed to walk out the door again and reenter the house and say, "kiss your hand, mother." My mother wants me to take off the new suit. She doesn't want me to 408

409 p. 18

410

smear it. She had bought it only to dress me up for school. I don't permit it. I have such a
great desire to go to the *cheder* and show the other boys that I'm already going to school.
Nothing helps and I stick to my way of doing things. When I came home after lunch from *cheder* in my light-brown suit with the short pants (as was the fashion in those days),

415	looking like a little yekkeleh [dandy], the rebbe starts to laugh: "This is in honor of the
416	school!" He picks me up with his large hands and takes me to the window of the other
417	room in the cheder. "You see, Reb Mattis," he says, "In honor of the school This is Reb
418	Shmuel Chaim's Benakel." I didn't take this the hard way because I knew that my father
419	was also satisfied that my mother had bought me a nice outfit, and it fit on me very well.
420	"Does one have to look like a <i>rebbishe</i> child?" my father would often say when he saw
421	other children with heavy silken overcoats and long disheveled payis. On Shabbis I
422	wasn't allowed to put on that outfit; I had to wear the dark-blue suit.
423	
424	The difficult times for me commenced gradually. My father became a bit more strict—
425	since I'm spending half the day in school it was imperative that I study even more
426	diligently in the cheder. Six-thirty in the morning my father would wake me up. My
427	mother would plead with him: "Let him sleep a bit longer, it's still early in the morning.
428	What do you want from the child?" It was to no avail. He would bring a pot of water for
429	hand washing and a basin in which to pour the water to the bed. "Shimon, get up! To
430	cheder!" I would open my drowsy eyes, crawl out of the warm bed, wash my hands and
431	get dressed. In this manner I would go to cheder in the summer and in the winter. I was
432	usually the first one in <i>cheder</i> to <i>daven</i> .
433	
434	When the school opened at 8 AM, the <i>rebbe</i> first had to let those children leave the

435 [cheder] class. I would have to rush to get to the school because many times the teacher

436	would punish me for coming late. For this reason many children didn't come to prayer
437	services in the morning. But nothing helped me.
438	
439	When the school hours commenced during the other half of the day things were even
440	worse. We were dismissed from cheder at 12 PM, I would
441	
442	p.19
443	
444	run home, grab a bite to eat and scurry off to school. At one o'clock the bells tolled. We
445	left school at 6 PM and then we went back to the cheder until seven thirty. When there
446	were a bunch of boys in one <i>cheder</i> in the same class sometimes we would go off and
447	play ball, or just go out into the street for a half hour or an hour, and sometimes
448	completely forgot to go back to <i>cheder</i> . We needed to stick together and come up with an
449	excuse for not coming back to the <i>cheder</i> . Woe was us if the excuse wasn't good enough.
450	Also, among us there would be an occasional snitch who would scream: "Shkootzim
451	[male <i>shiksa</i> s; literally: vermin] that you are! Not only do you spend a half day in school,
452	but you also waste time hanging around in the streets!"
453	
454	At home I was now being less and less pampered. In addition to all the beatings I took
455	from the <i>rebbe</i> my father would examine me every <i>Shabbis</i> on the <i>Chimish</i> with <i>Rashi</i>
456	[commentary] and Talmud. So, as long as I was a little boy he treated me mercifully and I

457	would get away with only a little slap; in an even worse scenario, my father would tell on
458	me to the <i>rebbe</i> , who would "honor" me with his stick. The older I became the more
459	rigorous the examinations became. First of all, on Friday nights my father would go to his
460	bookcase and take out his old Chimish with Ohr ha-Chaim [commentary] (of which all
461	the pages were torn out of the binding), which he used to examine my two older brothers,
462	who were already a long time studying in the yeshiva. I had to read every sentence of
463	Chimish with Rashi, and if I knew, that was great. Sometimes he would read together
464	with me and help me along. Or, what would happen quite often, if my father was tired
465	from traveling all week he would fall asleep in middle of the examination and I could
466	adurch tzi shvertzen [?] a difficult Rashi or a sentence of Chimish-this was "holiday"
467	for me—and no one could possibly be more overjoyed than I was. By the way, we were
468	both happy if I passed the exam satisfactorily. But if God forbid not—
469	
470	p. 20
471	
472	may the Lord in Heaven protect me. I would leave the table with red swollen cheeks and
473	a stooped head. I still had one glimmer of hope that maybe the next time when I'm
474	examined I will do well, but I couldn't get a restful sleep. Shabbis night after the meal my
475	father would take out his Talmudic works from his bookcase. I am turning the pages
476	slowly, may heart is beating rapidly (who knows what the outcome will be?). It was, oy

477 *vey*, if I didn't know.

478

479	And if I had an ill-tempered <i>rebbe</i> —and which <i>rebbe</i> wasn't ill-tempered where I was
480	learning?—I was in deep, deep trouble. He knew that my father was a supervisor of the
481	[ultra-Orthodox] Machzikei Ha-Toireh cheders, and when he said something the
482	melamdim listened attentively. The rebbe would nebech bang away at me mercilessly,
483	never sparing the rod, even more so than the other children. I was also different from the
484	other children when it came to being hit. When the <i>rebbe</i> "honored" them with the stick
485	they would let out with loud wailing and hysterics, and he wouldn't follow up with more,
486	and so they received almost nothing. But I was a wise guy and very stubborn-and I
487	wouldn't even let out a <i>pipsh</i> . The <i>rebbe</i> would forget where he washe was gasping
488	for breath by the time he was through with me. After a number of these whacksand
489	even though I was black and blueI would burst out with loud laughter. The rebbe
490	threatened more than once that he "would peel my skin to the seventh layer." It's not as if
491	I'm not toiling enough from the morning until late at night.
102	

492

And so at every opportunity he would "honor" me instead of the other children. Every Thursday was for me like *Tisha B'av* [a fast day when the Temple in Jerusalem was destroyed]. I already knew and counted the days leading up to the Thursday. And the same thing with many other boys but especially with me, because I was treated like an only child. I was always envious of the girls at home who could play gently and didn't have to go to school.

499

500 At school there were also things I needed to endure, but not all the teachers were ill-501 tempered 502 503 p. 21 504 505 and went around hitting the children. For the most part we had female teachers and the 506 situation at the school could by no means be compared with the hell of the *cheder*. 507 Indeed, I was a good student and in certain subjects I was outstanding. But when it came 508 to the Czech language and grammar I always had problems, especially since no one in the 509 family used this language, and we only heard this language at school. In this regard, we 510 children from religious Jewish homes were far behind. We also had less time to study and 511 do homework. We got home at 8 PM and after dinner went right to sleep. At six o'clock 512 in the morning we had to get up and go to *cheder*. During the summer term, when it was 513 still light outside, we wanted to play or go to the lake to go swimming. Our parents 514 weren't too concerned about our secular studies homework. They weren't able to help us, 515 because most of the Chassidim sent their children to the government schools, and the 516 parents didn't understand the Czech language. There was also a Hungarian school but 517 few Jewish children went there, only the pro-Hungarian patriotic types. There were also 518 some Russian and German schools, which many Jewish children attended. For them the

519 language barrier was not as difficult, because most of the population utilized this

520 language.

521

522	And since I was so stubborn in school, and was shaking in my boots like the other boys-
523	that is also how I comported myself in other areas of my private life. When it came to
524	fighting I never backed away, and kids were afraid of my fists. The kid called me
525	"Peeplehoit." [?] When we had confrontations with the gentile kids, when they attacked
526	us with sticks and fists, and sometimes also with knives, I was the first to go into the fire.
527	I dished out plenty, and also could take it. And when someone got a feel for my fists they
528	called out to their "mama and the cantor" to help them. I very rarely fled the scene of a
529	fight.
530	
531	p. 22
532	
533	At home sometimes I would do risky things. When the circus or some performance group
534	came to town—in addition to the fact that I didn't have any money and I certainly
535	wouldn't have been given any money for admissionI would come up with an idea, and
536	manage to get in just like all the other guests. I would leave the house late in the night,
537	knowing full well that at home no one was worried about me-but I had "my bones
538	covered"—I would return home stealthily when everyone was already sleeping.
539	

540	My father would also wink to the <i>rebbe</i> so that he shouldn't be too tight with the noose. I
541	would sense this often in the way that the <i>rebbe</i> would relate to me vis-à-vis the other
542	students. He would, however, threaten me-"Woe to you if you can't pass your father's
543	exam on Shabbis-nothing will help you then!" I for my part would study harder during
544	these periods, especially when I had a peaceful week without beatings.
545	
546	At age eleven I was studying under a weird rebbe whose name was Reb Alter. He was a

547 Jew a Talmudic scholar, and a competent master of the [Talmudic] page [meaning he was 548 also steeped in the commentaries on the page]. My brothers, who were already students at 549 a *yeshiva*, had also had him as *rebbe*. His *cheder* was in a small room. Older students and

bar mitzvah boys also studied under him. He would also study Hebrew grammar with us

551 Sunday afternoons. He would rarely hit the older boys. I, however, was the exception.

552 When he got angry he was like an artist, using only his hands and without a stick. He

553 would pinch your hands and thighs so hard you came away so black and blue you were

ashamed to go to the mikvah [ritualarium]. I also got a "feel" for his pinches;

555 nevertheless, he was a good man.

556

557 When he felt that he had crossed the line [by going overboard with his punishment] he 558 would resort to various anecdotes and aphorisms, and everyone had to laugh. And the

559 culprit, with swollen face and hands, also laughed. It didn't take long before I adjusted to

560 his hands and nothing helped. I let him pinch me to his heart's content.

561

562 p. 23

563

564 The *rebbe* didn't like my attitude one bit.

565

566 One lovely Sunday morning after *davening* my rebbe showed me his new "patent." He 567 had removed the rubber wheel from a child's bicycle and made some knots with 568 it..."Now, my precious one, what do you have to say about this 'bargain?" he asked me, 569 and then he "honored" me with a shot to the back for a *halootzeh*. [?] This was a painful 570 blow and and I deeply resented it, but I maintained a stoic pose and held back my tears. 571 The *rebbe* said something funny and everyone laughed except me. The *rebbe* took great 572 pride in his "patent" work. Since it was already time to go home for breakfast I decided to 573 be quiet, but I was raging mad inside. I made a dash straight home and returned with 574 heavy tools, smashed the rebbe's box, removed the contents, tore them up to bits, and 575 then placed the box on the *rebbe's* chair. Then I cut off one leg of the *rebbe's* chair, let it 576 stand there, and then ran home. We lived not far from the *cheder*. I came back to the 577 cheder when all the children were already sitting at their tables. I immediately noticed 578 that something was amiss—everyone was staring at me..."The young man is here." The 579 *rebbe*, not asking any questions, picks himself up from his place, goes and locks the door 580 and comes rushing over to me raging mad...He starts to "crawl" with his two hands and 581 all ten fingers over the thick parts of my hands and feet. I couldn't move from the spot—

582	but I still wouldn't cry. I refused to sit at the table. He kept pinching me hard but he
583	couldn't make me cry. I didn't want to hit him back. As far as I can recall there never was
584	a case where the student hit a <i>rebbe</i> back. But I worked up some courage and said: "If I
585	go out you will never hit me again!" The <i>rebbe</i> kept the door locked until lunchtime. At
586	noon I went out with all the other students, but didn't utter a word to anyone.
587	
588	p. 24
589	
590	Everyone understood that if Shimon is silent it's a sign that the <i>rebbe's</i> gone overboard.
591	
592	Also at home I didn't speak to anyone. I realized that my parents weren't exactly all that
593	overjoyed with all the stripes on my body, like the ones I had received that day. I wanted
594	them to find out about all this from the <i>rebbe</i> , [the pounding] which he had rained down
595	on me that ordinary Sunday for nothing. Two o'clock that afternoon I took my lunch bag
596	and a Chimish and went off to the city garden to sit by the lake. I thought things through
597	and resolved that from this point on I would no longer let anyone beat up on me. Up to
598	this point—but no more! I will no longer permit myself to be humiliated in front of my
599	classmates. That evening I came home acting as if nothing had happened and ate my
600	diner. When my father was already in the bes medrish I make a display in front of my
601	mother as if I'm getting undressed to go to bed. I showed my mother and sister all the
602	blows I had sustained that day, and then broke out crying. This was for me (in those

603	years) a very unusual occurrence. "I am no longer going back to this rebbe," I protested,
604	and then immediately went to bed. I was sure that the <i>rebbe</i> was going to meet my father
605	at the davenen. He knows quite well what he has done [It's not clear who the parties are
606	here]; my father doesn't like this; everything has its appropriate time and boundary. Six
607	o'clock in the morning, as usual, my father wakes me up. I make like I don't hear him. I
608	notice that his voice is not like it always is; it is calm and low-keyed as he is pleading
609	with me. I get out of bed with a drooping head and say to him with half swallowed
610	words—"Tateh, I don't want to go back to this rebbe." I show him my hands and feet,
611	and he takes a look at my scars and the black and blue marks. My father pleads with
612	me—"Go back—I've already spoken to him—he won't hit you anymore." In the end,
613	respect for my father prevailed over my stubborn nature. I let bygones be bygones, but I
614	managed to convince my father not to make me go to the cheder in the morning for
615	prayer services.
616	
617	
618	p. 25
619	
620	Nine o'clock in the morning, accompanied by my father, I went marching into the <i>cheder</i>

621 room. My father once again said a couple of words to the *rebbe* and I, with a veritable

- 622 gaunt and pale face, quietly pushed my way among the remaining students. The *rebbe*
- 623 avoided talking to me for a while. But in the end we had a reconciliation. He no longer

624	laid a hand on me! Also, my father avoided hitting me and didn't subject me to rigorous
625	examinations. In this way when I turned eleven I was already a big boy.
626	
627	p. 26
628	
629	Secrets of the Cheder
630	
631	The melamed Reb Burech of Danke Street in Munkatch, had a nice big red beard, and
632	after lunch when the students were reviewing the Chimish, he would catch a nap by the
633	table and his large beard would take up half the table. For the boys, the students, it was a
634	grave sin to permit the <i>rebbe</i> to sleep so peacefully so we would bring red <i>treeb</i> -wax [?]
635	and with a burning candle we would glue the <i>rebbe's</i> beard to the table. When the <i>rebbe</i>
636	nebech awoke half his beard was left on the table
637	
638	The melamed Reb Aaron Yakov had a habit, when he got furious with someone he would
639	grab a thin bamboo, stick it in his own mouth and bite into it, in order not to resort to
640	using the weapon when he was in a grumpy mood. So we boys kept rubbing the stick
641	with garlic and other bitter herbs, in order for the <i>rebbe</i> to get a "good taste" of the stick.
642	
643	
644	

645

Bottom p. 26 646 647 648 On a Friday I Buried the Czech Teacher... 649 650 When I was about eight or nine years old, and in the third grade in the Czech school, we 651 had a weird teacher whose name was Navutnik. He had a nice trimmed red beard and 652 long hair like an archimandrite [Eastern Orthodox priest], which one rarely saw among 653 the Czechs. He would fulminate at us with bitter and deadly Czech curses, and he would 654 conjure up the son of the mother...He would scream that we weren't in a Jewish *cheder* 655 here. 656 p. 27 657 658 He was a great sadist and he would hit the boys and girls on the soft flesh with a thick 659 660 stick. We would come sulking to our parents, and we also told our *rebbe* in the *cheder* 661 that the goy hits us harder than the rebbe. But the thing that disgusted us most of all was 662 the fact that he used to hit the girls and this wasn't nice. 663 664 When he knew that strangers were coming to the class, like the school administrator or an inspector we would observe that he hid the thick stick, and we bitterly resented this. So 665

666 we started to plot a strategy on how to get rid of this human disaster. Try going to protest against him was a case of v'nesaneh toikef [which means, "this is what I'm teaching and 667 668 you shall learn from this"-I'm not sure how he's using this term.] So I had a huddle with some of the other bitterly resentful boys, that we were going to have a funeral for 669 670 this guy and send him off to Yeneh Velt [the World To Come]. So I made a small figure 671 from cement that looked like the teacher with the beard, and we prepared a casket in 672 which to bury it. Everything was ready! Friday afternoon we would be dismissed from 673 classes because of the Shabbis, and we didn't have to go to the cheder. We dug up a 674 grave in the courtyard of the school, said Vayehee Noiam [the prayer that God should be 675 kind with us] seven times and *Yoshav Basayser* ["Sitting Concealed"]. With an alms box in hand everyone threw in some small change and said [the prayer] Tzedakah Teetzal 676 677 ["Charity Redeeems"], covered up the grave with the statue, and said Kaddish. And we 678 took off jubilantly from the "funeral."

679

Monday, when we went back to the class, a snitch went and informed on us; he told the teacher that on Friday we had "buried" him. We were terrified, and the red teacher became ever redder and paler. He picked himself up from his chair and started to cry. He was pleading with us little boys to understand that he doesn't hit the boys, God forbid, to cause anyone harm, but to make good people out of us. But we told him to spare us the good intentions—we have good parents and also a *rebbe* from whom to learn. "If that's

686	the case," he said, "I won't be your teacher anymore." Two weeks later he and his family
687	hightailed it out of town.
688	
689	p. 28
690	
691	The Shoemaker of the Chevreh Kadeesheh [Burial Society]
692	
693	By the lumber market in Munkatch, there lived an old shoemaker. During the period of
694	his vigil [as a member of the Chevreh Kadeesheh] he would wear tahareh shteevel [a
695	special type of shoe in the purifying room]. When someone died in the hospital the
696	chevreh kadeesheh had to do everything. The old shoemaker would take along with him
697	to the purifying room his shoemaker's chair, the threads, some nails, and a sack of shoes
698	so that the time he was whiling away there would be taken up with mending shoes.
699	
700	There was a gang of wise-guys, who wanted to pull a prank on the old shoemaker, so
701	they called him up for vigil duty. One of these punks lay himself down on a board and
702	they covered him with a shroud like they do a corpse. The old shoemaker, as usual,
703	occupied himself with mending shoes, and with his hammer was banging in patches.
704	Suddenly, he notices that the corpse is rising up. The old shoemaker didn't give things
705	much thought—he whacked the culprit over the head with his hammer and screamed: "If
706	you've already died once, lie still!"

707

708 Shtern, the Newspaper Hawke	708	Shtern,	the	Newspaper	Hawker
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709

510 Shtern, the newspaper hawker would run around in the streets and cry: "Buy a p	a paper!
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711 Years later, he became very rich. He built himself a big house in the Lotretzeh Courtyard.

712 One time someone in the Great Synagogue hollered at him: "Shtern, you meshiggener!"

713 So Shtern turned around and said: "I am the meshiggener and you are the smart one, but

714 who has more money?"

- 715
- 716 The City Meshiggener "Meir Sitz"
- 717

718 Why was he called "Meir Sitz, Your Mother Was a Girl"? In the large bes medrish in

719 Munkatch we he would always lounge around,

720

721 p.29

722

723 He once stuck around after the *Ma'ariv* service and sat himself down at a table where

some men were studying *Chimish* with *Rashi* from Chapter *Tetzaveh* ["God Commands"

the Children of Israel..."] and he heard when they said "v'aseesa tzitz zahav ["And Thou

Shalt Make a Plate of Pure Gold"], Meir chimed in, "Feh, Jews, feh! To learn about such

727 things"... [Tzitzkiss are women's breasts.]

728

729 On a big market day the *govim* from around Munkatch were coming into the city to go to 730 market, and on the way back home they would leave on wagons harnessed with a couple 731 of oxen. On the way to Karapetz they passed the cemetery, and the peasants noticed that 732 there were many candles burning and a large figure was shaking near the candles. 733 Terrified, they got off their wagons and soon the whole road was full of peasants fearful 734 of going further on this road. So they [Jewish observers of the scene] had to run to the 735 Chevrah Kadeesha, and the Chevrah Kadeesha folks came running with long sticks 736 because they understood that someone was pulling off a practical joke; they very well 737 knew that the dead don't molest anyone. They open the gates and edge forward towards 738 the burning candles where the apparition that kept shaking was located. To their utter 739 surprise they saw that it was none other than Meir Sitz, and he's shaking and *davening*. 740 Since he always went to celebrations and funerals, on this occasion he happened to have 741 been at a funeral and he got lost. In the meantime the gate was locked down and Meir 742 Sitz couldn't get out; and when it came time to *daven* he collected all the burning candles 743 from the cemetery and placed them on one spot, and started shaking by the *davening*. But 744 from a distance it looked like some kind of monstrosity.

745

746 In the Small Bes Medrish on Purim

747

In the Munkatcher small *bes medishel*, there was a custom among the young boys that on

749 the New Month of Adar they would organize a troupe 750 p. 30 751 752 753 that was led by a "Purim Rebbe." We celebrated on the tables and on the benches...On 754 the *Shabbis* of the *Toireh* portion *Z'chor* when saying the **Yoitzrois** ["Creations"] *Reb* 755 Mordechai Zaltzer would stop in the middle of Yoitzer and the "Purim sexton" would 756 pound on the dais and call out, "this year our *Purim Rebbe* is, Our Lord, Our Teacher, 757 Our Rabbi, *ha-Rav*, the Saintly One, *Reb* Herschel Estreicher"—and the cantor would say 758 in a loud voice in Yoitzer-"yemach sh'mum v'zichroi v'nemach zichroi 759 milhizeekuroi"... [May his memory be blotted out from our memory forever.] 760

761 In Munkatch Anything Can Happen

762

748

763 It was like in America, when the "right" match comes along and the wedding takes place 764 in a hall or a big hotel, but never at home. In Munkatch, when you wanted to make a 765 small wedding the *mekhatoonim* (non-blood relatives) would arrive with horses and 766 wagons to Prigiev-Falov near Kravin to a tavern, and that's where the wedding would 767 take place. There you didn't have to invite all the neighbors and poor folks. 768

769	At one of the weddings of these poor folks it would happen that if the <i>mekhitten</i> didn't
770	have enough money to pay for the <i>khuppah</i> (the ceremony under the wedding canopy)
771	the groom's parents wouldn't permit the <i>khuppah</i> to take place. It was "Tisha B'Av" [the
772	day when the Jerusalem Temple was destroyed] at the wedding! The bride, dressed up in
773	her finest wedding finery, would cry bitterly, and her mother, nebech, would cry along
774	with her. The father would be running around trying to remedy the situation. In the
775	meantime it was getting to be late at night and the <i>mekhitten</i> is refusing to budge, and
776	won't let the wedding proceed.

777

778 All of a sudden a bunch of cattle dealers appear on the scene. They had just returned from 779 the marketplace, and came into the tavern to have a glass of beer and a little snack. There, 780 suddenly, they see a bride sitting at one of the tables and crying. They immediately find 781 out what is going on here. One of the merchants pipes up that from among them there is a 782 young man who not long ago became a widower, he is without children, and a dowry 783 isn't necessary. He is well accommodated and he has a couple of cows in his barn. To 784 make a long story short: They took the bride, the mother and the father on the wagon and 785 they drive into Munkatch, to the bes din shteebel [the storefront where the rabbinical 786 court presided]. A minyan was assembled and they erected a khuppah; and then the 787 young couple sat down jubilantly in the wagon and drove home with *mazel*. In the 788 meantime the other groom is looking around and realizing that the hour is late and it

789	doesn't make sense to wait so long. So he parts company with his parents and runs off to
790	the tavern to get to the <i>khuppah</i> —but he is too late.
791	
792	Millionaire and Forest Merchant
793	
794	Reisman, the millionaire and forest merchant, would always buy a herring for Shabbis.
795	He used to say that a herring is better than a live carp. If someone needed money for an
796	important purpose, he would give away a couple of thousand for a charitable cause.
797	
798	Reb Mordechai Bog-Bog
799	
800	In Munkatch there lived a Jew with the name "Reb Mordechai Bog-Bog." He never slept
801	in a bed, but always on the tables or benches of the batei medrashim in the city. He would
802	never walk on the sidewalk between other people because he tried as best as possible to
803	avoid walking among impure creatures such as horses, dogs, goyim, or women.
804	
805	He had a brilliant mind and was master of the revealed and esoteric Holy Books. All
806	week long he was dressed up in six tattered bekeshes (silk caftans) one on top of the
807	other. And on the Shabbis he donned still a seventh.
808	
809	

810 p. 32

812	On market day he would invert the <i>bekeshe</i> with the fur out; and when the village Jews
813	saw such a bargain they went over to give him a shoolem [shalom]. Reb Mordechai
814	would ask him—the village Jew—what his name is and what his father's name is, and,
815	based on this information, he could tell him his genealogy extending back to his grand-
816	father and great-great grandfather. The village Jew would be scared of him, and Reb
817	Mordechai would start to chastise the village Jew and criticize him for trimming his
818	beard, and similar things. Out of guilt and shame the village Jew would give him a couple
819	of <i>kroner</i> and promise him to become good and devout.
820	
821	The [author of] Minchas Eliezer [Chaim Eliezer Shapira, the Munkatcher Rebbe] said of
822	him that Reb Mordechai Bog-Bog is Leechis sh'nistavru ["Broken Tablets"].
823	
824	His Talmud Lipa
825	
826	Lipa the bardoiver [?] also have many virtues like his rebbe, Reb Mordechai Bog-Bog.
827	He too never slept in a bed, and invariably lived in the rav's court. He ate only that which
828	the <i>rebbetzin</i> cooked. He was the <i>rebbetzin's</i> sexton and he too walked around with a
829	stick in hand to drive away the impure ones. Since it was the <i>rebbe's</i> habit to be punctual
830	for prayer services, there was a young boy who would be sent to Lipa to call upon the

831	<i>rebbe</i> . One time there were a couple of <i>balibatim</i> at the <i>rebbe's</i> home when Lipa entered
832	the place and said: "Rav! Come, let's go off to daven!" And the Munkatcher Rebbe said
833	in a calm manner to Lipa—"I am the <i>rav</i> , why are you referring to me as <i>di</i> [informal
834	"You" and not the more formal <i>ihr</i>]. "Rav," was Lipa's reply, "The Creator I always refer
835	to as [Boorech] Atu [Praised are You and not Thou]. So am I supposed to give you
836	more honor that I do the Creator?" The rav, with a smile, accepted his riposte.
837	
838	p. 34
839	
840	The Author of Minchas Eliezer, May the Memory of the Righteous Be For A
841	Blessing
842	
843	The Munkatcher Rebbe, may the memory of the righteous be for a blessing, also
844	established a reputation as something of a psychologist, who understood human nature.
845	He would also give prescriptions, which were accepted by druggists. And when it was a
846	case of an ill person who was also poor he would contribute some kroners for the
847	medicine and also something extra for various expenses. So one time a woman shows up
848	and says, "Rebbe, my husband has been very sick now for a couple of nights and nebech
849	he can't sleep. He sent me to the <i>rebbe</i> for a remedy." The <i>Rebbe</i> tells her to locate the
850	"flaydervish"—the outermost portion of the wings of a goose, which she had put away
851	for boidik chumetz [to perform the ceremonial removal of leaven from the house on the

852	day before the Passover], place it at the top of the husband's bed, and serve him four
853	spoons of black coffee. After the woman left the <i>rebbe</i> , one of the young men who
854	happened to overhear the <i>rebbe's</i> conversation with the woman started to laugh. So the
855	rav asked him, Why he was laughing. "Is it about my remedy. If I had asked her to place
856	a broom [on the bed] do you think it wouldn't help? Tomorrow, why don't you go visit
857	the sick man and find out from the woman how her husband is doing." The woman told
858	him ecstatically: "As soon as I placed the Passover <i>flaydervish</i> on the bed alongside my
859	husband's head, he immediately fell asleep, which was half the remedy, because he
860	hadn't been able to sleep for many weeks.
861	
862	Childhood Memories
863	
863 864	On a summer Friday night we come home from Kaboolas Shabbis at the rebbe's
	On a summer Friday night we come home from <i>Kaboolas Shabbis</i> at the <i>rebbe's</i> synagogue. I was about nine years old.
864	
864 865	
864 865 866	synagogue. I was about nine years old.
864 865 866 867	synagogue. I was about nine years old.
864 865 866 867 868	synagogu <i>e</i> . I was about nine years old. p. 34

872 some aspect of the *Toireh*.

873

874 The five Jews are taking up most of the sidewalk. The streets are nearly empty because 875 everyone is celebrating the *Shabbis* meal, and are already up to the *z'miris* (singing part). 876 When we arrived close to the Great Synagogue, a Czech soldier accosted us and wouldn't 877 get out of the way, and he did it in an unlawful manner. The brotherhood was deeply 878 immersed in the *Toireh* issue. The soldier accosted *Reb* Michel Gold, grabbed him by his 879 brown beard, and in Czech hurled some expletives at him. It wasn't long before the 880 soldier's bayonet was in my hands, and I ran over to the policeman who was standing 881 guard in front of City Hall. The soldier figured out what the little guy has just pulled off 882 and started chasing after me. The five Jews in *shtreimlech* raised a cry of help, and the 883 taxi drivers and the coachmen who were in the vicinity came rushing over. Being faster 884 than anyone else I manage to run over to the policeman and handed him the bayonet. The 885 policeman asked the Jews if they want to take the soldier to court, because since the little 886 fellow had grabbed his bayonet it might be harder to litigate. It was just before the *seedeh* 887 [Shabbis Meal], so they decided to let the soldier off the hook, and continue on their way 888 home. The policeman issued a warning to the soldier, that he should be ashamed of 889 himself for letting a young kid in Munkatch show him up like that, and for doing 890 something that he might long regret. *Reb* Michel wasn't exactly intrigued with what I had 891 done and he chastised me..."He's Just out of his swaddling clothes and he's already 892 attacking soldiers!" (I had learned this from a Jewish soldier who would to daven by us

893	on Shabbis. He would show the children how to press the switch so that the blade would
894	come out.)
895	
896	p. 35
897	
898	Munkatch
899	
900	A city in the former "Carpatho-Rus" (P.K.R), an area in the Czech Republic
901	(CZ.S.R).
902	
903	The Carpathian region of which our <i>shtetl</i> belonged was a part of the Czech Republic,
904	which was founded after the First World War (in the year 1918). Until that time this
905	territory was part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. In Carpatho-Rus there resided many
906	different ethnic groups: Russians, who had migrated from Russia through the Carpathian
907	Mountains a long time ago; Hungarians; German-Swabians; and a Jewish population of
908	about 110,000. The kind of harmony that existed among the various groups in this region
909	was incomparable.
910	
911	In 1918 the Czechs occupied the lands that stretched across the Carpathian Mountains,
912	which bordered on Galitzyeh, Romania, and Hungary. In October 1938 it was returned to
012	

913 Hungary under pressure from Nazi Germany. The Jews were the largest component of

914	this city, but there were also many Jews living in the villages. The center of Jewish life
915	was in Munkatch, with its estimated population of 35,000, 50% of whom were Jews. The
916	city established a reputation as a "Little Jerusalem," under the leadership of its great
917	rebbe, ha-Rav, ha-Gooen [brilliant man; Dean of the Rabbinical Academy] ha-Tzaddik,
918	Chaim Eliezer ShapiraMay the memory of the righteous and holy be for a blessing
919	who was known in the whole Jewish world as a giant in Toireh, and a mighty battler for
920	Jewish communal causes.
921	
922	The hinterlands of the Carpathians, such as Marmaras, to use one example, were very
923	under-developed, and the inhabitants were quite backward. There was very little industry,
924	and woefully few schools to learn about worldly subjects. Most of the population was
925	engaged in agrarian occupations, or wood-chopping in the forests. A segment survived on
926	nothing but black bread and potatoes, and lived in huts with straw roofs.
927	
928	Perforce, the Jews also lived in conditions of great depravation.
929	
930	p. 36
931	
932	There was precious little business to engage in because here the impecunious peasant
933	didn't need anything. He made his clothing himself, baked his own bread, and fruits and
934	vegetables he grew in his own garden. Some Jews were involved in the lumber trade.

935 There were some who owned large saws [I'm wondering if he meant saw mills?] and

936 their own forests to saw wood for the industry of the country.

937

In the upper regions of the Carpathians one could find a little bit of civilization. The

939 Czechs established schools even in the tiniest hamlets. Commerce was a little bit more

940 vigorous and the Jewish population played a dominant role. As a general rule, the peasant

941 was not engaged in commerce. But the non-Jews were given priority for the bureaucratic

942 positions. Very few Jews, even those with a higher education, were permitted by the

943 "good" Czechs to attain positions in government. Even lesser positions, such as

schoolteacher, policeman, etc. were inaccessible to Jews, with maybe a couple of

945 exceptions in each *shtetl*.

946

947 Munkatch, with its Jewish population of 17,000, was one of the greatest commercial

948 centers in that region, but with a *bashrenkteh* [? which ordinarily mean "neighboring," so

949 I don't know how he's using the word here] industry. The "good" Czechs did not permit,

and even obstructed the building of large factories. There was capital, and there was also

951 manpower. They didn't want Jews to establish textile and weaving industries that would

be appropriate for this region. Their vested interest was for people to have to resort [to

953 goods] that came from Bohemia and Prague.

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955	The Jewish population was made up to a large extent from the ultra-Orthodox, and those
956	of the Chassidic mold; even the craftsmen there wore shtreimlech and bekeshes on
957	Shabbis. The young received a strictly religious upbringing. On Shabbis all the businesse
958	were closed. Only one or two pharmacies were open. The whole population of this region
959	knew that when it's Shabbis there is nothing to do in the city. Everything is closed.
960	
961	On Shabbis it was mostly Jews with shtreimlech and bekeshes strolling around in the
962	streets, with <i>tallis</i> bag in hand, going to and coming from the <i>shul</i> .
963	
964	
965	
966	
967	
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969	
970	p. 37
971	
972	Also, late in the afternoon they could be seen in middle of the empty streets. The bes din
973	[rabbinical court] had certified the eyriv [Heb. Eruv, i.e., wire strung on the
974	circumference of a town to classify it as enclosed private property in which objects may
975	be carried on the Sabbath according to Jewish law] in the city. The non-Jewish

976 population, which was made up of Little-Russians and Hungarians, never displayed

977 hostility towards the Jews.

978

979 When the Yomim Toivim approached, Jews would dance in the streets. A holiday such as

980 *Shveeyis* [*Shavuoth*] when a *Seifer Toireh* [Torah scroll] was submitted to the *shul*, the

981 whole city would dance along. Also, the non-Jews danced and never manifested even the

982 slightest mockery. It was very rare for there to be assaults on Jews or to openly shame

983 them in the streets, as would often occur in Poland, Hungary, or Romania.

984

985 Under the Czech Republic the Jews had every opportunity to develop the import-export

986 business. Cultural and religious institutions, and all kinds of organizations of the left and

987 right began to sprout. It goes without saying that *yeshivas* and *talmid toirehs* existed in

988 every Jewish settlement.

989

990 In the year 1937 when Germany annexed Austria it also shook Jewish life to the core.

991 One could see the fate that was about to befall the Czechs. Black clouds were stretching

992 over our heads. The smell of gunpowder was wafting in the air, and large concentrations

993 of combat units with heavy weapons were edging towards the borders. It was becoming

almost impossible to emigrate; only a very few were fortunate enough to be able to go to

995 Eretz Yisrooel, England, or America. During the period of Nazi rule in Germany and

996 Austria, many people found asylum in Czechoslovakia.

998	September 1938, the Republic called for a general mobilization. Germany demanded the
999	return of the Sudetenland, where a large percentage of the population was German, and
1000	demanded that it become part of the Reich. (Through the initiative of my father a kosher
1001	kitchen was organized near the kaserness [not a Yiddish word; perhaps "recruiting
1002	station" or "command post"], so that mobilized Jewish soldiers would be able to eat
1003	kosher.
1004	
1005	p. 38
1006	
1007	Also, I helped out with this work.) England and France had make a pact with
1008	Czechoslovakia, to come to her aid. For this reason everyone was ready for a battle. But
1009	that's not what happened. The English foreign minister, Chamberlane, was flying back
1010	and forth. As it turned out the English goniv [thief] wasn't ready. They didn't want to go
1011	to war over the Czechs. The supposedly great rear-defense, Soviet Russia, with its great
1012	military power in the East, didn't even have leather straps for her soldiers to be able to
1013	carry rifles. Poland also sticks out a pig's foot and demands a chunk of Czechoslovakia.
1014	Hungary, demands back her old territories from the pre-WWI period. In short: it didn't
1015	take long before the German boots were marching into the Sudetenland, and shortly
1016	afterwards into Prague. The Czech Republic fell like a deck of cards.
1017	

1018	On October 1938, in Vienna, Carpatho-Rus was incorporated into Hungary. The Jews
1019	initially accepted this with indifference, and some even with optimistic joy. People were
1020	thinking in terms of the pre-WWI period, from "Ephraim Yossel's" [Franz Josef's] rule
1021	over the Austro-Hungary. (In the good old days when everything had cost groshens.)
1022	What's more, we'll be able to converse with the Hungarians in the mother tongue, and
1023	not have language barriers like we have with the Czechs. Everything will once again be
1024	dirt-cheap. The former battle front veterans were exhilarant—like the moshiach had come
1025	to them—they were waiting to regain their privileged rights.
1026	
1027	On the tenth of November 1938, the Hungarian Army marched into our shtetl, and were
1028	welcomed with a large parade by the inhabitants. All the Jewish veterans, like the non-
1029	Jewish combatants, were spiffed up in their WWI battle uniforms. (Some of them had to
1030	dig them out from their dusty closets in the attic.)
1031	
1032	Soon after the army marched in we noticed a difference in the military hardware: small
1033	tanks, small canons pulled by horses, and in general, a poor assortment of weapons.
1034	
1035	p. 39
1036	
1037	The old Hungarians didn't look like this. Only hours earlier we had seen the Czechs
1038	fleeing the battle scene with large, modern tanks, motorized canons, and other marvelous

1039 weapons. The "Magyars" were amazed at how modern and built up our city was; newly 1040 constructed streets, large schools, and modern businesses and the nicest merchandise. 1041 They had never seen such things in their own little towns. "We thought,"--they confessed 1042 to us,"-that the Czechs walk around barefooted and with torn clothes and that schools 1043 didn't even exist. We thought we were here to liberate our oppressed Hungarian 1044 brothers." A lot of Jews imagined that this would be the beginning of a new and good 1045 life. We were very much uninformed—some didn't want to know—what it means to live 1046 under a dictatorial regime, as prevailed in Hungary at that time. Besotted with their 1047 ancient anti-Semitic sentiments, they lashed out at the Jews when they were given a free 1048 hand.

1049

1050 Only after two days did we get a taste of the audacity of our so-called liberators. The 1051 soldiers started pulling beards and hitting Jews in the streets. One known Jewish hero (a 1052 veteran combatant from the front) was walking around proud in the street with all the 1053 epaulets he had earned on his breast. A Hungarian soldier ran up to him and "honored" 1054 him with his leather stick. The hero wouldn't take it lying down and started spewing 1055 epithets at him. "I was fighting on the front when you still had shit in your diapers!" The 1056 officer was flabbergasted--the chitzpah of this Jew! He had the temerity to ask questions 1057 why he was beaten, and spoke out of order to an officer! Suddenly there was a concourse 1058 of people, just like in the old days. "We will teach you a lesson," the officer declared. "By us in the motherland no Jew asks why he gets it with the stick." It began to sink in 1059

1060	among the Jewish inhabitants that there was disaster looming ahead. That soldiers were
1061	beating up Jews was a daily occurrence. Jews with beards and payis no longer felt free to
1062	go out into the streets at night. They would grab, hit and lop off payis, beards, or even
1063	half a beard.

1064

1065 p. 40

1067	A chapter of new decrees commences. Everyone must have their citizenship papers
1068	examined. Anyone without legitimate documents will be deported. But where they will
1069	send you no one knows. To a refugee concentration camp such as Garani, or to Budapest
1070	(penitentiary)? Many Jews had great difficulty getting their citizenship papers in order.
1071	We had lived under the Czechs as non-citizens (with a red passport). My father didn't
1072	want to apply for citizenship—because he had unconditional faith in the coming of the
1073	Moshiach—so indeed we were among the first to be to be among those of whom it was
1074	demanded that we come up with these various documents. With great difficulty my father
1075	was able to procure the papers from Burgenland (Austria), which at one time belonged to
1076	Hungary, and he received Hungarian citizenship. My brother-in-law, Yechezkel Schvartz
1077	with six small children, whose grandfather was born in Romania, was taken to the
1078	Romanian border. But the Romanians wouldn't permit them in because they were all
1079	born in Hungary. After a while he somehow managed to return with his family to
1080	Munkatch.

1081

1082 In 1939 Hungary received a portion of Zibenburgen from Romania, which before the first

1083 world war had belonged to her.

1084

1085 In the year 1940 Jews were deprived of their businesses. Their businesses were

1086 expropriated, and only 20%--those whose fate (lot) was more fortunate—were given their

- 1087 businesses back. Thousands of Jewish families were suddenly deprived of a livelihood.
- 1088 Jews were being pushed out of government positions. Jews were no longer drafted into

1089 the military. Yesterday's Jewish soldiers who were carrying weapons were now relegated

1090 to holding shovels for digging; and there is the institution of forced labor battalions.

1091 Jewish self-help organizations crop up and communal kitchens were set up to feed the

1092 destitute. Those who were given their businesses back were now obligated to carry the

1093 burden of helping those in need. My father was made the treasurer of the collected funds.

1094 I helped him out in his work in collecting the monies and distributing them to those who

1095 were in great need

1096

1097 p. 41

1098

1099 until a central council was be established for this purpose, with the name P.I.

1101 The whole Jewish intelligentsia was rounded up and made to do forced labor. Several 1102 years of military veterans were called up, even combatants from the front during WWI. 1103 1104 An escape was organized through the Zionist organization to rescue the youth by 1105 bringing them to Israel. During this period the Hungarian government closed its eyes and 1106 permitted the Jews to swim through its waters. One couldn't take out more than one 1107 knapsack with 25 kilograms of weight on the shoulders. One of these ships, (the 1108 "Shtranah"), with 800 Jews on board, was sunk by the Germans, with the aid of the 1109 British. Only one child managed to survive. Several people (or families) from our city 1110 were also on board. 1111 1112 Summer 1941, war broke out between Russia and Germany. The Magyars cross into the 1113 Carpathian Mountains in order to come to the aid of the Germans. Thousands of Jewish 1114 ex-servicemen were forcibly recruited to follow the army with shovels on their shoulders 1115 in order to dig hell-holes and carve out paths to the front. Their fate is known to all. The 1116 Hungarians sent them to eastern *Galitzyeh* and Ukraine, where the great majority died 1117 from hunger, frost and diseases. Those who fell into the hands of the Russians were 1118 treated in the same way our enemies the German and Hungarian soldiers, were treated by 1119 the Russians.

1121	It was only a couple of weeks since the beginning of the war and the Germans and their
1122	allies made a deep hole in the Russian sack. In the meantime, the Hungarians were
1123	abusing the Jews of the Carpathian region. In some places they didn't even ask if one was
1124	a citizen or not. They wanted to colonize this area with Hungarian families from the
1125	Motherland. On one Shabbis dozens of Jewish families without Hungarian citizenship
1126	were driven out of the area. Among them, also, the rav, our Teacher.
1127	
1128	p. 42
1129	
1130	Reb Burech Rabinovitch, may he live days that are long and pleasant, the son-in-law of
1131	the author of Minchas Eliezer, [the Munkatcher Rebbe, who had passed away in 1935]

1132 may the memory of the righteous be for a blessing--was led away on the main street to 1133 the train station, and sent to Poland. The rav--may he live days that are long and pleasant-1134 -fortunately managed to find a way to return [to Munkatch], having bribed a huge sum, 1135 and with the assistance of Jewish soldiers who came to his aid. He managed to rescue 1136 himself later by fleeing to the Land of Israel. It appears that protests in England and 1137 America helped, these countries not yet being at war with Hungary, because the 1138 deportations to Poland suddenly came to a standstill. The several thousand Jews who had 1139 been driven into Poland unfortunately died there, some having been murdered by the 1140 Hungarian soldiers, and the rest by local Poles and Ukrainians--may their names be

1141 blotted out forever. A few managed to survive by bribing German soldiers and [by

acquiring] false papers.

1143

1144 Bekash Yakov l'goolis es hakytz livnov v'nistam meemenuh--Our Patriarch Jacob already 1145 at that time wanted to reveal to his children what they would have to endure during the 1146 last days of the exile, but he concealed it. V'eschanon el ha'Shem b'-ais ha-huya—is 1147 translated in the Holy Books as Moses Our Teacher was pleading "b'-ais ha-huya, 1148 meaning, the time of the end of the exile. He wanted God to repeal this decree. We, who 1149 are suffering the pangs relating to the coming of the *Moshiach*, couldn't believe this, but 1150 that's how our fate was sealed. When Moshe Our Teacher reviews with us the words, "I 1151 will hide my face from them," and "terrible things will happen to you in the last days"---1152 who could have imagined that this would take place in our time and in our generation. 1153 That it was possible that a *shlepper*, the son of a *shlepper* and with a band of *shleppers* 1154 would sit themselves down in a beer-hall in Munich, and discuss matters like a bunch of 1155 drunks—would lead the whole world astray. And they managed to gobble up half the 1156 world. This was the *shaid* [demon], which the Holy Zohar [Kabbalah] informs us--that in 1157 the end of days such a species of *shaid* would arise, which had been bound for thousands 1158 of years in order not to wreak havoc. He will be brought down to earth to be a plague to 1159 humanity, and he will be given [heavenly] license to carry out his dastardly deeds... 1160

1161 p. 43

1162	
1163	And what he perpetrated against us (and also against the rest of the world) is well known
1164	to all. And that's also how he disappearedNo one, no one knows exactly where his
1165	lament went [Not quite sure what he's saying here.]
1166	
1167	Children, tears are falling like water, when one reminds oneself. Who can't remember
1168	what it was like in the <i>shtetl</i> in those bitter years?: In the daytime, when it will be night;
1169	by night, when it will be day. A large number of people deprived of livelihood, the
1170	providers having been yanked away [from their families, and from the community]. We
1171	were always in fear of the gendarme, the police, the soldiers. The best of them had no
1172	hesitations about killing a Jew. It was a decree from heaven!
1173	
1174	The Jewish assistance organization, A.P., wasn't able to assist all of those in need. The
1175	monthly stipend they handed out was barely enough for a family with children to survive
1176	for one week. My father was working feverishly to collect monies. Since he had
1177	established a reputation as a truly pious Jew, people had more respect and trust in him.
1178	After such a hard day's work he would sit down to study a page of Talmud. From this
1179	holy Jew I learned self-sacrifice; to put his life on the line for a fellow Jew, without
1180	seeking credit.
1181	
1182	"This is a stiff-necked people"; and in spite of all the decrees life goes on. Some Jews are

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1183	still operating large enterprises and raking in great sums of money. People are trying to
1184	find ways to provide financial security. They're building and they're buying houses.
1185	They're relegating merchandise for better timesPeople aretheir 70 years. They
1186	don't talk about, or they don't want to know what's going on the other side-the terrible
1187	scenarios in Poland, Slovakia and Romania.
1188	
1189	Numerous families manage to save themselves from Poland and Slovakia by getting
1190	themselves smuggled across the borders, and they inform us of what they themselves
1191	have seen. Our life here in Hungary is a Garden of Eden to them. There is still freedom of
1192	movement here, and it is even possible to legally emigrate to the Land of Israel, or
1193	illegally over Romania or Turkey.
1194	
1195	
1196	
1197	
1198	
1199	p. 44
1200	
1201	The Kohner Castle was supposed to have been converted into a Jewish hospital but this
1202	didn't materialize because of various conflicting interests among the Chevrah Kadeeshe
1203	[Burial Society], under whose management it was supposed to be. Now it was a place for

1204 tormented Jews, and became a word that was synonymous with morbid fear. Many Jews 1205 were tortured to death there, then handed over to the *Chevrah Kadeeshe* and told to keep 1206 their mouths shut. Harassments and raids were an everyday occurrence. The Great Beis 1207 *Medrish* [Synagogue] in the Jewish quarter is surrounded every Monday and Thursday by 1208 police and gendarme-they're searching for Polish Jews who are trying to save 1209 themselves. They're beating, they're killing, and they're looting Jewish homes. If a Jew, 1210 a refugee, is caught, he is considered a spy and all the families who assisted him are 1211 arrested and then deported. Others are arrested because of the slanders that the non-1212 Jewish population concocted. For a hefty sum of money one can ransom oneself, and 1213 that's how some of the refugees who were snared could be bought up. In some cases it 1214 was imperative to warn someone in advance. The policeman who did the interrogations 1215 could be bought off with 200 *pengaes* and a bottle of brandy. When such an opportunity 1216 availed itself he shot himself at the station, and some of the "good fellows" had to run 1217 away.

1218

1219 Under the command of the Ungvar police chief, who was also the de facto police chief of 1220 the whole Carpatho-land region, anything and everything could be arranged. It got to the 1221 point where he was so full of himself that he was refusing to take Hungarian money and 1222 insisted on American dollars, English pounds, or gold. This went on until his higher-ups 1223 in Budapest caught up with him. Two agents were sent to investigate him. They raided 1224 his house and found the best of everything: A couple kilos of gold, dollars, Swiss Francs,

1225 and other expensive things. Right there on the spot he shot himself in the head with a 1226 revolver. 1227 1228 p. 45 1229 1230 It was *sha shtil* (a cover up) and wherever possible arrangements [deals] were worked out 1231 with the local police. 1232 1233 The "good fellows" did everything possible to help the refugees with their release forms, 1234 with places to sojourn, and to ransom the ones who were captured. Others took on the 1235 task of helping to smuggle people across the borders and procure small *zaml poonkten* [?] 1236 and favorable hiding places. From there they were assisted in getting to the larger cities, 1237 but mostly to Budapest. There were also army officers who were engaged in these kinds 1238 of activities, who found themselves on the *Galitzyaner* side. Sometimes emissaries in 1239 uniform went across to bring over important personages. They had their work cut out for 1240 them; one could easily lose one's life and place his whole family in danger. It was with 1241 great difficulty that various monies, which were being procured finally did arrive. With a 1242 variety of combinations [strategies] the monies were procured. 1243 1244 Sadly, because of our great sins, there could be found in our *shtetl* some trashy misfits 1245 who would, for some small change, sell out Jewish souls. They pointed out to the police

1246	who was involved in the black market and also offered to assist in hunting down those
1247	who had evaded forced labor. It took us some time to wizen up to the ones in our midst
1248	who were doing the informing, who for only five <i>fengae</i> sold out a Jewish soul who had
1249	attempted, considering the insurmountable problems, to sneak across the border, or
1250	someone who sought all means, by hook or by crook, to feed his little children. And if we
1251	eventually did find out who was snitching it was very difficult to get rid of them. The
1252	police kept their eye out and taught them how to be vigilant. For assaulting them one
1253	risked losing one's life. This is what happened with Reb Mendel Peretzesh, may he rest in
1254	peace, the assistant sexton of the Great Bes Medrish. He once drove out a young man
1255	from the synagogue. That night the police came to Reb Mendel's house and dragged his
1256	off, and no one ever heard from him again. It is very difficult for me to write about
1257	horrifying scenes,
1258	
1259	p. 46
1260	
1261	that such an idiot-bastard was capable of pulling off. I will mention only a couple here.
1262	
1263	In the summer of 1941 a middle-aged couple entered the anteroom of the Great Bes
1264	Medrish with their daughter. They looked like tourists. The man was wearing a suit coat
1265	on his shoulders and wasn't wearing a head-covering. A couple of Jews went over to

1266 them. He tells them: "I'm from Kracow. This is my wife and daughter. Jews, help us!"

1267	One looks to the other: "Where should we hide them?" It didn't take even twenty minutes
1268	before a policeman arrived to the anteroom. There's a tumult; the policeman is
1269	surrounded; they plead with him; they make all kinds of promises to him. The policeman
1270	informs us: "One of your bastards has already called the police chief. There is nothing I
1271	can do." We had no idea who had done this dastardly deed.
1272	
1273	The second case took place in 1942: There's banging on my window in middle of the
1274	night. "Shimon, come!" Two young acquaintances take me to the Small Bes Medrish, to
1275	the room where studying took place. There are two children there, a boy of twelve and his
1276	younger sister, both half dead. Hungarian soldiers had found them in the Carpathian
1277	Mountains and took pity on them. The girl was first taken to neighbors. The boy was half
1278	dead from typhus, high temperature and a broken hand. I immediately ran over to Dr.
1279	Shoenfeld and he came right away. We stayed with the boy day and night until he

1280 recovered. The children were from Tarnow, Galitzyeh. The girl was sent away and the

boy stayed on with the boys in the *yeshiva* and was provided with accommodations by

some neighbors. On one lovely winter day everyone went home to eat and the boy stayed

- 1283 behind by himself in the *bes medrish*. After dinner I was told that the informer had
- 1284 showed up and the police dragged off the young boy.

1285

1286 p. 47

1288 The Third Shabbis Meal at the Great Bes Medrish

1289

1290 For my Jews, the inhabitants of Mukatch, this thing is well known, but it will be

1291 interesting to convey some facts regarding the circumstances why I was physically and

spiritually in great danger. This danger was also to my famil yand those close to me..

1293 There still were some tough guys in our shtetl—who did I get to have so much courage?

1294 The answer is: I learned it from my mother—maaseh oovis simon l'boonim ["the deeds of

1295 the parents should be an example to their children."]

1296

1297 All of us remember the bitter years and days. There wasn't a home that wasn't missing 1298 one or more members of the family. Half the city was without a livelihood. To add insult 1299 to injury we were also "blessed" with informers in our midst. But only two of them were 1300 known to us: The older boy G and the younger boy M. The older boy "followed in the 1301 path of the ancestors." [a cynical way of describing this snitch.] He was fairly intelligent; 1302 his attitude was usually practical—live and let live. But the younger one was a *mamzer* 1303 nonpareil. He was notoriously wicked, and to boot he was an imbecile. For five coins and 1304 a pat on the back he would sell his quarry to the police. The local police fought over their 1305 "merchandise"—to whom does this choice item belong. Various attempts were made to 1306 get rid of this boy using gentle persuasion: Giving him money, or sending him to 1307 Budapest so that he could find work there. They could not prevail upon him and he came 1308 back to the *shtetl* and continued to carry on with his "work."

1309

1310	February 1943, I find out that the police are up to something: They want to place a radio
1311	antenna on top of the Great Bes Medrish. They had already done this in some other cities
1312	in Hungary, and in this way were able to arrest the leaders of the community. Since I was
1313	one of the "dirt" and spent a great deal of time out in the streets with the young
1314	freeloaders I would very often come in contact with this young man. I would often go to
1315	the movie theatre with him, and pay for his ticket. I treated him like he was an intimate,
1316	and was seeking a way to get rid of him once and for all. Because the time was short I
1317	hastily put together an ad hoc bes din in the home of my uncle Reb Hershel Estreicher.
1318	The bes din was composed of Reb Moishe Friedman, the brother of my brother-in-law
1319	Yirme', a master of Talmud and Commentaries, and a very wise man; Reb Fishel
1320	Shreiber, the son of the dayan [judge] Reb Chaim Shreiber; and my cousin Noosin
1321	Estreicher. I conveyed to them everything I knew and exhorted them to do something
1322	about it. And since both doing something and not doing something is a perilous thing and
1323	it can't be publicize, they should rule according to the Torah. They ruled that you can
1324	[have a verdict of a death sentence] even on Yom Kippur. But they asked me to chastise
1325	him first. They asked me not to carry "hot" arms because even being caught with
1326	weapons could cause disaster. I should resort to the old mode of doing things, which we
1327	traditionally use to deal with characters like this.
1220	

1329	Having received a blessing from the bes din I commenced with preparations for my
1330	"work." From my friend Weinberger I received some vitriol, because he used this to
1331	clean garments. I added to this my own "pharmacy" and hid it and placed it in a lecturn
1332	in the Small Bes Medrish. After that I went and loosened a couple of boards from the
1333	fence which divided the two batei medrashim and I kept my eyes out for this guy on his
1334	every step. And the story goes like this: I arrive to the courtyard of the Small Bes Medrish
1335	and I see a group of Jews with Gutman in the middle. Everyone is begging him
1336	mercifully not to call the police. This young man had snared a victim. I go over to "my"
1337	young man and ask him what is going on here. I make a little inquiry and I say to him,
1338	"What do you want from this poor person? Who are you to go call the police?" So he
1339	takes a letter with the signature of the police captain, that he is the city's hero and no one
1340	can do him harm. I take my young man off to the side
1341	
1342	p. 48
1343	
1344	and I ask him, "What do you get for this shtikkel work?" "Five zeheevim," he replied.
1345	"Here, take five, and at night we will meet at the theatre." And then, as a matter of fact I
1346	ask him "You're not afraid that someone is going to stick a knife in your back?" No, he
1347	says, he isn't afraid. "If all the Jews are deported they will permit me to stay because I'm
1348	a patriot."
1349	

1350 Shabbis afternoon, outside it was still snowing and cold and I went to look for "my" 1351 young man in the *bes medrish*. In the study room of the Great *Bes Medrish* I see Getzel, 1352 Gutman and a bunch of the street ruffians, some of whom were acquaintances of mine. 1353 Many of them had come from good homes but lamentably the problems led them off the 1354 straight and narrow path. I knew what their intention was here in the bes medrish. So I 1355 left and waited until the evening. Inside the Great Bes Medrish there were a couple of 1356 different minyanim, who were celebrating the Third Shabbis Meal. The Small Bes 1357 Medrish was right next door. I removed the two boards from the fence. There was no one 1358 in the Small Bes Medrish at that time because it was cold and there was nothing with 1359 which to get warm. The Third Shabbis Meal was celebrated at the home of the dayan Reb 1360 Meyer Vulf, may the righteous be for a blessing, and by *Reb* Mordche. I opened the lectern, took out my "merchandise" and opened a Chumash on the table. My eyes fell on 1361 1362 the passage "V'lumadetti Oisam ["And You Shall Teach Them"] and I translated it as "I 1363 Will Teach Him Respect." But I wasn't sure where I should pull off my job—in the bes 1364 medrish or outside? I opened a Talmud, it was Tractate Chullin. Under the dim light I 1365 read the following: Kidoishim befnim loi maaleh v'loi moirid m'bechitz k'doishim." 1366 [Can't translate this.] Said and done. I knew that off in the corner of the bes medrish 1367 bifkeedis the police, a door must be open--[not for the sake of a *mitzvah*]. [I don't 1368 understand this sentence.] I had disguised myself, black eyeglasses, rubber gloves, an old 1369 hat on my head—and held a beer glass in my hand. I had also stashed iron bar to deal 1370 with any exigency that might arise. I bang on the window of the Great Bes Medrish. I ask

1371 for Gutman. They immediately send him over to me. He says to me, "I am Moses

1372 Gutman."

1373

1374 p. 50

1375

1376 I said to him: I have a gift from the police chief to give to you." Meet me at the side

1377 door," he said. I stand right next to him and I ask him, "Are you indeed the young man?"

1378 As soon as he opened his mouth I "honored" him with the beer glass. My aim was

1379 good—I got it right in his face, and he was momentarily blinded in both eyes, and his

1380 countenance was black. He swallowed a few drops and he was vomiting out his

1381 intestines. And as he's about to start screaming I take off for the street and manage to

1382 arrive to my apartment, which was across the street from the *bes medrish*. I discarded my

1383 coat, which smelled heavily from the sour stuff that had poured on it. I ask my sister Leah

to go out into the street with me—something has just transpired. She smells something

1385 pungent but she has no idea what it's all about.

1386

When we come out into the street it is everywhere black with people. The *bes medrish* is surrounded by police, and the couple of *minyanim* at the Third *Shabbis* Meal fled when they heard all the noises outside. But his friends who had been with him had detained the police. Getzel also took off immediately with the skin still on his face because he was afraid he too would be given an "honor." The great news spread throughout the *shtetl*; it

1392	was as if an attempted assassination had just been perpetrated against a known enemy.
1393	Also, among the non-Jewish inhabitants, but in particular among the Jews, there was
1394	great rejoicing. First of all, we had gotten rid of a terrible plague; we are an am k'shai
1395	<i>oiref</i> [a stiff-necked people] and there's a price to be paid for trampling on Jewish honor.
1396	The police chief didn't sleep that night. He sent the informer to an eye clinic in an
1397	ambulance—maybe they'll be able to salvage something. I got extra pleasure in knowing
1398	that the snitch was still alive—we'll always be able to point a finger at him and this will
1399	serve as a warning to the next generation. Several minyanim of Jews and non-Jews were
1400	detained by the police, those whose families Gutman has informed on, and various people
1401	whom his friends had tattled on during the interrogations. After a couple of days they
1402	were all released.

1403

1404 p. 51

1405

1406They whole thing was a great mystery. Undercover investigators were sent to do1407examinations. I was standing right there and I saw that they couldn't determine what the1408material was that had been splashed on him. The bath house and the door of the *bes*1409medrish were full of holes; it was as if a fusillade of bullets had penetrated them. Also in1410the newspapers it was written up on the first page: "Jews are Taking Revenge on Their1411Informers." The good Jews in the *shtetl* said this must have been the work of a *shayd*1412[evil spirit or genie]. I had to destroy my *t'fillin* bag.)

1414	The most interesting thing of all is that after the police had released all of the accused
1415	they rounded up all the friends who could be found in the study room together with G.,
1416	and beat the living daylights out of them. The police came to the conclusion that this
1417	nasty piece of work was perpetrated by his rival G., because of their mutual animosity.
1418	They raided G's house and found a nice chunk of evidence. On Tuesday of that same
1419	week a sign was posted in the Great Bes Medrish: "Everyone is invited to come to the
1420	eulogy of G., which will take place at 2 PM." There was great rejoicing in the shtetl. In
1421	the Great Bes Medrish I myself heard how Jews in tallis and t'fillin were saying:
1422	"Blessed are the hands who pulled off this feat. This must have been the work of a secret
1423	agent."
1424	
1425	Who was the secret agent?
1426	
1427	We had a large contingent of soldiers in the <i>shtetl</i> , and others like this who would leave
1428	our city for the Russian front. The Jewish street extended to the edge of town where the
1429	soldiers would often go. At night it was dark and anarchic. The police had to maintain
1430	order, according to the laws of the land. But who doesn't remember what would go on!
1431	Since we all lived as neighbors on the Jewish street, I would hide out there. When I
1432	would hear a hue and cry I would pull out of my pocket a fear-inducing revolver, which
1433	shot blank bullets and made a great tummel, and also a police whistle, and I could howl

1434	like a dog or like a couple of dogs-this is how I was able to come to the rescue when the
1435	situation arose. Sometimes I would get broken bones [I'm wondering if he meant here
1436	that he meted out broken bones].
1437	
1438	p. 52
1439	
1440	The next morning I would often hear in the bes medrish "the Hidden One saved us last
1441	night."
1442	
1443	M'Shallakh Munis [Purim Gift] for My Father
1444	
1445	Peerim came out a couple of weeks after that Third Shabbis Meal in the Great Bes
1446	Medrish. My father, may he rest in peace, and the relatives were sitting around and
1447	celebrating the Seedos Peerim [Purim Meal] at my uncle's, the judge, Reb Meir Vulf,
1448	may the righteous be for a blessing. The conversation about the snitch never ceased from
1449	the table—"Who pulled off this piece of work?" I hear how my father is saying, " Oy ,
1450	would I love to have a share in this mitzvah." I go back home and I take a piece of paper
1451	and jot down, "I give you a share of the mitzvah as a m'shallakh munis gift to you this
1452	Peerim. I placed the paper inside a coffee jar and hand it to my father. My father, may
1453	the righteous be for a blessing, opened it up under the table, didn't utter a word and put it
1454	in his pocket. We never discussed this thing ever again.

1456	The year 1943: Jewish refugees were no longer arriving from Poland. The situation is
1457	relatively calm. The Nazis are being pulverized from every direction: In Russia, in
1458	Africa, the Italian invasion. Salvation is at the doorstep. In the government and from
1459	among the ministers there are some people who are defending the Jews, and helping them
1460	in whatever way they can. They're waiting for a Nazi debacle. The foreign minister,
1461	Koloszi, is engaged in war on two fronts, but he will not permit the Jews to be extradited.
1462	In his public addresses he would say angrily: "We need the Jews. Our people the
1463	Hungarians are peasants and we don't understand business." He also ceased sending
1464	Jewish forced laborers to work on the front by the Polish border and even brought home a
1465	small number of Jews from Poland. Foreign propaganda also had a great deal to do with
1466	influencing the general population. The Hungarian military, which was fighting on the
1467	Russian front together with the Germans was routed
1468	
1469	p. 53
1470	
1471	and smashed to pieces like chopped kraut in the Russian winter snow.
1472	
1473	The Germans expropriated the greatest part of the harvest yield and that's why they were
1474	giving play toys to the children. Jewish mercantile businesses and livelihood are now in
1475	very unfavorable circumstances. Conditions for Jewish life across the land are half

- 1476 normal. The prevailing conditions are disastrous but somehow people manage to get by.
- 1477 The German government is taking a large share of the wood to build her navy ships and
- 1478 other war materiel from the Jews of the Carpathian [Mountains]. The largest
- 1479 percentage—young men of military elders have been forcibly recruited across the land
- 1480 and also in Poland. There is no lack of *tzooris*!
- 1481
- 1482 The Hungarian Nazi-Fascists Party made a number of stabs at usurping control of the
- 1483 government. For a short period their party was outlawed and their leader Szalazsi, may
- 1484 his name be name be rubbed out, was incarcerated. After a direct command from the
- 1485 Germans he and his party were given their freedom.
- 1486
- 1487 Several hundred Jews were able to travel with passports to Israel via Greece and Turkey.
- 1488 The Germans were being paid a couple of hundred dollars per head so that these Jews
- 1489 would be allowed to cross their occupied territory. Among those in the transport were the
- 1490 Belzer Rebbe, may the righteous be for a blessing, may he have a good life, and may he
- 1491 live into a ripe old age, with his whole family. Hungarian officers had brought the Belzer
- 1492 Rebbe from Poland for
- 1493 40,000 pfengeh. The largest share of the money had come from Munkatch. This holy Jew
- bade farewell with tears in his eyes from a balcony in Budapest in front of a huge
- 1495 congregation of Jews who had come from all over the land, and I was also there. If the
- 1496 English had permitted it [migration to Palestine] thousands of Jews could have been

1497	saved at that time. The Hungarians permitted exiting and the Germans were hard up for
1498	money but the Kingdom of Falsehood not only didn't permit it—it actually impeded.
1499	
1500	When October '43 arrived I was eligible for military duty, which was a substitute for
1501	military service, and I was drafted and sent off to do conscripted labor.
1502	
1503	p. 54
1504	
1505	The non-Jews who turned 21 were drafted into the army. Sick people, and those who had
1506	vital factory jobs were not drafted. Also for a bunch of money and a little bit of hanky-
1507	panky, one could squirm out of service. I had no desire to go. The Germans were being
1508	beaten to a pulp; how much longer could this go on? Pretty soon the war will be over-
1509	that's what everyone was saying. What do I need to go with a healthy head into a sick
1510	bed-and to have to work for these wicked ones? So I forged my documents and made
1511	myself a few years younger so that I wouldn't have to go before the recruitment board.
1512	But it was difficult to be in this city because some of the police knew me, and they had
1513	photographs of everyone.
1514	
1515	I had devised a way on how to get out: the appropriate clothing, blankets, and a knapsack,
1516	so that my family wouldn't know I was going AWOL because it wasn't prudent to have
1517	the family know everything. The police would come to the homes to search for those who

1518 had deserted from the military. For this reason even my parents were not supposed to 1519 know of my whereabouts. On the first day of s'leechis [The ten days in between Rosh 1520 Hashanah and Yom Kippur when prayers dealing with repentance called s'leechis are recited], when both my father and mother were already in the bes medrish, I slunk off to 1521 1522 the railroad station with a valise, my new documents and a pair of spectacles. I didn't 1523 have much time to procrastinate because in a couple of days things would have been even 1524 more difficult. I knew that the police and gendarme were lurking at the station; they know 1525 all the tricks of the trade people were pulling off. I disappeared into a waiting train—not 1526 even having said farewell to my family.

1527

1528 For the life of me I couldn't imagine that I would be parting company with my family

1529 forever—that I would never see them again. I didn't go far, only to a sister to stay for

1530 over the *yomim tovim*[holidays]. I had to take into consideration the possibility that my

1531 parents would be detained and tortured in order to extract information from them because

their son has disappeared. This was also avoided because the search warrant was given

1533 over to a familiar policeman. Everything was taken care of with difficulties.

1534

After the holidays I traveled to Budapest. This city was an asylum for refugees and draft dodgers—it was a city of more than three million people, among them eighty thousand Jews. At that time the city was peaceful. It wasn't obvious out in the streets that a titanic

1538 war was blazing in the East. There was no shortage of material sustenance except for

1539 some materiel that was essential for the war effort-textiles, leather, etc. Jewish life was 1540 carried on without deprivation and for a couple of dollars you could "fix" anything with 1541 the government officials and those up there on the "high windows." The Cosmos helped 1542 me and I found a temporary job in the Orthodox Jewish sanitarium in Buda, which was 1543 under the supervision of the Orthodox *kehillah* [communal structure]. There was plenty 1544 to eat and drink, and I found a warm home among religious Jews. There, one could also 1545 find some Slovakians with false documents. This place was very ideal: far from 1546 downtown, no inspections, and the most secure place in the city. Work regulations 1547 required that I be dressed in a white coat and to assist the doctors during operations. A 1548 couple of very prominent doctors worked there, and also non-Jews went there for rehab. I 1549 immediately measured up to my tasks because this was integral to my work ethic; helping 1550 sick people and healthy people with heart. That's how I was and that's how my father, 1551 may the memory of the righteous be for a blessing, was. My siblings often came to visit 1552 me, and I carried on a correspondence with my father. He was very happy and he would 1553 often send me his chidushay Toireh [Talmudic novellae]. In every letter he would 1554 implore me to not to forget to do a study session in *Gemorreh* [Talmud] and the weekly 1555 parsheh [section] of the Chumash. Whenever I had the opportunity I would fulfill my 1556 fathers request. And every day I thanked the Creator of the Universe that I found myself 1557 in such a warm environment when my friends were toiling in the cold, starving, and 1558 under the baton.

1559

1560	March '44: The Russian Army was already on the east side of the Carpathian Mountains,
1561	and any day they could cross over to the other side. The Hungarians started cleaning [?]
1562	up the large cities—evacuating prominent officials. The Jews were waiting for the
1563	Russians with considerable ambivalence: The good Jews said the Russians were even
1564	worse than the Germans because they want to destroy the soul whereas the Germans only
1565	the body.
1566	
1567	Overnight came the bitter disappointment. The Hungarian leader Horthy was called to
1568	Berlin and the German boot now covered all of Hungary. The only country it still held as
1569	its last card. In Budapest when we got up in the morning the Germans had already
1570	occupied every part of the city. They let the regime remain in the possession of the old
1571	hands, and didn't hand it over to the Neo-Nazi Party. A whole slew of decrees were
1572	promulgated against the Jews and broadcast on the radio. The police, gendarme and
1573	detectives went on a manhunt for Jews in all the trains and stations.
1574	
1575	Overnight, Hungary turned into a hell.
1576	
1577	The wicked Hungarians started to carry out their ferociously barbaric and sadistic
1578	atrocities on their erstwhile good Jewish neighbors. The German had little to teach them;
1579	they indulged themselves with even greater viciousness than the masters themselves. And

1580 this would mark the beginning of the last chapter of Hungarian and Carpathian Jewry.

1581	Where can we run to from here? A small number crossed the border into Romania. Some
1582	Slovakian refugees go back to Slovakia with goyishe papers. The situation there was a
1583	little bit more calm because most of the Jews of Slovakia had already been deported. A
1584	plan was underway in Budapest to organize several battalions of Jews, who, with the
1585	assistance of Hungarian officers, as soldiers with equipment to go to
1586	
1587	p. 57
1588	
1589	Carpathi to the Russians and become partisans. They inform us from the Russian side:
1590	"Spare us your favors."
1591	
1592	Budapest is heavily bombarded and also other large cities. The land becomes a huge
1593	killing field. The Germans will make an end to the "pepper-heads." In May there is a
1594	lightning transport to Polish-Auschwitz. I happened so quickly that in no time at all entire
1595	cities and provinces become judenrein. First, it was the Carpathian Jews. It appears that
1596	the Russians were waiting for the Jews to be taken away. Then they tried to ferret out the
1597	Jews in the hinterlands. At this time there still was no ghetto in Budapest. The Hungarian
1598	regime was not ready to extradite its Jews, and came up with all kinds of alibis to avoid
1599	deportations from the city. Jews had to wear the yellow badge, and every day manhunts
1600	were made in various sections of the city where Jews resided. At that time I could be

1601	found at the Jewish hospital. When I had to go into town to run an errand I would
1602	disguise myself as a blind person with black eye glasses and a white cane in my hand.
1603	
1604	Good Memories
1605	
1606	Remember What The Amalekites Did To You!
1607	
1608	Although I wasn't in Munkatch in the time of the ghetto, as I pointed out earlier,
1609	nevertheless, at this juncture, I would like to write a little bit what took place there in that
1610	terribly lamentable period.
1611	
1612	Before the ghetto was established, Jews from the better families and the dignitaries of the
1613	city were chosen by the Nazis, may they be blotted out forever, and given the name
1614	"judenrat." They were convened by the Nazi S.S. at the City Hall, where they were given
1615	instructions and orders. At the same time Jews in the bes medrashim in the city
1616	
1617	p. 58
1618	
1619	gathered to say T'hillim [Psalms] and to pray so that the outcome would go well for the
1620	communal leadership, and bring good news. Some of them were even standing around in
1621	front of City Hall and were asking the Jews who had come out of the building what the

1622	[Nazi] overlords wanted from them. "There is nothing to worry about," they pathetically
1623	replied. "No one will be harmed if we faithfully follow orders." When word of this got
1624	around in the bes medrish among the Tanach [Bible] Study Group they started jumping
1625	around for joy.
1626	
1627	Over time there were fewer and fewer German soldiers to be seen patrolling the streets.
1628	The task of running the ghetto was delegated to a contingent of S.S. with the assistance of
1629	notorious Hungarian gendarme and local police, and also yesterday's neighbors.
1630	

1631 Then the S.S. Amalekites convened a "court" and asked them some pointed questions.

1632 Among other things they asked what the words "toiv shebagoyim l'hurig," means ["Even

1633 the best of *goyim* are worthy of death"] and the judge, *Reb* Meir Vulf spoke up: "The

1634 translation is that even the best of the *goyim*, this means, even your neighbors, are ready

1635 to kill you."

1636

One week before Passover, before the lockdown of the ghetto, I received the last letter my father sent me. It was a farewell letter from my father. I came to think of this letter as a will. I can't and will never forget it. I read this letter countless times and reviewed it until the moment when I needed to part with it and other holy writings that I buried in a forest in Austria. I will discuss this later in my story. This is roughly what he had written to me:

1643

1644 My dear child Shimon!

1645

1646 It pains me greatly that I'm not able to visit you, and you will never again be sitting at my

1647 *seder*. Black clouds are hovering over our skies, and heavy winds are blowing.

1648

1649 p. 59

1650

1651 I have no idea what will be the fate of our family; I only hope that you will remain alive.

1652 You have a bow and arrow in your hand, think and contemplate deeply before you shoot

1653 it, because afterward you can't withdraw it. You are like a captain on a sailboat in stormy

1654 waters, which is sailing against the wind, and with one wrong turn the ship will sink in

1655 the ocean. Don't be too quick in your judgments and also don't be too anxious about us.

1656

1657 Returning to Zion is our dream. When the Blessed Lord will return his children to Zion,

1658 we will think that all the terrible suffering which we have endured was like a dream. *Ha*-

1659 *zurim b'deema b'reena yiktzoiru*, those who sow in tears will reap in joy. *Hoilaich*

1660 yelech u'bicha noiseh meshech h-zurah, Though he goes on his way weeping bearing the

store of seed he shall come back with joy bearing his sheaves. When you carry the bundle

1662 of tzooris with tears you have a double burden. Bo Yavoi b'reena noisay aleemoisov, with

1663 joyous worth come those who know that the bundles have an ultimate objective.

1664

1665 Go in the Jewish path and don't forget your old pious father.

1666

1667 Shmuel Chaim ben Yisrooel

1668

1669 These are the words of my father, and this was an intuition that I would survive and have

1670 the privilege [rare honor] to carry out his mission when the propitious time would arrive.

1671 He also hinted that I am one of those of this generation of children who will entering the

1672 land [of Israel], with the words which he ended the letter: "B'shuv ha-Shem es Shivas

1673 *Tzion Bo Yavoi b'reena noisay aleemoisov.*" [A prayer longing for the return to Zion.]

1674

1675 For the *yom tov* of Pesach everyone was still in his own home with the exception of those

1676 families whom the Germans had driven out of their houses, especially those with fancy

1677 homes and large courtyards. By us, for example, they emptied out the floors where the

1678 millionaire Reisman was living with his neighbors.

1679

1680 At this time the Russian Army was stationed in the valleys below the Carpathian

1681 Mountains and it seemed like they were edging forward. The Hungarians were starting to

1682 evacuate their leading dignitaries from parts of the city near the border. The Russians,

1683 however, stayed put and were waiting to carry out their offensive. The Jews were

1684 confounded as to who would be better for them, the Reds or the Blacks [the S.S. wore

brown shirts and black swastikas), but most people were hoping for a Russian invasion. Itwould later actualize.

1687

The second Shabbis after Pesach came to known to us as the Black Sabbath in Munkatch. 1688 1689 The Germans with the help of the gendarme and the police snared Jews right out in the 1690 Jewish street, from the *shul*, from the *Small Bes Medrish*. It was there that the tailor 1691 Henig was shot, because they had found him hiding inside a carton. Threatening to bring 1692 down their thick leather batons on the heads of the Jews they forced them to break the 1693 benches and dais of the *shul* in the Small Bes Medrish. Others were forced to perform 1694 various ceremonies. They pulled out half of Reb Zalman Leib Yozefovitch's beard with 1695 the skin. Others were forced to crawl on their bellies and do a circular procession around 1696 the bemah in the Great Bes Medrish. Some were whacked around with the boards of the 1697 benches. It happened to be that on that *Shabbis* my father was in the Small Bes Medrish 1698 because, as usual, he would get up real early in the morning to do a study session with 1699 Reb Moishe Chaim Golden. My sister Lyeh Tzvee [she was named after the mother of his 1700 *rebbe* in Insdorf) went looking for my father, in the process putting her own life in 1701 danger, to bring him home at a moment when the Germans weren't looking. My father 1702 didn't want to part with the other Jews and said he wanted to throw in his lot with the 1703 rest. Everyone was now reckoning for the worst. With great pain she somehow managed 1704 to bring my father back home. That *Shabbis* my father turned quire gray, because even at 1705 63 he still had had a black beard.

1706

1707 The next day, Sunday, the *judenrat* was commanded to gather in the *shteebel* of the bes 1708 din, and when the German S.S. 1709 1710 p. 61 1711 1712 showed up with leather sticks in their hands, they began whacking them over their heads. 1713 On person who tried to jump out of the window was shot on the spot. At this point they 1714 gave a command to form the ghetto. 1715 On the 15th of April '44, the Jews of the city were divided up in two ghettos. The small 1716 1717 ghetto extended from the Rob's Street [?] to the lumber yard, and was sectioned off from 1718 the major streets. The larger ghetto was situated in the vicinity of the Jewish street--1719 Danka Street and small side streets extending up to the water--and also cut off from the 1720 main street. They smashed all the fences that encircled the houses, and commanded to 1721 make one. [I don't quite understand this sentence.] The Jews of Rasvigoff and the 1722 adjoining villages were concentrated in Oestriecher's Cement Factory. 1723 1724 In the ghettos the Jews were speculating about what was waiting in store for them. The 1725 consensus was that they were going to be sent to Germany in work detachments. No one 1726 wanted to believe that it would be anything else. With all their strength they were

1727 clinging to and consoling each other, and they didn't give up hope, even though in their

1728 heart of hearts they knew the Decree had been Decreed.

1729

1730 The Jews were penned inside the ghetto for four weeks before they were taken away.

1731 During this time everything that was of worth was confiscated from them. They bolted

- 1732 down the Jewish businesses and took away the keys.
- 1733

1734 Early one morning the gendarme and the police surrounded parts of the ghetto, and

1735 wielding sticks went around beating the Jews and driving them out of their houses. As

1736 predicted everyone was ready with packed bags and knapsacks for the "journey." The

1737 scenarios and the vicious brutality that took place as the Jews were being driven out of

their houses is very difficult for me to articulate on paper. Old people and invalids were

1739 put into baby carriages and were *shlept* around like this in the streets. Tiny children in

their mother's arms, crying and screeching were chased and beaten along the way to the

1741 cement factory in Shayovitsh. The former *goyishe* neighbors were laughing and making

1742 jest when the Jews were passing by their windows trudging with their packs on their

shoulders, going along the way they knew they would not be coming back to.

1744

For a couple of days the Jews were kept confined in the cement factory, and there, once again, they were told to hand over anything that was of any worth. They also demanded that the Jews bring in their *talaisim*, *t'fillin*, and *sifrey koidesh* [Holy Books]. Anyone

1748 who is caught withholding something will be shot on the spot. The items were piled up

and burned in a bonfire.

1750

1751 Railroad trains arrived on the scene, and three days later the process of loading began.

1752 Sixty to one hundred Jews were packed into the cattle cars, many without bread or water.

1753 The fate of the Jews rested on the extent of the viciousness of the one doing the

1754 commanding. The wagon in which my parents were transported was fortunately under the

1755 command of a kindly policeman. He permitted people to bring food and water on board

and even handed my sister a candy. And only 60 people were packed into that car.

1757

1758 The S.S. were asking around who could speak German, and since my father was

1759 proficient in the language he was made accountable for all the people in his car; his job

1760 was to see to it that they wouldn't run away. When the train stopped a couple of times out

in the open fields the door were unlocked and people ran out to take care of nature's

1762 calling. The trip took two days and two nights.

1763

When the transport reached the Polish border my father said to my sister: He knows andknew in advance where they were going. He blessed my sister Fraidl, who was the

1766 frailest among the children and said to her, "May the Blessed Lord help so that you will1767 be among the survivors."

1768

1769 On the fourth day of the month of Sivan the transport arrived to Auschwitz.

1770

1771 P.63

1772

1773 **War**

1774

1775 Budapest, the 15th of June, 1944: The government calls for a general mobilization of Jews

ages 18-45. On great placards on the walls it stated where and when one was supposed to

1777 appear to receive instructions about work-details. This mobilization was generally that of

a military character. Supposedly it was on the pretext that they need robust Jewish

1779 workers. The Jewish population in Budapest was glad to take on this task because the city

1780 was like a battlefield because of the daily bombardments raining down from the skies,

killing hundreds of people. I resolved to also do my duty and go to work. With my

1782 "Aryan" papers it was difficult for me to hang around with my Jewish features. And

1783 remaining in the city was also not a good idea.

1784

1785 On the 15th of June 1944 bundled up with a knapsack, bed covers and warm clothes I

1786 ventured over to the gathering place in Yazberien. There I encountered thousands of Jews

1787 (and half Jews) of a whole variety of ages—Jews from Budapest, and many young people

1788 from the Carpathian Mountains who found themselves in the same situation that I was in.

1789 Everyone had to undergo a medical examination and the sick ones were let go. People

1790	were divided up in three categories: strenuous, moderate, and light work details. And
1791	according to age-older and younger. The commandant, a tall Hungarian officer, went
1792	about seeking out some artisans, business people, attorneys, and doctors-and all were
1793	placed in separate categories. I didn't place myself in any one work category, but simply
1794	let fate and destiny make the decision for me. My father had said to me, "When you don't
1795	know what's the best thing to do, just sit in that place, shoov v'al taasehsit and don't do
1796	anything. Just let things evolve on their own." And as it turns out, all the people who
1797	were placed in work categories were eventually shipped to Yugoslavia, to Kiper Shachten
1798	(Menos), in the city "Baar."
1799	
1800	
1801	
1802	p. 64
1803	
1804	Since according to my false papers I was eighteen years old I was placed in the category
1805	of 18-20 year olds who were to remain in the land to do light work. Most of these young
1806	people were from Budapest, and many also came from the Carpathian Mountains. It was
1807	like in the military: Battalions of 240 men led by a major and a second-in-command
1808	(non-Jews) who carried weapons. Our eight officers were mostly elderly goyim who had
1809	served in WWI. In fact, not such terrible guys. They would always reassure us: "We
1810	won't hit you." Every sixty people received a non-Jewish group leader in a military

1811	uniform and with weapons. My group leader was a squinting old Gypsy, very proud that
1812	he was given power to lord it over sixty people. Some of our good fellows knew him
1813	from the pubs in Budapest. We all wore the clothing we had brought with us. Everyone
1814	was provided with a military cap and a yellow arm-band on the hand; the half-Jews wore
1815	a white band.

1816

1817 For three days we were engaged in military instruction-and a lot of marching around 1818 with our knapsacks. We already knew all the military commands because once a week 1819 every one of the youngsters had to read through the instruction manual. This was the law 1820 in Hungary. On the third day we received a military command to get ready for marching-1821 preparedness. A Jewish doctor with medicaments and four wagons with two horses for 1822 every wagon. [This is an awkward sentence.] We were told to put our money in a 1823 collective safe box. We weren't so "devout" and kept most of our money to ourselves. 1824 We stocked up on bread and other products and we marched to the train station thirty to a 1825 wagon. We had freedom of movement and the cattle cars weren't locked down, and we 1826 were able to buy things at the stations. On the way we witnessed Jews being sent to 1827 Auschwitz in shut cattle cars. Our leader had no idea where we were going, but like in 1828 any other military organization, along the way he received further instructions. Our 1829 military cook was hard at work and we were provided with three warm meals a day. 1830

1831 p. 65

1832

1833 On the third day we arrived to Zibenberg 30 km from Grosswerdein in a little village 1834 called Retag. Along the way we saw many thousand of workers-Jews and non-Jews-1835 by a second train station that the Germans wanted to construct in a hurry for military 1836 purposes, that would extend from Hungary to Romania. Not far from the train station 1837 where our work place was situated there was a barracks three stories high with bunk beds 1838 for sleeping. For the officers and for the doctor there were separate accommodations. Our 1839 commandant, a tall, older officer, a veteran of the first world war, who lived in Budapest, 1840 gave a speech in which he expressed great empathy. We were mostly young people. Our 1841 parents were hauled away, already knowing their fate. "Don't lose spirit," he would say. 1842 "The war will end soon. Be good and devout. No one should dare to desert." He promised 1843 to bring all of us back home. No one will be attacked. Everyone should work as much as 1844 they can. We are all soldiers. Our situation looked quite gloomy. We heard a great deal of 1845 consolation from this elderly goy, who probably must have fought with Jews in WWI. 1846 We set up a tailoring and shoemaking shop, and an infirmary for sick people. 1847

1848 After two days of rest everyone was given a digging shovel to carry on their shoulders.

1849 Not far from our barrack they were commencing work on a second train line for the front

1850 to Romania, where the Germans had a large concentration of military, which had just

- retreated from Russia. When the Romanians turned their coat upside down to the
- 1852 Germans [i.e. deserted them] and the former had broken through the whole front, the

1853	Germans could no longer retreat to Poland and now they needed to build that line as fast
1854	as possible. We had to put up with this work for a couple of weeks. Our officers weren't
1855	exactly breaking their spudiks [a variation on shtreimels i.e. working very hard]. The
1856	Gypsy was our overseer and engineer who supervised our working details. But after a
1857	couple of weeks we were bitterly disappointed.
1858	
1859	p. 66
1860	
1861	Our work was taken over by the well-known Hungarian military pioneers who
1862	established an outstanding reputation torturing Jews by working them to death.
1863	

1864 Some of these officers were our supervisors and they would bark out orders every day for 1865 digging work, which even for a typical farmer was too much strenuous labor. Our officers 1866 were also told to take off their silk gloves because it was necessary to get the work done 1867 as fast as possible even if no one should remain alive. With this new train line they'll be 1868 able to drive the Russians and Romanians back to Moscow. If not, then everything is lost. 1869 The Sunday rest day was taken away from us, and seven days we worked from early in 1870 the morning to late at night. The Germans' hegemony rested in our hands. They would hit 1871 and beat us with heavy batons. Every day there were new decrees. Our officers couldn't 1872 help us. We were broken down into groups of five. It came out that I ended up with the 1873 weakest among the two hundred and forty. Everyday I would receive makis roitzayech

1874	["a battering from the cruel one"]. I reminded myself of my father's words: "Hayn goalti
1875	eschem achariss k'raishiss, [I will redeem you as I did in Egypt]. We were well fed; they
1876	needed our hands and backs!

1877

1878 p. 66, 2nd paragraph

1879

1880 I didn't have to work on the railroad tracks very long. One lovely night the foreman

1881 wakes me up and says to me. "I heard that you worked in a hospital and you're able to

1882 help the sick." He takes me to the doctors' barracks. A young man of about eighteen is

1883 lying on a bed with a high fever and a badly swollen hand from blood poisoning. The

1884 doctor was occupied with others at the hospital and his new assistant hasn't a clue as to

1885 what to do. The foreman tells me he knows the parents of the young man. I have to help

this young man or else he will shoot me on the spot. I did exactly as I was told. All the

1887 officers were standing around us and carefully watching me perform a normal operation--

1888 sterilizing some of the doctor's medical tools and slitting open the swollen hand

1889

1890 p. 67

1891

--as I had seen it performed by my doctors in the Jewish hospital. A couple of hours later
the young boy was in good order, and his temparature was back to normal. Suddenly I
was a hero! I no longer had to go off to the usual workplace, but now I stayed on in the

1895 sanitorium and assisted the doctor. I was given a leather bag with medicaments and an
1896 armband with the red cross, "paraded" around in my work post and watched as they were
1897 doing hard labor. I also had to do the rounds among the district's sick peasants because no
1898 doctors could be found in this whole region.

1899

1900 I was able to purchase foodstuff for those who ate only kosher. We were also able to form 1901 a couple of minyanim, and we were able to daven in the morning and in the evening. We 1902 had to get up before everyone else and daven quickly. In this way a nice coterie of us 1903 religious ones were able to stick together and we were able to spiritually strengthen each 1904 other in any way we could be of help to each other. I had the freedom to give people time 1905 off from work if I determined that they weren't healthy enough. I allotted everyone 1906 enough time so that all were satisfied. There were no cases of anyone dying at the 1907 workplace during the duration of our time working on the railroad tracks, even though the 1908 work was hard and bitter. We were given enough to eat, and being still quite young the 1909 work under the skies all the summer days in the sunny months, didn't have an adverse 1910 effect on us. People assisted each other to finish the demanded work quota in order not to 1911 be beaten up. We had no newspapers or radios. Still we knew what was going on at the 1912 front from individual soldiers who worked not far from us. They were there building a 1913 bridge for the railroad tracks. They also had to work hard and they had great empathy for 1914 us.

1915

1916	I should also remark here about the behavior of our tormentors at the workplace. When
1917	they laid off of us and kept their hands to themselves, we knew that the Russians were
1918	meting out a beating at the front. If the situation was reverse they would be
1919	
1920	p. 68
1921	
1922	physically abusive in the worst Hungarian sort of way, resorting to expletives that one
1923	can't find in a lexicon.
1024	

1924

1925 One o'clock on one hot day I was very tired from doing my rounds in the workplace with 1926 my leather bag, and I lay down on the grass and caught a little bit of a nap. I didn't see the 1927 hitter but I told someone if he should see him coming around he should quickly wake me 1928 up. The soldier suddenly leaped out from under the tall grass, grabbed me while I was 1929 still asleep and dragged me with his two hands and off into the tall grass. He pulled off 1930 his leather belt and with the belt buckle started flailing away. I could see that this was 1931 going to be disaster for me; he was intending to kill me. So I tore the belt away from his 1932 hands and threw it far away, then lashed out at him with my fists to his jaw and knocked 1933 out a couple of his teeth. He keeled over and just lay there motionless. I immediately ran 1934 off to the barracks where our officers could be found and told them that the hitter wants 1935 to kill me--he doesn't realize that I'm the paramedic. This is no small matter! After work 1936 my friends gathered around me and and wondered what had taken place. They had seen

1937	me running out of the tall grass but they asked me what had happened with the soldier
1938	(the hitter). They had seen him a couple of hours later being taken away and not coming
1939	back. I decided to be reticent about this, and the soldier did toohe was very much
1940	ashamed that he, a soldier, a head taller and heavier than me, was now walking around
1941	with a couple of front teeth missing. Even more pathetica couple of days later he had to
1942	have another loose tooth extracted by our Jewish doctor and for a long time he refused to
1943	show his face at the workplace. When he finally did return to work, he did everything
1944	possible to avoid me.
1945	
1946	
1947	
1948	Some weeks later when the Russians finally broke through the front and were edging
1949	closer to our work site, the soldiers were rounded up and the pioneers who were working
1950	on the railroad tracks (including our hitter), tried to fend off the Russian tanks with their
1951	rifles.
1952	
1953	p. 69
1954	
1955	Our work ceased. My hitter once was found in our barracks with a couple of cartons of
1956	cigarettes. He got up on top of a large box and pleaded with us to forgive him for
1957	attacking us so murderously. He now realized what a terrible thing he had done. (This

1958	was not done willingly on his part, his officers had forced him to do it.) He came over to
1959	me and reached out with his hands, and he asked that the cigarettes should be distributed
1960	among all of us. A couple of days later he was dead with a bullet in his head. This is the
1961	story told to us by the few soldiers who had survived and fled from the frontwhich
1962	wasn't far awayby Tarda-Tur near Arad.

1963

1964 At that time Jews [WHERE?] were being deported, but most of the Jewish population of

1965 Budapest was still intact. Older men, women and children and a couple of thousand

1966 recruited workers [not a completed. In Budapest the Jewish population was concentrated

1967 in a ghetto around a couple of streets and tall buildings. The were forced to wear the

1968 yellow Mogen David and only for a couple of hours everyday were they permitted

1969 movement in the ghetto quarter to buy some essential things to survive. The regime didn't

1970 want to hand the Jews over to the Germans. The war minister at that time, Lukacs, issued

1971 a decree regarding the Jews who were working under the Defense Administration, that

1972 they should be treated like soldiers. We actually sensed this in the lightening up of the

1973 work tasks.

1974

1975 We also received big boxes of clothing, warm garments, and bed covers from the Jewish1976 Kehillah in Budapest.

1977

1978 August 1944: A large number of people from my company received letters and packages

1979 from their parents. I also received letters and packages from the Jewish Sanitarium where
1980 I had been working previously. From our parents or family, we no longer heard anything.
1981 We knew what their fate was. Our only consolation was that we weren't far from the front
1982 and that any moment now the Russians and Romanians would surround us
1983
1984 p. 70

1985

1986 as had happened with many others. We saw the disintegration of the Nazis with our own 1987 eyes, as their casualties were battered and smashed at the fronts on the other side of the 1988 railroad tracks. Our work was for naught--like in Egypt. The work was good for nothing. 1989 The Russians and Romanians will use this to chase down the Germans and Hungarians. 1990 The front is receeding daily and we are being bombarded from the air. We have to dig 1991 graves for the Germans because the Russians are only a few kilometers away. With the 1992 eye one can see the movement on the other side of the front. We find ourselves face to 1993 face with the German military and tanks and the first line of military soldiers and officers. 1994 They refer to us Jews as "children" and treat us decently. But only at night can we 1995 continue to dig ditches because the Russians keep shooting with cannons and airplanes. 1996 Twelve of us are killed as sacrifices. I, as paramedic, have difficult work amputating 1997 hands and feet. People are literally dying in my hands. Shrapnel and bombs are falling 1998 from every direction. Early in the morning, when we go back to the front, we no longer 1999 find the work area which we had left the day before. The Russian Katushas have blown

2000 up everything: People, cattle, birds. Many German tanks have ben blown up and many

soldiers are dead.

2002

2003	I had an interesting encounter with the Germans. In a moving train that was transporting
2004	soldiers to the front one German soldier fell on the [?glayzen]. The train didn't stop
2005	and the soldier was lying there with a torn hand and bleeding profusely. Hungarian
2006	soldiers who happened to be there at the scene ran over and wanted to help him. The
2007	soldier managed to grab his bayonet and started screaming, "Ivan or Russians away from
2008	me." He was semi-conscious and didn't realize that these were Hungarian soldiers. I
2009	happened to be not far away. The soldiers came running up to me and said that since I
2010	was able to speak some German I should try to approach him. I said to him, "I am not a
2011	Russianjust a Jew!" He throws the blade away and says to me, "Jew, child, help me." I
2012	did what I had to do
2013	
2014	
2015	
2016	p. 71
2017	
2018	
2019	
2020	and called a German ambulance. For this they gave me a whole box full of medicaments

2021 and bandages, which I was in dire need of at that time.

2022

2023

2024

2025 In September the Russians broke through the whole length of the Romanian front and 2026 were chasing down the Hungarians and Germans. There were many casualties and there 2027 was great upheaval on all sides. A large number of people from my work detail suddenly 2028 found themselves not far from the front in a small Romanian vilage. This was on Sukkos, 2029 so they constructed a sukkah and celebrated the holiday. There was nowhere to engage in 2030 work, and the officers were located in a different village. The Romanian military 2031 surrounded the village and one hundred and eighty Jewish workers were liberated that 2032 day. Some of them knew Romanian and had conversations with the Romanian soldiers. 2033 They were permitted to go wherever they felt like going and this was their great luck, 2034 because the Russians made things more difficult. Oftentimes when Jews fell into the 2035 hands of the Russians their fate was not very different from that of the Germans or other 2036 enemy combatants: Sent off to Siberia. Many thousands of innocent people left their 2037 bones there together with yesterday's enemies. 2038 2039 I was not of these fortunate ones. The Cosmos led me to Germany and I had to wait until 2040 the end of the war. I went through cold and warm.

2041 I found myself in a new workplace with the officers and the doctor. We were given a

2042	command to run	as fast as p	possible becaus	e the Russia	ans had cros	sed the Carpathian

- 2043 Mountains and all the fronts were open. We neded to run as quickly as possible to
- 2044 penetrate deep into the country. I was quite confused and wasn't sure if it was better to
- fall into the hands of the Red Army as a captive. I did know about the fate of many Jews
- who had been waiting for salvation from the Red Army.

2047

- 2048 All the major roads were congested with German and Hungarian soldiers. People were
- 2049 running around like poisoned cats.

2050

2051 p. 72

2052

Bombs were raining down from the skies and the dead and paralyzed were rotting awayon the highways and byways.

2055

2056 The fifteenth of October 1944: On the way already deeper into the motherland, we were

2057 outraged by the commands coming from the

- 2058 Horthy regime, specifically the capitulation. "We want a truce with the Russians. The
- 2059 campaign on all the front must cease." Like a thunder it struck the Jews and the soldiers.
- 2060 "The war is over!" Everyone can now go home; this was enough. The Hungarian soldiers
- started to flee. We Jews didn't know in which world we were. What will the Germans
- say? The whole German army on all the fronts is situated right here in this land. Will they

2063	take their sacks and just pick up and leave? Italy had also done the same thing. And that's
2064	when the Germans wreaked havoc on their [the Hungarians'] land. Military discipline
2065	broke down. A whole Hungarian regiment surrendered to the Red Army at Debretzen
2066	with their general Varazshi.

2067

The day after the "celebration" we were terribly dissapointed. The Hungarian radio 2068 2069 "Zender" from Budapest was demanding that the military continue the war against the 2070 Bosheviks and against the Jews. "The Jews are a "Fifth Column." They have instigated an 2071 uprising. The Nilashiss (the pro-Nazi Hungarian Arrow Cross)have taken over the reigns 2072 of power. Horthy and his cabinet have been arrested and sent to Germany." Now this is 2073 what we used to call "paprika" politics. The new fascist party quickly established a 2074 regime with a new war cabinet, began snatching up all the soldiers who had deserted, and 2075 organized a new campaign. The paprika-head officers listened to the stupid commands 2076 from a band of shleppers in the capital; the truth of the matter is that they had the best 2077 opportunity not to follow through on these orders and just lay down their arms (in the 2078 way that the Romanians did) because the Red Army had surrounded them from all four 2079 directions.

2080

2081 In Budapest the Horthy regime could see the disaster--but too late--they weren't

2082 organized. The demons were at play and many of the surviving Jews were annihilated.

2083 The several thousand soldiers and the Jewish battalion of conscripted labor who found

2084	themselves in the capital were called upon to stand guard and to be vigilant in case of
2085	chaos and anarchy. If needed there were places where arms were stored, in case the Jews
2086	needed to defend themselves against the Germans. The regime demanded that Jews tear
2087	off the Yellow Mogen David from the breasts and to go out freely into the streets.
2088	
2089	
2090	Hi Preeva,
2091	
2092	Below you will find the translation of pp. 73 to 76. This took me two hours to complete.
2093	
2094	Regards,
2095	Ken
2096	
2097	
2098	
2099	The Germans and the fascists also weren't sleeping. A large contingent of SS surrounded
2100	the capital building and like a spider web the government's plan became unfurled. In
2101	some places out in the streets some communists and their sympathizers were waging a
2102	battle against the Germans and the fascistsand a veritable blood bath was being
2103	perpetrated against the Jewsafter the fascists spread rumors that the Jews were shooting
2104	down at them from their houses. They dragged out young and old, children and women

2105 from many of the large buildings and led them to the Danube River, where they were shot 2106 and tossed into the water. The situation for Jews was very bitter in the city. The Swiss 2107 and Swedish consulates, and also the Red Cross, took under their protection all those who 2108 managed to enter the edifices under their control and handed out protective passes that 2109 indicated they were citizens of these countries. In this manner thousands of Jews 2110 managed to survive. The Nazi Eichmann, may his name be blotted out forever, (who was 2111 later captured), was at that time situated in Pest and he wanted to deport all the Jews. But 2112 since it wasn't possible at this stage to deport the Jews via rail, and the Russians were 2113 everywhere deep inside the country--so instead they took a thousand people, mostly 2114 women, and marched them across the land into Austria. The great overwhelming majority 2115 of them perished along the way. 2116

2117 The Red Army began to approach the capital and was bombarding from every direction. 2118 There was only one road open to enter and leave the city. An estimated 30,000 German 2119 SS and a large contingent of Hungarian soldiers and fascists tried to hold down the city. 2120 In November the Russians sent in two officers with white flags on motorcycles to enter 2121 into negotiations with the Hungarians to relinquish control of the city. The Hungarians shot them as soon as they enetered the city. The Russians responded with a heavy 2122 2123 bombardments from morning to evening and closed down the city from every direction. 2124 For more than three months the Russians kept lobbing cannons, and [missiles] from the 2125 air. They leveled entire parts of the city; there very few houses that had come away

2126	undamaged from the seemingly endless assault. The German Army tried to break through
2127	and form a united front with the army that was stationed about 150 kilometers from the
2128	city. Basic sustenance and ammunition was entirely lacking, and people were dying from
2129	hunger. Food and ammunition was being dropped from the skies, the largest amount
2130	falling into the Russian-controlled areas, because it was difficult to know who was who.
2131	Buda, which is situated on the other side of the Danube, was entirely occupied, and the
2132	Hungarian paprika-heads permitted themselves to be massacred for naught.
2133	
2134	The German Army, which had been pushed out of Pest, and was now situated 150
2135	kilometers by the Balatan, organized in February 1945 a counter-offensive with heavy
2136	panzer divisions and artillery to free their army, which was inside the Russian circle in
2137	the leading city. With their first attack they were able to reconquer Sekeshfehervar, 120
2138	kilometers from Pest, and cause great losses. The offensive was undermined by some of
2139	the leading officers who wanted to end things and shorten the war. The nachshiv [?] was
2140	turned upside down: When they were waiting for benzine, gas masks would show up;
2141	when they needed bullets for the panzers, bombs for airplanes would arrive. The German
2142	were stuck in their tanks and couldn't go anywhere.
2143	
2144	The Russians also weren't sleeping. With a counter-attack they managed to reach the
2145	Austrian border, across the whole length of the Balatanand the Germans with their 3000

2146 panzers, tanks, and automobiles--were wiped out or captured. The rest had to flee because

they didn't have benzine.

2148

2149 At the same time, the German garrison in the capital attempted to fight its way out of the 2150 city. The Red Army let them get to within five kilometers of the main highway between 2151 Budapest-Vienna. Then they just started blasting away at them from all directions. The 2152 Germans had no arsenals with which to defend themselves, and they were dropping like 2153 flies. At that point the Russians entered the city. After heavy hand-to-hand combat and 2154 great losses, they conquered the city and possessed full control of it in March 1945. 2155 2156 In the last minutes of the battles in Pest a bitter fate befell the Jewish sanitorium and old 2157 age home, where I had worked before leaving the city. The sanitorium was located in the 2158 outlying part of Buda, on the other side of the Danube. The Russian were now occupying 2159 that part of the city quarter. Some of the Hungarian fascist soldiers and their leader, a

2160 Protestant pastor, went inside the hospital, mowed down all the sick and the doctors from

the hospital and the old age home, and set the edifice on fire. The pastor was later

2162 captured in Austria, brought to Pest, and hanged.

2163

My fate didn't change. At the time of the not-successful capitulation we thirty remaining Jews out of 240, including the officers, were deep in the heart of the country. The general army and the officers were given a command to continue to engage in battles against the mighty Red Army. The indifferent Hungarians had already lost all their tanks and panzers

2168	on the Russian front, and with horses and rifles were engaging in warfare against Russian
2169	tanks and airplanes. The German Army was all over the country and the Hungarians were
2170	their nuchshleppers and boot polishers. Some Hungarian "paprika-heads" and leading
2171	officers who wanted to maintain their positions as long as possible swore allegience to
2172	the new fascist regime and helped to demolish the whole country. "Such idiots can't be
2173	found anywhere else in the whole world." That's what the Germans used to tell me.
2174	"These are the biggest dupes one will find anywhere."
2175	
2176	p. 76
2177	
2178	The Hungarians began to reorganize their military. Since large numbers of soldiers were
2179	disappearing [deserting] one battalion with liberal officers, from the 25th Regiment,
2180	decided to accept Jews because they were in great need of doctors, bookkeepers and other
2181	important positionseven though it was still forbidden according to the laws of the
2182	previous regime. I received a military uniform without weapons, and a pass as an aide-de-
2183	camp. There were about one hundred Jews in my battalion of the Hungarian military,
2184	with more or less the same rights as an ordinary soldier. We didn't have individual
2185	freedom of movement, but only when together with other soldiers.
2186	
2187	We saw thousands of Jews all over the country working for the Germans, and digging
2188	trenches at the front lines. For us few Jews the situation momentarily was a bit lighter.

2189 We were just waiting for an opportunity and appropriate place to make a getaway.

2190

2191	I assisted in rounding up Munkatcher police and sending them to the front, and they never
2192	returned. When the Russians crossed the Carpathian Mountains, all the cities were
2193	evacuated. Some of the population, all the dignitaries, police, gendarme, and firemen
2194	were constrained to leave the city. Our regiment was at that time situated in Shaturloi-
2195	ehol. This city was full of refugees from Munkatch, Beregsas, and from the surrounding
2196	areas. I once caught sight on the street the Munkatcher burgermeister, and the firemen
2197	with their big red extinguishing machine which the Poles had left behind. A couple of
2198	police were still on duty. I didn't think it was all that important for me to make myself
2199	known to them with my new military mandeer [?] and scratch out their eyes, even though
2200	I very much wanted to do that. When I came back to my quarters,
2201	
2202	p. 77
2203	
2204	which was situated in a Jewish house with a big mezuzah and which I and some other
2205	Jewish soldiers were occupying, I was called into headquarters. I am told the following
2206	story: "A tall Munkatcher policeman whose name was Bakavi very much wants to
2207	connect with soldiers from Munkatch and is going around inquiring. He left the address
2208	of a school in the city where all the evacuated police and firemen can be found. Since
2209	[the inhabitants of] this edifice have to contribute to the front, we will capture them and

2210	send them immediately. They don't need training. We will send you off with two people
2211	who will escort you. Go over there and take a good look around and find out how many
2212	people can be found there." My heart was swelling with joy. "I have lived to do such an
2213	easy thing! I will be the messenger." I knew the policeman well. He was known as a
2214	nemer His wife was a Munkatcher goyeh whom Jews had matched up with him.
2215	
2216	Escorted by two junior officers, I arrive at the address. When I enter the premises I find
2217	myself inside a large hall full of policemenmany familiar facesthe ones who drove
2218	around in the streets and beat up my parents and sent them to the cement factory.
2219	The hall is packed with various expensive carpets, chests, and expensive furniture pieces,
2220	and whatever the heart only desireseverything that had been stolen from Jewish peoples'
2221	homes. I recognize my young man in his police uniform. I give him a hearty shalom
2222	aleichem and greet him with the Hungarian salutation"a better future." He is standing
2223	there like he has just become frozen and can't utter a single word. He can't believe his
2224	eyes. "You don't recognize me? I am the umbrella maker's son from near the bridge." He
2225	catches his breath and has no idea which world he's in. Then he asks me: "Do you know
2226	anything about where your parents are? "Yes," I said, "they are situated in Danzig. I
2227	receive letters every week." After a short and very inarticulate chat he calls me over to a
2228	corner so that no one would be able to hear him. "Listen to me, brother," he says, I would
2229	like to go back to Munkatch. I left my wife there and I hear that over here they are
2230	sending people to the front.

2231

2232 p. 78

2233

2234 What do I need this?" So I said to him: "You are disgrace and you should be ashamed of 2235 yourself. You were such a tough guy in Munkatch. And now when it's necessary to 2236 defend the country, you've turned chicken? Take this rifle in hand--and we will meet once 2237 again in Munkatch." I quickly left that area with my two adjutants, and told them at 2238 headquarters that they should speed things up because the gang already knew what was 2239 waiting for them, and they might want to run away. Early in the morning soldiers 2240 surrounded the school building, and emptied it of the things and the policemen. They [the 2241 inhabitants of the school building] were dressed up in new soldiers' uniforms, handed 2242 new rifles and hand grenades, and placed alongside the companies that were heading 2243 towards the front, not far away. I never heard from any of them again. 2244 2245 The Jews got along quite well with the soldiers, because most of them were elderly 2246 goyim from occupied Romania's Seven-Burgen. The officers were from Klausenberg 2247 Graus-verdein. Many of the officers could speak the Hungarian language; because they 2248 were from among the mobilized who had withdrawn from the Russian front. From twenty 2249 thousand all that remained were barely eight thousand. Some left their bones on the 2250 Russian front, and an even larger number ran away during the period of great upheaval. 2251 They needed us as medics, bookkeepers, to help store the weapons, and as tailors and

2252	shoemakers. Just as the leading officer treated us well so too did the soldiers behave
2253	similarly.
2254	
2255	I almost paid with my life for wearing a Hungarian uniform. In early January 1945 our
2256	regiment found itself far from the capital, not far from the Austrian border. I was looking
2257	for an opportunity to run away. How long can this continue to last? I was afraid of the
2258	Russians; they will at the last moment hand us over to the Germans (which is what they
2259	actually did).
2260	
2261	We arrived at a little shtetl not far from where the front is situated.
2262	
2263	p. 79
2264	
2265	Our transportation consisted of horses and wagons. My driver was an older Romanian.
2266	Someone pointed out to us a large courtyard with a barn and the empty house houses
2267	which had once belonged to Jews who had long ago been deported. After the station we
2268	had to go to the main quarterreport and receive food. The soldier tied down the horses
2269	and came running into the kitchen. He had left his rifle and cartridge on the wagon, and
2270	was relying on me to bring it to him. A group of Russians and Ukrainians wearing
2271	German military uniforms but without weapons also happened to be situated at the
2272	courtyard. These were "Vlasovtzess" who had gone over to the German side during the

2273 Russian-German clashes. I wasn't quite sure who they were; I thought they were captured 2274 Russians who were working for the Germans. They spoke Russian. With my leather 2275 medics' bag on one side and the rifle on my shoulder, I got caught up in a conversation 2276 with the Vlasovtzess. They asked me how far it was from the front. "it's about five 2277 kilometers," I said. "In a day or two we will have to evacuate from here." And in the 2278 course of the conversation I happened to mention that I was a Jew. They burst out with a 2279 bitter laughter and were screaming to their captain: "Take a look! A Jew with a rifle!" I 2280 realized that this was a terrible mistake on my part and I started making a quick exit from 2281 the courtyard. Two of them began to follow me into the street and point me out to a 2282 soldier who happened to be standing nearby: "Look, a partisan." I made no effort to turn 2283 around and see what what going on behind me. Someone sucker-punched me. My hat fell 2284 off my head, blood was dripping from my nose, and they grabbed the rifle off my 2285 shoulder and were dragging me around. I started to defend myself, wrestled with them 2286 and screamed: "I belong to the 25th Regiment, not far from the main headquarters." They 2287 drag me inside a courtyard where one of their officers were situated, and they placed me 2288 up against the wall. The officer comes out and asks me, "Who are you?" I replied: "I am a 2289 Jewish aide-de-camp. I belong to the 25th Regiment Command. We are stationed in this 2290 area." 2291

2292 p. 80

2293

2294	He started to crack up: "A Jew with a rifle and a military uniform." He nails down two
2295	soldiers: "Take him into the garden and give him a working over." Fortunately for me
2296	some soldiers from my company noticed that I was being dragged around through the
2297	street., and one officer came running. With this deliberation I was at the last moment able
2298	to survive.
2299	
2300	
2301	
2302	(p. 80 continued)
2303	
2304	
2305	Towards the end of January 1945 the couple of hundred Jews were discharged from the
2306	military. Heavily-armed soldiers took us by foot to Shopran near the Austrian border.
2307	Along the way we had a cook and we worked at removing the heavy snowfall off the
2308	highways where the military was moving around. At one location, where all the Jewish
2309	forced laborers were rounded up to be deported to Germany, the Hungarian fascist bands
2310	did a thorough inspection of the Jews. Anything of worth, good clothing, and documents
2311	were confiscated and they sent us packing with a good thrashing. That night, our group
2312	of hundred with badly tattered clothes, which the Hungarians had exchanged for [our]
2313	good [ones], were taken across the German-Austrian border. The German border police
2314	who took us across were wondering: "What kind of species of Jews are you in tattered

2315	military uniforms." And we had to explain to them that we were night patrol fighters, and
2316	equal with all the other soldiers. The response from the Germans was both empathy and
2317	laughter. Only Hungarian barbarians could pull off something like this; they are more
2318	religious than the Pope. We were taken to a big lager not far from the border. Some one
2319	hundred Jews who had arrived a day earlier were already there. We were sick to our
2320	stomachs; we were now at the same place where our parents had been annihilated. The
2321	Hungarians were maintaining a large army just to be able to deport the few Jews who still
2322	remained in the land, when death was hanging over their heads.
2323	
2324	Our thoughts were racing in all parts of the land [awkward phrasing] where thousands of
2325	Jews are languishing and are being tortured in various concentration camps. But we never
2326	lost hope.
2327	
2328	p. 81
2329	
2330	They can't take us too much further, we hear the Russian canons.
2331	
2332	Seven o'clock in the morning we were awakened. Everyone received a piece of bread and
2333	bitter black coffee. Young Germans only about fifteen years of age were carrying rifles
2334	and taking our group not far to a location called Eberow near the border. We were
2335	quartered inside a city folks-school. Civilians with armbands inscribed with initials of the

2336 TAT organization now took us under their wing. Their task was to fortify the border with 2337 tank shperes [?] and weapons depots, to get ready for the [arrival] of the German Army. 2338 Our hearts started to feel a bit lighter because this was German civilians and not the Nazi SS. The commandant in the brown uniform with a swastika assured us that nothing would 2339 2340 happen to us. "We are not the SS guys. Everyone should perform the task that he will be 2341 given." In this town there were a couple of hundred exhausted Russian workers who 2342 worked in the forest under the auspices of the same organization. Our quarter wasn't 2343 guarded but we were not permitted to mingle with others. The work wasn't too difficult. 2344 No one was driving us, and no one was hitting us. A couple of civilians were obligated to 2345 supervise us. We dug a wall from tank shperes [?] in deep bunkers across the Hungarian 2346 border. But there was a dearth of food and we suffered from great hunger. The great 2347 majority of the hundred Jews were devout. A couple even still possessed their tallis and 2348 tefillin, which the Hungarian hadn't confiscated. Some had up to this date never eaten 2349 treif. I still have my tefillin with a siddur and a chumash. Every morning and evening we 2350 formed a minyan, and the tallis and tefillin were circulated among us.

2351

Along the way Purim arrived. We read the Megillah from the Chumash. The barber who was given permission to go into town and give the Germans a shave (because there was no other barber around), brought back a bottle of schnapps, and we made merry. "To pikenish [?] our enemies." We consoled each other and we were convinced that we would outlive them.

2357

2358 p. 82

2359

A couple of days before Pesach we are concerned about matzah and potatoes, and

erecting a seder. Some of us are determined not to eat chumetz, if at all possible.

2362 Surreptitiously, we manage to procure some flour and matzah, which was baked at a

2363 peasant's place. The Austrians know that on one bright day the Russians will arrive and

everything will go kaput; so they want to make themselves look nice. We receive some

2365 potatoes, beans, kukuruz [?], and some raisins to make wine. And now we were ready for

the seder. We heard the canons being shot on the other side of the border. Since our

2367 living space wasn't guarded we were able to move around freely inside that school

2368 edifice. We laid out on the white table cloth two burning candles, a flask of raisin wine, a

couple of matzas, eggs, and plenty of saltwater. That Jew who still hadn't eaten treif led

the seder and said the Hagadah. Pieces of matzah were distributed to all.

2371

In the middle of the seder we hear an alarm going off in town. We run out. The Russians have broken through the front. They can enter this very night when no reinforcements will arrive on time. Our joy is great; everyone grabs a shovel and ax, and we have resolved to be our own overseer in case they try to drive [chase] us further. The Russians stopped at the border and didn't cross it. In the early morning large contingents of soldiers arrived and took up positions against the Russians. Things began to warm up across the

length of the border.

2379

2380 The next day the Jews and non-Jews who were working in this area were rounded up:

some two thousand Jews and a couple of hundred non-Jews, Poles and Ukrainians.

- 2382 German civilians with weapons were driving us like cattle in the direction of Gratz,
- 2383 Austria. Anyone trying to stay behind would be shot. I see half-dead skeletons marching,
- whom the Hungarians, may they be blotted out, had starved, and only a couple of days

2385 earlier had packed off to the Germans. We march over mountains and forests, and try to

avoid the main roads. People are dropping like flies from hunger. Some are eating grass

- 2387 from the fields..and anything else they can find.
- 2388

2389 p. 83

2390

2391 On the second day every twelve people receive one loaf of bread and a piece of 2392 margarine. We want to organize the stronger ones to grab the weapons away from our 2393 attendants and run into the forests. Unfortunately we are being driven [forcibly marched] 2394 on the land's auto highway. Thousands of soldiers with tanks are marching to the border 2395 that we have just retreated from. Our plan is not going to succeed because the forests 2396 aren't large enough to be able to hide out in and wait for the Russians. I was of the 2397 opinion that we should break up into smaller groups. The attendants don't know how 2398 many of us there actually are because at every gathering place new people arrive and the

old ones go back [where?] [clumsy sentence]. What's more, we knew that in Gratz the SSwas waiting for us!

2401

2402 On the third day, when we found ourselves on the national highway thirty kilometers 2403 from Gratz between thick forest brush on both sides, I said to a comrade: "Up to here!--2404 we're not going any further than this." We made a dash for the forest and there ran into 2405 two people from our group in military uniforms. As we're trudging along the path we see 2406 along the roads thousands of refugees with horses and wagons, and Hungarian soldiers 2407 shlepping their wagons without horses (because the Germans had taken away their 2408 horses). So we decided to play the role of Hungarian soldiers who are looking for their 2409 companions, and that all our things and papers have been taken from us. We dug up a 2410 small grave and buried all the things that could potentially cause us problems--such as 2411 documents, tefillin, siddurs, photos, and all the Yiddish letters that I carried with me from 2412 home. We are perfect soldiers, like other Hungarians. We will behave like all the other 2413 simpletons in the German marketplace.

2414

We waited until it got dark, and then hiked to the edge of the forest. On the highway we see across the whole length the German military with tanks and canons. Bombs are falling from a distance near where the city of Gratz is located. The sky is red from the fires which the British are shooting from airplanes. Along the length of the highway a great darkness prevailed; people couldn't see one another. The soldiers speak in hushed

tones and they weren't permitted even to light up a cigarette.

2421

2422 p. 84

2423

2424

2425 We now have the best opportunity! I approach a couple of soldiers who are standing near 2426 a large tank and ask in German (which I knew well)" Comrade, have you not seen 2427 anywhere some Hungarians soldiers? We have gotten lost in the dark. We're looking for 2428 our comrades." One of them spoke up: "You have to go back about ten kilometers at the 2429 next gathering place. There we saw some Hungarians with wagons in the middle of the 2430 village." I thanked him and called my friends. We have to get closer to the front. We set 2431 out like a patrol and march in the dark across the length of the highway. We are being 2432 greeted by our German comrades when we march past them. 2433 2434 After marching for about two hours we arrive at a gathering place. In the middle of a 2435 village, under the free sky there were lying on the ground a couple of officers with their 2436 familes and some soldiers with wagons but without horses. The Germans didn't let them 2437 in [let them in where?] and they were cursing with deadly Hungarian expletives because 2438 they couldn't speak German. They didn't realize in the dark that we are fellow 2439 Hungarians. We continue along the way to the next gathering place. The Hungarians are a 2440 bunch of good-for-nothings. Along the way we see several colonies of German

2441	Wehrmacht and we ask them the same questions. The Germans, tired and sleepy, reply
2442	that they have no idea. We continue on our way and in the early morning arrive to a
2443	gathering place called Blamov. We can barely stand on our feet after a whole day and
2444	whole night of marching without eating and drinking. We go to sleep at the edge of the
2445	village on top of a large bale of hay.
2446	
2447	Nine o'clock in the morning the owner arrivesa tall, husky peasant with
2448	shtahyermarkishe [?] clothingwith two horses and a wagon. He sees four peculiar-
2449	looking soldiers lying there in disheveled uniforms and he is not sure what kind of
2450	creatures he's dealing with here. He fills up his wagon with hay and takes off. We
2451	continue to sleep from exhaustion and lack of energy. In about a half hour the peasant
2452	returns. He, for some reason, assumed that we were captured French soldiers who were
2453	working for the peasants during the war period.
2454	
2455	
2456	p. 85
2457	
2458	But since the front was now closer they were forced to to withdraw from the whole realm
2459	of the front ["realm of the front"?] He greets us and asks: "Aren't you hungry?" I replied:
2460	"Yes, we are very hungry. Since yesterday we have been searching for our comrades. All

2461 our baggage and material possessions and documents were left behind on the road." Last

2462 night the British airplanes attacked our colony on the highway and we all ran away. We 2463 haven't a clue as to where they can be found." He is now aware that we are Hungarian 2464 soldiers. He wonders out loud how it is that I'm so fluent in German. I explain to him that 2465 I am an ethnic German in Hungary. I show him my bandaged foot and my comrades 2466 bandaged hand, because yesterday, during the assault, we were both wounded. He has 2467 great sympathy for us: Deserted, wounded, half-dead soldiers. Another fifteen minutes 2468 doesn't pass before he brings us a large pot of warm food, bread, and boiled potatoes, 2469 which he had prepared to feed his own pigs. We by no means turned down the invitation-2470 -after such difficult days, a little warm food. The peasant took notice of how famished we 2471 were; something wasn't right. He cautions us to be very careful because there are all 2472 kinds of field gendarme who are hunting down illegal aliens and also captured French 2473 soldiers.

2474

2475 We do everything possible to restrain ourselves and we manifest courage and certainty.

2476 We have nothing to fear. We are soldiers who fought side by side with the Wehrmacht

and we had to flee from the approaching Red Army. We take a breather here and and then

continue in pursuit of our lost comrades. The peasant left us with a sense of calm.

2479

All around we hear gunshots. The front must be very close--in a couple of hours or at the very most another day, and the Russians will be here. We moved ourselves into the barn among the bales of hay. We are no longer hungry. We can hold out for one more day.

2483 [Last line on p. 85]

2484

- 2485 In the late afternoon hours the peasant comes back again
- 2486

2487 p. 86

2488

2489 and he doesn't see us because we are buried deep in the hay. He calls us. It appears that 2490 he understood that we're lying in the barn. We're contemplating what to do: Should we 2491 respond to him? I decide that we should respond and come out; better to show that we're 2492 not afraid of anyone. He tells us it would be best if we vacate this area quickly. The 2493 Russians are coming and they're not very far away. We could, God forbid, be captured by 2494 them and sent off to Siberia. I speak to the peasant in a deliberate manner and explain to 2495 him that we are very weak and that my feet are causing me much pain. "It is very difficult 2496 for us to go further, and we won't be able to avoid the Russians in any event, whether 2497 here or a few kilometers down the road. I'm proficient in the Russian language because I 2498 come from the Hungarian Carpathian mountains. I'll be able to establish a rapport with 2499 the Russians. There is nothing to be afraid of. When the Russians arrive we will be able 2500 to help you a great deal." He liked what he was hearing. They were contemptuous of the 2501 Russians. Now that he knew that we spoke Russian, he started to warm up to us and he 2502 asked us our opinion about the Russians. But now he's not sure who he's talking to. On a 2503 couple of occasions he asked us if we were not in fact Russian captives. I refused to give

2504	him a clear answer to this question; let him think what he wants. (We got a sense that he
2505	would have preferred if we were indeed Russians.) He runs home and brings food: Milk,
2506	meat, bread, fowl, cigarettes, and roasted potatoes, and were having a hell of a good time.
2507	His whole tone of voice and attitude towards us changed radically. I tell him about the
2508	Russiansthat they're not the animals the German propoganda machine has depicted
2509	them. One just has to know how to deal with them when they arrive. As long as we are
2510	here nothing will happen to him. Hearing this made him feel more comfortable and he
2511	tells us that he isn't going to tell anyone that we are here hiding out in the barn. He
2512	continued to be perplexed about whether we were Russian spies or partisans. I tell him
2513	that when the Russians come he should come running over herethis will help all the
2514	people who are situated here. He goes home very satisfied, and we bury ourselves again
2515	in the hay.

2516

2517 p. 87

2518

It won't take a long time. That whole night we hear all kinds of loud shooting, and also from machine guns. In the middle of the night we see how the inhabitants are heading into the forest with horses and wagons and with household wares, deep into the forest. On the road there's a great movement of soldiers, tanks, motors, machine arsenal, and we hear rifles shooting off from not far away. We were sure that in the morning when we woke up we would get to meet our tavarishess [Russian comrades]. In the morning the

2525	shooting quieted down, and we don't hear it anymore. Large details of Wehrmacht are
2526	heading in the direction of the Russian side. It appears that the Russians have been
2527	pushed back. Things are getting cozy here; on all sides there are military forces and
2528	panzer wagons.

2529

2530 A large tank parked not far from our barn and some German soldiers are milling around. 2531 This is not good! We need to get away from here! I tried to compose myself, took a 2532 shave, and washed my face with the little bit of water the peasant had brought. I tidied up 2533 the hay and the dust. Two of us went outside. I was limping on one foot and my friend 2534 had his hand bound with a small bandage I had given him, which I had carried around 2535 with me. We approached our comrades and greeted them. They respond courteously. I 2536 ask them my old Purim shpiel: "Have you not seen on the road a group of Hungarian 2537 soldiers?" They don't make a great tzimmis out of my question, and give me a tired, 2538 indifferent reply: "We haven't seen. We're only stationed here temporarily. You should go 2539 ask the commandant of this locality. He will be able to tell you where your comrades can be found." 2540

2541

2542 So what do we do now? We can't stay here. I take it upon myself to seek out the

commandant and ask him what to do (since I was the most fluent one in German). My

- friends stay behind with the German soldiers and receive from them cigarettes. The
- 2545 Germans are amusing themselves with these Hungarian yokels, and the whole scenario

122 of 235

2546	looks like a veritable Purim shpiel. They're getting by with a broken German. The
2547	German soldiers have no idea that these Hungarian soldiers have been hiding out and
2548	waiting for the Russians. They would do the same thing if they only could.

2549

2550 p. 88

2551

2552 I go by myself looking for the commandant and I ask from among the soldiers along the 2553 road. They point out the house where the chief can be found. A couple of soldiers are on 2554 guard in the front chamber. I approach the chief, a tall German--he's missing one hand 2555 and on his breast he's carrying epaulets indicating great achievements for the German 2556 military. I stand in front of him and like a subordinate soldier I salute him with my hand 2557 to my head and inquire in fluent German: "My name is Yohan Popovitch. I belong to the 2558 25th Regiment's Medical Detail. A part of our regiment managed to get across the other 2559 side a day before from Hungary during an aerial bombardment. We four comrades were 2560 separated from our group and we are lightly wounded--I in my foot and another comrade 2561 in his hand. We were informed that they might be found in this direction. Perhaps you 2562 could give us further instructions? I am wounded and I cannot go searching any further." 2563 I made a good impression on him on him and he pitied me. He cut me off in middle of a 2564 sentence and asked me if I didn't require medical attention; he could provide this for me 2565 immediately. I thank him profusely: "I have only a light wound and I managed to 2566 bandage it up myself. " He wonders how it is that I speak such a good German, which is

so unusual for a Hungarian soldier. I tell him that German is my mother tongue because

- 2568 my parents are ethnic Germans. He's concerned about me and asks: "How old are you?"
- 2569 "Nineteen."
- 2570 "How long have you been a soldier?"
- 2571 "One year."

2572 He shows me on his chest: "I am already six years a soldier, and it's possible I might get

ten years in Siberia. I understand that it's not comfortable to lose ones comrades in a

strange territory, and you have to go begging food from the peasants. You're luck is that

- 2575 you understand the language. I would advise you not to go searching for your comrades.
- 2576 You can be caught by the field gendarme as deserters. The best advice I can give you is:
- 2577 Throw away the rags and go to the peasants; they're looking for laboring hands. We won't
- be able to avoid the Russians here or ten kilometers down the road. I would also discard
- 2579 my uniform if I was able to.

2580

2582

2583 Six years is enough! It's already more than six weeks since I last received a letter from

2584 my family. They are now situated in Cologne, which is now occupied by the British.

2585 What is there to still go to battle for? You need to take care of yourself, but watch out for

- the gendarme. They are still vigilant in carrying out their duties. For the Wehrmacht
- everything is already egull." [Not a German word?] He is talking to me with a bitter

²⁵⁸¹ p. 89

2588	heart. I have pity on him and I try to console him: "We're awaiting a new shipment of
2589	arsenal." He starts to laugh bitterly: "They can talk you into [employing] new weapons.
2590	For me it's already too late. Do you know what kinds of weapons they are? A long stick
2591	with a white rag!" My face lightens up.
2592	
2593	My heart is about to burst from laughter. I'm thinking to myself, "They can all rot in hell.
2594	This how a German chief speaks to a strange soldier in tatters?" Some soldiers enter. He
2595	gives me two cartons of Hungarian cigarettes and tells me to go to the field cook for a

2596 meal. Once again, he admonishes me to go to the burgermeister of this locality, and to

find accommodations by the peasants, and not just hang around. I go to the field cook and

the soldiers give me two trays loaded with food, and they tell me that if I come back

2599 during dinner time they'll provide me with a meal again.

2600

2601 That evening I go to the city hall and ask for the burgermeister. When I come into the

2602 room I see that it's my peasant from the barn! He is exhilarated to see me, as if he's had a

2603 reunion with a long lost old friend, and he gives me a wonderful welcome. He asks me to

- 2604 please sit down and hands me some snacks, which I don't need. I tell him what the chief
- 2605 had advised me to do. "Yes," says the peasant,

2606

2607 p. 90

2608

2609	"the chief is a good guy, a good 'kerl.' [?] He oftentimes comes to my house. The things
2610	he advised you to do are also things that I would have advised you except that I didn't
2611	know who you are. We desperately need laboring hands. The Frenchman who worked for
2612	me had to go. Everyone is in the military these days. Summer is approaching. If we don't
2613	start planting we're all going to starve to death." He's not able to take in four people. He
2614	has to be careful because strangers my encroach on his house. Two people will be with
2615	him and the other two he'll take care of. He asks me to wait until the evening, and
2616	together we walk over the fields to the barn, and he leads us to his house.
2617	
2618	He provides us with dinner and then takes us to the barn. An elderly servant is busily
2619	occupied there. We are ten milk cows, two large Shtiermarker horsesthis peasant is a
2620	prince! We have to make a decision among ourselves as to who will remain here. The
2621	place looks very securethere's a wall built around a large courtyard, and a large
2622	household. A friend, a slaughterer, who isn't afraid of cowsand a second from a village
2623	near Munkatch who had horses at home, will stay here. The third person he takes over to
2624	his daughter, and me he's going to take tomorrow to his son-in-law. In the meantime, we
2625	sleep over in the barn.

2626

The next morning he hands me a suit and an old peasant's hat, hitches his horses onto a wagon, and loaded up some household wares. After a short ride through the forest I arrive to a town square called "Loimet," not far from Furtenfeld, We ride into a large courtyard

2630	to a wealthy household. This is the son-in-law and burgermeister of this locality and his
2631	name is Fleishhaker. They were already waiting for me. He introduces me to the family.
2632	They inspect me up and down as if they were about to buy a horse. The only thing they
2633	didn't do is look inside my mouth for teeth. This is the way the gentlemanly classes pick
2634	out workers who are shlept in from all over Europe to work for them. They become a
2635	little bit more civil when they find out from my peasant that I am a former soldier from
2636	Hungary, that I can speak Russian,
2637	
2638	
2639	p. 91
2640	
2641	and that I'm not afraid of the Russians. Everyone is now friendlier. They start to fire
2642	questions at me left and right about the Russians and Hungarians. I make everyone merry
2643	with tales which are nisht geshtoigen un nisht gefloigen [i.e.Yiddish for making up b.s. as
2644	he's going along]. I am making myself friendly, and with a sense of self-importance that
2645	
2043	I'm doing them a favor and not the other way around. I'm not a Polak or Ukrainian
2645 2646	I'm doing them a favor and not the other way around. I'm not a Polak or Ukrainian shlepper, but a real blood and flesh former soldier, who knows his craft as a good
2646	shlepper, but a real blood and flesh former soldier, who knows his craft as a good
2646 2647	shlepper, but a real blood and flesh former soldier, who knows his craft as a good mechanic. "He is overjoyed to hear that I injected the word "mechanic" and shows me

2651	home is also a veteran. He hasn't heard at all from his son-in-law. If I like it here I can
2652	stay even after the war. I'm still young. They'll be able to find a pretty girl for me if I still
2653	don't have one, and we'll celebrate a lovely wedding. Oh, God, am I feeling good! There
2654	are no young men around, only an invalid son. These peasants are elderly people about
2655	sixty years old. There's also a daughter of eighteen, a daughter-in-law, and a little girl of
2656	eight living here.
2657	
2658	
2659	
2660	
2661	
2662	(Middle of p. 91)
2663	
2664	They want my opinion about the Russians. Is it true that they cut out the tongues of living
2665	people, deport all the men, rape all the women, and steal everything from you? I try to
2666	calm them down as best I can. The Russians are people just like everybody else; not
2667	everything that the propoganda machine tells you is true. The German soldiers were a
2668	whole lot better on the front? What did they do? They took everything away from the
2669	Russian people. The war is almost over and they will not harm the Austrian population.
2670	They like what they hearthe opinions they have been given from me about the Russians
2671	they have never heard before! What they do know is that the Russians are Asians and the

2672	Jews are engaged in political warfare with the Germans and they want to annihilate the
2673	German people. It takes me a considerable amount of time until I arrive to the place
2674	where I can explain to them how I know all of this. The young daughter is warming up to
2675	me and she asks me what my name is. I tell her my name is Johanne Popovitch. She tells
2676	me that here one is not called Johanne but Hans"we will call you that."
2677	

2678 Soon it is dinner and everyone is getting ready for the meal. I take my place together with

2679 all my "relatives." Everyone stands up around the table crossing their hands, with eyes

2680 closed and head bent forward. Everyone is murmuring, "For the Mother, for the Son, and

2681 for the Three Holy Ones." I get up as if I'm reciting the Sh'ma, *l'havdil* [to make a

2682 distinction between that which is Jewish and that which is not Jewish] and repeat along

2683 with everyone else. But I refuse to cross myself. I explain to them that I am a reformer

2684 back home. I'm not an atheist, but by us we don't cross ourselves before a meal. Also,

since I became a soldier I haven't been to church.

2686

A large plate of soup was placed on the table, which everyone ladles for themselves to their bowl. There are tears running down my cheeks. I remind myself that today is the fifth day of Passover, the second Passover that I'm not sitting at my parents' table. How many thousands of Jews are being driven on the roads and are dying from hunger just because they're Jews. I can't restrain myself and I'm sighing loudly. Everyone is now staring at me. The daughter asks me, What's the matter, Hans?" "It's already more than a

2693	year since I've been away from my parents. I'm an only son. I'm sitting here and they
2694	have no idea where I have disappeared." My good peasants try to calm me downthey
2695	will be good and pious towards me. We are through with the meal. I'm ready to say
2696	Grace. It's better to be ready and not come to a misunderstanding with these religious
2697	folks. But it appears that they don't hold from grace after meals. Everyone gets up and
2698	goes their own way. Things begin to lighten up in my heart.
2699	
2700	Right after the meal they show me what the work entails, so that I shouldn't reckon that
2701	I'm here on vacation. They show me a large barn where a dozen cows and two
2702	Shtiermarker horses are situated. "But," the peasant says to me, "I'm afraid that the
2703	Russians will steal everything from me." "Don't be afraid," I repeat. "As long as I'm here
2704	everything will be good and fine.
2705	
2706	p. 93
2707	
2708	I understand the language, and I know the Russians well, because I'm from the
2709	Carpathian Mountains where the population is Russian. My father is a Russian and my
2710	mother is Germanso I have a choice."
2711	
2712	"You might consider becoming our next burgermeister," the peasant says to me, "when
2713	the Russians come and if you still want to be here." I'm satisfied and agree about

2714 everything. He runs in and brings the keys and takes me to his tool shed. Not far from his 2715 house is where they manufacture small household machines, small ploughs, tools for 2716 harvesting vegetables and corn, and small grinding machines for grains. "Can you handle 2717 the machines, Hans?" "No problem," is my reply, and I go over to the where the hacksaw 2718 [?] is located and show him how to use the machine. I was familiar with this machine 2719 because a relative of mine, Reb Shmuel Estreich, had a box factory and possessed a 2720 machine like this, and I went spend time at his factory and observe how they operated 2721 this machine. "Wunderbar," he says to me. "From now on you'll be the boss because I 2722 don't have anyone to assist me. I will teach you what you have to do. There is a great 2723 shortage of material for the work. I have enough forests for wood, but iron in the barn is 2724 just not available. When the war ends, I will begin."

2725

2726 We are both in good spirits when we get back to the house, and with joy he tells the 2727 family what a fine fellow they have around. "Hans the mechanic." There's no need to be 2728 concerned. He just wants me to be good and religious. He just wants me to go to shul 2729 with him everyday!... The first day and I'm already feeling quite at home, like a member 2730 of the family, and we have some good understandings. Since he is burgermeister, and 2731 there are always strange people and soldiers who are passing through this village, and 2732 they will see that there is in this household a young man of military age--so he will say 2733 that I'm a relative from Hungary who was *geflictet* [means "duty"--don't know how he's 2734 using the word here] from the Russian army. He will provide me with documents because

2735	I had lost lost my personal papers.
2736	
2737	At night we hear on the radio from a German station: "Budapest has fallen.
2738	
2739	p. 94
2740	
2741	The Russian army controls controls the whole length of the Danube. They're getting
2742	closer to Vienna. The German Army is putting up fierce resistance by the German-
2743	Austrian border, and is keeping them at bay. We will fight to the last soldier.
2744	
2745	"The beleagured German army, shouts the peasant,they will make all of us kaput. The
2746	beleagured Fuhrer, and the Marmalade Brothers (that's how the Austrians referred to their
2747	German brothers from the Reich, because they would smear their bread with marmalade
2748	instead of butter). The Russians will teach them 'balak.' [?] I would crack that Fuhrer if I
2749	was given the opportunity. My two sons and my son-in-law were killed in Stalingrad."
2750	
2751	He asks me if maybe I'm a Nazibecause I don't go to church, and I don't cross myself. I
2752	tell him I'm no Nazi, but I am a believer, and I know more about the Bible than most
2753	priests. But I don't believe in the Pope because he supports the Nazis and never says
2754	anything bad about the Fuhrer. His eyes have blinders and he protects the Nazis. The
2755	peasant knows very well what the Fuhrer has saidthat the Catholic Church is a Jewish

2756	creation. If the mother and the son were alive [i.e. Jesus and Mary] he would have sent
2757	them to the gas chambers together with the rest of the Jews. I opened up the peasant's
2758	eyes. He had to swallow a very bitter pillbad-mouthing the Pope. He's now saying
2759	things that would never have dawned on his peasant brain: "The Pope himself is helping
2760	the beleaguered Fuhrer!" I, nebech, have completely confused this German peasant. First,
2761	I saw that the All-Mighty will help and everything will be o.k. but I don't go to church. I
2762	bad-mouth the Holy Father in Rome, I curse the Fuhrer and the Nazisnebech I'm driving
2763	him insane, and this is all due to the war. The devout peasant-head wasn't able to digest
2764	all this.
2765	
2766	Six o'clock in the evening everyone goes to the barn to milk the cows. There are eight
2767	cows to milk, cleansing, giving water [?] and butter, and cleaning the cows. [This is a
2768	poorly constructed sentence.] At first this work was very difficult, but over time I was
2769	able to learn to do everything: Milking, carrying out the garbage,
2770	

2771 р. 95

2772

and spreading out fresh straw. There was water in the stall from a water *lyting* [lyting

2774 means, direction; management--I don't know how he's using the word in this context], so

2775 I didn't have to haul it in from outside. In this manner I had to wake up at 6 AM and start

2776 helping out. As soon as I became familiar with the two big horses, who had a separate

2777	stall, I became the stall meister of the horses. Every morning I fed them, groomed them,
2778	and kept them clean. It was seldom that I had to tie them down, except when absolutely
2779	necessary, but the peasant was afraid that the military would take them away from him,
2780	so he was vigilant in the way he protected them. I was also vigilantly on the lookout, and
2781	very rarely appeared in public. I lived with this peasant's familyeven started calling the
2782	peasant "Father" and the peasant's wife, "Mother," and everyone by their first name.
2783	There was always enough food around. Instead of water we drank apple wine, because
2784	the peasant owned many fields and fruit orchards. Very little was sold, and most of the
2785	fruits were pressed and made into pear and apple wine.
2786	
2787	Every night the door and windows were shut up so that God forbid no one could overhear
2788	conversations, and we turned on the radio dial to London, England, in order to find out
2789	what was going on in the outside world.
2790	
2791	My personal spirit was heavy and bitter everyday that I had to endure living with this
2792	German peasant in his house. I had to be extremely cautious in what I said, and I had to
2793	play the role of a courageous warrior, and for that reason needed to measure my every
2794	word.
2795	
2796	My Friendthe Priest
2797	

2798 Our little town, and similarly all the nearby villages and hamlets, were populated mostly 2799 with devout, believing Catholics. The priest in our district was the cousin of the peasant. 2800 He was about 35 years old, not too bright, with only a smattering of an education. He 2801 would often come to our house to discuss communal matters and sometimes sit around all 2802 day reading the Bible and reciting Psalms. And every Sunday after he was through with 2803 his second "*minyan*" he would come over to us, and sit himself down until about 5 PM, in 2804 time to go off to the third minyan. In a short time we became good brothers. Whenever he 2805 needed something he was looking for an opportunity for me to help him and also to grab 2806 a chat with me. He would talk about the mother and the son, about the Holy Father in 2807 Rome, and about the Creator of the Universe and his Bible. I would often tell him that I 2808 was only marginally a "chassid" of the mother's son, because this is a Jewish invention, 2809 and this is also what the Fuhrer believed. Of the Holy Father in Rome--him I certainly 2810 don't believe in. First of all, because he is full of crap because he's buddies with the 2811 Fuhrer and the Nazis, who are the most notorious atheists. He would be quite satisfied if 2812 the Nazis won the war and apostatized the whole world. Second, who came up with the 2813 view that the Jews are to blame for all the problems in the world because they crucified 2814 the messiah, and have to do one of two things: Pay for his sins, or have to repent? Spain 2815 he gave this option. In this conflagration he is silent and lets everyone be killed off: 2816 Complete, half, quarter converts, and also priests are paying dearly with their lives if they 2817 say a good or bad word when they're not supposed to. The Holy Father in Rome is silent--and his heart is bitter because the Fuhrer has lost the war. 2818

2819

2820	The priest won't leave me alone. Since I know the small vowels of the German siddur,
2821	which is written in Old Gothic characters (because my parents wrote their letters in
2822	Gothic-German, and so I had to learn this), now he wants me to come to the church every
2823	Sunday to help him out. He will make me the prayer leader because he has difficulty
2824	conducting the service alone. I squirm out of this by telling him that since I am a stranger
2825	and I have military duties I'm not supposed to show my face in public. After the war I'll
2826	be good and devout, and pray in the morning and at nightbut I didn't tell him where.
2827	
2828	One lovely day he brings over the well-known anti-Semitic newspaper "The Shturmer"
2829	and he shows me in black on white in Hebrew the Rebuke from Leviticus, Chapter
2830	B'chukoisai, and in large Kiddush L'vanah (Consecrating the New Moon) [?] letters
2831	which have been translated into German. I read through it and I ask him to show me the
2832	Bible. I look for the sentence where the Rebuke ends with the following words:
2833	"And also this." After all the beatings, [God says] I still will not forget you. I will
2834	remember the bond from the first and I will remain your God." Nu, little daddy, if you
2835	believe in the punishment, you must also believe in the consolation! I'm teaching the goy
2836	a sentence of Chumash: "In the Heavens the rules are the same as here on earth. If you
2837	transgress the Law, you will be punished. After the punishment, you are absolved." But
2838	the <i>rebbe</i> had taught us that a <i>goy</i> will never understand our Torah.
2839	

2839

2840 Jewish Soldiers in the German Military

2841

2842 One early morning my peasant asks me to guard the fruit orchards so that soldiers, 2843 hunters on horses, and muzzled mules shouldn't ruin the young fruit trees (not let anyone 2844 tie up horses and mules to the fruit trees). He requested from the German officers that 2845 they beat with a stick any soldiers caught doing this, because among the soldiery there are 2846 Italians and Hungarians who don't understand what's being agreed upon. From a distance 2847 I see individual soldiers with green Hungarian uniforms and two of them had tied their 2848 donkeys to the young trees. I grab the stick in my hand--I'm going to teach them! When I 2849 get up closer I see two Jews who had crossed the border with me (they were wearing 2850 military uniforms). They tell me they've been hiding out in a forest and waiting for the 2851 Russians, but the Ivans never arrived. When they ran out of food they came back out into 2852 the land. This group marched past here, and they came over without asking any 2853 questions, because they were missing some people. For six weeks now they have been 2854 shlepping around with these mules. I bring them over to my peasant's house (this was an 2855 expedient thing for me to do), and introduce them as my own comrades who belonged to 2856 our company (from which I had become separated). The family likes the fact that I was a 2857 regular soldier and had fought on the front. My guests are given a warm reception and are 2858 served a variety of beverages. Our smiles are of a mixed nature; our lives are hanging by 2859 a thread. The Jews are amazed that I can pull off this persona. They would like me to try to hide them out, but this wasn't possible, because the whole village is full of soldiers. I 2860

2861 play the role of front veteran and I'm limping on a phony broken foot. After two days of 2862 marching they were liberated by the British. I ran into them after the war in Budapest. 2863 Someone Informs on Me to the SS--They Come Looking for Me 2864 2865 2866 It's May 2, 1945: A peasant from another village comes running across the forest to my 2867 peasant and informs him that the gendarme and the SS are hunting down all the 2868 remaining aliens and French soldiers who are hiding out. He is also on the list and they 2869 asked him the address [of whom?]. The peasant tells me to go hide on the roof of the 2870 barn--and I should take along the ladder. I close the door and bury myself in the hay. I 2871 open a spur in the wall and catch a glimpse of what is going on outside. About ten 2872 minutes later a gang of SS with machine guns show up. My peasant goes outside and and 2873 they interrogate him about foreigners. He gives his "honest German" and he swears by 2874 his "beard and *payis*" that the foreigner fled the scene here because of his great fear of the 2875 Russians. 2876

The next day after dinner the son-in-law burgermeister with whom my three friends are staying he calls out to me in the barn. He wants to tell me something. He informs me that the other Hans and Franz--my buddies--are all o.k.

2880

2881 p. 99

2882

2883 He tells me that for four weeks now there are Hungarian soldiers who are hiding in a 2884 bunker in the forest, and they come to him often and to the other peasants to eat. "They 2885 bring along things of worth such as watches to exchange for bread but we give them food 2886 for free. Today, early in the morning, one of them showed up and asked us to give him 2887 bandages and medicaments. The Russians shot up their bunker and one of them was 2888 badly injured from the shrapnel." He can't find a doctor and he requests that since I am a 2889 former medic I should come and help the poor soldiers. I understood that they must have 2890 been from among my own brothers, [i.e. fellow Jews], but one has to be cautious. I take a 2891 bull out of the barn and tie a rope around its horns. The peasant is walking behind me 2892 with a stick, and also from the front [how can he be walking behind him and also in front 2893 of him?--this sentence doesn't quite make sense], and we are *shlepping* ourselves across 2894 the forest. We hear canons being shot. At halfway some Nazi gendarme with iron crosses 2895 hanging across their breasts point their machine guns at me: "Are you a foreigner?" one 2896 of them asks. "Show us some identification!" I start to laugh like a lunatic: "Who, what 2897 identification? I am a peasant, not a foreigner"--and then I show him with my finger: 2898 "You are a foreigner! You are one of the Marmalade Brothers! The peasant behind me is 2899 my father." They look towards the peasant. He gestures to them that I am a psycho. And 2900 they said: "You deranged dog--get moving." (meaning, get the hell out of here). 2901

2902 In the bunker there were six Jews from my group. One with the name Yitzchak Feig from

2903	Desh, Romania, who died from his wounds. The remaining five were liberated a couple
2904	of days later.
2905	
2906	
2907	
2908	. 99
2909	
2910	The seventh of May 1945: German Radio Zinder from Hamburg announces that Marshal
2911	General Keitel of the German sea fleet has unconditionally signed articles of capitulation
2912	requiring that at midnight on the eighth of May the German military has to cease shooting
2913	and hand over their arsenal. The war is over! But from the looks of my town you
2914	wouldn't know it. The Wehrmacht is still positioned not far from the town center. They're
2915	coming from the front with large panzers, wagons and canons. The bombardments are
2916	raining in from every direction.
2917	
2918	p. 100
2919	
2920	Shrapnel is falling and soldiers are getting killed. They don't want to know from my great
2921	joy.
2922	
2923	The Russians let loose and are bombarding our village. A couple of German soldiers

2924	come into the house. They want to hear the news on the radio, and start to laugh when
2925	they are told that at midnight the shooting will cease, and that those who continue to fire
2926	shots will be considered as war criminals. The soldiers laugh and say, "We just received a
2927	command from Gratz to put up a fierce resistance to the Russians. We should wait for the
2928	English and then we will fight alongside them and the Americans against the Red Army.
2929	The end of the war is only propoganda." Soldiers are being killed off. But I stick to my
2930	line: "The war has ended." But the Gratz general still doesn't have a desire to end the war
2931	and remove himself from his throne.

2932

2933 May the eighth: Nine o'clock in the morning I see a group of about 150 soldiers marching

by in tatters, dirty and unshaven. A couple of them come into the house for a drink of

2935 water and tell me that I better flee because in about an hour the Russians will be arriving.

2936 They offer to take me with them. But why should I run away right now? The war is over.

2937 The soldier laughs and says: "The war is just about to begin."

2938

2939 Ten o'clock in the morning the peasants come running from the village to inform us that

2940 there are two Russian soldiers in the village. I put on my best yom tov attire--a yekish

[German] peasant hat--and run over to my [Russian] guests and greet them with

2942 drastvoytyeh tavarish [Russian words]! and also a well known Russian blessing. I didn't

- know exactly which one to say so I said both of them. One of the Russian soldiers grabs
- 2944 my hat with a broom, flings it to the ground and "honors" me with his boot in the weak

2945	flesh. "Everything is kaput," he screams in my ear. I ask him, "Brother, why did I deserve
2946	this, you should honor me like this? I've been waiting for you a long time." So he asks me
2947	if I understood exactly what I had said to him "Not a nice thing! That's not the way you
2948	greet someone that you still haven't met."
2949	
2950	p. 101
2951	
2952	I ask forgiveness from His Honor and I tell him that I'm a Czech. I was <i>farshlept</i> here for
2953	work (I simply was afraid to tell him that I'm a Jew). I took them to the house, gave them
2954	two watches and procured a third one that they wanted. Together, we washed down a
2955	bottle of brandy and then they departed. I fell dead drunk into the bed.
2956	
2957	Later that night I sobered up from the brandy. When I entered the large room I see that
2958	everyone in the family and the priest (who was holed up in the house because of his
2959	morbid fear of the Russians), and many of the leading dignitaries of the town, who came
2960	to discuss matters about the present circumstances, are sitting around and waiting for me.
2961	They are all waiting with great curiosity to hear what I have to say.
2962	
2963	"Nu, Hans?!"my peasant says to me, "What are you intending to do? Will you continue
2964	to stay with us?" I was thinking to myself that I shouldn't tell them who I really am, but to
2965	wait a couple of days to calm my nerves down, and also not to leave with empty hands. I

2966	knew where everything was hidden, a new "Mercedes" in the garage with wheels that I
2967	had removed, so that no one else would be able to drive off with it. I had also stashed
2968	away some benzine for an occasion when I might need it. And if this won't work I have
2969	two good horses and a big wagon which I can load up plenty. And I was thinking about
2970	taking on a Russian soldier as a partner so that he would assist me. I can no longer
2971	restrain myself. All those things which were buried in inside my heart and in my
2972	conscience, which were disrupting my sensibilities, could no longer be repressed.
2973	
2974	A fire started to flame inside me and I get up from the table. I start to shiver involuntarily
2975	and with all my strength I burst out: "From this day forward my name is no longer Hans,
2976	but Shimon! I am an Israelite." Then I go mute. This hit them as if a bomb had just
2977	exploded in their house. They started to turn colors.
2978	
2979	p.102
2980	
2981	They hadn't reckoned on having a Jew living with them all this time. The priest turned
2982	red from shock; he lifted himself up from his seat and ran out of the house without saying
2983	a word. Then the peasant spoke up and said to me, " But this is not to be believed. You
2984	are a liar. When the Russians hear of this they will haul you off."
2985	
2986	I now come to, and I give thought to what I had just pulled off here. It's late at night and

2987 where can I go right now? I felt that I would no longer be able to stay here. Among the 2988 neighbors there was to be found two elderly women who had evacuated with their 2989 families from Vienna. They impressed me as intelligent women, opposed to the Nazis. 2990 We would often discuss politics and sometimes I would go their home to listen to the 2991 radio to listen to news from abroad. So I went over to them. They take me in with much gladness and they ask me, "Why haven't we seen you all day?" "The Russian are already 2992 2993 here." They look at me and wonder, "What has happened with you, Hans? You look very 2994 pale and frightened." I sense that they see that I'm out of place here, and I sit myself 2995 down because of my nervousness, and I start to tell them who I really am. They start to 2996 laugh hysterically and one says to the other: "You see, Fridl, I picked up on this from the 2997 first day I met him." They hug me for joy and say to me: "From the way you comport 2998 yourself we were able to pick up immediately that you are a Jew, because in Vienna we 2999 lived and worked with many Jews." I have to remark here that I have much to thank them 3000 for the short time that I was there. They began to pass on information about what people 3001 were saying about me and they made it their duty. In this way I knew how to behave in 3002 public and when it was necessary for me to make myself scarce.

3003

- 3004 The women advise me to leave the village, and not be with the peasants anymore. They
- 3005 will give me an address to some friends of theirs in Vienna, and I will be recieved
- 3006 warmely there. They understood that I no longer had parents and no place to go back
- 3007 home to. However, I decided not to accept their kind offer

3008

3009 p. 103

3010

3011 because I wanted to immediately go home and find someone from my family. Late that 3012 evening I return to the house of my peasants, terribly debilitated and frightened. He 3013 comes into my room and pleads with me mercifully not to tell anyone else that I'm a Jew. 3014 He threatens me again: If the Russians should find out about me they will send me to 3015 Siberia. I am very angry and I chase him out of the room with a yell: "You German 3016 thieves, criminals and murderers. You can't forgive yourself for permitting a Jew to 3017 rescue himself among you. I will yet take vengeance for the blood of my parents and 3018 siblings." The peasant runs back and locks himself up his room and shuts all the 3019 windows. They are now scared of me. And I for my part am fearful that they will come in 3020 middle of the night and attack and kill me. I stay awake a whole night and pack up my 3021 few things. I kept with me a large axe in case something outrageous should happen. 3022 3023 Early in the morning there's a hard pounding on the door. I look outside and see two 3024 Russian soldiers and a German. I step outside and greet my brethren. They ask me to give 3025 them two "lushakiss." I lead them into the barn and show them the two Shtiermarker 3026 horses. "Please take them, comrades," I said. "We have won the war." After a little chat 3027 with the Rusisans they ask me if I want to take something from the Germans. "I don't 3028 want to take anything from them," I said to them. "I was able to save my life here. But I

3029	would like to go along with you." At this point the peasant arrives and sees his
3030	misfortunethey're hitching up his horses to a wagon. The peasant begs me to talk the
3031	Russians into leaving the horses behind. But I said to himand this had factually
3032	happenedthat one of his German compatriots had led the Russians to this place. And I
3033	remind him that his German brethren had helped themselves to five of his heads of cattle,
3034	and they would also have taken off with the horses if I hadn't hidden them in the forest.
3035	So it's only right for the victors to expropriate the horses.
3036	
3037	The peasant wants to block the path so that the Russians won't be be able to ride out.
3038	
3039	p. 104
3040	
3041	One of the soldiers gave him one with his boot and was about follow up with more, but I
3042	got in between them and would not permit it. The soldiers also wanted to go into the
3043	house to ransack the place for things to take along with them. "It's enough that you have
3044	the horses I was going to need for myself; this should be enough!" I handed them a bottle
3045	of whiskey, and they took off.
3046	
3047	Later I said to my peasant, "I don't want to take anything from you, but I want
3048	remuneration for the ten weeks I worked for you." I requested a couple of suits and some
3049	underwear, and a bicycle so that I could ride back home. But he had no desire to gave me

3050	any of these things. He was only willing to pay me with a couple of German marks. I go
3051	up into the hay attic and dig out the new bicycle which I myself had hidden. Then I break
3052	into the cellar and help myself to various good clothing: a suit, a pair of boots and a
3053	leather jacket.
3054	
3055	The peasant's wife hands me a loaf of bread to take with me for the road. I part company
3056	with the whole family with mixed feelings.
3057	
3058	The first thing I did was go to the village where where my three friends were sojourning.
3059	But it turns out that they had fled when they heard that the Russians were coming. So,
3060	upon hearing this, I take off with a pack on my back, on a difficult journey in order to
3061	find a new home.
3062	
3063	p. 105
3064	
3065	On the way back to Hungary, to the capital, Budapest, there is incredible congestion. All
3066	the main thoroughfares are clogged with caravans and hundreds and thousands of people
3067	who are returning from the German concentration camps. Most are travelling by foot,
3068	some are on horse and buggy, and those who were able to grab them from the German
3069	butchers are on bicycles. There are people from every nationality who have been
3070	liberated and are dragging themselves along fatigued, exhausted and emaciated, and all

3071 are going back to former homes. The roads are also full of settlers who are penetrating

3072 deeper into Germany. The overwhelming majority of towns and villages which we pass

3073 through are destroyed, bombed, and burned from the front.

3074

3075 My great hope is that in Budpest I will still find the Jewish sanitorium, where I worked

3076 before leaving Budapest for the forced labor camp in Minka Tabor. There, I thought, I

- 3077 would gladly go back to because they loved me there, and I had found a restful home
- 3078 there during my difficult times. To return to Munkatch was something I didn't need to do

3079 because unfortunately there was nothing for me to look for there. Also, I was afraid of the

3080 *tavarishess* [?] and didn't want to have them as my neighbors.

3081

3082 After a couple of tormenting days inside a wagon with a couple of Ukrainians, we arrived

3083 to the Hungarian border, where the Russians interrogated everyone to find out who they

3084 were and where they were coming from. They took everything away from us except our

- 3085 rags, and then they "liberated" us...from their gathering place. From there, I went to
- 3086 Shapran because a Jewish welfare agency was already set up there under the auspices of
- the Red Cross.
- 3088

3089 There I find dozens of refugees and also old acquaintaces

3090

3091 p. 106

3092

and friends, broken down and debilitated. We are taken to the city bathhouse where I was
given a fresh pair of underwear. At this organization they gave us food, also some pocket
change, for travel expenses.

3096

3097 When I was able to have an interview with the director of this relief organization my first 3098 question was to inquire about the Jewish Orthodox sanitorium because I wanted to make 3099 that place my temporary home. My blood became chilled when I heard the terrible and 3100 bitter news that had happened to the hospital and all the people who were found there. He 3101 described to me how the fascist Hungarian soldiers ("Neloshiss") [Arrow Cross], may 3102 their memory be blotted out forever, shot everyone at the last moment and then burned 3103 down the edifice. I felt consoled, however, that I would meet in Budapest many Jews who 3104 had evaded the paws of these bloodthirsty animals. 3105 3106 After sleeping over one night in Shapran I got up early the next morning and went to the 3107 train station to catch a train to continue travelling. It was very difficult to travel by train 3108 but all the trains were packed with soldiers. I *shlep* myself into a baggage car, which is 3109 packed with large factory machines, that the Russians had pilfered from German factories

3110 and were bringing back to Russia. After riding a couple of stations I notice a train on the

- 3111 other side of the tracks with dozens of passenger cars, and with various flags and
- 3112 inscriptions. Among the flags was one with a Mogen David. I immediately jumped off

3113	the baggage car and ran to the nice Pullman cars. Masses of Hungarian peasants are
3114	standing next to the railroad cars and want to get inside but are being held back. I hear
3115	from some of the peasants appaling remarks about Jews who are in the cars. One elderly
3116	goyeh chimes in: "Just take a look. More Jews are returning than were taken away!" My
3117	blood started to boil. I took my sack off my shoulders and with full might whacked her
3118	across the head. She went crashing down onto the iron railing and she didn't know what
3119	hit her. I wanted to go down after her and deliver another blow but there was a tumult and
3120	Russian soldiers came rushing over. I pleaded with one of the soldiers to hand me his
3121	machine gun
3122	
3123	p. 107
3124	
3125	because the old woman had cursed Stalin and the Russian Army. He gave her another
3126	blow with his boots and barked orders for everyone to leave the scene.
3127	
3128	I get on the Pullman car where the Jews were situated. My nerves were shot and my
3129	blood was boiling from the anti-Semitic woman who had disrupted my sensibilities with
3130	her outrageous remarks. I look around inside the car and I notice that there are whole
3131	families, from children to elderly folks. So I have no idea which world I'm in. Aren't they
3132	coming from the German concentration camps? Mothers with little children, young
3133	

3134

3135	Soon I'm made aware that this is in fact true. These are Hungarian Jewswhole families
3136	from the city of Derbetzen and its suburbs who ended up in family concentration camps
3137	in Austria, and around Vienna, whom the Germans, may they be blotted out forever,
3138	confined whole families under civilian custody, in order to show the world that it's not
3139	what they say "that the <i>lagers</i> are concentration campstake a look at the example of
3140	Austria, where families are living together"
3141	
3142	In several cars there are Belgian and Dutch POWs who are returning home via Hungary,
3143	because it's not possible to go through Germany.
3144	
3145	I was hoping that I might find someone from our large family, who might have survived.
3146	And so I continue riding the trains and keeping my eyes out to find someone. The next
3147	morning we arrive to Budapest.
3148	
3149	I exit the train and I see that the train station is terribly damaged and shot up, and there
3150	isn't a single house around the staton that's standing. Everything is in upheaval. There is
3151	an enormous amount of traffic, the electric-powered trams (Vilomash) are operating, the
3152	streets are full of Russian soldiers, and in every corner of the burned out hovels there are
3153	tables with merchandise out in the street like at a country fair. The prices have shot to the
3154	seventh heaven. I don't know what's going on with me.

151 of 235

3155

3156 p. 108

3157

3158 Jews from concentration camps are streaming out of the train station, with packs and 3159 sacks on their shoulders, some still in their striped concentration camp rags with large 3160 numbers on the breast pocket, and the women mostly without hair. Their tragic stories are 3161 conspicuously displayed on everyone's face. A representative of the "Joint," the aid-3162 organization, approaches us and give us an address to where we should go. 3163 3164 I am, however, bitter and fatigued and I have no desire to go there and be around 3165 thousands of concentration camp survivors, with their emaciated faces, and have to listen 3166 to their outrageous experiences. I'm just trying to remember the address of an old close 3167 friend--maybe he had some *mazel* and he can be found among the survivors, so that I can 3168 at least have one day of rest. To calm my nerves down I will sleep for twenty-four hours 3169 non-stop so that I can forget a little bit about all the things that have happened to me. 3170 Then I'll be be able to think about the next thing to do. I suddenly break out in a cold 3171 sweat. After such difficult and bitter years that we have survived it's as if I'm standing in 3172 middle of the water. 3173 3174 I remember the address of a distant relative--the sister of my brother-in-law Yechezkel 3175 Shvartz, whom I used to visit before I had to leave Budapest. I start heading for the

3176	tramway, the electric street-bus. People stare at me pitifully, they make a place on the
3177	tram for me to sit, even though it's packed. The conductor sees my image and knows
3178	where I have come from. He tells me that I don't have to pay the fare. He also tells me
3179	when to get off where my relative lives. The non-Jewish passengers who are sitting next
3180	to me chat with me. One of them consoles me; another bemoans my fate; still another
3181	wants to be helpfulhe wants me to tell him the address and he will take me to the
3182	doorstep. But he isn't sure that the house that I'm looking for is still standing intact,
3183	because it's in a neighborhood that was bombed especially hard. No, I'm starting to
3184	wonder if it isn't better that I just go off to the Joint instead of going on wild goose chases
3185	looking for relatives and friends who may or may not be alive. Seeing how down-trodden
3186	and dirty I was, the person sitting next to me on the tram, tells me not to worry;
3187	
3188	p. 109
3189	
3190	if I shouldn't find someone at home he would take me to his house, and I would be able to
3191	stay at his house for a couple of days. This goy tells me he had hidden two Jewish girls
3192	during the war period and they still come to visit him. I thank him for his kind offer but I
3193	don't feel comfortable receiving assistance from non-Jews, after the kind of suffering we
3194	had endured.
3195	

3195

3196 We come to the address that I'm looking for. My neighbor, the passenger who was sitting

3197 next to me, helps me with my pack and we walk a couple of steps. An elderly woman 3198 comes up to me and asks me where I'm coming from. She takes out pictures of her 3199 children who were *shlept* away somewhere, and she wants to know if I recognize them, 3200 or if I know anything about them. She is crying with bitter tears for her children. I try to 3201 console her and assure her that her children will probably come back, just as I did. But, 3202 unfortunately, I cannot answer the questions that *nebech* she wants me to answer. With a 3203 shitlen [?] and silent answer I take leave of the old woman and head towards the famous 3204 Tabak Temple. All around I see that houses have been bombarded and that the temple is 3205 also damaged. In middle of the courtyard, where the flower garden used to be, I see a 3206 mass grave and the goy who is accompanying me informs me that here lies buried 3207 hundreds of Jews whom the fascists (the Neloshiss) had murdered during the upheavals 3208 of October '44. When they came to power they herded a couple of thousand Jews into the 3209 temple tortured them by depriving them of food and freezing them to death. The place 3210 looked like a cemetery.

3211

I see the house that I'm looking for--Vesheleni Street, number 4. The house is damaged but it's still standing, and it's being inhabited. A Jew who lives there comes out of the house and I inquire about the family that I'm looking for. With great joy my ears hear Yes!, the Neiman family lives here. I thank my escorter and by myself walk up the three flights of stairs. I'm imagining with great joy that when they see me they'll be kissing and hugging me. I'll get to see the mother and the daughter with whom I have spent some

3218	wonderful times. Do they still remember that I am among the survivers who come from
3219	the other world.
3220	
3221	p. 110
3222	
3223	She is not my mother, but nevertheless a Jewish mother who will have great pleasure
3224	when she sees me.
3225	
3226	I get to the third floor and with a pounding heart and trembling hands on the door knob I
3227	open it gently and enter the front room; but it's dark because all the windows have been
3228	smashed and boarded up. It's very quiet and no one knows that I'm here. I go into the
3229	main room and Mrs. Neiman is standing there and she stares at me, but doesn't recognize
3230	me. Then suddenly she gives a scream, "Shimon!, Shimon!, is that you?" "Yes, it's me
3231	and I'm one of the living."
3232	
3233	I look at the elderly woman and see that she has aged greatly, like after a serious
3234	illnessand with a grieving voice she procedes to tell me who among the family
3235	members managed to survive because they were able to hide out with goyische papers.
3236	My brother-in-law Yechezkel Schvartz had five days earlier come back home from
3237	Mathausen. Her husband would be coming home soon. He had suffered a great deal. He
3238	was incarcerated in a prison, and only by a miracle managed to avoid being sent to a

3239	concentration camp. Her three sons aged 12, 20 and 23 were also able to save themselves.
3240	With bitter tears in her eyes she tells me about the fate of her two daughtersages 15 and
3241	18who were murdered in the Jewish sanitorium with the rest of the martyrs. Everyone
3242	thought this was a place that would provide security since they were nurses there. "My
3243	dear, innocent children," she cried bitterly.
3244	
3245	I am now tongue-tiedeither to be joyful with the few survivors, or to cry for the ones
3246	who had perished. My heart is like a stone. I take a look at the woman, the mother. I am
3247	now insensitized to the pain of the mother for her two children. I hadn't reckoned for such
3248	a <i>baruch habah</i> [welcome]. In comparison to her story what could I possibly have to say.
3249	
3250	In the meantime the father and his youngest child come home, and also my brother-in-
3251	law Yechezkel, who looks <i>nebech</i> like from a grave, may the Merciful One spare us.
3252	
3253	p. 111
3254	
3255	He looks pale like a wall. His tall, skinny body and face is like that of a dead person. We
3256	embrace and I try to best of my ability to make myself joyful. I recount a couple of
3257	episodes on how I outwitted the Germans. The place loosens up and I make everyone
3258	laugh. The woman then says: "Shimon, we don't have to be too worried about you. You
3259	have probably brought along a treasure of gold and jewels in your sack, which you have

3260 lifted from the Germans. We need a lot of money because everything here is very

- 3261 expensive. Foodstuff is scarce and the prices are outrageous, and from the little bit of
- 3262 assistance that we receive it is difficult to survive."

3263

3264 I, however, know very well what is inside my pack: a couple of old pants and a little bit

of old underwear, because the Russians took away the good things. They were looking

- 3266 for treasures in my pack, and they helped themselves to my leather shoes and leather
- 3267 jacket. They pulled out a couple of packs of cigartettes from my pack and so all I was left
- 3268 with were a couple of *shmattes*.

3269

- 3270 I ate something and went to sleep. I slept from 2 PM until around dinner time the next
- 3271 day. I got up and washed, and put on a new set of clothes from my pack. I brushed up my
- 3272 suit and took off for the aid organization.

3273

- 3274 From a distance I could see the inscriptions and hundreds of people hanging around the
- 3275 building. Wagons with horses are bringing fresh refugees from the train. I have
- 3276 encounters with various old familiar faces and friends, who are hanging around. They are
- 3277 waiting around to search for, and they hope to find, relatives and close ones. I meet
- 3278 friends from Munkatch. We are overjoyed. We kiss and hug each other with tears in our
- 3279 eyes. People bring me tidings about Munkatch; there is nothing to look for there, unless I
- 3280 happen to know where some things of worth have been hidden.

3281	
3282	I am also told that goyim have moved into our house. The Russians and the local folks
3283	have already dug up and turned upside down all the Jewish homes and gardens in the
3284	hope that they might find something.
3285	
3286	Young Russians and Ukrainians, yesterday's bandits, are reigning supreme in our city.
3287	
3288	p. 112
3289	
3290	I am not overly surprised by anything I hear about the lastest reports from my hometown.
3291	I had already wizened up to our "liberators," and my parents didn't have a fortune which
3292	to bury. And if they did happen to hide somethingI had no idea whereand I couldn't
3293	know because when the deportations were taking place I was already not at home. What I
3294	very much did want to retreive were my father's handwritten Torah novellas, which he
3295	asked me to print after his 120 years. Now that a gentile woman was living in the
3296	apartment, I had nothing to go looking for in Munkatch.
3297	
3298	What I want now is to hear some good news; namely, that one of my sisters is among the
3299	living. My friends can't understand how I let myself be <i>shlept</i> all the way to Germany and
3300	they didn't lose sight of me until the last moment; and that I waited until the tail end of

the war to come back home. They now have pockets full of money. They have looted

businesses together with the Russians and made a fortune. I have to walk around with
shame and embarrassment because I have to go to the welfare agency to receive
assistance.

3305

3306 I come into a large auditorium which is full of tables and typewriters. I stand in line and I 3307 recognize near one of the typewriter tables the man with whom I had worked in 3308 Zibenburgen on the railroad tracks. He was fortunate to have been liberated already in 3309 1944 by the Romanians. The writer at first doesn't want to register me and asks: "How 3310 many times have you registered yourself already? And in how many cities have you 3311 already taken money?" He can't understand how it is that I just arrived from Germany, 3312 because the great majority of those who worked together with me have already been at 3313 home for a long time. He knows that I am also one of those who fell in among those 3314 captured and were immediately liberated. With great difficulty I had to explain to him 3315 things he didn't know; namely, that I was taken into the army together with another 30 3316 men from our company. He then proceeds to register me. And when he wants to write my 3317 name as he knew it and everyone in the company as the sanitorium 3318 3319

because I had a false name and forged paper, which I had kept with me ever since I had
left Munkatch. [Preeva, this is a run-on sentence that was poorly constructed and doesn't
make sense.]

3323

3324	When I let him know that this is a false name, and that my real name is Shimon Daitch,
3325	he becomes livid and screams: "How many false names do you have?" It required much
3326	time and documentation with photos and all my personal friends until he began to accept
3327	the fact that the assumed German name Papovitch Yohannes was really an alias, and only
3328	then did he have compassion for me and write me up for underwear, a new suit and some
3329	pocket change.
3330	
3331	I am feeling helpless. My nerves are shot. I don't have loved ones around with whom I
3332	can confide to and unburden my heavy heart. How does one begin to live one's life anew?
3333	My first thought is that I will travel to the Land of Israel.
3334	
3335	When I return to my quarter and I see the bitter and melancholical faces and the dark
3336	
	rooms with the boarded up windowsit only exacerbated my gloomy feelingsso I tried
3337	rooms with the boarded up windowsit only exacerbated my gloomy feelingsso I tried to lighten up the atmosphere a bit. But people make fun of me and said that I'm the old
3337	to lighten up the atmosphere a bit. But people make fun of me and said that I'm the old
3337 3338	to lighten up the atmosphere a bit. But people make fun of me and said that I'm the old Shimon, the happy-go-lucky guy who didn't experience anything [tragic]. After a couple
3337 3338 3339	to lighten up the atmosphere a bit. But people make fun of me and said that I'm the old Shimon, the happy-go-lucky guy who didn't experience anything [tragic]. After a couple of days of staying with my acquaintances and standing in line to wait for food being
3337333833393340	to lighten up the atmosphere a bit. But people make fun of me and said that I'm the old Shimon, the happy-go-lucky guy who didn't experience anything [tragic]. After a couple of days of staying with my acquaintances and standing in line to wait for food being dished out of a folk kitchen, and sleeping on the unclean bedding with little red crawling

3344	attacks by the Russian soldiers on the hapless civilian populationfrom this city I must
3345	leave at once!
3346	
3347	
3348	(Last paragraph, p.113)
3349	
3350	I sit myself down on the train with other refugees and we go to Romania, where life was
3351	much more normal, because the war had come to an end there much earlier. So I arrived
3352	to the city of Arad. At the train station there were two Jewish policemen.
3353	
3354	p. 114
3355	
3356	They are able to recognize me because of the pack I'm carrying around. They ask me a
3357	couple of questions just to be certain that I truly am the person I say I am, and not some
3358	Nazi SS man, who is on the run and might be hiding under the mantle of Jewish refugees.
3359	In Arad it is <i>heimish</i> (familiar, friendly); here many Jews were saved, and there are many
3360	refugees here. From the train station I am taken to the assistance-committee, where I find
3361	for the most part lovely furnished rooms, and they're serving meals. I'm told I can stay
3362	here as long as I would like to but I should not engage in black marketeering or deal in
3363	unkosher merchandise. They're overjoyed here with the new guests. Here is a great
3364	opportunity for me to get some badly needed rest. But lamentably I find out later that the

3365 kitchen isn't kosher and they cook on Shabbis. It goes without saying that I can not 3366 sojourn here for very long. I take off for the school and there I see a large group of Jews 3367 standing around the school, just as in Munkatch at the beginning of the semester, when they would be recruiting teachers for the village Jews. Then, out of nowhere, I am given a 3368 3369 big hug from a former neighbor in Munkatch, Zanvel Rosenberg, a son-in-law of Reb 3370 Mordechai Gelb, with whom I was very close back home. The first thing he asks me is: 3371 "Have you already met with your two sisters?" I am taken aback by the news. I explain to 3372 him that I have just returned from hell and up to this point haven't heard a good piece of 3373 news from anyone. He tells me that he travels often to Bucharest because that's where 3374 most of the refugees are centered, and the first thing that he wants to know is who among 3375 the hometown people has survived. And from reliable sources he has heard that two of 3376 my sisters are among the liberated, but since one of them was not in the best of health 3377 after the liberation they had to wait a while longer until she would make a recovery and 3378 gather some energy to be able to undertake a journey. He asks me where I am keeping the 3379 few items that I possess. I tell him that I have just arrived from Budapest and that my 3380 quarter is in the Jewish Committee.

3381

3382 "At the Committee?" he says with amazement . "No! You come with me and don't worry,3383 everything will be o.k."

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3385 p. 115

3386

3387 Until today I hadn't met such a close friend. He says to me:

3388

3389 "I will take care of everything for you, to the best of my ability."

3390

3391 Tears are running down my eyes. These are the most consoling words I have heard since 3392 the end of the war. He is talking to me like he's my own brother. I can see that it is not the 3393 end of the world. He takes me over to his quarter not far from the school. He takes me over to the *shul* and introduces me to the *shammis* whose name is Reb Shimshon. I see 3394 3395 for the first time a *heimish* and precious smile from Jewish elders, which I had for so long not seen. Zanvel tells the shammis who I am. He introduces me: "He, this young man, is a 3396 3397 neighbor from the *heim* and the son of a great pious Jew who had few equals in 3398 Munkatch. I want to have him as my guest." The wife chimes in [Whose wife?]:"No! He 3399 will be our guest"--and she immediately takes me into a bright room. There is plenty of 3400 space here. Their children had left for the the Land of Israel a long time earlier. "By us 3401 you will be a convenient guest," she said. It doesn't take much to talk me into it. Zanvel 3402 goes with me to the aid organization and helps me bring my things. We sit down at the 3403 table in front of a pot of coffee. I can't restrain myself from telling everyone how I 3404 managed to survive the war, because it's on my chest and I have to get it out. The elderly 3405 couple are listening intently to every word with great interest, as if it was their own child 3406 who was telling it. They empathize with me and my ordeal because they hadn't heard

3407	anything like this from anyone else beforeto live like a German and survive among
3408	them. "We," the woman says, "lived through a great fear when the Hungarian military
3409	occupied the city for a couple of days. Word got around that they were intending to round
3410	up all the Jews and poison them. The Creator of the Universe, however, came to our aid
3411	when the Russians and Romanians drove them out quickly. They quickly withdrew and
3412	the city and almost all the Jews, with a couple of exceptions, and refugees who managed
3413	to get across the Hungarian border
3414	
3415	p. 116
3416	
3417	when the Germans entered and occupied Hungary, also managed to survive."
3418	
3419	In the meantime the clock is ticking away and it now time to go to shul to daven Minchah
3420	and Ma'ariv. I arrive to the shul and I see that the place is packed with heimishe Jews;
3421	Jews with beards and payis. My eyes start to brighten up. The world hasn't disintegrated.
3422	This means that indeed we won the war. The evil one, may his name be blotted out
3423	forever and ever did not prevail. How holy is our Torah which has taught us Va-yechatz
3424	es ha-amleshnai machnusour father Jacob divided his children in two camps so that
3425	they wouldn't all be in one place; in case Esau decides to attack one camp, the other
3426	group would be able to save themselves. And here, indeed, I see the camp that managed
3427	to survive. Kein ayin horah a beautiful faction managed to survive. The Jewish Nation is

3428	alive and thriving. My heart, which felt like a stone, was becoming softer, and tears are
3429	pouring down from my eyes. I see in front of me a picture of Munkatch: The bes medrish,
3430	and my father is standing by the window near the aron kodesh and he's reciting the
3431	Sh'moineh Esrey [Eighteen Benedictions]. He is barely able to move his body and tears
3432	are falling from his eyes onto the page of the siddur.
3433	

3434 At night after the *davening* I'm again sitting at the table with the elderly pair. Although I 3435 was very tired from all the travelling, still I had no desire to go to sleep. All I want to do 3436 is talk and recount, and as much as possible pour out my heavy heart and tell everyone 3437 what I just just lived through. I am imagining that it's my mother that's sitting at the table 3438 in front of me and I am talking to my parents who are sitting right close to me. In the 3439 meantime my friend Zanvel comes in and with a hearty smile takes out of his pocket a 3440 wad of one thousand Romanian bank notes. He hands them to me and says: "This is your 3441 day's earnings. Don't be afraid, these are not the thousands of former times; this is only a 3442 couple of dollars in American money. When you have to buy something, you have to pay 3443 with thousands. Here we talk about 'raidlech' [wheels]. A raidel is a million Romanian li. 3444 I've already gone through my second *raidel*. For people who have homes here, this is a 3445 lot of money. For us this is nothing, 3446 3447 p. 117

3448

and it's very easy to lose [squander?] it. I hope that you'll look around a little and in about
two weeks you too will become a full-time merchant. Although it's a bit late in the game,
if you're sent to do a task [meaning, if it's fated for you to do this], one can still
accomplish a great deal. You will be able to establish a rapport with the Russian soldiers,
and buy from them whatever you desire--all kinds of bank notes, watches, gold jewelry,
photographis apparatuses, and clothing. If you make contact with the right soldiers who
traverse across the borders and are reliable, and by that I mean, are not trying to steal

3456 from you, you can one-two also make a fortune.

3457

3458 Although I had resolved to eschew engaging in *treifa* business dealings, I reminded 3459 myself of my two sisters whom I was hoping to meet, and I felt I had a responsibility to 3460 help them. They will be coming back *nebech* exhausted and broken down, so I wanted to 3461 be able to stretch out a generous hand and loaded pockets, and buy them the best and 3462 loveliest things. I want to buy them a home so that they wouldn't have to wander from 3463 place to place or have to rely on Jewish welfare organizations. I didn't have a home, so 3464 my sisters should at least have a home and be happy. I say this with a deep sigh from my 3465 heart. Frau Reich hears my krechtzing [groaning] and she starts to console me, assuring me that I am not alone, that we have a great Creator. I inform her that my heart is full of 3466 3467 joy, because I just found out today that my two sisters are alive, and that I don't want 3468 them to wander around, because they will not be able to go back to Munkatch; there is 3469 nothing there for us to look for. "No need to be concerned," the woman says, "we also

3470	have place for your two sisters, and we will lead them to the wedding canopy. One has to
3471	hope for the best and try to calm down after such an ordeal and start to think like a
3472	normal person. Please go to sleep, it's already 2 AM." But I wasn't able to close my eyes.
3473	My thoughts were with my two sister someplace in Germany. Poor children! What have
3474	they been through? How were they able to overcome hunger and frost and the back-
3475	breaking work?
3476	
3477	p. 118
3478	
3479	The weakest in my family managed to survive. They didn't want to come to Budapest
3480	when there was a ghetto there, so I sent a <i>goyishe</i> nurse to Munkatch with papers that

3481 woud permit them to stay in the sanitorium, but they didn't want to leave the parents 3482 behind. And what would have happened if they had come to Budapest? So I see that 3483 those who were fated to live even managed to come out of the crematoria alive. And who 3484 knows what I am still going to have to endure? We imagined that if we would survive we 3485 wouldn't have to worry about a home, that they would carry us in their hands. But 3486 everything is dreams. Everything is in flux. Now I have to go smuggling across borders, 3487 and come to strangers for a piece of bread. We have to find compassion or a word of 3488 consolation. In the meantime I had forgotten what I had wished for myself so often 3489 during the war period--to have bread and water, to be free, and not have to be morbidly 3490 fearful every moment of dying. I need to get some sleep, to forget a little bit because

tomorrow is another day.

3492

3493 After staying for a couple of days in Arad I go down to the business of wheeeling and 3494 dealing with the Russian soldiers. The shammis Reb Shimshon Reich and Zandel lent me 3495 a large sum of money, and out in the streets I quickly learned what needed to be bought 3496 and what needed to be sold. Little by little my thoughts began to ease and I started to be 3497 more like my former self, and the more and the quicker I [lived in the present] the 3498 healthier it was for me. Everyday I was counting how much was still missing from the 3499 "raidel." I was thinking that if I'm on the ball I'll do better than anyone else. The work is 3500 immense and one has to be on the lookout for the Romanian undercover police and also 3501 from the Russian soldiers, they shouldn't help themselves to my merchandise, like they 3502 did with many other people. But compared with what I had just endured this would be a 3503 minor irratant. To have or not to have--I just need to grab what's there to be had right in 3504 front of me. 3505 3506 In the meantime the days are going by and I still haven't had any communication with my

3507 sisters. It's impossible for me to find out where they are located. Maybe they were still3508 left behind in Germany,

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3510 p. 119

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3512 like a lot of other people who wanted to go back to the old home, and from there would 3513 undertake to migrate. And perhaps they are in Czechoslovakia, Prague, where many Jews 3514 from Carphato-Rus remained. They only way to find out is to travel to Budapest, and 3515 from there to Prague or to Bucharest, where the scores of Jewish aids organizations are 3516 located. There, all the Czech Jews from the Carpathian Mountains come together. There, 3517 they receive their first assistance from the Joint. The Red Cross is also situated there, 3518 where one can make contact with the whole world. From Bucharest it is also easier to 3519 travel to the Land of Israel. I decided to go to Bucharest. First of all, I would receive the 3520 couple of thousand *li* that every Jew is given when he comes home from Germany. Also, 3521 there one can find a Czech consulate that is run by *heimishe* Jews, and they give everyone 3522 money to buy a new pair of shoes. Money for transportation is not necessary if a refugee 3523 comes from the concentration camp and shows an identification card. I'm going to work 3524 things so that I will be able to travel in Romania. I have plenty of time on my hands and 3525 in Bucharest I will buy merchandise with the couple of thousand *li*: cigarettes or matches 3526 because in Bucharest these are considerably cheaper. I could do a little extra business in 3527 Bucharest, and the heavier my pocket will be the lighter my heart will be.

3528

So now I am in the capital of Romania--Bucharest. Immediately that Sunday the first day
I found out from some women who had seen my sisters, and who had been together with
them in the camps. The women left Germany soon after the American had liberated the

camp. But my sisters remained because one of them became ill right after the liberation.

3533	Ostensibly, they were on their way to Prague. I was exhilarated upon hearing this and I
3534	imagined that my sisters would be overjoyed and consider themselves very fortunate. I
3535	was just hoping to establish communications with them.
3536	
3537	In Bucharest at the aids organization it no longer so easy to get a couple of <i>li</i> . Thousand

- 3538 of refugees are going back and forth
- 3539

3540 p. 120

3541

3542 and if they've already been there a couple of times they give different names. Some come 3543 from the concentration camps in Poland and keep travelling until they are arrive to 3544 Bucharest. And those who have tattoos on their arms are the most privileged--for them all 3545 the doors are open. They are paid the whole sum, also shoes and good clothing and 3546 underwear. They can't deceive anyone because they have numbers on their arms. Some of 3547 the refugees have gone back home but have found nothing left there, so they bring with 3548 them their striped concentration camp garments with the numbers. And others, such as 3549 myself, have to learn how to lie about where we are from and why we have come to 3550 Bucharest. We have to sojourn here for a couple of weeks, eat from the kitchen of the aid 3551 committee, and stand in line. Now they are handing half the amount they used to 3552 distribute. And if one doesn't want to be wandering around one has to spend all the 3553 money one has received. [Don't understand why, and he doesn't explain this.] I met with

3554	hundreds of landslayt [countrymen], had a little bit of money in my pocket and treated
3555	myself well, went to the movies and the theatres, and ate a lot of mamaliga in the dirty
3556	Romanian restuarants. Bread was difficult to come by, and only for a chunk of change,
3557	which I couldn't afford. I mostly subsisted on mamaliga. On Shabbis I ate in the Agudah
3558	[Agugas Yisroel, an ultra-Orthodox organization and political party] kitchen and heard
3559	the recitation of Kiddish. At the first opportunity I sent a telegram-letter to my relatives in
3560	America through the Red Cross informing them that I was alive. With my sisters there
3561	still was no communications for me to let them know that I was still alive.
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3562	
3563	In the meantime I changed my quarters. But in the morning when I woke up I noticed that
	In the meantime I changed my quarters. But in the morning when I woke up I noticed that univited guests, as big as the nails my fingers, had moved themselves into my clothing.
3563	
3563 3564	univited guests, as big as the nails my fingers, had moved themselves into my clothing.
3563 3564 3565	univited guests, as big as the nails my fingers, had moved themselves into my clothing. This made me feel disgusted because during the entire duration of the war I had managed
3563 3564 3565 3566	univited guests, as big as the nails my fingers, had moved themselves into my clothing. This made me feel disgusted because during the entire duration of the war I had managed to be free of them and here in Romania they managed to pock me. As soon as the shops
3563 3564 3565 3566 3567	univited guests, as big as the nails my fingers, had moved themselves into my clothing. This made me feel disgusted because during the entire duration of the war I had managed to be free of them and here in Romania they managed to pock me. As soon as the shops opened I went out and bought myself a new set of clothes. I went over to the aids

3571

3572 I already had Czech identification papers with a photograph, which looked like a

3573 passport. The Romanians couldn't read it so they let me board the train in a First Class car

3574 reserved for an especially selective group of people. Just before sundown the express

3575 train left Bucharest. I look around the car and I see that the every seat has been taken, 3576 mostly with Romanian and Russian officers and soldiers. It appears that I will have to be 3577 up on my feet all night long. I go from one car to the next and I see a Russian soldier also 3578 looking around trying to find a vacant seat. So I edge up close to him and I ask him what 3579 he is waiting for. I try to egg him on. We have won the war and I also want to sit. I point 3580 out to him near a window where two Romanian soldiers were sitting. That's a very good 3581 place, I tell him. We go over to the officers and point out to them with various hand 3582 gestures and say to them in a courteous matter in Russian, that they should be so kind and 3583 get up off their seats. They didn't seem to want to understand what we were saying. My 3584 soldier opened wide the window and grabbed both of them by the collar, as if to throw 3585 them out. The two officers quickly ran off screaming: "Conductor!" We sat ourselves 3586 down. The conductor came running and started bellowing in Romanian that these are 3587 reserved seat for the generals, whom we had driven from their places. We started to crack 3588 up, and the other Russian officers also started to laugh along with us. My comrade took 3589 out a bottle of vodka from his pack and started swigging from it. He then handed the 3590 bottle to me and we drank a *l'chaim*. And every time he had a drink, I also had to drink 3591 along. My heart was grieving and my head was like a stall from the smelly booze. We 3592 started singing Russian songs, but we were told to keep our mouths shut, because people 3593 wanted to sleep.

3594

3595 Indeed, that whole night, I slept like a dead person. About 9 AM the train came to a stop.

3596 We are in Temeshvar. I see through the window a group of Jews with their

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3598 p. 122

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3600 concentration camp packs. They want to board the train, but they won't let them. I ask 3601 them where they're coming from. "From the concentration camp," they replied. "It's 3602 already two weeks that we're riding the baggage compartment. We want to continue 3603 traveling to Hungary or Czecholslovakia but they won't let us." I don't think for long. 3604 Temeshvar must be a big city. If the train stopped here then it there must certainly have a 3605 chapter of the Joint. I take my pack and crawl underneath [Underneath what?Why?] I 3606 give these Jews a joyful and hearty shalom aleichem, my dear brothers. "Don't worry, but 3607 I see that you don't know what to do. How many of you are there?," I ask them. 3608 "Seventeen persons." "I am also one. That makes eighteen persons." I go with them to the 3609 director of the train station. I try to communicate with him, half with my hands and a 3610 little in Romanian, which I had picked up in a short time. He immediately understood 3611 what I wanted and asked everyone to sit down. He made a call on the telephone and it 3612 didn't take long before a representative from the Jewish community with two woman 3613 came and they gave us heartfelt greetings. They took us to the station restaurant, and 3614 ordered breakfast for all of us. Afterwards, the community representative informed us 3615 that since things weren't organized in Temeshvar for us to sojourn here, we should leave 3616 our packs at the station and he will take us into the city, where we will be given some

3617	pocket change, have some time to get some rest, and after dinner we can be on our way
3618	again. We put our pack away. I take off my coat, which doesn't look like it's from a
3619	concentration camp, and leave it with my other things. We arrive to the edifice of the
3620	Jewish community center. Everyone received fifteen thousand <i>li</i> , which came to about ten
3621	or fifteen dollars. This would be a couple of months salary for a typical Romanian
3622	worker, but legally you couldn't buy a whole lot with it. I also give a name which came to
3623	my thoughts. [Not sure what he's saying here.] We all go to the city bathhouse, and
3624	everyone received fresh underwear. Dinnertime we all went to a kosher restaurant at the
3625	Jewish community's expense. Later that evening we were escorted to the train station. We
3626	receive a paper that serves as a pass, which makes it possible for us to cross the border
3627	into Hungary. I stealthily managed to part company with the rest of the brethren and
3628	hopped on board a train heading for Arad.
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3630	p. 123
3631	

Upon arriving back to Arad I quickly got down to the business of trading, because I didn't
want to stay in Romania too much longer. I wanted to make a few dollars and then go to
Budapest or Prague. On one lovely day when I am hustling near the train station I see
transports of Russian soldiers coming and going to all the occupied territories in Europe.
So I bought up all kinds of currencies: German *marks*, Austrian *shilin*, Hungarian *fenge*,
Czech *kroners*, and Russian *rubles*. My pockets were suddenly full. I wanted to start

3638	heading home but a couple of Russian soldiers came up to me and offered to sell me
3639	Hungarian currency for very cheap. I made the deal. When I am about to start heading
3640	home I notice that three Russian soldiers are following me. They drag me into the
3641	courtyard of a big house. I received a whack over the head from the handle of a pistol.
3642	When I came to I found that my pocket were empty. They had rendered me no longer a
3643	"hat maker."
3644	
3645	The next day I left Romania with empty pockets. With a letter from the Red Cross I cross
3646	the border into Hungary. I arrived to Budapest, where I met my two cousins, Bleemeh
3647	and Esther Estreicher, and they passed on personal greetings from my two sisters, who
3648	were by now in best of health in Prague.
3649	Germany
3650	
3651	In the year 1946 I find myself in a small town in Germany called Krombach. It is not far
3652	from the town of Leifheim where the DP camp for a couple of thousand Jewish survivors
3653	of the war was situated. Of the town of Krombach, which before the war possessed a nice
3654	Jewish community of a couple of hundred families of Orthodox Jews, all that remained
3655	was one Jew who remained with his non-Jewish wife. Around eighty souls of religious
3656	Jews were living here temporarily and residing in the home which had previously
3657	belonged to the Jews. One can recognize these Jews homes by the mezuzos that are
3658	affixed to the doorpost. We set up a type of koillel [usually meant to mean a post-yeshiva

3659 academy for a married and ordained man who is being supported by his family or a 3660 Jewish institution to continue his studies] or *yeshiva*, and we called it the *Rabbinat* 3661 *Haupt-Shule*, and we received funding from the Joint [Joint Distribution Committee]. 3662 With the help of the Joint and the occupying powers, we received permission from the 3663 Germans to establish this institution, until we would be departing from Germany. 3664 Everyone had to get permission from the German authorities to establish domicile, with 3665 the exception of the Holocaust survivors. Foodstuff and clothing was strictly rationed, 3666 and to buy in the private German shops wasn't possible with the food stamps we were 3667 given. Those who still staying in refugee camps couldn't buy things in the private German 3668 businesses, only that which "UNRRA" [United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation 3669 Administration] and the Joint provided. I became the administrator and the intermediary 3670 between the yeshiva and the German authorities. We received a monthly stipend from the 3671 German Farguttengse-Ampt. We also received assistance from the Joint, and the 3672 Klausenburger Rebbe, may he live to be 120, also helped with five dollars a month for 3673 each person. [Note: The Klausenburger Rebbe, Rabbi Yekutiel Yehudah Halberstam, lost 3674 his wife and 11 children to the Nazis. He passed away in 1994 at the age of 91.] The 3675 Germans were obligated to empty a couple of buildings, and also a large edifice, which 3676 before the war had been a Jewish children's home. We set up a bes medrish for davening 3677 and for study, and also built a *mikvah*. We also made an *uren koidesh* which the Germans 3678 paid for, and which today is found in Brooklyn, in the home of *ha-Rav* Menachem 3679 Mendel Rubin, the Mizshawer *Rav*. In spite of all the difficulties and abnormal

3680 circumstances, and the terrible frame of mind most of us found ourselves in on the 3681 polluted German earth--we did everything possible to make ourselves feel comfortable. 3682 The *koillel* over time kept getting larger and larger, many of the *bucherim* [single male 3683 students] got married, and many Jewish children were being born. The beards and *payis* 3684 were growing longer and nicer, and the German population of the town started to respect 3685 us and refer to us as the "rabbiners." There is no lack of Shabbis goyim, and for a pittance 3686 they are our boot polishers. And as the administrator, I come before these great warriors 3687 of yesterday, our bitter enemies from yesterday, and they give me whatever I want. 3688 Within a year the *koillel* grew to about hundred and twenty souls, and life started to 3689 normalize a bit. We now had a *rav*, and *prezess* [?], and sextons, and also "beautiful" 3690 [Torah scholars], Klausenburger Chassidim, and *Chassidim* from other sects. And since 3691 my beard didn't want to grow I had to vacate the town of Krombach. [He's saying tongue-3692 in-cheek that he was no longer a *chassid*.] 3693 3694 In the year 1947 I settle in a town called Mittenwald near the Alps, not far from the 3695 Swiss-Austrian border, where in the winter and summer one sees snow on the top of the

3696 mountain.

3697

From the *chassidishe koillel* I came to a brethren who were referred to as the *Sharis ha- Flaiteh* [Holocaust Survivors], because nowhere else in Germany did such a young men's

3700 group exist. The greater part of the brethren remained in the town when the Americans

3701	liberated them. The Americans took over the hotel of one notorious Nazi, cleaned it up,
3702	and settled Jews there. These young "wiseguys" didn't make it easy for me to join. They
3703	made me promise them that I would be good and pious, and become their <i>rebbe</i> . This
3704	town was located in the most beautiful part of Germany, to which thousands of tourists
3705	came to visit every year, and I began to cozy up to the place. If I'm going to be in
3706	Germany I might as well enjoy the fresh air. I kept my word. I immediately set up a room
3707	for a minyan, brought a seifer toireh, and saw to it that the brethren davened. I kashered
3708	the kitchen,
3709	
3710	p. 125
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3711	
3711	and a <i>shoichet</i> [ritual slaughterer] came once a week to slaughter. I facilitated all the
	and a <i>shoichet</i> [ritual slaughterer] came once a week to slaughter. I facilitated all the religious functions, and the Germans gave me a salary for serving in the capacity of
3712	
3712 3713	religious functions, and the Germans gave me a salary for serving in the capacity of
3712 3713 3714	religious functions, and the Germans gave me a salary for serving in the capacity of <i>rabbiner</i> . Not far from us was the world famous Kur Ort [a spa]. In the city Garmisch-
3712371337143715	religious functions, and the Germans gave me a salary for serving in the capacity of <i>rabbiner</i> . Not far from us was the world famous Kur Ort [a spa]. In the city Garmisch-Partenkirchen [a resort town in Bavaria], a large number of Jews could be found, and
 3712 3713 3714 3715 3716 	religious functions, and the Germans gave me a salary for serving in the capacity of <i>rabbiner</i> . Not far from us was the world famous Kur Ort [a spa]. In the city Garmisch-Partenkirchen [a resort town in Bavaria], a large number of Jews could be found, and among them there was a sizable number of Orthodox Jews, who had everything that Jews
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 3712 3713 3714 3715 3716 3717 3718 	religious functions, and the Germans gave me a salary for serving in the capacity of <i>rabbiner</i> . Not far from us was the world famous Kur Ort [a spa]. In the city Garmisch-Partenkirchen [a resort town in Bavaria], a large number of Jews could be found, and among them there was a sizable number of Orthodox Jews, who had everything that Jews need [to be devout Jews]. I would go there often and my fellow young <i>chevrahmen</i> took to calling me <i>rebbe</i> or <i>choosid</i> . They respected me and also were afraid because they

3722 There were at that time Jews who were living in Germany after the liberation, and also 3723 tens of thousands who came running [to Germany] from the lands to which they had 3724 returned after the war. Many had to flee again from their former homes and leave 3725 everything to their goyishe neighbors, after the "wonderful reception" they had recieved 3726 when they had return, and also because they feared their Russian "liberators." Jews are 3727 living scattered all over Germany and Austria, mostly in barracks, a couple of hundred to 3728 one thousand, divided up in two zones, the American and the English zone. In the 3729 Russian and also in the French zone there were few Jews to be found there from among 3730 the Holocaust survivors. Everyone is trying to figure out how to emigrate from here as 3731 soon as possible, who to America, Canada, Australia. Some want to go to Israel, if it's 3732 only possible. The English won't permit it and are guarding all the roads with modern 3733 machines and spy agencies all over Europe, so that God forbid the Jews shouldn't take off 3734 on ships. And if they catch the Jewish enemy they have him incarcerated in a camp in 3735 Cypress. But not everyone wants to take off without anything and go on the road with the 3736 aliyah when one is not certain how one will reach the borders of Eretz Yisroel. 3737

3738 Jews cannot obtain legal passports so they smuggle themselves across lands and forests,

to Germany, to Austria, Czechoslovakia, to Poland, to France and Belgium, and back.

3740 They are traveling from one zone to the next, to the consulates. They stand in line in front

of the Joint and the HIAS, seeking assistance to emigrate. They manage to procure for

themselves various necessary documents, legal and illegal; items that the American

3743	consulate requires and which aren't possible to obtain. There are birth certificates that can
3744	no longer be procured from home. Also, if they are already residing in Germany since the
3745	liberation in 1945. [Don't understand why this sentence is here.] Many are registered at
3746	several consulates under different names and as citizens of countries which come quicker
3747	[? Don't know what he means by "quicker"perhaps he means countries that make
3748	getting a visa easier] and have larger quotas. The weeks and months and years go by and
3749	we are still living on the lands of the murderers of our parents and families, and still
3750	waiting.
3751	
3752	In September 1949 I find myself already on a ship sailing to America. On the military
3752 3753	In September 1949 I find myself already on a ship sailing to America. On the military transport ship there are on board some fourteen hundred refugees of various nationalities
3753	transport ship there are on board some fourteen hundred refugees of various nationalities
3753 3754	transport ship there are on board some fourteen hundred refugees of various nationalities from the refugee camps, among them a couple of hundred Jews. It's already the second
3753 3754 3755	transport ship there are on board some fourteen hundred refugees of various nationalities from the refugee camps, among them a couple of hundred Jews. It's already the second day that a stormy wind is raging and is throwing us around like a rubber ball. The great
3753375437553756	transport ship there are on board some fourteen hundred refugees of various nationalities from the refugee camps, among them a couple of hundred Jews. It's already the second day that a stormy wind is raging and is throwing us around like a rubber ball. The great majority of the passengers are in their cabins, and from every direction one can hear
 3753 3754 3755 3756 3757 	transport ship there are on board some fourteen hundred refugees of various nationalities from the refugee camps, among them a couple of hundred Jews. It's already the second day that a stormy wind is raging and is throwing us around like a rubber ball. The great majority of the passengers are in their cabins, and from every direction one can hear groaning and crying. It is virtually impossible to stand on the deck, and it is also

3761 I'm hanging around acting like a courageous tough guy, behaving as if nothing bothers
3762 me. My appetite is normal, my head isn't spinning, and my intestines are not in any way
3763 affected.

3764

3765	The holiday of Rosh Hashanah arrived in the middle of the great storm and Cantor Dovid
3766	Veeder, may he rest in peace, is standing at the podium. We are holding on to each other
3767	for dear life and are making all kinds of prostrations even when it is not necessary. On the
3768	second day of Rosh Hashanah after the shoifar blowing the winds began to calm down.
3769	The ship starts to move normally.
3770	
3771	A cold wind is blowing on the deck of the ship and I'm lying on my cot listening to the
3772	others lying on their beds and bemoaning their fate for these last three days. After such a
3773	trip they would be willing to forego America. A couple of friends whose acquaintance I
3774	have made on the trip
3775	
3776	p. 128
3777	
3778	are starting to fantasize what the Golden Land, where they shovel gold in the streets,
3779	looks like. And only in a couple days we will be touching the ground on this long-
3780	awaited land. How great will be the joy of my uncle when he sees me. He will take me
3781	[from the pier] and kiss me as as if I was his own child. He doesn't have anyone. He lives
3782	alone in his big lovely house. And as he tells me in the tender letters he kept sending me,
3783	that I am his only hope. I will treat him as if he was my father and I will let him treat me
3784	tenderly like a son.

3785

3786	My uncle has the same name I do. My mother used to say, "Shimon, you have many of
3787	the same characteristics as your uncle Shimon in America." What was he lacking in the
3788	heim [the Old Country]? He suddenly upped and took off for America. I would often say
3789	when I was small that when I grew up I would travel around the world until I arrived to
3790	America. He certainly was a wealthy man. He had already left for America before the
3791	first world war. He was a skilled tradesman, able to make and repair things. Very soon
3792	I'm going to be with my dear uncle.
3793	
3794	"Herr Deitch!" My neighbor who is sitting on a chair next to me says. "What do you say,
3795	in only a couple of days we will be in the Golden Land. Do you have relatives who will
3796	be waiting for you?"
3797	
3798	"What are you asking me about whether I have relatives? I have an uncle, who's my
3799	mother's brother!"
3800	
3801	"Does he have children?"
3802	
3803	"Yes, two. His children are very rich, but they would never write to us. But we received
3804	an affidavit from one of them, and it was strong and a good one. His fortune was
3805	estimated at 250,000 dollars."

3806	
3807	(The affidavit was from a distant relative with the same last name as my uncle. But I
3808	didn't know this at that time, because I still hadn't met his children up to this point.)
3809	
3810	"And what does your uncle do?"
3811	
3812	p. 129
3813	
3814	"He is already an elderly man of about seventy."
3815	
3816	"And what was his occupation?"
3817	
3818	"I'm not sure exactly what he did, because he would never write about this. But I think he
3819	owned a clothing factory."
3820	
3821	"Does he have a wife?"
3822	
3823	"No, she died in the middle of the war. He is now living alone."
3824	
3825	"Nuh, so you're going to be inheriting from your rich uncle."
3826	

3827	"Oy, where does one find such an uncle? No one will be waiting for me. I don't have
3828	anyone in America. I received the affidavit through the HIAS, and they will be placing
3829	me in some kind of camp for a couple of weeks until I settle in and am able to support

- 3830 myself."
- 3831

3832 "Did your uncle used to send you money?"

3833

"We never asked and we never needed, but for me he would enclosed a ten dollar bill in
every letter which he sent to me in Germany." That's the custom of the old Americans
[meaning, those who have lived in America for a long time]. This is called post-mark
money, to make sure that I will write back to him. He would also somethimes send
packages.

3839

3840 September 28, in the early morning, after a journey of eleven days, we sail past the great 3841 Statue of Liberty. I see how she has her hand stretched out to the newly-arriving 3842 immigrants. All the passengers gather on the deck; our hearts are pounding for joy. May 3843 this be a fortunate hour--we are in America! In about an hour or two I will be the luckiest 3844 person in the world. After so many bitter years, finally. My uncle no doubt is standing 3845 and waiting impatiently that minute. Soon I will fall into his old arms and we will 3846 embrace. His son will no doubt be waiting in his car to see his greener cousin, and he will 3847 immediately whisk me off to his beautiful apartment with soft chairs.

3848

3849 p. 130

3850

3851 I will eat something and then share with them everything that is pent up in my heart .

3852

3853 I now find myself situated in the large hall of the port. I have been through all the

3854 formalities, with my pack and luggage next to me. The person on the loudspeaker keeps

3855 on calling up the names of people whose relatives are standing around and waiting

3856 outside. People are embracing, kissing and hugging, and crying from great joy. Large

3857 boxes and pieces of luggage are being carried away, and fewer and fewer people are

3858 waiting around. Tables of a variety of organizations both Jewish and non-Jewish have

3859 signs with the names of those people they have a responsibility for, and call over those

that they are obligated to take with them. I however, had come with an afidavit that my

3861 uncle had sent me, but no records could be found among the receipts of the HIAS or the

3862

Joint.

3863

3864 All the relatives had been sent a telegram a couple of days before their relatives were3865 arriving, so that they would wait for them.

3866

3867 I keep running impatiently to the gate where scores of people are gathered outside. Some3868 of them are waiting for their relatives to pass through the pay-toll, to take the greenhorns

3869	home. Some are people who if they hear that a ship has arrived will want to see if an
3870	acquaintance of theirs was on board. I look around and when I see an elderly man I ask if
3871	he isn't my uncle. But sadly, my mouth is turning sour and my heart is heavy from
3872	thinking what kind of uncle this must be. It's possible that he's an old man and doesn't
3873	feel good, but I just can't imagine that he wouldn't have sent one of his children to come
3874	pick me up. After so many tender letters saying that he's pining away for me, my sweets
3875	dreams are bursting like a soap bubble.
3876	
3877	I go back to the Joint's table, and give them my name. She is calling out again on the
3878	loudspeaker, "Wait a few minutes," but no one is inquiring from outside. I tell the woman
3879	from Nyana [?] that I've been waiting already three hours. Now there is almost no one is
3880	around. I'm feeling sick to my stomach. Never mind my uncle, I can barley stand on my
3881	feet. She asks me how much money I have. I take out a dollar and forty cents. I had had
3882	two dollars
3883	
3884	p. 131
3885	
3886	but for sixty cents I went out and bought myself a roll and some pastry because I was
3887	very hungry. The woman tries to calm me down: "Don't worry, you're now in America.

- 3888 Wait a little longer and we will arrange everything for you. If no one comes to pick you
- 3889 up, you will be our guest. Your uncle will pay for it."

3887

3890

- 3891 Around dinner time a taxi takes us to the Hotel Marcy! It was on on West 103rd Street.
- 3892 The entire hotel is occupied by freshly arrived green refugees who are being supported by
- 3893 the Joint. Here is where I received my first meal in America, and where I would meet
- 3894 many of my *landslayt* whom I hadn't seen in a long time.
- 3895
- 3896 When I tell them and get things off my heavy chest about the great welcome I had
- 3897 received upon arriving and placing my first foot upon the Golden Land, they say to me,
- 3898 "Don't obsess about it. Forget about your uncle. We have survived much greater troubles
- than this. You will be provided with everything here." One of them says to me, "I had to
- 3900 run away from here with my wife and children on the second day. [Don't quite
- 3901 understand this.] With great trouble they had me staying here in this hotel. The people
- 3902 here in the office already know the American uncles."

3903

- 3904 After dinner, I'm still hanging around, and I have no idea where I'm going to place my
- 3905 head. The difficult voyage, the many sleepless nights. I ask a woman to help us and do
- 3906 something because I am exhausted and broken down, and must get some sleep. She picks
- up the phone and asks me the address of my uncle, and calls information.

3908

- 3909 "Your uncle doesn't have a telephone," she tells me, while still holding the telephone in
- 3910 her hand. The operator gives her the number of the landlady of the house, and after

3911	talking with her on the phone she hangs up and tells me the good news: "We will soon
3912	send you to a another hotel and you will live there, because there is no place available for
3913	you here."
3914	
3915	I am given a couple of dollars, and the Joint will take care of the hotel bill.
3916	
3917	A taxi takes us to the Hotel Manhattan on West 88th St. The hall of the hotel is quite
3918	ornate, elegantly lit,
3919	
3920	p. 132
3921	
3922	the walls made from marblestone, and everything glitters; it looks like an elegant palace.
3923	This is America! The only thing that's missing are the servants who place flowers in my
3924	hands. I give my note to the porter and immediately the elevator man comes over, takes
3925	my two valises and takes me up to the second floor in a narrow, dimly-lit corridor, opens
3926	the door to my roomI am having chest pain. This is a hotel? The walls are as black as
3927	coal; you can't see out the windows. An iron bed, black from dust. But I am deadly tired.
3928	I open up my valises, take out a clean towel and a bed sheet, take a bath, and go to sleep.
3929	
3930	The next day I run into a good friend a landsman, who already looks yellow, [no longer
3931	

3932 savvy than I am. I talk my heart out to him and tell him what my fate has been like so far.

3933 I have such a rich uncle, and he did me in in Turkish [an expression meaning "he screwed

3934 me over"], and didn't come to pick me up by the ship.

- 3935
- 3936 "Show me his address," he says. "Aha, he lives in Brooklyn." He takes out a large
- telephone book and is looking, and then he says to me: "Your uncle is not in the
- telephone book. This means that he doesn't even have a telephone. He's a *shnorrer* with
- 3939 seven skirts [another expression which means, he's a world-class impecunious beggar]. If
- 3940 you have a few dollars in your pocket, he will need it. Forget about your uncle. You're a
- 3941 young man so you'll be able to make do without him."
- 3942
- 3943 "So what should I do,?" I asked him. "I do want to see my uncle, my mother's brother, the
- 3944 only one who is left over from my whole family."
- 3945
- ³⁹⁴⁶ "I will take you to 42nd St. and there I will show you how to get to your uncle. It is
- indeed a big city but we greenhorns will never get lost. You found everything up to now,
- 3948 and now you'll be able to meet your uncle in Brooklyn."
- 3949
- 3950 I arrive to Boro Park, on the street where my uncle lives. It's a lovely neighborhood with
- 3951 large trees, and on both sides of the street there are quaint houses with litte gardens.
- 3952

3953 p. 133

3954

3955 It's not as I imagined life in the big city years ago with the huge skyscrapers.

3956

3957 I come to that address, and I'm already standing in front of my uncle's house, a nice clean

3958 little house, made from nice red bricks. My heart is pounding strongly. Slowly, I walk up

the steps, and ring the bell. In a couple of seconds a young woman comes to the door.

³⁹⁶⁰ "Hello, welcome," and with a broken Yiddish she asks me, "You are the nephew of Mr.

3961 Estreicher?" It appears that she knows that my uncle is awaiting a guest from the other

3962 side of the ocean.

3963

3964 "Your uncle is still at work. Come into my apartment and make yourself comfortable." I 3965 have a little conversation with her--she with a broken Yiddish and I with a broken 3966 English. "You look like a fine intelligent child. He used to talk about you day and night. 3967 He didn't rest and did everything possible to see to it that you would be able to come 3968 over. This was his only hope. He received a telegram that you were coming, but your uncle is a very funny guy." There were many words I couldn't understand that this 3969 3970 woman was saying. I was sitting there nervous and just listening to what she was saying, 3971 but I was not able to answer her. The woman noticed how uncomfortable and nervous I 3972 was and that I'm sitting on needles.

3973

3974	"Would you like to go up to his apartment?I have the key." She take me up the steps to
3975	the third floor, and opens the door. I walk slowly into my uncle's apartment, look at one
3976	side, then to the other side. The roof is slanted, like in the Old Country, where in the
3977	winter the washed clothing was dried. In the bedroom the bed is not made and it looks
3978	very untidy. The furniture is old and dark brown. There's a large table in the middle of the
3979	room. In the dining room there's a large sideboard, cluttered with letters and various
3980	papers. The dust is thick. When I place my hand on the table it starts to creak and rock
3981	from old age. One chair without a leg is leaning against the wall. On one side there's a
3982	glass box with a bunch of bric-brac
3983	
3984	p. 134
3985	
3986	and coffee cups with floral designs . In the kitchen hot porous water is pouring out of the
3987	crane, which I'm not able to shut off. The sink is yellow, and cockroaches are parading
3988	around cavalierly on the table and under the table, and on all sides.
3989	
3990	Nebech, I mutter to myself, this is what an older person looks like in America, so many
3991	years alone. I resolve to make good order of this place, and I get right down to work. I
3992	tidy up the bed and the bedroom, and wash the couple of glasses from the table and the
3993	rest of the kitchen with a white cloth which is lying in a tin box. I sit myself down on the

broken chairs. I take a look at the woman [he doesn't tell you if he's looking at a picture

3994

and if it's his uncle's deceased wife], and I can't get myself to say anything [can't describe

3996 what I'm feeling about her]. This is what people look like here in their advanced years.

3997 May the Blessed Lord protect me. He has children so why is he living alone? But there is

3998 no way to get an answer yet. Outside. it's getting dark, it's about to be nighttime. I'm

3999 sitting there impatiently. I can't wait to see my uncle.

4000

4001 Suddenly, I hear a heavy voice of an elderly person speaking, coming from below, who is

4002 speaking with the young woman who had opened the door for me. I hear the sound of a

4003 slow climb up the steps of the narrow staircase. I pick myself up and go to the door, and

4004 here aproaching me is an elderly man with spectacles, nattily dressed with a round

4005 handsome face like that of an aristocrat.

4006

4007 "Uncle, is that you?" We [why we?] kiss his hands and face. He is not surprised to see the 4008 two children of his sisters and together we go into the dining room. He asks us to sit 4009 down at the table. [Who else is there besides Shimon? We aren't told who else showed 4010 up. This is very peculiar. Are some paragraphs missing in this book?] The uncle places a 4011 glass plate with almonds, raisins, and dates on the table, and tells me that dates are good 4012 for the heart. He brings a a big bottle of water in from the kitchen; it's boiled water with 4013 lemon juice. This is good for the appetite. I take a swig--it's sour like vinegar, and it has a 4014 stagnant aftertaste like rotting cabbage. It appears that he boils this in a pot which is 4015 never washed. It isn't possible to drink anymore of this.

4016

4017 I'm waiting for the uncle to start asking me what the journey was like. And what and4018 how? I have so much to tell.

4019

4020 p. 135

4021

4022 The whole night won't be long enough, but he starts talking about life in the Old Home, 4023 what kind of aristocratic family we come from, who was our great-grandfather, and that 4024 the great-grandfather was the leader of the Jewish community and was advisor to the 4025 mayor of Munkatch. His [the great-grand-father's] business was the biggest in the city, 4026 and all the magnates and the big officers would do their shopping there. Everyone took to 4027 heart what he advised them. And he [the uncle] talked about how the family held 4028 together, and one went into the fire for the other [they scarificed for each other]. When I 4029 try to interrupt him and try to get a word in edgewise, he won't let me. He just kept 4030 rambling on, and rambling on. Now I understood what the young woman on the first 4031 floor meant when she said that my uncle is a funny person. My head is starting to spin 4032 from two hours of non-stop sitting and listening to him regurgitating the same thing 4033 again, and again, and again. I say to him, "Beloved uncle, I am very tired." 4034 4035 "I bought you a new bed which needs a change of sheets and bedding." He points to the 4036 new iron bed. I'm going to put a bedcover over it and you can sleep here."

4037

4038	"No, uncle," I say to him. "I was given a place to live in a nice hotel. You don't have to
4039	worry about me. I will be sojourning there for two weeks. It's better this way. The Joint

- 4040 will be taking care of me."
- 4041
- 4042 "Allright," he says to me, "get some good rest the next two weeks, and forget what you
- 4043 lived through in the concentration camps. You shouldn't ever discuss it because here they
- 4044 say that the people who have survived the camps don't have all their screws in their
- 4045 heads, and aren't normal people. And many relatives, as I hear it told, are bitterly
- 4046 disappointed in the new arrivals--they cause many problems." I now understood
- 4047 everything.
- 4048
- 4049 He doesn't look like a bad man and he is intelligent. He lived through some tough times
- 4050 here in America, hot and cold. He's by no means a wealthy man, but also not a pauper,
- 4051 and later on he would help me a great deal.
- 4052
- 4053 My uncle escorts me to the subway station. On the way, he says to me, "You are a
- 4054 greenhorn today, only your second day in the land, and you go out by yourself in such a
- 4055 big city where you still don't know the language?"
- 4056

4057 p. 136

4058

4059 "Yes, dear uncle, I am not of the greenhorns from forty or fifty years ago. I'm not afraid
4060 of the big city. I have already traveled around a good part of the world and been to many
4061 big cities. I've lived through a great deal, and I've seen more than our grandfather and
4062 great-grandfather put together.

4063

4064 He throws in a dime and I get to the 42nd St. station. It is teeming with masses of people, 4065 one camp running in one direction, and a second from the other side, and I am drowning 4066 among the people who are rushing around like busy ants [his mixed metaphors]. I went 4067 over to a policeman and with great difficulty he barely understood what I was saying to 4068 him in my badly mangled English, which I had taught myself already back in Europe. He 4069 points out to me the train that will take me to 103rd St., and I shove in through the door 4070 [of the train] with a whole mass of humanity. At every station I look out the window to 4071 find number 103; there, I will exit to the Hotel Marcial, where the greenhorns come 4072 together. From there I already know where to go by foot to my hotel on 88th St. At last, I 4073 hear the 103 being called out. I notice that this station is not doesn't look the same as the 4074 one I went to after dinner going to Brooklyn. But it says that it's 103rd St. I run up a 4075 whole bunch of steps to get to the street. Where am I? Black people--everything is black. 4076 My Lord, I am somewhere in Africa. I had already seen Negroes in Germany, in the 4077 American army, but here the whole town is black--you don't see a single white face. I see 4078 on the other side a nice shop with ornate windows, so I want to go in and ask where I'm

4079	located. I take a look and see black Negroes [yes, he says "black Negroes"!] laughing at
4080	the top of their voices and big and wide black eyes and broad <i>tzepenteh</i> [?] mouths, as if
4081	they were laughing at me. I slink away, afraid to go over to them. I can't communicate
4082	with them, anyway. I'll go over to a policemanhe is also black. A taxi swings by and
4083	parks at the curb where I'm standing. I take a look, also black. It wasn't that I was so
4084	fearful of the Negroes, I just couldn't understand how all this was possible. First, I was
4085	walking around streets where there were some Negroes passing by, and now all of them,
4086	
4087	p. 137
4088	
4089	the houses, the police, the chauffuer, elegant and squalideverything is black. I go back
4090	down the steps to the glass counter of the station, jot down exactly where I need to go and
4091	I'm told to go to the other side of the station and ride in the other direction. Finally, in the
4092	train, I edge on over to where I notice some Jews are sitting, and they point out to me
4093	how I need to go in order to get to my hotel. When I finally get to the hotel and recount to
4094	my fellow greenhorns all that had transpired they tell me, "This is Harlem, a
4095	neighborhood where only colored people live. Three million live there. They don't
4096	tchepeh [mess with] even a fly on the wall. One shouldn't be afraid of them." And this is
4097	how my first two weeks in America passed by.
4098	
4099	

4100

4101

4102 Middle of p. 137

4103

4104 After two weeks the folks at the Joint told me to go find a furnished apartment, because 4105 the hotel was too expensive, and to live there until I'm able to support myself. My uncle 4106 helped me find a furnished apartment, not far from his neighborhood, by an elderly 4107 couple, who were already in this country about forty years, and who had come from a 4108 small *shtetl* in White Russia. I rented the place for forty-five dollars with kitchen 4109 privileges--they'll let me cook whatever I need. The woman is about fifty years old, and 4110 very friendly. She shows me how to turn on the electric lights, to *kvetch* a button or to 4111 pull a string, and it becomes light. She leads me into the toilet, pulls the handle and the 4112 water rinses everything out. This is not like in Europe, everything operates on buttons. 4113 But I have to be particularly careful when I use the gas range. This is potentially 4114 hazardous, she tells me, and she will show me how to operate it tomorrow. I listen to 4115 everything, nice and fine. I'm open to learning about new things, and I am marveling over 4116 the radio and television, because I had never seen them before. So why would I want to 4117 show off to her? She wouldn't believe me anyway. She still remembered when she first 4118 came [to America] in those days from a small *shteteleh* near the mountains, where the 4119 mud reached up to one's knees. People in those days slept in their long shirts, and it 4120 would take weeks

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Memoirs of Simon Deutsch, a proud Munkatcher Translated by Ken Blady [Published for non-commercial use only by permission of Carol Deutsch]

Courtesy of Preeva (née ADLER) TRAMIEL, USA

4121	
4122	p. 138
4123	
4124	before the greenhorn was able to get about around the town. I tell the woman I will go to
4125	the hotel and bring my valise.
4126	
4127	"What? You will go by yourself back and forth and know how to get back here?"
4128	
4129	"I have your address," I tell her.
4130	
4131	"A taxi [cab driver] will know where to take you back," she replied. "I won't go shopping
4132	today and I'll wait until you arrive, because you won't know by yourself how to open the
4133	doors."
4134	
4135	The taxi comes to the door and the cabbie helps me <i>shlep</i> the two heavy trunks. I plop the
4136	two trunks in the middle of the kitchen. The woman is standing in the middle of the
4137	kitchen and can't seem to avert her eyes from my trunks. She's staring, and staring.
4138	
4139	"You brought this from Europe?" She pats the trunk and says, "Leather? The two valises
4140	are made from leather? When we came [to America] they were made from twisted wicker
4141	wood. Today's greenhorns arrive with leather valises like the great magnates of

4142 yesteryear."

4143

4144	"Yes, yes,'	' I say.	"Since y	you left	Europe	there	were tw	o world	wars a	nd a	lot, a	whole	e lot
------	-------------	----------	----------	----------	--------	-------	---------	---------	--------	------	--------	-------	-------

4145 of water has flowed through. I'm not coming from the Europe of forty years ago. In

4146 Europe too they're now *kvetching* buttons." I take the luggage into my room and close the

4147 door. The heat hits me in the face from the radiator. I turn down the radiator and open a

4148 window to get some ventilation. It's not so cold outside--who needs so much heat?

4149

4150 I start to unpack and sort out my things. Over the whole room there are layed out half

4151 silken shirts *paplin*. [?] I had a couple of the suits made for me before I arrived, because

4152 tailoring is very expensive here. Pajamas, a little writing machine, etc.

4153

4154 A little later the *balibusteh* is knocking on the door. She comes in--is it warm in the

4155 apartment?--she want to know. She takes a look and sees that the windows are open. "Oy

4156 gevalt meshugginer greenhorn, this costs money. I am making things specially warm for

4157 you and you keep the windows open? I tell her

4158

4159 p. 139

4160

4161 I've closed off the heater. "What? You've closed it? What do you mean by closing the

4162 heater?" So I show her that when you turn the dial it closes. The woman taps the radiator

4163	and shakes her head. She takes a look around the apartment and on the bed is strewn
4164	silken shirts of every color. "What is this?" she screams at the top of her voice. "Pajamas
4165	from Europe. You sleep in pajamas? Silk shirts, nylon sockswhere are you from, tell me
4166	the truth? You brought all this from a German concentration camp? Your clothing and
4167	socks, may I be healthy and live, are nicer and better than what we have here in
4168	America."
4169	
4170	I didn't respond. She'll get used to things. She thinks I've just arrived from Hitler's
4171	concentration camps, and she doesn't realize that all these things could be bartered for for
4172	a couple of pounds of coffee or for a couple of cartons of cigarettes, which the Germans
4173	themselves were giving away. My uncle used to send me packages.
4174	
4175	"I need to call my daughter she should come and see. Such a greenhorn we have never
4176	seen. My daughter went to college and works for the government. She is married and
4177	you'll be able to have good conversations with her." Then she left my apartment.
4178	
4179	Little by little I made order out of everything, and put everything into drawers. Suits and
4180	clothes were hung up in the closet. I took the plastic off the small table and replaced it
4181	with a nice colored tablecloth. I placed the silver Shabbis candelabra with six tubes
4182	[pipes], and the silver Shabbis goblet with the matching small silver plate. The apartment
4183	had a whole other look now. Our faces now lit up from joy and we praised the One

4184	Above. We will now start living like normal people, like everyone else.
4185	
4186	When I come into the kitchen the <i>balabusteh</i> is puttering around by the gas stove and the
4187	husband is sitting at the table, he having just come home from work.
4188	
4189	p. 140
4190	
4191	He had a wide face with a chin a little bit <i>feshlech</i> [?]. He picks himself up off the chair
4192	and give me a hearty shalom aleichem. "This is my husband, Mr. Levin," the balibusteh
4193	says.
4194	
4195	"What kind of <i>landsman</i> are you?"
4196	
4197	"I'm from Czechoslovakia," I replied.
4198	
4199	"How was the trip?"
4200	
4201	"Not bad."
4202	
4203	"You were in Hitler's concentration camps?"
4204	

4205	"Yes."
4206	
4207	"Nu, here you no longer need to be afraid. Here we live in a free country. You will be
4208	allright here in America."
4209	
4210	"Will you be kind enough and permit me to speak on the telephone, my uncle is waiting
4211	for us. But we are tired so we won't go see him today."
4212	
4213	"Give me his telephone number." And Mr. Levin wants to get up from the chair.
4214	
4215	"Please don't burden yourself. I can make the call myself. Please stay seated."
4216	
4217	"What?"I hear from near the gas-oven. "You want to make the call by yourself?"
4218	
4219	I take the receiver in hand and start dialing.
4220	
4221	"HelloMr. Suntag? This is Shimon speaking."
4222	
4223	I see that my <i>balibusteh</i> is standing in the middle of the kitchen and is looking at her
4224	husband with glazed eyes. "He's speaking on the telephone"and she's shaking her head.
4225	

4226 "I thought she was marveling that I knew the telephone number at the top of my head. 4227 4228 I'm through with the conversation and put down the receiver. 4229 4230 "Mr. Deutsch, I want to ask you something." And she's still in the middle of the kitchen. "In Europe did you also get to speak on the phone?" 4231 4232 4233 "Yes," I said, "the same telephone but fewer numbers." She shrugs her shoulders. "I hear this for the first time. So this is what Europe is like now. What kind of world was it back 4234 4235 there?" 4236 4237 p. 141 4238 4239 I slunk back to my apartment. "I don't think i'll be able to live here for very long," I tell 4240 my wife. "To these folks we are like lost souls from some other planet. They can't forget, 4241 and they still can't believe that they left Europe forty years ago, and we were able to 4242 become ex-greenhorns in only two weeks. It used to take the old greeners many years." 4243 4244 It's about eight o'clock in the evening and we're all sitting in the kitchen around the table. 4245 Little by little we befriended this elderly couple. I explained everything to them: that we 4246 are not from another planet, and that Europe has made great strides, just like here in

4247	America. Forty years ago this country also looked different. There was no central heating					
4248	and telephones in every home like today. And we were here in a hotel in New York for					
4249	two weeks. I got to use a phone on many occasions and began to memorize some of the					
4250	numbers off the top of my head. And since I was liberated from the concentration camp I					
4251	had already traveled and seen half the world. And surviving the war and the post-war					
4252	period taught me to be independent and also sensitive and not reluctant to come to others					
4253	for assistance.					
4254						
4255	The door bell is ringing. "My daughter is here," the woman tells me. A nice, young and					
4256	elegant couple come in. The young woman in a Persian fur coat, brown hair, heavily					
4257	made up, with large earrings, and some tchachkiss hanging from her neck. The husband					
4258	is a little shorter, wears eyeglasses, and a light winter coat. He puts his car keys in his					
4259	pocket. We get up from the table. "This is my daughter Bertha and this is her husband					
4260	Arnold."					
4261						
4262	"Hello, how do you do!"					
4263						
4264	"Hello, how do you do!" I answered back.					
4265						
4266	In a few minutes there is on the table a bowl with various fruits, soda water and glasses.					
4267	Some more chairs are being brought out from the apartment, and we all sit around the					

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4268	table.
4269	
4270	"How do you like our country America?" The daughter asks us
4271	
4272	p.142
4273	
4274	with a difficult and broken Yiddish.
4275	
4276	"Vee are very heppy," my wife chimes in.
4277	
4278	"Oh, you speak English?"
4279	
4280	"Martha [he called her Bertha before] you won't believe this," says the mother, Mrs.
4281	Levin. "They are here in New York only two weeks and they know everything better than
4282	I do. On the second day they were already riding by themselves on the train. When I first
4283	came here I didn't leave my house for the first three weeks."
4284	
4285	"You look like very nice people." [We don't know who's saying this] and is staring at my
4286	wife, who has long chestnut brown curly hair which is hanging down over her lower
4287	back. A nice cheerful disposition. A light-blue pullover which covers her neck.
4288	

4289	"Mama, she looks like a nice American-style school teacher."
4290	
4291	"A bet you're right."
4292	
4293	She was a teacher in a kindergarten.
4294	
4295	"And Mr. Deutsch worked in a camp for the UNRA." [This must be the mother saying
4296	this.]
4297	
4298	"They are intelligent people!"
4299	
4300	"Which country are you from?"
4301	
4302	"From Czechoslovakia."
4303	
4304	"Czechoslovakia is a very nice and democratic country," says the young woman.
4305	
4306	"It was formerly so, before the war, but now it is communist."
4307	
4308	"Does one see cars in Europe?"
4309	

4310	"Ah, yes, plenty. Of course, not as much as here in America. There are more cars in New
4311	York than Europe has bicycles. It's easier to buy a car here than a bicycle in Europe."
4312	
4313	"How is it that you know English already? You're only in this country two weeks."
4314	
4315	"We learned some in Europe. There are some other languages that we speak perfectly
4316	Czech, Hungarian and German. In high school we learned some English."
4317	
4318	We look to see what time it is. The clock says ten-thirty.
4319	
4320	"Tomorrow is another day. We have to be early at the office. It was a pleasure spending
4321	time with you. Good night."
4322	
4323	The next morning, I go to the grocery man
4324	
4325	p. 143
4326	
4327	near our house. He speaks a soulful Yiddish with the customers.
4328	
4329	"I am a greener just arrived in the country."
4330	

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4331	"What kind of <i>landsman</i> ?"
4332	
4333	"Czechoslovakia."
4334	
4335	"And you, what kind of landsman are you?
4336	
4337	"Austria."
4338	
4339	"Austria, Vienna?" I ask. You don't speak that Germanic dialect."
4340	
4341	"This is Poland, Galitzyeh."
4342	
4343	"A Galitzyaner?"
4344	
4345	"Yes."
4346	
4347	"When I first arrived here Franz Yosef was the kaiser."
4348	
4349	"Oy, what a dear king he was."
4350	
4351	"There are no longer kings like him."

4352

4353 "Nu, so you formerly were an Austrian." 4354 4355 "By me Galitzyaners are also human beings." 4356 I did my shopping like a real Amerikaner: cheese, cream, butter, honey, sardines, coffee, 4357 4358 vegetables, etc. 4359 At breakfast, my wife and I are sitting at the table, and Mrs. Levin is sitting off in a 4360 4361 corner a bit upset, and watching how these greenhorns are eating in a typical American 4362 style: peppers and tomatoes are sliced into small bits; *shmearing* the butter on the bread 4363 and then making a sandwich with sardines and kvetching some lemon over it; taking 4364 another slice of bread, cutting it in half like a sandwich; and a plate of sour cream and 4365 eggs, and we eat all this with the appetite of a magnate. 4366 Mrs. Levin is observing all this, and she can't seem to avert her eyes from us. 4367 4368 4369 "Mrs. Levin," I say, "would you like to join us? We have made an appetite for you." 4370 4371 "Mr. Duetsch, I want to ask you something. How do you know that one needs to *kvetch* a 4372 lemon on sardines? When I recall the greeners who came in my time they bought a big

4373 loaf of bread with *shmaltz* herring, and that's what they ate for breakfast." 4374 "Mrs. Levin," I reply, "you shouldn't wonder about this. 4375 4376 4377 p. 144 4378 4379 For four years we were Uncle Sam's kest kinder [on the dole] in Germany. We would 4380 recieve the same foods, such as sardines, chocolate, cigarettes, bread, all kinds of cans, 4381 which were provided to the American soldiers. We chewed chewing-gum like typical 4382 Americans. Also, for the last four years I've been smoking Chesterfield Cigarettes. My uncle would often send me packages, and that's why we had just about everything. 4383 4384 4385 You see all the different things that we have--this was in exchange for all the coffee and 4386 cigarettes that were sent from here. The Germans gave everything away, because they 4387 didn't receive these things from anyone. Also, I wasn't able to buy in their shops--may Uncle Sam live!" 4388 4389 4390 My uncle introduces me to the butcher, This is my nephew, just arrived. Give him a good 4391 cut of meat. I point out to the butcher that there is plenty of white fat on his cuts of beef. 4392 When I see him slicing and cutting the fat away, I ask him, "What are you doing?" You're cutting away the best part. I want fat meat." 4393

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4394	
4395	"Mister, this is poison. Take a look at this whole box. This is one cent for <i>libs</i> ." [?]
4396	
4397	"Poison, shmoison," I say to him, "don't cut away anymore."
4398	
4399	"Allright, Mister, you'll find out yet. Un-green yourself as fast as possible."
4400	
4401	I bring the meat home. "Oy, what a good fatty meat. It's been a while since I've seen such
4402	a nice cut." my wife says.
4403	
4404	Mrs. Levin is busy by the gas oven and the meat is cooking. Our <i>balabusteh</i> remarks:
4405	"You have an inch of fat in your soup. The butcher gave you a disgusting cut of meat.
4406	This is the cheapest cut."
4407	
4408	"We like fatty meat."
4409	
4410	"No, you need to let it cool off and remove the fat. This is poison."
4411	
4412	My wife is furious with the woman. "Meshuggah, tzedrayt [distorted]. O.k., I'll remove
4413	the fat."
4414	

4415 But [Mrs. Levin] did not prevail. We ate the fatty soup when she wasn't around. Such a
4416 delicious fatty soup and meat we hadn't had for a long time. We kept eating fatty soups
4417 and couldn't believe that what's good in Europe, is poison here.

4418

4419 p. 145

4420

4421 At night, we find ourselves in my uncle's apartment. Nice and clean, the beds are

4422 covered, the dust has been wiped off. It's obvious that a woman had done the cleaning,

4423 because a woman made everything in order. The uncle became close with us and got to

4424 find out that we are upstanding and decent children in his family. We never discussed the

4425 concentration camps, and we permitted ourselves to learn and listen with great interest all

4426 his fascinating stories about life here and back in the Old Country, about the grandfathers

4427 and grandmothers, how pious and rich they were, and we should also be religious and

4428 pious, and comport ourselves in an honest way. We should be very careful about what we

4429 eat, and not to engage in too much hustle-bustle; in this way we will live to a ripe old age.

4430 We should go to sleep and get up on time because if not we can get a heart attack--and

4431 suffer miserably. Here in this country everything is expensive, etc.

4432

He began to love my wife his niece more and more, and whenever he was introducing us
to an acquaintance [he would say], "These are my children for whom I have been waiting
such a long and difficult time. "

4436

4437	He also told us what he had survived and endured. He had had various businesses and
4438	factories in the needle trade. He had gepuxt in gemuzzelet ["pox and measles" a Yiddish
4439	expression, meaning he had many travails], rich and poor, and many times didn't even
4440	have money for car fare. He had divored his first wifehe had two children with herbut
4441	he doesn't hear from them, and he doesn't want to hear from them, because they don't
4442	behave like real Jews. The second wife died in 1941 and didn't have children. He thought
4443	it was the end of the world when she passed away. Also, the bitter news that was coming
4444	from the heim. So he gave up his large apartment. He doesn't need a telephone or a radio-
4445	-no television"I'm now a Yid of 70 and in tiptop shape healthwise. I've tucked away
4446	enough to live on but I feel much better when I'm working. I'm still hoping to do some
4447	travelling and I'm planning to settle in the Land of Israel."
4448	
4449	He also told us that we have rich cousins in New York who had sent the affidavit. "You
4450	don't have to be concerned,
4451	
4452	p. 146
4453	
4454	I will see to it that you have the best of everything. Tomorrow I'm not going to go to
4455	work. Early tomorrow morning we're going to go shopping and I'll take you to the best
4456	storesand throw away the European shmattes."

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4457	
1137	

4458	When he was 75 my uncle settled in Jerusalem. There he got married again and lived ten
4459	years in Israel. He died as he had hoped: in his own house and in his own bed, and he was
4460	never sick.
4461	
4462	p. 147
4463	
4464	We The RedeemedYecheedee Segileh V'avodoosum [?]
4465	
4466	When we children would ask my father, how is it that he, the prize student of the Holy
4467	Rebbe, the Insdorfer, may the memory of the righteous be for a blessing, is not a rav? It
4468	would have been more appropriate than being an itinerant peddler, and he wouldn't have
4469	had to toil to eke out a living. His answer was: "That's how my rebbe raised me; he didn't
4470	tell me to be a Leader in Israel.
4471	
4472	My father saved hundreds if not thousands of Jews from eating treifeh food during the
4473	two world wars, when he established kosher kitchens near the military barracks. He
4474	rescued many young Jewish souls from a certain death during a cholera epidemic in the
4475	First World War, when he put his own life in jeopardy.
4476	
4477	There was no limit to the amount of Toireh and yiras ha-Shem [Fear of the Lord] which

4478	he spread over the m	any years he travel	led in wagons and	l in trains. Som	etimes he would
------	----------------------	---------------------	-------------------	------------------	-----------------

- 4479 study SHAS [Talmud with Commentaries] on the road. He reconciled many couples and
- 4480 saved many families with his pure soul and heart. It is hard to articulate to what extent he
- 4481 was a defender of Jews before God in Heaven, before the Holy Prosecutor.
- 4482
- 4483 I will never forget his pious words every Rosh Hashanah, when we would come home
- 4484 late from davening from the *Ad'mor* of Munkatch, may his memory be for a blessing.
- 4485 After we said [the prayer] Aveenu Malkeinu Asai L'mahn Sh'maychu ha-Goodul ha-
- 4486 Gibor v'ha-Noiru Shenikru Uleinu, how much trouble and pain we suffer just because we
- 4487 are Jews--and nothing more than for carrying around the name Jew. This is how he
- 4488 pleaded and cried for the Community of Israel.
- 4489
- 4490 The folks of Munkatch and the students of Insdorf who knew him intimately, knew that

4491 he was a pure and truthful man. I knew him and saw him as a *yechidi segileh* [like a holy4492 shaman].

- 4493
- 4494 As my father and *rebbe* I referred to him as My Father, My Teacher, and My Rebbe
- 4495 whenever I wrote to him. During the summer break when I came home from yeshiveh,

4496

4497 p.148

4498

4499	and I helped him collect money for Rebbe Meir Ba'al Ha-Ness [to support yeshivas in
4500	Palestine]of which he was the treasurerI would see how people confered him honor in
4501	every house that he entered and everyone was overjoyed to be with him, as with a
4502	prominent guest. He would often point out the little children in the house to me and say,
4503	"These are my grandchildren." Their father or mother he had rescued during the plague. I
4504	had at that time the opportunity to speak with him about geveehim [?] topics. He would
4505	explain to me, how I was masig [?] the issue of the Kingdom d'areh [?] k'ayin the
4506	Kingdom of darkeeyeh [?Loshum Kodesh], and on the subject of the Coming of the
4507	Moshiach, who will hopefully arrive in our time.
4508	
4509	His Path in Torah and Labor
4510	
4511	He prayed from the siddur Khemdas Yisroel and he would often say to me, " My
4512	intention hat-fillah iz bloiz peerish hameelon ohn tzeereefay shmus, l-kayim mitzvos
4513	boyray k-avid hamtakhnun l'maryeh [? Loshen Kodesh]. In mehai taameh [?] he davened

4514 on *Shabbis* and *yom tov* in the *bes medrish* of the A*d'mor*, may the righteous be for a

4515 blessing, or in the small bes medrish with the dayan [judge] Rebbe Meir Volf, may the

- 4516 righteous be for a blessing. They were able to *daven al pi kabbooleh in mekhaven zine*
- 4517 tzeereefai shemus, asher yikrooeehee be-emes. [?]

4518

4519 He did very little *shukkeling* [shaking] during *davening*, barely moving his body, but

4520	every fiber of his being was shaking with hislavis yesairuh, v'meinoi zalgi d'mooes,
4521	v'nikor l'chol shaish tookud be-kirbo. He made it his business to daven with a minyan
4522	bashmeerus, v-k"sh am habroochis bizmaini. [?]
4523	
4524	And this is what my father in his book "Toldos Shmuel from Insdorf: [Last paragraph p.
4525	148] [Preeva, it is all in Lashon Koidesh]
4526	
4527	p. 149
4528	
4529	He was a brilliant scholar, and he didn't pass up a single day to study his texts, which
4530	were Mishnah, a couple of pages of Gemorah, a couple of chapters of the weekly portion
4531	of the Zohar; and in his later years Chokhmas Ha-Emes which his uncle Rebbi Meir Volf
4532	had studied with him.
4533	

4534 His mode of learning was the path of Insdorf: a textual study without the casuistry. He

4535 placed a great deal of emphasis on the Rashi's commentaries, and also placed emphasis

4536 on the questions the Tosaphists [Medieval Talmudic commentators, most of whom

4537 happened to be Rashi's in-laws and grandchildren] posited. When he happened to be at

4538 home, off the road, he would facilitate a study group with his brethren at the small bes

- 4539 medrish, and then when he was through he would come home and study late into the
- 4540 night. I remember him during the period of the decrees when we would hear new

4541	restrictions being imposed on the Jews, and everyone was in an impecunious state, and in
4542	winter when the house was insufficiently heated, he would be no means interrupt his
4543	studies. I would sometimes come up with palliatives to make conditions in the home
4544	more comfortable for him, so that he could sit and study.
4545	
4546	Derech Akhiloosoi [?]
4547	
4548	Anyone who sat at the table near him could see that this no no ordinary Jew. A dovor
4549	she-tzoorich b'deekoo [literally, a thing that needs to be investigatedI don't know what it
4550	means in this context]; only the things that my mother served him. And during all the
4551	years when he was travelling he ate no meat on the road. My mother, may she rest in
4552	peace, would pack him smoked meats which she would smoke in the chimney.
4553	
4554	p. 150
4555	
4556	Shabbis and yom tov at the table he never missed an opportunity to talk about his rebbe
4557	from Insdorf. He would show us how the <i>rebbe</i> drank waterplace three fingers on the
4558	glass and not continue drinking so that he shoudn't have to make the After Blessing
4559	[Broocha Akhroineh]. Every Shabbis at the table he would dispense with new insights on
4560	Toireh commentary which he had written up on motzie Shabbis [Saturday night] as a
4561	counter-argument This has been tragically lost. He didn't permit idle talk, and no one

4562 was permitted to get up from the table except my mother and sister who were serving

4563 food.

4564

- 4565 He had flour sifted by a trusted person, and he baked by the first oven. The *matzas* were
- 4566 thick and singed. Things that required a kosher seal he would not eat. The *seder* was
- 4567 *bedkhilu vercheemu and b'debeekiss* [?]. His *rebbe* never left the table, and his *Agadah*
- 4568 was the "Be'er Shmuel" version. When giving a Toireh talk he always quoted his rebbe--
- 4569 "my *rebbe* said such and such." He never missed an occasion to inject his rebbe saying:
- 4570 "Hayn goalti eschem achariss k'raishiss [We who were redeemed like during the first
- 4571 liberation [Egypt] means, *bebekhinass k'raishiss* [?]." That's how he led the *seder* until 3
- 4572 o'clock in the morning. Then he would sing the holy Kaliver's, "Sala kukush mahr," [a
- 4573 Hungarian song], and tears would pour from his eyes. And when he wasn't tired, he
- 4574 would study a chapter of *Mishnayiss* after the *seder*.
- 4575
- 4576 During the Ten Days of Repentence he would fast every day, and didn't take to the road
- 4577 during this period. By the last meal before the fast on *erev Yom Kippur*
- 4578
- 4579 p. 151

4580

4581 he would never forget to remind the family how his *rebbe's* hand would shake when he4582 would eat soup and some of it would spill.

4583

4584	On mowtzee Yom Kippur he start to talk about the sukkah, and we would go out into the
4585	courtyard and he would point out to me exactly where he wanted to have it erected
4586	according to required specification. He always looked out for the most beautiful esrog
4587	[citron] that was possible to purchase, and paid for it before Yom Kippur. He would
4588	inspect the esrog everyday until Sukkos.
4589	
4590	On the first day of Sukkos he would wake up at the break of dawn and, after going to the
4591	mikvah, he would lock himself up in the sukkah with the Four Varieties so that no one
4592	should disturb him, and he would make the benedictions for a long time. After a couple
4593	of days his <i>esrog</i> would be black from sweat, and he would say that this is called a
4594	heedur esrog [a beautifying of the esrog]. He wouldn't leave the sukkah for the entire
4595	eight days.
4596	
4597	His Virtues
4598	
4599	He was a nahbah al ha-kailim, [?] and he comported himself with simplicity and
4600	innocence. He was able to recognize if a person was gravely ill. He would often say that
4601	the <i>rebbe</i> was able to size up a person with just a glance. He, however, has to speak with
4602	people for a couple of minute and only then does he know what's going on internally, and
4603	the source of the faults. And since he gives so much of himself to the sick, he is able to

4604 recognize if it's neshtaneh tzoiroosoi. [?]

4605

- 4606 He brooked no tolerance for contentiousness, if it had the appearance of being for the
- 4607 Sake of Heaven. When the feuding with the *Belzer* [Chassidim] was at its most intense,
- 4608 and flame and fire spread "all over the world," and it almost consumed our *shtetl--*he
- 4609 wanted to make peace.

4610

4611 After the *Belzer Rebbe*, may the righteous be for a blessing, left Hungary, the feud was

4612 still blazing. It brought on vengeance, animosity and raging souls, even among pious

4613 Jews. It caused much snitching and libeling on the Jewish street.

4614

4615 p. 152

4616

4617 My father was by nature a simple man who always pursued peace, and he couldn't

4618 stomach the acrimony and the sniping, and Jews tearing at each other's beards in the bes

4619 *medrish*, and similar dastardly deeds. He requested of a couple of prominent *balibatim* to

4620 set things up so that he could go to the *rebbe* and help make peace. His brethren pleaded

4621 with him not to get embroiled in this affair because these are dvoorim ha-oimdin broimoi

4622 *shel oilom b'dairech ha-chassidim [?]*, and he as an *Ashkenazer* doesn't understand a lot

- 4623 of this. To no avail, and they had to go with him. He locked himself up in the room with
- 4624 the Minchas Eliezer [the Munkatcher Rebbe, Eliezer Spira, is referred to here by the title

4625	of his magnum opus] and worked up the strength to convey what he had learned from his
4626	rebbe [the Insdorfer] in the time of the First World War, that this battle is not the Battle
4627	of the Moshiach. He was hoping that his words would have an impact because the
4628	Indorfer <i>Rav</i> was known to the <i>Minchas Eliezer</i> and by the Way of the Repentance [?] as
4629	possessed by ruach ha-koidesh [the Holy Spirit]. But when my father, may he rest in
4630	peace, left the rebbe's house the Minchas Eliezer, may the righteous be for a blessing,
4631	said: "Shmuel Chaim is an Oberlander yekke [i.e. a small town German Jew], who takes
4632	things seriously, but only as he understood things from his rebbe.
4633	
4634	My father reminded me a couple of times, that this feud was well-known to him and
4635	weighed heavily on his conscience. The intention of the Minchas Eliezer was pure, and
4636	not to hinder the coming of the Redemption. He was an outstanding scholar and had no
4637	fear. On the other side, the Belzer was all for making peace, because he couldn't tolerate
4638	having widows and orphans coming to him and screaming gevald!. My father explained
4639	to me that a little bit of hitting back would not have hurt but not this much. We saw that
4640	after the passing away of the Minchas Eliezer how breaking with
4641	Orthodoxy spread throughout our cityevery person did what he felt like. The breaking
4642	with traditon and the desecration of Shabbis was rampant among the youth. They threw
4643	off the Jewish costume [i.e. the caftan] and became associated with Zionism. This was
4644	especially the case with the feuding ringleaders.

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4646 p. 153

4647

4648 The Wars of Yishmuel

4649

4650 During the war period my father could see that I am restless and thinking, how can we

4651 save ourselves? Poland is already destroyed v-nikhrav [v-nahrav?]. The German, may he

4652 be wiped out, is by our gates, and wants to destroy us.

4653

4654 I once heard him shmoozing with my uncle the dayan ha-Rav Rebbe Meir Volf, may the

4655 righteous be for a blessing, and other individuals from his *chevrah* [group of brethren]

4656 that "the war between the German and the Russian is not the War of the Moshiach,

4657 because The Kingdom of Yishmuel [the Arabs] has to be involved" When he came home

4658 from *bes medrish*, I asked him, "Maybe the Turks will enter into the war?" (because in

those days they were neutral). He replied: "This won't help, because they are referred to as

4660 the Kingdom of Hagar, and this is not the Kingdom of Yishmuel." *K-darkei ha-koidesh*

4661 [?] he called me over to the table to study with me a page of Talmud. When the residents

4662 went to sleep he opened the book of the Holy Zohar, and if I recall, it was to the chapter

4663 *va'Yekhi*, to the commentary "*Bikesh Yaakov L'goolis es ha-kaytz v-nastem meemenee*.

4664 ["The Patriarch Jacob wanted to tell his when the End of the Exile would take place but

- 4665 he was deprived of doing that with his death.] " He learned with me word for word
- 4666 several pages and was explaining to me a couple of hours various insights, what we are

4667	seeing now, and what is waiting for us; what we in fact lived through and survived. The
4668	masses will not be able to save themselves, only individuals. He pointed out with his
4669	finger, "One from the city and two from the family." I could see that he had accepted the
4670	Godly decrees like the Patriarch Yitzchak at the Akayda [the Sacrifice of Isaac]. He said
4671	to me: "All this is written black on white. If not for the Holy Zohar we would, God
4672	forbid, fall into the greatest despair and hopelessness." And this is how I understood it.
4673	
4674	On the Subject of the Coming of the Moshiach
4675	
4676	My father followed the teachings of Rambam [Maimonides].and would explain to me
4677	according to his tradition, just as he had received the teachings from his own rebbe.
4678	
4679	He was a great believer in the Coming of the Moshiach, not only in his soul,
4680	
4681	p. 154
4682	
4683	but also in practice. After the First World War, when the Czechs occupied our realm, my
4684	father didn't want to become a citizen, but continued to stay in Munkatch as stateless with
4685	a red passport, and every five years he had to pay five hundred kroners for living there as
4686	a foreigner. The family kept pleading with him to apply for citizenship, but he would
4687	answer with a pure heart, "I can't. I am a believer in the Coming of the Moshiach." We

4688 knew he was in the *b'khineh* [?] and not in an impractical sense, because it cost us a lot of4689 money. Under the Hungarians he was forced to become a citizen.

4690

4691 How can I forget his *Pesach seder* as an older boy, when we sat around his table with 4692 great respect and reverence for him, and we could see that he was burning like a fire 4693 clinging to the Lord. And he would say that the sanctity of the *seder* gave him strength 4694 for the whole year. He would start to sermonize: Hayn goalti eschem acahriss k-raishiss 4695 means: That we will be redeemed with the same *b'khineh* [?] like the redemption in 4696 Egypt. We will have to do hard labor, we will build Pisom and Ramsis, and it will all 4697 sink. We will be whipped at work, children will be thrown into the water, and we will not 4698 be let go easily. The enemies will be drowned in the sea, and we will need to go to war 4699 and re-possess the Land of Israel. So my older sister once interjected with great respect, 4700 "Father, may you live, how can this be, and and how will this be? We live in a civilized 4701 world--will children be thrown into water? And how will we engage in war--drive out the 4702 British and Arabs?" My father, may he rest in peace, replied *b'neekhoosoi* [?], "This is 4703 what recieved from my rebbe. And this is what I believe." I remembered his words in the 4704 work concentration camp, where they beat and tortured us. And the words of the holy 4705 saint gave me strength. 4706

4707 The children of Munkatch! Who can forget the *Toireh* talks before the blowing of the
4708 *shofar* in the *bes medrish* of the *ba'al* [author of] *Minchas Eliezer*, when thousands of

chassidim heard the roaring of the lion and the crying like a small child of the holy ray,

4710	may his memory be for a blessing, when he was beseeching the Creator of the Universe:
4711	"May the complete redemption arrive already.
4712	
4713	p. 155
4714	
4715	He would cry bitterly and scream: "This is the peace that they wanted?" Oy, vey," he
4716	would scream, "the <i>treifeh</i> peace."
4717	

4709

4718 My father taught me the Holy Zohar in 1943, a short time before I had to leave my 4719 parents and my hometown. This is how he began: "Beekesh Yakov l'goolis" [The 4720 PatriarchJacob wanted to reveal the end of the Exile] etc. which we had with our own 4721 bodies lived through and seen in the war. But the Heavens didn't want our Patriarch 4722 Yaakov to reveal it to his children, when the first exile had just barely begun." And he 4723 explained to me: And we hold time, *erev Shabbis* at night. [?] And that which they had 4724 tried to convince us up to now, that the righteous ones annuled all the decrees, was only 4725 to einshlepperen [? never heard of such a word] us because who would have taken on all 4726 these troubles which the Holy Zohar writes *bifrityoos* [?], that we will have to endure. 4727 When also our sages, may their memory be for a blessing, discussed this issue and declared--"today"--that is only if they [the Children of Israel] will heed my 4728 4729 Commandments, and the Jews will punctiliously observe two Shabbisim in a row [then

4730 the *Moshiach* will come] but we can see that in nature this is simply not possible.

4731

4733 unprovoked. And since they represent the quintessence of impurity, it was difficult for

4734 Moses Our Teacher to keep his hands up while he was praying. We were also

4735 admonished: "Remember what Amalek did to you." Since he feels that his [Moses'] end

4736 is near, they let loose with an even greater degree of brutality which is possible in the

4737 world of thought. [?] Both the good and the bad will come down on the *oilom ha-essiah*

4738 [?] before the Redemption. This is what the Blessed Lord wants to show humanity--the

4739 mastery of free will--and give him permission to show what he can accomplish with his

4740 simple mind, because with the coming of the Redemption there will no longer be free

4741 will.

4742

4743 Since we are the same souls as those who left Egypt, and we see there that after all the ten

4744 plagues and the miracles which we witnessed at the parting of the sea, the Nation of

4745 Israel said: *Nisanee rosh v'nashivu m'Metzraiim*"-- Appoint for us a leader so that we can

4746 return to Egypt,

4747

4748 p. 156

4749

4750 because they had no desire to go into the desert and engage in battles to conquer the Land

4751	of Israel. We find then in the Second Temple, and our sages, may they rest in peace, refer
4752	to them as "preetzim" [aristocrats], and we see that they are willing to sacrifice their lives,
4753	and take on the Romans to protect Jerusalem when the Pharasees say that it's all futile
4754	because the Holy Temple will be destroyed.
4755	
4756	And this is how we find them <i>b'ace ha-kaytz</i> . [?] They are willing to sacrifice their lives
4757	for the Land of Israel, after the land had been desolate for thousands of years, they drain
4758	the swamps, clean up and build the land. Children of wealthy parents engage in
4759	backbreaking field work; pasture sheep, are dying from malaria, and serve as guards
4760	against the Yishmaelites [Arabs].
4761	

4762 And we survived the *habah nischachmah* [?], and the whole bitter exile that is

4763 *bibkheenas* [?] Egypt. Not all will be privileged to enter the Land, only *bibkheenas*

4764 *"tapkhem asher umartee l'vaz yeeyeh.*" And that is also what the Zohar and our sages,

4765 may their memory be for a blessing, said, "One from the city and two from the family."

4766 And just as we see that among those who left Egypt they had to engage in war for many

4767 years until they conquered, that's what's also going to take place during the time of the

4768 Redemption. Yishmael the son of Avroohom and Hagar, who let himself be circumcised

4769 on the thirteenth year, and repented only in his old age, as would be appropriate for a son

- 4770 of Avroohom, was given rights to the Land, but only up to the Final Redemption. He will
- 4771 be defeated together with Aisuv [Esau]. His princes will be wiped out and there will not

4772	remain among them anyone capable of taking on the role of king, to rule over them. They
4773	will fall with their lords in the skies. [Don't understand what he means here.] The Holy
4774	Toireh says that we will be like the sand by the edge of the oceanyou knead it, you
4775	build it, and you can make it into mud. When the time comes we will be as high as the
4776	stars in the sky, and no one will be able to reach us.
4777	
4778	I still remember that when the State of Israel was proclaimed in 1948, I was still in a DP
4779	camp in Germany with other survivors of the Holocaust, and a young friend of mine, also
4780	a survivor, and a very learned man, is talking his heart out to me. "What will be,
4781	
4782	p. 157
4783	
4784	seven Arab kingdom will attack the Jewish State, and will God forbid, kill off all the
4785	Zionists, but they will not harm the good Jews in Jerusalem, because they are opposed to
4786	the State and are waiting for our Righteous Moshiach." I said to him, "My dear brother
4787	and friend, first of all, the Arabs will not burn the small <i>tallis</i> , and second, my father, may
4788	the righteous be for a blessing, explained to me what was handed down to him from his
4789	rebbe, that the war with Yishmuel will be the same bekhinah [?] as the first redemption.
4790	We already engaged in war with the seven kings and we defeated them. And this time we
4791	will do the same. We have already defeated them three times, so now we have a <i>khazukeh</i>
4792	[reputation]we will be flowing with Toireh. [?] And these have to be mesaken the

nesahneh rosh [?] and return to Egypt." They will win the war but the *Moshiach* will
underwrite the peace. And they will build up only the body but not the soul, and they will
be paid in the way that a workman who builds a house, but the house doesn't belong to
him."

4797

4798 My father, may the righteous be for a blessing, said: "We say everyday we will build 4799 Jerusalem--the *Rashba* [Rabbi Shlomo ben Aderet] places one brick next to the other, 4800 when we say the prayers. As we see by the tabernacles [the portable sanctuary the Jews 4801 carried around in the desert with them, this edifice is like a shape of a human being, and 4802 Bezalel was able to be *mekhaven* [?] of a human, but the *menoireh* which represents the 4803 mind and the soul--this the Creator of the Heavens told Moishe Our Teacher to make it 4804 himself. But niskasheh[?]--Moses Our Teacher couldn't understand how a piece of gold 4805 could be *beb'khinass* [?] the mind, and a little bit of oil *beb'khinass* [?] the soul? So the 4806 Blessed Lord showed him a fiery *menoireh* in heaven. From this will illuminate the 4807 bekhinass [?] of the soul. And in this way will also the Holy Temple be built from a 4808 *khumar* [?] which everyone will be able to see. And the fiery Holy Temple is right next to 4809 it in heaven." And my father also told me: "The Righteous Moshiach will not be an 4810 Angel, he will only need to be a elevated *b'Toireh* and punctilious in observing the 4811 *Mitzvos.* He will not perform any miracles or wonders like Moishe Our Teacher, because 4812 we are the descendants of those of went out of Egypt, and our ancestors already saw all 4813 these miracles, and we believe our ancestors who stood at Mount Sinai--that they were

telling the truth. And the Righteous *Moshiach* will arrive to a covered table with the bestof everything, and he won't need to add revelations, only be born with the Holy Spirit."

- 4816
- 4817 p. 158
- 4818

4819 Some of the commentators on the *Toireh* say: Why did the Creator reveal himself to 4820 Moishe Our Teacher before the first redemption in the Sinai Desert? Because this also 4821 points to the later redemption, the *sanah* [?] are the giants in *Toireh*, that the holy people 4822 *toiked b-kirbum* [?], and they will be a *sanah* for the Final Redemption, and be *goirem a* 4823 bilbul ha-moichess [?] and peerur halvuvoss [?], because there is no achduss [unity]. It 4824 was known to the students of the Ba'al Shem Toy, why did they send down from the 4825 heavens such a great soul in the dress of a simple man? Because the time of the Moshiach 4826 was a long way off at that time, and the little bit of *yeeddishkeit* that existed among the 4827 masses would have been forgotten--as we indeed saw how far his influence reached and 4828 the people stayed devout. The Ba'al Shem Tov cried with bitter tears and said, " When the 4829 time of the Righteous Redemption arrives my path will not be appropriate." Because just 4830 as the students of the Ba'al Shem Tov have a custom of *davening* and embracing the 4831 Shabbis in the minute of the later period and they are not and they tend not to be 4832 punctilious about joing up with a quorum for prayer, and they bring on the Shabbis 4833 already late in the night, when most congregants are already in the *bes haknayses* [shule] 4834 and *davening*. Regarding this the Holy Ba'al Shem Toy cried-- they won't let him come

4835 because in the heavens they will be waiting for the last time.

4836

4837 It is well known among the <i>Munkatcher Chassidim</i> that when the <i>ba'al Minchas Eliezer</i>
--

- 4838 traveled to Jerusalem to meet the Saba Ha-Koidesh ["The Holy Grandfather"], the
- 4839 Kabbalist *Rebbi* Shloimeh Eliezer Alfondari [1820-1930], may the righteous be for a
- 4840 blessing, before his death, and when the *Minchas Eliezer* returned to Munkatch he came
- 4841 into shul on Friday night for Kabboolas Shabbis with the rest of the congregation, and
- 4842 explained that the Saba Ha-Koidesh told him to start davening on Friday night as soon as
- 4843 possible. After some time he started coming late to *shul* again and said, "I cannot and am
- 4844 not authorized to change from my own tradition-bound path; I can't finish *davening*
- 4845 earlier.
- 4846
- 4847 This was a decree from heaven; after the war we pour sand in each other's eyes--the

4848 Zionists say the rabbis are to blame because they forbade Jews from migrating to the

4849 Land of Israel. The good Jews say--the Zionists are to blame

4850

4851 p. 159

4852

4853 because they went [meaning, tried to establish Jewish settlement In Israel] prematurely,

4854 and Jews could also have been able to save themselves by going to Madagascar and other

4855 lands, but the Zionists wouldn't permit it. But my father, may he rest in peace, told me

4856 and showed me in the Holy Zohar "This is a decree from heaven." There was no 4857 permission to save the [Jewish] community, and there is no one to blame. And this is 4858 alluded to in the Holy Toireh according to my understanding. We find in the Holy Toireh 4859 that after Moshe Our Teacher is disseminating the [first] four books, he starts to review 4860 with us the Book of Deuteronomy-Mishnah Toireh--re: crossing the Jordan, in the desert, 4861 before they went into the Land of Israel, and he reviews with us all the journeys, and he 4862 reminds us again how we had sinned. We shouldn't forget, and he says "Zivilti Culav ben 4863 Yefunah he yirani v'goi etain es ha-ooretz etc. Yehoshua bin Nun he yuvoi shema 4864 v'teepachem v'goi yuvoi shema. [?] And he says further, "V-eskhanon v'goi b'ais ha-he--4865 bikesh Moishe l'hispallel ahf al pee shenigzara g'zaireh." [?] Nothing helped. And after 4866 he tells us one more *toichechih* [?] he reviews with us the old and new *mitzvos*, the 4867 general and the specific--blessings and curses and everything that we will endure. After 4868 that he gives a fresh toichechih, v'nishartem matai masper, maktzeh hoo-ooretz ad kitzay 4869 hoo-ooretz. [?] He consoles us after such a difficult toichechi. And he says further: And 4870 Sichon the King of Cheshbon and Og the King of Bashan went out to encounter us in 4871 battle, v'nukach ah taartzom. [?] After that we were as he says, hoozeenee hashoomayim, 4872 [?] and he warns us again, v'yishman yeshoiren v'yibet. [?] He asks us, "Aichu yirdof 4873 achad elef v'shoonim yu'neesee revuvuh, im loi kee tzoirim machriss." After that he is 4874 *m'ramiz* [?] the redemption of the wars of Gog and Magog. In the verse "*Im shenusee* 4875 b'rok cherbey v'taakhaz b'mishput yidai [?]etc. ilmishnai ashlahm. [?] And Targum 4876 Onkeles, who passed the Holy Tradition down from Mount Sinai--goes out of his way

- 4877 and gives us signs from Heaven which will be revealed, and he says, "Im al khad tarin
- 4878 *k'khazai birka meesof shmayah v'ad sof* etc." This means that certain signs will be
- 4879 revealed from one end of the heavens to the other. The Merciful Lord yomar l'tzoiraini di
- 4880 *v'nizkah lirois* [?] with the Coming of the Redemption.
- 4881
- 4882 Honor Your Mother and Father--This commandment is included among the five main
 4883 issues that deal with respect for God.
- 4884
- 4885 p. 160
- 4886
- 4887 Even though the *mitzvah* deals with relations between man and man, it also touches on
- 4888 respect for God. Every individual has three partners: The Holy One Be Praised, one's
- 4889 father and one's mother. With the kind of father I had it is difficult to make an afortiori
- 4890 argument. Give respect to your father in Heaven, so that if you have respect for your
- 4891 God, and you cleave to your God, you will live today. [I have problems with translating
- 4892 the expression *chayim kulchem hayom* in this context.]
- 4893
- 4894 **Blessing the Moon**--And to the moon he said: "You should renew the glory of the
- 4895 [l'aimoosai beten shehem ateedim le-hiskhadash cmoisu ilfar l'yoitzrum]. It is accepted by
- 4896 us that David's Shield had a drawing which was in the shape of *menoireh*. David, king of
- 4897 Israel, exist forever. The moon doesn't possess its own light, only that which it receives

- 4898 from the sun. May it be God's will to fill the moon with light, like the light of the sun--
- 4899 and the whole world will reflect and see. And you should beseech God and King David,
- 4900 Amen.
- 4901
- 4902 Tractate *Shabbis*, page 30: Rav Yehuda *briya* [?] of Rav Shmuel *bar sheelis mashmiyah*
- 4903 *d'rav.* [?] The sages archived the congregational books but for some reason it wasn't
- done. [?] Why wasn't it done?--because it starts with words of *Toireh* and ends with
- 4905 words of *Toireh*.