

**IMPORTANT**

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**Interview Transcript Title Page**

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<b>Forename:</b>	Liselotte
<b>Interviewee Sex:</b>	Female
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<b>Interviewee POB:</b>	Vienna, Austria

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## REFUGEE VOICES

**Interview No.** RV151  
**NAME:** Liselotte Kastner  
**DATE:** 17th June 2015  
**LOCATION:** London, UK  
**INTERVIEWER:** Dr Bea Lewkowicz

**[Part One]**

**[0:00:00]**

*Today is the 17th of June, 2015. We are conducting an interview with Mrs Liselotte Kastner. My name is Bea Lewkowicz and we are in London. [pause]*

*Thank you Mrs Kastner for having agreed to be interviewed for Refugee Voices. Can you tell us please your name?*

It's Liselotte Kastner, formerly Adler, and... I'm always called Liesl because Liselotte is quite a mouthful, at any rate for people in Britain.

*Ok. And when were you born please?*

On the 16th of July, 1934.

*And where were you born?*

In Vienna.

*Liesl, maybe can we start this interview by you telling us about your family background?*

Well, my parents were Ernst Adler, who was a doctor - a general practitioner - very highly qualified in Vienna. And my mother, Regina Kapeller-Adler, she incorporated her maiden name of Kapeller into her name legally, because she was a scientist and... unusually for women at the time, she was a lecturer in the department of clinical chemistry - *Medizinische Chemie*- in Vienna. There were very few women at the time who were lecturers, *Assistent*, at the University in Vienna, at least in the medical faculty. And the same applied likewise for the others, the other faculties.

*And do you know, where did, did, did your parents meet? Did they meet through their work, or...?*

No, it was rather a sweet story. My mother was... in a Jewish... holiday camp or... something, and she shared a room with two Adler girls. And their brother - there were three Adler girls, but there were only two on - at the holiday camp. And when their brother came to visit his sisters, he met my mother and... fell in love with her. And they had quite a long engagement because in those days it was very, very difficult to get paid positions in medicine and science. And... so they met, I think around about the time my father graduated as a doctor in 1924. My mother had graduated as a Doctor Phil in chemistry, in...I think in 1923. And they got married in 1928 then, when they were a little more established, then. But it was a real love story. And... they had a wonderful marriage and I think there are seldom such marriages today. I don't remember ever my parents really arguing, at any rate, in front of me.

**[0:03:19.4]**

[Interruption for sound check]

*We were talking about your parents. And what were their backgrounds?*

My father came from ...a very orthodox family. But, academic. His father had studied law in the University of Prague, the German University. And... he then came to Vienna and entered, as a civil servant in the *Israelitische Kultusgemeinde* in Vienna, which at the time was of course an organisation which had to care for roughly ten percent of the Vienna population. Almost 200,000 Jews in Vienna, and... I think even exceeding that then...in - in the 1920s. And he became first the second secretary then *Erster Sekretär*,...Director and then became *Regierungsrat*. So he...had this high and... executive position. Very responsible. He... was not himself for instance a Zionist, but he was very tolerant, and had...had promoted very highly the ...appointment of Chajes who was a

very charismatic rabbi. And some of the old established guard in Vienna were not so happy because Chajes was an ardent Zionist. But my grandfather was liberal and had been in this tradition of combining a liberal - liberal outlook with orthodoxy. His father... my grandfather's name was Emil Adler and his father - Salomon Adler, was a doctor. He was *Stadtarzt* in Pohrlitz in Moravia. And there is a story how in the Austro-Prussian War in 1866, my great-grandfather set up a field hospital. And... I think the retreating German troops had left behind some of their wounded. And my great-grandfather tended the enemy soldiers, for which he received a hand-written letter of thanks from Kaiser Wilhelm the First of Germany. Which I'm sure- he really didn't need that. But, that's a sort of something that was handed down in the family. That was my father's family. And they came also from very... orthodox. My great-grandfather on- married Julie Teweles who was the daughter of the...the he was the Head of the *Rabbinatskollegium*. And his father had been one of the three *Oberjuristen* in Prague so very distinguished lines there, the Teweles family.

**[0:06:56.4]**

*On your father's side?*

On my father's side. On my mother's side, ... her father was, she- they came from Galicia. And my [meaning her mother's] father- he was one of four brothers who had the firm transit in Bucharest.

*You mean your grandfather?*

My grandfather. My mother's father. They were the shipping agents for the Canadian Pacific and Royal Mail lines. And...I think he spent quite a lot of time in Bucharest. Also came - I was told - from the Sadagora Rabbis on his mother's - on my grandfather's mother's side. And... my - my mother's mother also was from Rabbinic families. And the- her when I was only about one year old her - my mother's grandmother was still alive. A lovely old lady. I've got a photo of her. Who was, although she wore a *sheitel* that not very becoming, and was very orthodox. But she was the most modern person in the family, and was... very happy when my parents met. And it was a- that was the background. My parents came- My mother's family came from Galicia then, I think in Stanislau she was born and must have moved to Brody and Lvov. She was certainly at school, primary school in both Brody and then Lvov. And then, in 1914 they moved to Vienna. And she went to secondary school and did very well indeed at school. She wanted to study and against initial parental disapproval she entered university which was unusual for a girl in those days. Then her sister of

course had an easy way; she had to fight to get into university, with her parents' approval, but her sister moved in. And on the academic side, do you want to hear about my aunt for instance?

Yes.

[0:09:39.1]

On...

*Was this her sister?*

No... my- that was on both sides of the family. My father had had an older brother who sadly died of acute appendicitis when he was only eight. So my father grew up as the - really as the boy in the family, and with three younger sisters. Julie, the oldest of the three sisters always wanted to study law. This was the second- I believe it was the last faculty to admit women, apart from theology which was absolutely the last. But of all the faculties in Vienna University, law was very late. And only after the First World War was it possible for women to enter the Law Faculty. So my aunt first studied- for a year she studied philosophy, I believe. And then she...became, she, she got her Doctorate as only the second girl to... graduate. And went on to become *Strafverteidiger*. And in 1930 it takes so long and of course nobody wanted to take a girl into- for the trainee period. It was very difficult. My... grandfather tried to get a friend and colleague- colleagues, to- to take her. And at first they said they would, and then... they withdrew their offer. So in the end she did- she was able to finish her time as a trainee and became only the second woman to become an Advocate...having also married a colleague, who incidentally, was in the same class as my father at school. So... they...they got married and had a joint practise... legal practise in the Rotenturmstrasse in Vienna until...until 1938.

[0:11:58.3]

*So quite unusual- I mean that on both sides you have women...*

Yes.

*...who really made it into the university and then into the professions?*

Yes...yes. And the two younger sisters of my mother, they- they were content with... my- the second sister was a *Religionslehrerin* and a very gifted teacher and sadly perished then. And the younger sister... was very good at sport; I think she swam. And...But she also- I don't think she wanted an academic career. She was a lovely person, but...

*And tell us about your own first memories.*

Well my first memories are...very, very few memories of Vienna. I don't really know why. Because I think that most children at four do remember- remember things. I think that to be fair it's mostly what my parents told me. I mean I just remember once being on a sledge and... tugging away from my father and obviously probably doing what I shouldn't have been, going down. And coming up again, something hard, perhaps a rock or something, falling off, cutting my nose. But that's not a very... I think I remember going on the *Liliputbahn* in the Prater in Vienna. It was exciting. But of course I had very many memories. And my mother had- she kept a diary although she was such a busy lady. So I can look up how for instance when my- my mother writes, but I don't remember this. That, one day, I said, there were some men came who - who had red bleeding through their arms. It was, it was actually some Nazi Stormtroopers who had come, and I thought they were patients coming to see my father. And I was sorry even for these wretches who had come with their- their red Nazi... arm bands.

*But tell us a little bit. Where did you live? Where did your parents move to after...?*

**[0:14:24.7]**

We moved to the Second District in Vienna. The Heinestrasse, very close to the Prater. My grandparents lived in the Castellezgasse which was very near the Augarten. My aunt said that they remembered when... they were walk- they were watching when Kaiserin Zita and, and the Kronprinz. Either they got married or they appeared in the Augarten. It was very nice. And on- Usually every Shabbat my parents went usually to one of the many synagogues nearby. The Servitengasse Temple, or others. On the High Holy Days we went to... the *Schiff shul* which was the - the main Orthodox synagogue in Vienna. The main synagogue of course where the *Oberrabbiner* was, was the Seitenstettengasse. But that was not so Orthodox. And...my father was Bar Mitzvah in the *Schiff shul*, but his father didn't want to offend the community, so ...who came then to the Seitenstettengasse so I think my aunt told me that he took Mincha in the

Seitenstettengasse so that both communities at least he was Bar Mitzvah in both, the very Orthodox and then the just - just ordinarily Orthodox.

*So was it the Second District was a Jewish area?*

Yes the Second District in Vienna was the, I believe together with the Twentieth, which was adjacent, the two... most with the highest percentage of the Jewish population. But they were, the Jews of course, were scattered with many synagogues throughout Vienna.

*Yeah. But you don't remember the synagogues or...things like that, probably?*

**[0:16:29.0]**

I don't remember and they were all destroyed of course apart from the Seitenstettengasse then, on the Kristallnacht. I...I- I'm afraid I, of course I went to my grandparents, we went every Shabbat. I have the photographs but...

*How observant were...?*

[Audio interruption/break]

...my mother and ...women also on the medical side. Sorry...

*I think let's just stick with what we were talking about. A little bit about the...the Synagogues and the area. And I wanted to ask how orthodox you were...*

Yes...

*In terms of practice in the house, or...?*

We were ...we were strictly orthodox and...But of course my father being a doctor, he... had to, I don't remember, but I'm quite sure he saw patients on a Shabbat. I don't know because we went- we went to... we always went to Synagogue and then to the grandparents who were strictly kosher.



And perhaps when my parents came to Britain later on, they were still strictly kosher, but my mother worked on Shabbat because she had to for her work.

*Right. And where did your father- he had a prac- where did he work?*

He worked from home. First of all he had a very long and distinguished training. He worked, at first after he graduated, in Professor Schnitzler's ...the Department of Surgery. Schnitzler being the brother of the famous playwright. I mean they- they were both doctors, but the surgeon was Julius Schnitzler who my father then got an excellent reference from...

*The brother of Arthur Schnitzler.*

The brother of Arthur Schnitzler. And... my father then was in the Wenckeback Clinic, which was the... most famous department of internal medicine at Vienna University. Wenckeback had a worldwide reputation, as in fact of course had - the Vienna Medical School had. And he was there for three...about three years, and got wonderful glowing references. The only trouble was it was extremely difficult at the time to get a paid, more senior position. He had a paid junior position. And if you perhaps have seen Schnitzler's 'Doctor Professor Bernhardt' you perhaps- it's such an accurate picture of the in-fighting in the- the medical faculty. And...how in fact it wasn't only anti-Semitism that one had to contend with, but actually the Jewish doctors fighting for the possibility of making a living, were not always very nice to each other. I think my father mentioned that one *Dozent* you know rather... I don't think treated him very kindly. So my father also was a year in the famous POK Klinik, Paediatric clinic. He loved working with children and was very gentle. He also spent- I think- six months or a year obstetrics and gynaecology, so that he then later on often did home deliveries when we came to this country. He had a very wide, broad training but decided then that once he got married that he really had to make, have a certain- it was not a very marvellous position with the *Krankenkasse*, but at least that way he did have... a certain income... and - and worked for his *Ordination* was in - in the house.

*So patients came to the house?*

Patients came to the house then, yes.

**[0:21:16.2]**

*And your mother worked at the University?*

My mother worked at the university. She got a position very soon after she graduated with distinction in- in- they both had a very distinguished academic career ...at University. And then my mother got a position as - Demonstrator - for the- about for one year after she graduated, in the Department of Chemistry. It was chemistry in relation to medicine. And she then got a position as *Assistentin* which was very unusual. And she taught. She did research work on various- various subjects at first. And then ...she loved teaching. But also research. And her field then became increasingly medical. ...She discovered in 1933, that women excrete histidine in pregnancy. She published this. She perfected a method for detecting histidine in the urine, and discovered thereby that it was increased early in pregnancy. ...All the tests for pregnancy at the time were biological tests: Aschheim-Zondek, Friedman - and involved animals and took quite a while. Some of them were- you had to kill the animals, others not. And her test was of course a chemical test, therefore in her hands she had a high degree of...very few... incorrect diagnoses. Other people found it not so easy, but she- it- there was a lot of interest in her test when she published this. And in fact then subsequently this was probably what saved our lives... then. The only trouble was that ...she had been appointed as *Assistentin* for six years and got an unusually - unusually she got an extension for a further two years. In Vienna, at the time, if you had been a Lecturer, *Assistent*, for six years, one had to pass the bar to become *Dozent*, otherwise one lost one's position. And her chief, famous Professor Fürth had an international reputation, put her forward so she got an extension for another two years. But he did apply, but unsuccessfully then for further two years. Said that he really needed her for teaching and that her research was so important. Told her that with her research work six men would have become *Dozent* but because she was Jewish, and because she was a woman, he would not be able to get her over the, the bar to *Dozent*. And at that time, in 1933, when this was an issue, there were only three women in the whole of the medical faculty who were *Dozent*.

**[0:25:12.0]**

One was Jewish I think, but she was no longer in Vienna at the time. She and her husband were in the States. And the other two were not Jewish. So it was extremely difficult. And he himself was a baptised Jew, and obviously felt that - knew - that she would not pass the bar. So she continued in the department without actually- without a remunerated position. But she did her research work right up to the *Anschluss*. She taught. She continued with teaching and therefore witnessed some of

the terrible scenes when Jewish students were mishandled. And...but, and she also had a position in the Sanatorium Hera, which was a very well-known private hospital, in charge of their laboratory. And she started studying medicine after I was born in 1934. She wanted the knowledge. She passed her exams with distinction, but had only her final exams still to do when, in 1938 it was no longer possible for- after the *Anschluss*- for Jewish people to....to do their, pass their exams. There was just one exception and she apparently didn't- that was in the autumn of '38. Maybe they were so busy trying to get out of the country that she didn't avail herself of the opportunity of sitting her final exams. But she had this huge workload. At home of course there was a nanny for me and a cook/housekeeper like, I think many ...not very wealthy but middle class families had this help. But it was an absolute necessity for my mother because she was working.

*So who was your nanny?*

**[0:27:10.4]**

It was Tilde, who was with me for four years. But then of course likewise after the *Anschluss*, one couldn't have a non-Jewish help in the house. So my parents then had a Jewish girl who was useless I believe! [laughs] And...yes, and it was, it was a very difficult of course, very difficult time.

*Mnn. So your mother continued to work after you were born?*

My mother continued to work, and she said that she was very well treated... in- in the department. It was a colleague - many of the colleagues were Jewish and did emigrate - but sometimes she said that when she was lecturing, one or other after the Ansch- at the time when it was already dangerous - that sometimes, one or other of her- the non-Jewish members of the department they would accompany her to the lecture to make sure everything you know, that she was all right. And the interesting thing was that the- Professor Fürth-, he was already seventy at the time of the *Anschluss* but there was a so-called 'honorary year' that the Professors had. And he was in the middle of his honorary year, aged seventy, when the *Anschluss* came was thrown out then. He, the baptised Jew who'd probably had completely forgotten he was Jewish. And...and the department was taken over by a colleague of my mother's. My mother remembered that he even had - *Hakenkreuze* - swastikas, on his test-tubes. But he behaved extremely well towards my mother. Gave her ...an excellent testimonial and, like so often, even Nazis, they had their favourite - they had their favourite Jews. And I heard when I later came to Vienna, my chief told me he was a

medical student during the war. And this chief, who, his name was Barenchine, who took over the department then, actually gave my mother's pregnancy test as an exercise for the students. During the war, the Nazi still with the full - my mother's full name-...

*Acknowledgement. Acknowledging?*

**[0:29:53.0]**

Acknowledging her. It's a little interesting...

*Mnn. So is your mother actually credited as the inventor of this, I mean...?*

Yes. It was called the Kapeller-Adler pregnancy test. But it was never generally used... either in Vienna. It was tested, but the other tests were so well established that... it was never, it was used in Cambridge I believe for a while. I mean at least so there are people using it but I think more for research. And my mother then also used for instance her test for abnormal pregnancies. There was a variation in the amount of histidine excreted. She became very interested in... toxemia of pregnancy for the rest of her academic career.

*In England?*

In England. But already even in Vienna had started with pathological pregnancies, looking to see whether her test showed different results. And...because it was a quantitative- one could actually measure, I think it was colour reaction, as opposed to the biological ones where one couldn't see a degree ...of change in the metabolites.

*And did your father, after '38 only treat Jewish patients in his practice or...?*

**[0:31:28.0]**

I believe so, yes. Excuse me can I just? I just want to interrupt for a moment. ...My father ...probably, I haven't- probably did treat then Jewish patients afterwards. They were called *Krankenbehandler*. And as far as I know my father was not on the list of the *Kranken-*

*behandler* of the Second District because I'm doing research with Paul Weindling on this. However, I always heard and in fact this probably saved his life, because... I think actually in the morning, before the Kristallnacht, he was arrested on a trumped-up charge and taken to the *Kommissariat* in...in the Second District together with hundreds of other Jews who were rounded up. He's described that they were squashed together like sardines. They couldn't even move, and subjected to the most terrible beatings. And...They were- they were under threat of death. I think they were moved then after being cramped in this- in the *Kommissariat*, then to a school somewhere where there was an SS officer with a whip and a pistol. And they...they were, with a pistol aimed at them, they had to stand – “*Habt' acht*” – still for ...hours, and under the most terrible circumstances. My father had had patients who'd always, there was one in particular my mother told me, had said, “*Ja, wenn was passiert*”: “if something's going to happen” just come, I'll - you know I will - come to me. My mother went to him in despair; he was polishing his riding boots. And just when my mother said, “Can you do something?” The- their doctor who was so beloved, all of a sudden, you know, nobody wanted to know. And he just shrugged his shoulders. So in the end, my other was a very courageous and a very forthright woman.

**[0:34:02.9]**

She did whatever she could and in the end she went to my- to my grandfather her father-in-law and said, “I can't release him, I can't- I can't do anything for my husband. If you want to do something, you have to go to the Kultusgemeinde where you had worked after all for forty years...” And he was retired by this time five years before. But all the people who he had trained and he had helped them and- and done his best for them: they were now in the leading positions so he went there and said, can they do something for his only son, he was after all acting as a doctor for them. And at first they also refused to do something. In those days the Kultusgemeinde was able to do things. And he was so upset that - that he had a heart attack in the Kultusgemeinde, in his office there. And then they decided to do something, and they must have rung up the - the Nazi headquarters. And my father was released then miraculously, but completely broken. He had- he was very badly... wounded. And all the- the, all the people whom he was imprisoned with were sent next morning to Dachau, and of course one doesn't know whether any of them came back after that. So it was a miraculous release. And after that, my father- I don't think he stayed at home anymore; he was always afraid. And, you know, stayed with friends and so on. but by this time they were trying...

everywhere. My mother's chief tried to write to places all over the world whether somebody would take her as a scientist and gave her wonderful testimonials. So...this was, this was a very difficult time, and I will then tell you if you wish, how we got out.

**[0:36:16.2]**

*I have just one question: Do you personally remember Kristallnacht or the Anschluss? No...*

I don't remember anything I'm afraid.

*That's fine. That's fine.*

I don't- I mean I don't know whether it's psychological. Whether I really just wanted to push all these memories, which must have been as a child one certainly got- at that age, I was four - must have realised that... things were happening and it wasn't one's normal...cause I'd had a very loving and - and protected background. I mean I - I can, would you like to hear a little bit, I mean, how in...?

*Yes.*

My parents... loved travelling. My father was a - a very good photographer. So for a month or so in the summer they would travel in Europe. And I would go with my- they put me together with my nanny into the care of an elderly couple who were related to - distantly related. He was a well-known lawyer, and lived with his wife near the Türkenschanzpark, which was a beautiful park. So every day I would be able to play in their garden, or go to the Türkenschanzpark, which of course I wasn't- we had an apartment in the Second District but no garden. So this was lovely to be in this villa, with this elderly couple who loved children and never had any of their own. So I had a very nice- and there are photos of me in the garden there and I was very well cared for. And...my parents also loved going to concerts. My father played the violin very well. ...He was a member of the *Ärzteorchster* - a very good doctors' orchestra in Vienna. And his teacher was the leader of the *Wiener Symphoniker* - not the Philharmonica, the *Symphoniker* - and he often got tickets for my mother and himself through his teacher. And on one occasion, they went to a concert. The violinist was unknown at the time in Vienna. And he was so wonderful; he played to very few people in the audience, who were absolutely... in rapture over him. The next time he came to Vienna it was sold

out. It was... oh, dear, I'm so sorry; now I've forgotten. The famous...he became a famous violinist. I'll remember later but...

*OK, don't worry. Don't worry...*

**[0:39:03.6]**

At this moment, I've forgotten. And amongst his patients, which you might... be interested in was...the leader of the Amadeus Quartet. S...and this was the story of Norbert Brainin and my parents. Because my father was visiting a patient in the Second District. And all of a sudden a lady came, a neighbour, and said, "I hear there's a doctor in the house", and, "Can you- can the doctor come and see my boy? He's got- he's got tummy pain". So my father went to have a look at the little boy and diagnosed acute appendicitis and immediately arranged for him to go to hospital. And the little boy was Norbert Brainin. And after that my father was their family too, so that after the war in Edinburgh when the Amadeus Quartet came to the Edinburgh Festival for the first time I think it was in 1951, and my father went after the concert to greet Norbert Brainin. "*Jesus! Mein Arzt!*" [laughs] And after that they came - the Quartet came to our house in Edinburgh and... for many years if they gave a concert, it was always very, very nice to see them.

*That's lovely, so yes, with that your father helped... the creation of the Amadeus Quartet. But tell me, when did your parents really think of emigrating? Was it after- before the- I mean your mother didn't have a position. Did they think about it before at all, or really only after Kristallnacht?*

**[0:41:02.5]**

No, no before Kristallnacht. I actually just came across whilst looking out for things for you, which I was a little surprised that already, that already, immediately after the *Anschluss* when of course they both lost their positions. Because of course my mother lost her position at - at the Sanatorium Hera and my father lost his position with the *Krankenkasse*. And they must have already then, begun to look out, because I saw that there was an application for Paraguay I think, and Brazil. Brazil, because my mother had a sister, Claire, a few years younger than her, and a brother, who studied law. Marcus in Vienna graduated in law but didn't want to take up a position as a lawyer. And...Emigrated for no political reason, in 1932 I think, when as a young man he went to Brazil! And subsequently got married there. And he then got out his - eventually got out - his sister and his

parents. His sister and brother-in-law and the parents. So that was the connection to Brazil. But I think that everything was greatly intensified then, after the... in the autumn, and certainly after the Kristallnacht. But they had- my mother's chief had already been trying before to find if there was a position. I think Sweden, South America, other places...

*So how did they manage to come to Edinburgh?*

**[0:42:49.0]**

Well, I've somehow just managed to piece it together that my mother always told me it was her pregnancy test. But she was very modest and didn't really tell me very much. She must have been on the list. She must have applied to get on the list of the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning. This was a wonderful organisation which had been formed by distinguished academics, scientists mostly, Professor Evie Hill and certain other of his colleagues, who already in 1933 had discovered, had realised the necessity of trying to help the academics- mostly scientists, but other academics too who were Jewish, who had been dismissed in Germany. And thought that it would be possible to perhaps provide them with some kind of continuation of their profession and perhaps positions in Great Britain. And they - therefore it was very active already for the German academics coming out and many distinguished academics who came over was with the help of the Society. And then of course there was the... immediate necessity - it all happened so much faster in Austria. Within months there were hundreds... I mean there were thousands and thousands of academics trying to get out. My mother was on the list and... because of her pregnancy test, the Department of Animal Genetics in- in Edinburgh under Professor Crew, had established- Professor Crew had established the first and indeed only pregnancy diagnosis laboratory in the whole of Great Britain. In other words, all the urines of women were sent to Edinburgh and tested there. And he knew of her pregnancy test, and therefore invited her to come and work in the department. And my mother then would get the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning. I think they organised a small amount of money - a grant for people who they helped get a position. So it was a very interesting position, I mean a very interesting department, because there was also there Charlotte Auerbach who... then famous- she later became a very famous geneticist from Germany. And she was also given the opportunity of working there. She was the one who discovered the mutations in the drosophila fly, and mustard gas, and so on. So she became a firm friend. And in fact when my parents then... very... miserable porters that they had in the landlady. She had a room with her



mother and my parents had two rooms but that's another story. At any rate, my mother was offered this position...

*While she was still in...?*

**[0:46:20.0]**

In Vienna. When she was in Vienna she was offered- it wasn't a position; she was offered the opportunity to come. And at the same time, my father was chosen as one of only fifty Austrian doctors who were given the assurance that they would be allowed to practice in the United Kingdom if they passed their British exams. And initially the British Government had wished to invite 500 ...Austrian doctors to come to Britain. But the Medical Practitioners Union put pressure on the British Medical Association to cut this number down, because they were very afraid for the...positions of their medical colleagues in Britain. And they were very- They were worried that these doctors from Vienna - the famous Vienna medical school - might ...flood the British market and ...and therefore their- their doctors would be out of a job. So only fifty were given the opportunity to come with the assurance. Of course hundreds more came and they had to wait until the Health Service was, you know, with the advent of the Health Service then after the war, they then - probably without doing exams - they then were able to practice. And many of them of course did come over and worked in hospitals. But it was- they were a separate category the fifty doctors.

*So when did your parents know they had the visa or...?*

I - I'm sorry I don't know the answer to that but I think it was all very quick. In between probably surely only November, December '38. And they- they left in January. I mean it must have been - January '39 and arrived in Britain in- on the 27th of January, 1939. We came by train and boat from Hook van Holland to Harwich, and stayed a few days then in London. And of course the final hurdle you had to - I don't know how many hurdles were put in the way. No money of course apart from a tiny amount of money. They were very lucky at that time still to be able to- to ship across their furniture. And my father his medical instruments which was absolutely a godsend for him then when he started in practice again. But... for one thing, they needed a guarantor. And they knew nobody, apart from some refugees perhaps who had come before. And they were so fortunate in so far as one of the daughters of the Sephardi Chief Rabbi, The Haham Gaster, his daughter ...and her husband, their name was Ryder, they ...they acted as guarantors. They had seen the photographs

and maybe a description of my parents, and maybe liked what the photographs showed my- how they showed my mother was a very lovely looking lady. And like all children I suppose I- I looked quite- quite sweet, I don't know. All children do. And they didn't know us at all but we owe our, we further owe our life for this final hurdle - to that family.

[0:50:23.0]

*So it wasn't enough that your mother was offered this position?*

No.

*They both needed as well a guarantor?*

A guarantor. Yes. Fortunately we were - my parents didn't need to take advantage of this.

*And were they in touch with them or was it just a formality?*

They visited them, when they came to London. And- and met them then. And did try and stay in touch but during the war staying in touch even between Edinburgh and London was not so simple. And I met the daughter some years ago. I got in touch then, and still met Napoleon Ryder when he was aged 108 I think also. And was able then, in my own capacity to say, 'Thank you'. So that was very special.

*And he was the Haham of the...?*

No, no- he was the son-in-law. Sorry, it was the...it was the...His wife, their name; her married name was Ryder but she was Gaster...Henrietta - Henriette Gaster. And her husband Napoleon Ryder they guaranteed for us.

*So her father was the...?*

Her father was the Haham, yes.

*What was his name?*

Moses Gaster. And I think he was also initially a refugee so perhaps...you know that there was this...

*An exchange...yeah.*

Yeah.

*So obviously they went to Edinburgh because of the position...*

Yes...

*...Of your mother?*

Yes...that's how they came to Edinburgh.

*They didn't want to stay in London, or...?*

**[0:52:17.0]**

No, well there was no possibility of doing so.

*No...no. Do you remember what they were - again, I guess from later - what they were- what their first impressions were when they arrived here?*

Yes...I...their, they...they arrived in the winter, it's very cold but they were used to that in Vienna. I remember their saying they immediately got on a bus to; there were double decker buses in Edinburgh. And they got on the upper deck to have a look, and here - there was a bridge. And it's called actually 'The Bridges' in Edinburgh. And they thought there must be a river. And they were very disappointed! [laughs] It was the railway station that went through! But Edinburgh is a beautiful city, and there was a wonderful castle up on the rocks. Just no river going through the centre of Edinburgh. And they were very warmly received. The problem of course- there were many problems. And I mean they must have felt terrible. Imagine the idea of leaving one's elderly parents in both cases, back in Vienna. Wondering and only... too fearful knowing what it was like

especially after my father's exp- I mean at the very latest, after my father's experiences. And to leave behind the old grand- their parents, my grandparents, and to come to Britain. But everybody was very kind. The Scots were very liberal. And... my father immediately had to start ...doing rounds in the infirmary, studying again. He was taken under the wings of Doctor Adam who later became actually a colleague of my mother's. My mother was the breadwinner I mean with her little grant and had to work straight away. And within two months of coming to Britain she actually held- she gave a paper at the British Conference of Obstetrics and Gynaecology. I must say that my parents had hardly any English. They had French at school, Latin of course and my mother even some Greek at school. But no English. So they must have gone on a crash course when they knew they were coming, the few weeks before. And they went to English lessons with an old lady whom I was petrified of. I remember she looked very severe; Dr MacDonald-Clark, here name was. And I think she taught my parents very well; she was a great Francophile. So there were many Scottish people who welcomed my parents, invited them, made them feel at home.

**[0:55:23.0]**

They lived a little room somewhere in digs. And... Yes, I was, I was put into a school, a very nice little school which was mainly for the children of... British... British who were on overseas assignments, maybe diplomatic or on business. And so many of these children didn't have parents in Britain. They were far away. And when war broke out, the school was evacuated. I learnt English very quickly like all children do. And after a few very hesitant sentences I'd be quite fluent. And in the summer, I was sent to a camp in - across the Forth and Fife, because of course my parents really couldn't look after me full time. And I came home after the weeks in camp and the Headmistress called my mother in, and said, "The whole school is speaking with a Fife dialect, that your daughter has managed to introduce into our school!" My poor mother who could barely speak English, never mind detect which accent was in, you know acceptable and which wasn't, apologised profusely I'm sure, but didn't know what the dear lady was talking about. But I obviously spoke, within six months so fluently that I not only picked up the language, like all children do, but the accent. And then, after war broke out, we were evacuated.

**[0:57:15.0]**

*You said before, was it a boarding school, or...?*

It was presumably for those children. ...I imagine it was part boarding, part...it was very small.

*But you were not boarding.*

I was not. I was not boarding until we were evacuated.

*Yes.*

And among, Yes, there were day boarders too, day- day children, not boarders.

*Yes. But do you remember the evacuation?*

I remember the evacuation of course. And I remember it was very pretty, the countryside. It was just- We were all taught in a big room, so I was one of the youngest children there. And all the children somehow, you know we were right up to 14, 15 - we were all taught together. Since we were in the country we probably ate, ate quite well. I think that what I remember most about school is missing my parents. And how my parents of course, as enemy aliens, and with the difficulty of transport, couldn't visit. But I imagine all the children in the school were in the same boat as me because their parents were also- they were probably abroad and couldn't get back. So I saw my parents when- they had to get permission from the aliens department to go without an area twenty miles - fifteen twenty miles out of Edinburgh. And this was beyond that so they had to get permission. There was a girl at school in- at school. Her name was Jean Dott. Her father [Norman] was a very distinguished neurosurgeon. I think he was one of the people who introduced neurosurgery as a specialty, and they very kindly gave my parents a lift then, so when they visited their daughter- occasionally. But they were very rare visits. In the holidays I could come home. ...My father of course he was interned then in 1940, in May. ...The...and so that was a very upsetting time for my parents. My mother was one of only two women who were allowed to stay on the East coast - at least on that area, in Edinburgh. Her colleague, Käthe Hermann who was a neurologist and she, were doing work of national importance to she continued to do research work. All the women otherwise had to leave the East coast. And...My father- He actually wasn't interned for all that long. It just was a very difficult time. I think he was released in September, but he was very, very upset by the experience. Because whilst my parents understood the necessity of the British... and their dilemma that there might be spies who had been pushed in amongst the refugees...Whilst they did understand this- But from their point of view, having escaped to Britain,

as Jews, they were then on the Isle of Man, my father was, although I think they did keep them in areas, that those, the Edinburgh crowd were together and so on. But nevertheless they would meet German citizens, who ...were pro-Nazi sympathisers! And although they were not under direct threat, but it was extremely unpleasant!

**[1:01:18.0]**

*Which camp? Where was your father - do you know?*

I ...I'm sorry I could look it up, but I don't know.

*Don't worry.*

I mean it was on the Isle of Man, they were...but which one I don't know. He was together with the Edinburgh- with several Edinburgh people like for instance, Hans Gál the distinguished composer and... who I think the diary has just- His diary has just come out. His daughter has translated it into English and it came out about a year ago.

*Yeah?*

I know my father is mentioned there. Some thrived in the internment camp - some of the Edinburgh colleagues. But certainly Hans Gál didn't and my father didn't. And another - Doctor Auber didn't either. He was a zoologist. I think they were all extremely distressed and... However when my father was released he was able to resume his studies. And then I think he missed the deadline for- the quickest qualification was the Scottish Triple qualification. That was only one year. He did the London Licence - LLRC MRCS - which was a two year degree course and he passed that I think in 1943 and then set up in practice. And at that point my parents could get me and they got their first real home and were able to - they rented a house, so my father could practice there. And got me back from school then. But...the, the, the apartments...I just wanted to- can I tell you a little my memories about...When I did come home for the holidays my parents had these two rooms in this boarding house, and Lotte Auerbach with her mother had another room there. My mother's cooking facilities were a gas ring, on the floor, one gas ring in the so-called ...drawing room which was ...hardly - hardly really deserved that title, and one in the bedroom. So she would cook somehow between the two gas rings. And they often had visitors, because Edinburgh of course apart from

London is the main medical centre where either, with the triple qualification people would, refugees would come to get their initial British qualification, or those who were trying to become consultants then, specialists later, the higher, the MRCPE or FRCSE qualifications. And they would come to Edinburgh, my parents would invite them and my mother would somehow cook on the two gas rings, and... there would be many visitors to my...refugees that my parents knew from Vienna or from other- other places, Germany and so on.

**[1:04:42.0]**

*Who was running the boarding house? Do you remember?*

A family Ashton. I haven't thought of that name in ...decades - I think.

*Who were Scottish?*

Scottish, yes.

*And can I just come back. You said your father was one of the people who wasn't happy. How did it ...demonstrate itself? Are there letters or how do you know? Did he talk about it or did he come back very unhappy or...?*

No, they talked about it a bit but...They were very correctly you know - very correctly treated. It wasn't that. It was the psychological problem that they were again imprisoned. They didn't know what was happening. They - my parents felt very strongly- they were enormously grateful throughout their whole lives to the British for having given them the opportunity of coming to this country, saving their lives, and allowing them to build up a new existence - a professional life again here in this country. But they did feel that the British didn't to all extents and purposes, didn't really know what it was- what the German, they felt the German war machinery was something which the ordinary person in Britain didn't realise I think, what was happening. And they felt that the British just weren't going enough. That they would never be able after the fall of France and so on, to withstand this machinery. And it was the frustration of...and the worry, should they then perhaps try after all to get to the United States? Would my father get out - there was correspondence - would he be able to get out of the...there were letters of course, desperate letters of my mother to - to various people, could they help her? - Scottish people - to get my father out of internment? So he

must have, you know told her how desperate he was. Because I have some of her correspondence trying to get him out of internment camp. And letters to whether - and of course they were sent for internment to Canada, to Australia...

*But not your father?*

There was the...Sorry, not my father no. But would it be better to say- would it help to get him out of internment if they said that he was willing to go... to Canada or not? Whether if- should they apply for an Affidavit to the United States? Because there were these...

*Letters, yes, I understand.*

**[1:07:42.0]**

All this...

*I think it's an important topic. Because many people who are interviewed now, you know, were younger, at that time.*

Yes.

*So I think it was certainly easier for younger men, also women, whereas if you were older and you were working I think it was more difficult.*

Yes.

*But so he was interned from when to when, roughly?*

I think it was just from May till September. So I'm sure that he was- he must have been one of the first to get out in the end and then resume perhaps because he was one of the fifty doctors had been given permission and - and so on.

*So when did he get his medical qualification in Britain?*



In Britain it must have been, I think '43...And perhaps it was- it may have been '42. I should have looked up the correct date, I'm sorry. I could easily have...

*No, it's all right, don't worry. And at that time when you were in school, you mentioned your English was very good - Did you feel different at all at school? I mean, did you feel you were a refugee or did you feel you were...?*

When I was in - in Comrie?

Yes.

Only...I absolutely wouldn't speak German. And therefore I forgot my German entirely. I - but apart from that I don't really think - I think all the children, you know were- so many of the children at that school were- didn't have parents there and therefore were so...No...

*You didn't feel different?*

I didn't feel different in that way, and of course adapted very quickly... like children do.

*And then later, when you went to a mixed school?*

**[1:09:33.0]**

No, I...I mean apart from perhaps that people certainly would have stumbled over Liselotte but Liesl they managed. And...I - I'd had a Scottish accent, and I fitted in. There was also, no... no antisemitism. I mean...the - the worst remark I think was by a friend of mine, who was very sporty and very nice but not very academic, who sort of said that the two Jewish girls in the class, Naomi and I, that we always were top of the class. Which actually wasn't even true. But that was, I think, you know the only remark that...and - and nothing as refugees. My parents spoke, they always spoke English outside the house... because they didn't want to offend anybody. They spoke German at home, because they said it's ridiculous speaking poor English. Their English was very good but like all refugees had a marked Austrian accent, and they spoke German with one another. So when I came back ...I of course heard German again. I refused to speak it during the war at any rate. I refused to speak German until my grandmother, who survived Theresienstadt came to- came

to stay with us in 1946 and couldn't speak English. So then I had to- I had to drag my German out. I understood perfectly well, and my mother who could only get cross with me in German I used to say to her, "Don't- I don't understand a word". Of course I understood beautifully.

**[1:11:29.0]**

[break]

*We were talking about your school time, and I asked you whether you felt different or not and you said you didn't. But were you at all for example embarrassed about your parents and about their English. Do you remember anything like that or...?*

No...I was very proud of my parents and I...They were my parents! I didn't notice! I mean, it's funny; it was just part of them, how they spoke. And their written English was perfect. The- My mother often laughed later on when she was working in the Department of Clinical Chemistry her colleagues would often ask her how to spell something. I mean there were no spell checks on a computer in those days. And the British I think are notorious for not being good spellers. My mother spelt immaculately and their English was so good and I...no I...I don't know. I mean obviously my friends knew I was a little different but...I- I think I was accepted completely and... I don't know I... I wasn't a goody-goody. I think I was- there were only two girls in the sixth form who weren't prefects, and I was one of those two. I don't know whether it was because I was always late for school, and my - my salvation... but that's a different story...

**[1:13:20.0]**

*Go on.*

I was in the school orchestra. And they used to lock the - this was when I was at school in Edinburgh - they used to lock the doors to the cloakrooms, so that those latecomers were filed into - for Assembly. So I couldn't get rid of my coat in the cloakroom and then it was very obvious you were late. But I would slip in, with the others who were late, which happen very frequently, and then I would move to the end of the line, and edge my way into the place where we kept the instruments, deposit my coat there, and bring out my cello. And then my friends would see that I was playing and it always took a little while until we put away our instruments so we were late

coming back to the classroom. That was fine. The teacher would ask whether I was there, because they knew I was going to be late after playing in the orchestra. And they would always say. And the only time that didn't happen was before, on one occasion the exam for my Higher Leaving Certificate. I suppose I was late as usual. And my friends forgot to say, in their excitement about the exams, that I was there, and I was playing in the orchestra - although I had been. And they marked me absent for an important exam, and rang up my parents as to why I hadn't come to school. So my poor parents of course were in a terrible state. And so I really got into trouble - from both school, and my parents! [laughs] - on that occasion.

**[1:14:53.0]**

*And did you remember any, did you have any hostile reaction at all let's say both also your parents let's say, first of all in general but also within the Jewish community? What was their relationship?*

Their relationship with the Jewish community was- was interesting. First of all they were both members and very - and my father was a very - I mean he was- he went to synagogue every Shabbat. My mother, as I have said, had to work and in those days there were - scientists worked on a Saturday morning. And she was very conscientious. And it was also a clinical departments so she had to- she had to be there. But...So my father was well known in the community. He was also one of several Jewish doctors, when he came first, he used to be in despair. Some of the older people would only talk Yiddish. Now my father came from a family where I think you had indicated that in Vienna, the middle class didn't really associate with the newer refugees who'd come from the ghettos. And certainly there was no Yiddish spoken in my father's family. My mother with her background from Galicia had heard Polish and Yiddish in her childhood. So my father would come home in despair sometimes. He either hadn't understood the Scottish accent of some of his- of his non- Jewish patients, or, he came back from the Jewish ones saying they'd complained about their [???pletizes] or their [???schveitzes] or something, and would be in despair; he had no idea what they meant. So my mother could sometimes help him with the Yiddish, with her smattering of the knowledge.

**[1:17:01.0]**

Many of the patients before the Health Service, the Jewish ones, would try all the Jewish doctors in rotation. Before I come to the Jewish community...there was an interesting thing. When my father

wanted to set up in practise, he went around all the doctors in the area...I mean, nearly all non-Jewish doctors, introduced himself, and told them that he intended to put up his plate and settle in the area, as a matter of polite...a gesture. And at first I mean he just waited until maybe somebody dropped in after all, or he did locums for some of the other doctors. One Scottish doctor who said 'Many thanks' meantime and didn't pay his...[laughs] his fee for my father having done his locum when my parents badly needed the money was not so good. But there was one refugee doctor, who'd come - Hungarian, who had studied in Vienna, lived in Vienna had come out it time; he'd come out about '36, '37. And when my father wanted to settle, he actually said to my father, that, "There is no room for more than one refugee doctor in Edinburgh". If you imagine that that's what one Jewish refugee, not, I mean completely assimilated, said to another, that's... not a very good...recommendation of character. And... later on I think I...I...exchanged cudgels with the son. We were both medical students together, and... he'd been promised a car if he got the top medical scholarship. And... he went to the boys school - the George Watson's Boys' school. And... the scholarship - the main medical scholarship went to a certain young lady from George Watson's Ladies' College. So I don't know whether he got a car or not. But he certainly didn't like the lady in question who deprived him of the scholarship! [laughs] But the Jewish community, to go back to them: on the whole they were welcoming to my parents. My parents ...said that actually one of the most wonderful things that- for them was that Rabbi, Doctor Salis Daiches who was a very distinguished and academic Rabbi of Edinburgh, had a - an open afternoon on a Saturday. And my parents were so grateful for this; they met interesting people there. It was a lovely ambience. He had a very interesting family with whom we remained friendly with his...with his son who was an absolute star defence attorney, who I was friendly with until his death. My grandfather- My father's father had written a letter of introduction to Rabbi Daiches, and my parents were greatly welcomed there. On Sundays, there would be a refugee afternoon at the family Türk; they were two ladies who'd emigrated from Germany. They were quite wealthy. One was a doctor. They were not married. They had an open day for the refugees in Edinburgh. So it was a very different crowd on the Sunday to the Saturday afternoons at the Rabbi's.

**[1:21:16.0]**

The President of the Community, the Jewish Community was...oh was...his name was Reuben Cohen - a very distinguished looking businessman. I still remember how they sat in their - in their separate box with top hats on. It was very formal. The Community was large in those days. Synagogue - I don't know what it held, but many hundreds I would think. And...had a large Ladies'

Gallery. And...especially of course on Yom Kippur it would be, I mean there wasn't even room...there are many soldiers ...stationed not far from Edinburgh. They would of course increase the Community then for the Holidays or would come for Pesach. My father would bring them home from synagogue sometimes; I remember very well two young men, two soldiers who came to us. My father gave the most wonderful Seder evenings. His - he had enormous knowledge, absolutely perfect Hebrew with a very German pronunciation. Interestingly, different to the pronunciation of my husband, my late husband and his father, from nearby Pressburg - a completely different accent in Hebrew! And we would have a wonderful Seder evening with a wonderful Seder plate. The Seder dish, well it's not a dish, it is a whole silver thing, which I will show you later, which- was in the family of my ...father's maternal or his grandparents - the maternal grandparents. I would sometime like to go back; I missed out before, about that part of the family. I'd like to come back.

*OK. We can, yep.*

...then later on. Because of the Seder dish I will then go back to it - its story.

**[1:23:29.0]**

But to continue then with the Community. We were invited often by Mr Cohen and- and his family, so sometimes we were invited by members of the Community. And there, there was a terrible- a terrible disaster once. My father had taken me to the zoo that morning in Edinburgh. They had a very nice zoo there, and I'd been fascinated by the chimpanzees. Absolutely fascinated. We were invited then, that evening by somebody in the Community - a very nice family in the Community. And there I was, aged four, full of my memories of the visit to the zoo. And over the mantelpiece there was a picture of what I thought was like the chimpanzees in the zoo in the morning. It must have been an elderly lady, with hair...middle parting, plastered down like that. I said, "Look Mummy, there's a chimpanzee just like we saw in the zoo this morning!" Dead silence; I thought my mother hadn't heard. So I said it again. It was the mother, I think, or the grandmother of the family and needless to say we weren't ever invited there again. We were invited, I remember very well once, probably before my parents had their own home, we were invited by the Chazzan. That was when they had the- in the boarding house, for Seder, and I still have the Haggadah that I received from them. It was the Chazzan. The Chazzan was... I think, a refugee from Germany, but not an immediate refugee; I think they'd come much earlier. He had a wonderful voice and in my memory he was the most wonderful Chazzan that I've ever heard.

[1:25:35.0]

*What was his name?*

His name was Zucher.<sup>1</sup> I've forgotten his first name because he was always Reverend Zucher to me. And they invited us, and my father had drilled into me beforehand that if I steal the Afikoman, please you know, they don't have much money, I have to be very modest. Maybe it would be an idea to ask for Hebrew lessons. So, dutiful daughter as I was in those days, I asked for Hebrew lessons, which was an absolute disaster. Because I liked to copy my father whom I admired so much and therefore wanted his - to try to speak it with his German accent. And although they came from a part of Germany, but it was very much further north and east. And his pronunciation was different, so he always corrected. And we would have - I would say, 'O' and he said, "Not 'O', it's 'U'!" And we would go through these O, U...and I hated my lessons so I think we then gave up. And I got then Hebrew lessons from the previous Chazzan of the - who was Mr Levenson, and whose family had no doubt come from Lithuania. But who now, he was now a Scottish Jew. Very elderly, and I used to love when he told me all the stories from...from... the Torah. And I used to try not to have to read too much or to write too much and get him to...that's why I enjoyed my lessons. [laughs] I don't think I learned very much, I'm afraid. But, that was very nice. But that was the Zucher; he was a wonderful Chazzan. I think that I have never heard the *Untanneh Tokef* sung as beautifully. It may be childhood memories, but, I really, you know, that... it made the shivers go down my back, but it was beautiful.

*So was it for you was it an important part growing up, to be part of that Community?*

[1:27:41.5]

It was very important and the thing was that I always used to sit I used to go with my father. But of course when I was twelve, I had to go upstairs to the ladies. And ...my mother wasn't there so that wasn't so much fun. And I didn't much enjoy... I didn't- I didn't go to the Cheder; I had private lessons. And I didn't enjoy the *Bnei Akiva*. I don't know why. You asked me to be fair. My parents

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<sup>1</sup> Could be Zucker or Sucker

did have some friends had some friends amongst the Jewish community, but they had mostly Scottish friends.

*Non-Jewish?*

Non-Jewish. Perhaps I have to be honest, and it may have been...it may have been partly snobbish, academic snobbish. Because of course they came from a very academic family ...and... most of the- the Edinburgh Community was from Lithuania originally where the...first generation ...had difficulty in making a living. And then, their children became business people by and large, so there were very few academics in my parents' generation. Amongst my parents' patients in the Community were for instance the Rifkind family. So my father treated the grandfather of Malcolm Rifkind, and Malcolm himself when he was a child of course. And his whole family. He was a lovely old man, the grandfather. Very - I think he was the most orthodox member of the community and spent the whole- I remember my parents saying - not that I knew, but they said - that he spent the whole of Yom Kippur in the- in the synagogue. And...But my parents' generation were by and large business people, and therefore they did not have many friends. They had then amongst their friends of course there was the Rabbi whom they greatly respected. Wonderful. The intellectual ...capacity of- was wonderful. And his, his wife's sister and husband the husband who later- the husband became President. We used to have one Seder evening with them. That was the Phillips- Mr and Mrs Phillips. She was a Latin teacher at a grammar school, a secondary school and he was a very knowledgeable and very interesting man. Very lovely. So we always had one Seder evening there, later on, and they came to us for the second one. And then, across the road, were the Nathan family, where he was a dentist. And...they were also friends. His wife was also a sister- there were three sister where the eldest sister was Rabbi Salis Daiches's wife. And the children, the Nathan children went to school with me. So we were friends. There was a Doctor Kaplan who my father was very friendly with... who was a colleague and they did each other's - they both were in a single handed practice so they used to do alternate Sundays for each other. Lovely, lovely Doctor and Mrs Kaplan.

**[1:31:04.0]**

*And what about other refugees? Did your parents have other refugee friends?*

Yes, but amongst the Community there were only the refugees who were Orthodox were the Mayerhof family...where he was from Germany. And had a, I think a...he was in business. They were - we were friendly with them. The Flass family were also refugees, and orthodox. But mostly they were then the non...the, the friends from Vienna, there were Hans Gál and his wife Hansi with whom then, over all the years we stayed very, very friendly. He was the most wonderful man. I mean not only in his field, which I won't talk about because...

*Tell us a little bit about it, because you know, people may not know who he is.*

Hans Gál was a composer and a music historian. Very distinguished. Who...had - he was born just outside Vienna - I think Brunn am Gebirge. Grew up in Vienna, but then didn't get a position in Vienna. So I think, got a position in Germany. And I think had just- He was just going to have his first opera produced. He was known in Germany already as a successful composer. And then Hitler came; he lost his position. So he came back to Vienna. And...I'm sure it's documented about...whether his opera was produced. I'm sorry, I've forgotten. I should know. Certainly his career was cut short. He continued composing in Vienna but then they again had to move. And he became- he was a lecturer in the Department of Music and Edinburgh University. I've forgotten the name of the Chair, the professor in the Chair. But through them, of course we knew quite a lot of the Musical people in Vienna...from, from...Vienna.

*In Edinburgh?*

**[1:33:27.0]**

And- in Edinburgh. ...He was extremely academic in other subjects so that even as a nonagenarian - he died when he was well in his nineties - I used to go and visit them afterwards from Vienna. He would be totally au fait with the total political situation. He told me he was reading 'The Fall of the Roman Empire'. You could talk about anything; it was fascinating just to listen. And his wife was delightful. They lived just round the corner from the nursing home where my mother sadly had spent the last ten years of her life... Because she couldn't look after herself anymore and I was far away in Vienna. But Hansi Gál came regularly to visit her and was a very, very beloved visitor. And another visitor was Charlotte Auerbach from the past, who visited my mother until her eyesight was so bad that it was dangerous for her to cross the road and come and visit. But these were wonderful people from her past, who she really enjoyed seeing. Otherwise there was Grete Gross,



and her husband Fabius Gross who was a very distinguished zoologist. He was not known as Fabius, I mean by his friends. Where- He so sadly died of leukaemia at a young age. Just after having got a wonderful position in Wales. He was a marine biologist. And... my parents knew, oh, yes now you're starting about the refugees. My parents knew the family, there was...the great physicist Max Born...and his wife. Max Born was an excellent- a wonderful pianist! And my father was a very, as I have said was a really very good violinist. And I have memories of Max Born coming and my father and he played violin-piano duets together. My mother has, had a wonderful, at least I still have the wonderful piano my mother brought over. A Blüthner, which Hans Gál said was the second best piano in private hands after his in Edinburgh. And it has a lovely tone and was very flattering. Unfortunately I always thought I could play better you know, than I really could, on the piano because when I played on an ordinary piano it didn't sound nearly so good [laughs] and my true lack of- lack of piano playing came out then. So... there were the Borns. There was- Yes, all very assimilated. I mean, all these families there was ...I'm sorry, so many. There was Max Sugar who was an ear nose and throat surgeon. There was Ernst Levine, who was a very distinguished neurologist... in Edinburgh. And he helped me then...before my finals I said that my - my knowledge of neurology was somewhat lacking, so my father suggested he... he'd help me. After about four hours of neurology where he was smoking a cigar incessantly I had such a headache that I think my knowledge of neurology got even worse than it actually was. [laughs] I want to come back to also remembering him the...the fact that my father was the *Vertrauensarzt* for the German Consulate in Edinburgh. And...shall I digress for a moment?

[1:37:43.0]

*Was that later?*

After the war of course. So if you wish I will come back to that.

*Let's just keep it in mind, because I don't think we did something, because- just listening to you I wonder whether you think it was easier or more difficult for the refugees in Scotland, you know, or in Edinburgh, compared to London or other parts?*

I can't...you'd like to ask me that now, or...?

*Yes, now.*

I think- I think it's very sad what has happened in Scotland today. I can't believe it, because Scotland was so liberally minded... towards Jews, towards refugees. The - the families which my parents met, and they invited my parents, they opened their homes. I remember as a child being- since there was nobody to look after me I was dragged along - I think reasonably willingly - to families, usually elderly people often older than my parents. Even a generation older, so there were no other children around and I had to sit and listen to the conversation but it was often very interesting. They were very welcoming. Edinburgh University had a wonderful reputation for, they...medical student - students who wanted to study medicine from the United States, who were Jewish, so there was a numerus clausus. And so many of them came to Edinburgh to study before the war...and then went back to the United States. It was an open society. And they were also- the interesting thing was, my parents of course, my father, when he ...was consulting, we needed to have a live-in help because somebody needed to attend the telephone and open the door for the patients. It was in our house, the surgery. And we had one wonderful help, that was Mrs McGinn, whose daughter I'm still- you know, have been friendly through all the years and who is the only person who could manage to tame my three sons when they were 'wild animals' as I call them. They were loved by my mother but in despair for this lady who'd been used to one reasonably behaved little girl. And these three boys who turned her- her place upside down and knocked over her chairs from Vienna, etc, etc. But Mary could cope with them, so her mother was our security for seven years. But from time to time the...they left and wanted to have another job or fell out with my mother. I have no idea what. And when I - I was always given the job, whilst my parents were interviewing somebody, of showing perhaps another couple around the house and telling them things. And one of the things was that I had to explain of course we had milk dishes, and meat dishes, and the kitchen, and certain... Jewish customs I had to tell them about. And I said, you know, "We're Jewish". And not once, but many times I heard, "That's fine; so long as you're not Catholic". So, that was Scotland at the time. Um...

**[1:41:16.0]**

*So it was a positive- you felt it was a positive...?*

It was very, it was a very positive experience. So I can't tell- I don't know what it was like in London. Obviously there were far more...

*Refugees there, sure.*

...refugees than here. But we had- it was wonderful how, as I said I met so many refugees who came just for a visit and were invited home. There was [laughs] a was well known gynaecologist [coughs] sorry, who, who used to play the piano and my mother who was very fussy with her piano would come and say, "You didn't wash your hands before practicing". And I said, "But you know I always do, Mummy!" I said, "It was (so and so)!" And Mummy says, "I don't believe it". I says, "Look, the piano's this time, it's pristine". I said - And he was coming that evening for dinner. And it wasn't so pristine after he left, so my mother...I, "I hope at least he washed his hands properly before seeing his patients". Not like... Semmelweis, you know, who fought against the Viennese physicians that time when he had the brilliant idea- of course, observation that there were so many cases in Vienna of puerperal sepsis and he said it was because the doctors came from pathology departments and didn't wash their hands. And he was laughed at and I think hounded out of his position in Vienna.

*So music played an important part for you personally and in your family?*

Yes, very. My...my father learnt the violin; his sisters learnt the piano. Also Julie who was the lawyer, sang very well, and I think would have quite liked to have a professional career. But there was, apart from the economic problems, because she came from such an Orthodox family this would not have been a suitable choice of career for her but she did... I think give minor concerts. And my mother I think was not terribly happy when she heard there was going to be another concert! [laughs] And I think it slipped out that once she said, "Was? Sie schon wieder?" [laughs] "Julie again? Another concert?" which I think didn't go down very well. The two sisters- in-law they loved each other but they also had a - a somewhat...slightly difficult because they were very different people, but of course academically both so bright.

*But where did she emigrate? Where did she...?*

To London.

*She went to London.*

**[1:44:08.0]**

To London, but like so many lawyers, she was not able to take up her career again. And, nor was her husband. He went into business. And she had a position with Gaster's the... Wilson, the big firm. And I think they needed four people to replace her but it was a very lowly position in comparison with having been- having had an advocate practice in the centre of Vienna. Successful. And... Really very sad. But she... yes and but music- so that was on the one side. My mother played the piano, but she said, for herself. And they made sure of course, that I as a child- they had very little spare money, my parents, but everything went into my education. So the school, even at a time where you know they had hardly- with that grant, or so, I think nearly everything went on their miserable accommodation and my school. And that was then, you know they made sure I had piano lessons with one of the best teachers in Edinburgh, that was Miss Lavaux. And she passed me on to- there was the Waddell- wonderful Waddell School of Music. There were two sisters; one taught the violin the other cello. This was a school which had been a music school founded by their father. So by the time I came there it might have been perhaps, the school, maybe seventy years old or so. It certainly celebrated more than its hundred years. And I had the privilege of having cello lessons with this wonderful teacher, who'd played for Casals and Suggia and I therefore... one then, really the, the lessons were, were wonderful and I, I then later had the absolute ... privilege of getting into the National Youth Orchestra. Something which I wouldn't have been able to do today. I'm sure the standard - although it was magnificent then, and it was the most wonderful experience. One of the most wonderful of my life. But today the standard is just out of this world.

**[1:46:50.0]**

*How old were you when you started in the...?*

When I started the cello?

*The National Youth Orchestra,*

When I was seventeen. I had never really even heard of the National Youth Orchestra. It had been founded about three or four years before, by Dame - she was not Dame then - Ruth Railton, who had this absolute vision that perhaps there were enough children - gifted children - in the whole of Britain, to make an orchestra. It was a completely novel idea and she was laughed at by the establishment. I think. And I think she was herself a music teacher, very gifted, I mean professional

- perhaps even a concert professional. And she managed nonetheless she persisted and managed to persuade some professors at the Academy to...to coach and organised it so that this orchestra was founded in 1948 I think it was. And had rave write-ups. And in the Edinburgh Festival what happened was, the great conductor Bruno Walter was conducting, and he actually was- he came to a rehearsal of the orchestra and was flabbergasted with this- with this orchestra. I didn't have tickets for the orchestra. My mother had actually booked for something else. I'll come back to the Edinburgh- that was their, the highlight for my parents, because this was one thing to- you'd asked me their impressions. The one thing they of course missed most terribly, was music, in Edinburgh. There was the Scottish National Orchestra which was... OK. It wasn't the National- I think it was just called the Scottish Orchestra then. The nice thing about it was that it had a lady, Jean Rennie which was the first violinist, which was very unusual. But it was- the standard at the time was really not very high. Especially not if you'd been brought up- I mean if you'd gone- my parents used to get standing room for, and later had an *abonnement* - a subscription - for the Vienna philharmonics in Vienna. And went to stand for the opera. And if you'd heard the Vienna Philharmonics and been brought up on that, then the Scottish Orchestra was really not very great by comparison. And there was hardly any chamber music. And it was only with the advent of the Edinburgh Festival that ...music came to Edinburgh. And my mother would, immediately on the first day, write off for tickets for practically everything. And we'd run in between my father consulting, and to one concert and the other. We would run out of the consulting, my father in the car, we would not find a parking space. We would sink into our seats in the last minute, only to have to get up because they used to sing 'God Save the Queen' - or was it the King in those days?

**[1:50:10.0]**

And so we had to immediately get up until we could collapse again. And this was the most marvellous thing. And on this occasion, ...a friend of my parents' you know somebody who was from the Community with whom we also had family; she was from Dublin I think. He was from Edinburgh Jewish Community. A very warm relationship between my parents and them. And Posi Levy said - she was a violinist, she'd been a violinist with the Halle Orchestra - and she said, "Am I coming to the- am I going to go to the National Youth Orchestra?" It was the first time that it was playing at the Edinburgh Festival. And I said, "I think my Mum's got tickets for something else". She said, "That's terrible!" You know, "My niece is playing and it's the most wonderful thing!" So I thought I'd better - so I got her ticket for the National Youth Orchestra. And I was- I was overwhelmed. But it was the first time I'd even thought about this. And it just so happened, well, I,

I never even thought about getting a place. But, there was a letter in *The Scotsman*, an open letter saying that it was such a wonderful concert. They'd noticed that very few of the children were from Scotland; most were from England. So Ruth Railton wrote back, saying "This is sadly the case..." although she had some very distinguished children from Scotland she'd like to have more. And anybody in Scotland, although she'd actually already arranged for the auditions, but anybody in Scotland who would still like an audition should immediately write to her. So I thought, "Let's try". My only problem was that I couldn't ask my teacher who was on holiday for permission. And they had a small string orchestra. And later when she heard that I'd applied she was not very happy. Because she was afraid that, you know, her- we'd play in the big orchestra and would not want to play any longer in the ...string orchestra which was very important. Their orchestra nurtured the younger children. So I applied, and got an audition. Ruth Railton at the time, she even accompanied me. I played the Brahms E-Minor Sonata, and don't remember what else I played. But I got in straight away. And then got my badge, which meant that if you got your badge in those days that you were a permanent member of the orchestra until either you, those members who got a place at one of the Academies for music, or one's twentieth birthday. So that's how I got it in.

**[1:53:01.0]**

*Fantastic! And did you ever think of doing it professionally? What were your professional - let's say you finished school - aspirations? What did you think?*

I would have quite like to have, but my parents very strongly suggested that ...did I think that if I perhaps became a member of an orchestra, was this something that I wanted to do? And that wouldn't it be better to keep it as a- as an amateur? And in fact that's what, I think, I'm very glad that they guided me along those ways. It wasn't as difficult I don't think, in those days, to have as it would be today, where there are so many gifted youngsters. But who also have studied and who have an incredible technique. I'm sure they were just as gifted then, but didn't have the opportunities I'm sure, so many years ago.

*So then what did you study, or...?*

I studied medicine. I- it was a six year course in those days. And I...I was, I was quite popular for the oddest reason that I was always late. I was always five minutes late for lectures, and...the - the lecturer would always be interrupted when I came because I got all the cat-calls which I didn't

get for my looks, but I got because of the welcome interruption which it was. And the lecturer was not very happy because there was always this interruption five minutes into the lecture. My, my mother for years had worked in the pharmacology department and the professor knew me well. And it was three floors up and I used to run up the first, I used to walk up the second and sort of...[panting] you know, manage to drag my feet up the third. He'd wait and say, "Now you are here Liesl, I can start my lecture". He didn't want the interruption five minutes in. [laughs]

*And you were at Edinburgh University?*

**[1:55:16.0]**

I was at Edinburgh University. And... I would have had the opportunity of doing an inter-collated BSC. It wasn't- it wasn't usual in those days. Just a very few chosen. I was chosen for physiology which

I didn't think I was very good at and didn't actually like all that much, and had the impertinence in those days to say, "well, I really want to finish. I like my friends, I want to finish medicine first, and...but if I- if I did do physiology I'd like at the end I'd prefer to go to Oxford". That- so he looked at me, he said, "All right, so long you..." - Oxford or Cambridge I said - he said, "Right, so long as you go to Oxford I'll give you a recommendation". And he did just that. But I was very impertinent in those days. I didn't mean to be but one just says...when one's young, one says what one thinks and doesn't... and I, I mean I was rejecting the course which he was very proud of. But he did recommend me for Oxford. So...

*Where you went later.*

Where I went later, yes.

*Let's just come back a little bit. Let's go back. What impact did the end of the war have on you or your parents?*

Well, these are memories I remember... very well. I still remember my father so excited on D-Day, in June '44. How he said, "Perhaps now", his mother, my grandmother, and his sister who were in Theresienstadt - would be rescued now. There was... some news. I mean they knew, we had family-

my father's cousins who'd got out to Sweden...It's also a story how they got out to Sweden.

*Go on...*

**[1:57:14.0]**

Yes? How, on his, his- My father's mother had a sister and two of their sons got out to Sweden, one of whom was a very, very good tennis player. And before he was number - I don't know, fifteen, or whatever - in Austria. And... in the summer he very often played in- and the King of Sweden used to come- he loved playing tennis although he was already over ninety. Used to come to Austria on holiday. He called himself 'Mr G' Gustav...I don't know- Gustav whatever. And he used to play doubles only; he never played singles. And there is a photo of my - my uncle, my father's cousin, with two other men and with Mr G who was very tall, very lanky, head and shoulders over the others. And when things became very...very serious, my uncle was able to go to the Swedish Embassy and show the photograph of his, you know, with the King. So he got an entrance - an entrance visa to Sweden and stayed there during the war. And that's also how a few things were rescued from the family he and his brother. So...but I'm sorry. I - I digress and I was...

*The end of the war...*

How the end of the war. The correspondence I wanted to say, then, was very difficult. But of course went I- as far as I can judge, partly to Brazil where my mother's family was. Because my- his, her brother had got out- the parents. And my mother's sister and brother in law. And then partly to New York where a cousin was. But then also mainly through Sweden. So that the correspondence went somehow through Sweden. And my parents knew that my grandfather had died of a natural death; he'd had a heart attack in 1941. Was buried in Vienna... with an...an orthodox funeral. And... unfortunately in 1942, my grandmother and the- my father's- the middle sister whose husband had been able to get out to Britain, but just one day before war broke out and had hoped to be able to bring his wife out, then, my aunt. But of course never managed and was on the Dunera then to ...to Australia.

**[2:00:03.0]**

But my aunt looked after then her mother, and they were taken to Theresienstadt in '42. And



they had been looked after by a widower - a cousin of my grandfather's who had married a non-Jewish woman, who was very good to my grandmother and my aunt. Sent them parcels to Theresienstadt. They- so we knew they were in Theresienstadt but tragically, my aunt was on the last of one of the very last transports in October '44. They were the last transports from Theresienstadt to - to Auschwitz and we never heard any more, so. But, my father in June '44 hoped that they would be freed, so that was one memory of his excitement that perhaps - you know, that they would be saved. I remember of course the telegram from my aunt in London - one sent telegrams in those days - saying... she said, "Mother," - that means my grandmother in the telegram to my father was - "Mother safe, and in Vienna". So she'd been able to get out from Theresienstadt to Vienna. "No news of Trude" the sister. So those are the memories at the end of the war. The relief...mingled of course with sadness for my father. The whole of the family from Prague, which my father's family were very close to, although it was actually they were second cousins but they were very, very close. The- all of the family were wiped out with the exception of...one great-uncle who was in Theresienstadt with my grandmother although they were not related but they formed a very close- of course they saw each other daily. I have letters after the war from this very- He was a chemist... but also a distinguished Jewish- I mean he was a scholar. And... he told me a lot about the family and about conditions. I have a little about the conditions in... from his letters to my father in Theresienstadt. How my aunt looked after her mother, and how they tried always, I mean there was internally they tried to save some of the- the people from being sent on the transports. But then there came a time when one just couldn't save them anymore. And he said, he wrote how they tried to save my aunt, who taught children Hebrew and religion still in Theresienstadt. Apparently she continued. She had been a teacher of religion in Vienna for the Kultusgemeinde, and she continued then in- in Theresienstadt.

**[2:03:11.0]**

*So the grandmother was not deported from Theresienstadt? So she survived?*

The two old people - the grandmother and the uncle – Uncle Jeiteles, Berthold Jeiteles- survived. And the only other ones from Prague amongst I don't know how many cousins, was I found him only within the last ten years, because Yad Vashem went on- online. And I found a letter which he wrote as an eighty year old. He had survived all the camps, Auschwitz, everything. And I think a brother of his- His older brother had got out to Palestine when the Germans came into Czechoslovakia. And the middle brother - he was the youngest - was alive until one of the last

camps, and then he perished. In one of the last- or on a march...Dachau. But he survived. And he was the only person, and I found him through Yad Vashem, because he had put in the pages of testimony for all- all the family. So that was, that was all. And yes, some, I think one - one of the second cousins- one had got out to the United States, another one- another family. And one survived the camps with her husband.

*And on your mother's side the parents went to Brazil?*

They went to Brazil, yes. So the - the closest family on my mother's side, but again, first cousins and uncles and so on, also perished. But her very immediate family... survived.

*So was there any idea after the war of returning to Austria, or...?*

**[2:04:55.0]**

Never. My parents would have never gone back. They...they had established their existence again. And ...they liked to go back. The first time they went back, was in 19...52. I think my mother went to a- to a Congress. I - I don't remember now. But at any rate I think so. I would have to look this up. It was not... very nice. It was the Four Zones then. We - one didn't feel very happy in the Russian Zone and I think that for instance, the Second District was part of what became the Russian Zone then...later on. So I don't think my parents showed me around then- The Second District which had been their territory, as it were. They had some, one or two friends, ...I still remember my father was asked to deliver - one funny incident in 1952 - my father was asked to deliver something by some friends, or, you know, a little parcel or something. And the Hausbesorger said, "*Das ist doch mein- das ist doch Herr Doktor Adler!*" She must have been a patient of my father's. Funny.

**[2:06:30.0]**

My mother certainly went to her old department, the Department of Chemistry. And there was one colleague there who'd been Jewish, who had somehow survived. I don't know if he'd emigrated and come back to Vienna. So...we- they did look round. Vienna looked very sorry for itself in 1952... I remember. The only lovely thing was, we had these friends. She was Shani Moravec she had been Shani Schreiber - very assimilated family. My mother said that her friend's mother used to be relegated to the kitchen to light the Shabbat candles. She wasn't allowed to do it in the main

room. So her friend was very assimilated and married a violinist who actually became- He was the leader of the viola section of the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra and a very great violin Professor. World famous. And it was lovely visiting them. That was a part of Old Vienna. And I even stayed with them. And they were just such interesting people. They of course told us stories about Vienna during the war, playing in the orchestra. He, for instance, told us that, felt quite bitter that I think, Furtwängler had been so...badly, he had such a bad press rather undeservedly in comparison with others, for instance like Karajan or Böhm, for instance who were much... I mean without throwing stones probably had...you know, a, a, a worse history. Moravec told us how during the war he once turned around to the leader of the First Violins, and said, "If only Arnold Rosé were still sitting there, it would sound quite different!"

**[2:08:41.0]**

Now, you don't say that kind of thing, you know, or you didn't in Vienna. You had to be careful what you said during the war. And I believe he rescued people. Certainly, Ernst Moravec, who had quite a lot to say about some colleagues, huge pressure was put on him to divorce his wife, whom he loved. And he protected his Jewish wife throughout the war. Like the First Clarinetist, Jettel, who also refused to divorce. And they were of course distinguished enough and needed by the Philharmonics so that their wives were tolerated. And...So that was a lovely experience in Vienna.

*Did your grandmother, who survived Theresienstadt- did she come to England?*

Yes. The, my father and my aunts were able, cause the younger sister also came to Britain. She was in Wales. Quite interesting because she also... the youngest sister went to Wales where... there was a tree forest trading estate which had been built up by refugees if one had funds. I think one was welcome if one established a business in Britain and was able to give work to- in an area of great unemployment. So she was in Wales in this, and she worked and had a position in the Treforest Trading Estate. My grandmother then came...I'd say it was in 1946, and it wasn't easy to get her over. They had categories of course of - of reunification. But, certainly she came. She was sadly a broken old lady, I mean after her experiences... But it was lovely. She was first in London with her - her daughter. And then she came to us; she was most of the time in Edinburgh. And...well I suppose my parents tried to keep her. They wanted to give her as much as possible still in her remaining... She died, she had a coronary in 1947 so she didn't - She had about a year in this country.

[2:11:13.0]

*Mnn. And when did your parents become naturalised?*

In 1947. I think it was actually a birthday present for me when my father- I don't know when my mother, perhaps very shortly afterwards. I was naturalised with my father, being a minor of course. And I think it came through on, on, on my birthday in 1947.

*And was it important for them?*

To be British? Certainly. I never know whether my, my parents... you know a lot of Austrians were robbed of their nationality. I have no idea whether my parents still maintained Austrian nationality until they got British or not. I mean, it was no decision of theirs...

*No.*

It was- they were- Many people were robbed of their... There was an official... I'm sure you know that better than me.

*But you became British in 1947.*

I became British in 1947.

*So tell us a bit more about yourself. Once you- What happened to you...after you started your medical studies?*

Well, I - I had a very happy childhood. And...I enjoyed medicine. My friends were nearly all my Scottish friends- not Jewish. I...I did of course participate with the Jewish Society but I lived at home. And living at home meant that I didn't participate too much in other- on other societies. Partly because we, as medical students we really had- we had lectures from 9 till 3 every day, some on Saturdays even. And...Then there were often, I had music lessons. I still kept up piano and cello. I had- Yes. I used to- I did sometimes as I said meet up with the other- with Jewish students. I went- I was a member of the Edinburg University Orchestra. So I did do other things, but not as much as

today...outside. One had to- We had to keep up with our work. I mean I wasn't a huge swat but nonetheless you just had to work otherwise one fell behind easily. And we had then later on also summer... we had to deliver babies under supervision in the holidays. We had to...we had summer- we had to either usually medicine or surgery. But I think it was mostly medicine, we had to work in hospitals and...or watch deliveries... and actually we- So it was a very busy six years with medicine and then I immediately ...did my year in hospital.

**[2:14:16.0]**

I had the real distinction of being houseman to Professor Stanley- Sir Stanley Davidson, who was the Professor of Medicine and wrote the famous textbook of medicine, which I think is possibly- when students still use a textbook. He was such a wonderful, modest man. My parents remember the lecture that he gave. He was with the British- I don't know whether he was with the troops, or he was sent over as a doctor, when Belsen was liberated. And my parent heard the lecture that he gave then in 1945. It was heart rending as he described the...the scenes in Belsen. He was a wonderful man, and it was a real privilege. He did not- he was not like some of the other doctors and not to mention what happened in Vienna then later on, with the heads of department. But he used to come- his favourite ward round would be with Sister and - and the Houseman. And of course there were many visitors from ...he would have many doctors coming from abroad to be there, who used to tag along if they could. And of course sometimes he had to do a ward round- a full ward round and with students and so on. But his favourite was with the- with only just the - with the Sister and Houseman. And afterwards he would just- he would say goodbye at the door. He didn't want anybody to accompany him and open the door for him and do all kinds of things like that. So that was wonderful. I remember- I remember yes, I remember one thing that- that might be funny. But, in our last year of medicine, the ladies entertained our- only the women, and we were about in those days, I think about twenty percent of us were women. It was kept to that in those- I mean there was this...

*A quota.*

There was a quota of women in those days. And we then, so we stuck together quite a lot and there was a dinner then for our members of staff in our final year. And I still remember there were to be three speakers amongst us. And of course three chosen speakers. And one speaker I think they chose because she was known as a good speaker and then they sort of scratched their heads and

somebody said, "I know! Liesl should be one of them, she talks so much". [laughs] So...I'm sure you can see that from this interview. And...

**[2:16:59.0]**

*And was there the idea that you were going to join your father as a doctor or...?*

Yes, my father would have liked that very, very much. The only trouble was that I saw how hard he worked as a single handed GP and I really hesitated about this. I saw on the other hand that my mother was really, she was a very distinguished research worker. She was also a passionate teacher. She loved teaching, and an excellent supervisor. She used to hold, she- there were various things that she did. She ...was a Regent it was called. That means she was allocated students, like everybody else. I was also when I was a student allocated to somebody. I don't think he ever- He might once have just said 'Hello' to us at the beginning. And...I was at home so I had my parents to go to. But there were students who came from outside where I'm sure it would have been important to have a mentor. And I think today this is very usual. My mother though, was a very conscientious mentor and she used to have her students come round for tea, and she'd have them all- the beginning medical students - so that they could meet the older ones, so that they knew what was in store for them, they could chat. And for years after they graduated they used to stay in touch with her. She also had PhD students, whom her Chief then took a dislike to, and said that - you know, they couldn't stay longer than two years. This was in the case of two of her students. My mother managed to - to help those students that they got their PhDs in two years. She was dedicated. And research. She would have visitors coming from abroad, quite distinguished scientists who would come to discuss her work. She'd go- she was invited to the Histamine Conference I think in honour of Sir Henry Dale, his - maybe his 80th birthday. I think it was 1951 where she was invited to give a paper. I think, I don't know how many men there were - thirty? There is a photo, which I might show you, and she's the only- only woman there. So people would come and I think that when she became a Lecturer in the Department of Clinical Chemistry before she'd always had grants, personal grants, the Medical Research Council, very grateful for I think the Wellcome Trust. Edinburgh University, she had one after the other and was working with Professor Gaddam for many years in the Pharmacology Department. But then she got the Lectureship in Clinical Chemistry and I think her Chief was sometimes a little- a little jealous of the distinguished people who'd come. Or she was asked to lecture. She went to Poland a few times to teach. She was invited to South America, North America.

[2:20:00.0]

*So both of your parents managed to re-establish themselves in their careers which is ...unusual. Not unusual, but not- not everyone managed to do that.*

I think she never- I mean if she had been allowed to pass her medical final exams in Vienna, she might have certainly financially been slightly better off with a medical degree because she was in a medical department. And she always worked on medical topics. Continuation of pregnancy... toxaemia of pregnancy, even finally- she finally...she wrote, she was interested in, in Thalidomide, and how possibly it had its deleterious effect. She wrote a - a book which became a standard textbook just before my father died, towards the end of her career in 1970, on amine oxidases - which was 'Amine Oxidases; Methods for Their Study' which was a classic book and so on. So they really...and she- and my father was well known as a doctor, and very highly regarded by his Scottish medical colleagues, by consultants... You know the obstetrician who then deliver my - at least my first born - he sadly died then afterwards, he wasn't old. But they were all you know, very, my- they were very highly- My parents were very highly regarded which is wonderful.

[2:22:10.0]

*Mnn Yes. So when- because in 1970 when your father died, were you still in Edinburgh, or...?*

No, I was in Vienna. I was married already. But to go back...go back. I had- I had played with the idea because I was saying, my mother was a scientist. And I thought of this as just- I didn't actually think I was going to be a pure scientist like herself...but I thought it would be nice ...sorry...to perhaps get a proper grounding that I could do clinical research. I thought it would be nice to perhaps go into endocrinology. I loved paediatrics, I loved because my second house jobs in surgery, was in the Royal Hospital for Sick Children in Edinburgh and I therefore- I loved working with children. [brief pause]

So I had thought about at least studying. And I also felt I'd been at home until I was 24 then, even- Of course we had to stay in hospital for our year in hospital in those days. You weren't allowed to stay out. But I had been in Edinburgh. And I really did feel that as an only child it was important also to perhaps go elsewhere. So I had, before I finished, as I was taking my finals already I had approached Professor Whittredge who had said that he would give me a recommendation to Oxford.

And he said he would so I applied to Somerville. And a Professor of Biochemistry, Professor Marion, also recommended me. And...I got a scholarship first from Edinburgh University and also shortly afterwards from the Carnegie- I got a Carnegie Scholarship. And I was able to study at - at Oxford then, and I had the great distinction of working of actually having as my supervisor Sir Hans Krebs. What happened was, that I had initially got the introduction to Oxford from Professor Whittredge who was the Professor of Physiology. And the - the Don at Somerville who showed me around, she was a physiologist and looked very interesting. She then left me with a neurophysiologist for about half an hour. And he talked so much over my head, that I decided on the spot No Way was I going to study physiology at Oxford. I mean that was a spot decision. I went across to the Department of Biochemistry then which- I really had always been more interested chemistry, perhaps through my mother, I don't know. And I just liked chemistry better. So I started off in chemistry. Ah, yes. My introduction to Oxford. I had just finished my house jobs I mean, a few days earlier and rapidly packed my things and went to Oxford. And it just so happened that the first day of term, Monday, of that year was Yom Kippur. So I had an appointment to see Professor Krebs who was the Professor of Biochemistry at the time. And he knew my mother from scientific work. And in fact he'd written for Society for the Protection of Science and Learning a very positive ...report on my mother, which I only discovered at the Bodleian Library in recent years. Whereas Sir Charles Harington, had actually written a negative report on my mother's world-famous department, and said nothing of interest had come out of the department in ten years. I couldn't believe what I was seeing. It was a death warrant. He perhaps didn't realise that. But I was truly shocked; I felt quite ill when reading this report. But fortunately Professor Krebs had written a very positive report on my mother. And so years later, I came along to him and he said, "So you'll be starting on Monday?" And I said, "No, Sir Hans. Monday is Yom Kippur. I won't be starting on Monday. I will certainly make up any work".

**[2:27:03.0]**

And he said to me, "That'll be a dilemma for you". And I looked at him, I said, "There's no dilemma for me. I'm not coming on Monday". It was a very interesting conversation. ... Years later then- A couple of years later when he actually very kindly accepted me as a student - one of his few students - as a- He was my supervisor, because he was the most medically related of all- it was the most medically related field that he ...he oversaw in the department. And so that suited me very, very well. And I was very grateful to him. And he often, it was very interesting-He was very far removed from Judaism, but like some other refugees, he was a Governor... is that, I don't know if



that's the correct expressions, perhaps- of the Hebrew University. And he loved his position as one of the, this position. So he used to go to Israel sometimes. Then he'd always come and ask me, "Is there a Jewish Holiday coming up, because it's so disruptive of the traffic?" And so he would always, you know, ask me and ask me about religion. And it was very interesting. I read somewhere in his autobiography he spoke to a lady who wrote it down later. I couldn't find the passage again, but I'm sure I didn't dream it... Where he said that he regretted that his parents- he'd never received a religious- any religious tuition or any background because he would have liked to have made the decision then one day. And it was an interesting observation because it was very different to...[laughs] the fact that he was such a workaholic that he could not conceive of my not coming to work or to actually start a course. How much would one have done? Especially since he said that I should do the- he would like me, before doing research work, since it was a long time since I'd done biochemistry before in medicine. After all it was the second, third year medicine. And...He said I should do the course in biochemistry first...Join the year, the Honours Year, fourth year, which suited me wonderfully. I had a wonderful first year at Oxford because I was a student again, after working twenty-four hours a week- I mean twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week. We had no time off when I was doing my house jobs in those days.

**[2:29:59.0]**

*And when had Krebs come to Oxford, when...?*

He- when he got the Nobel Prize he was still at Sheffield. He came out to Cambridge first in 1933, he just published I think the glyoxylate cycle, a very distinguished early work. He was a medical graduate. Not a science graduate. And he just got his first position in- I don't know - he came from Freiburg und Breisgau whether he got the position there. He just, when- it was immediately cancelled. And he came to Frederik Gowland Hopkins in Cambridge I think, who desperately tried to get something for him in Cambridge. I don't think that he was able to get a - a remunerated position there. But at any rate he, he then he was in Sheffield as Professor for many years. And did his famous, world famous work on the Krebs Cycle there so got the Nobel Prize for the work he did in Sheffield. And I'm sorry the year he became Professor in Oxford I don't know. I went up to Oxford in 1959 and he'd certainly been professor there several years before. And he - he was a lovely man, very modest. And... it was, how he criticised in a constructive manner then, my work, stood me in excellent stead later on for my work, because I did mostly editorial work for most of

my years in Vienna. And I learnt that from how he had just criticised. But he was a very hands-on supervisor. He came every day to see whether I was working. Whether I...he, Jane, my friend Jane Mellanby who worked in the same room. Who actually has a- had a very distinguished career, and still has a distinguished career...she always said he used to come in at nine o'clock in the hopes that I was there, and I used to come in at half past nine. [laughs] But I think he couldn't change me. We had to work on Saturday. Absolutely - I mean he wouldn't have tolerated this- not working.

**[2:32:00.0]**

*And what was your thesis? What did you work on?*

I worked on the anterior pituitary... hormonal. And I discovered that there was a...a substance which I had isolated from rat livers, which actually had a ketotic effect that means: making fatty ...acids...and the effect of the anterior pituitary. I don't know, I mean it certainly earned me the, the DPhil which fortunately- and it was interesting. I would have liked to have written it up and in fact Professor Krebs said he would have put his name on the paper which meant that it was good enough. He certainly- you know he would have thrown me out if I hadn't been.

*Sure.*

I don't think I was very good; I'm sure I was his worst- I'm sure I was his worst student. But none the less it didn't. Unfortunately the thing was, I got married within two weeks of- of actually having my Viva and finishing. And moving to Vienna. And then with all the struggles I had getting the recognition of my- or at least trying to get recognition of my medical degree in Vienna. I didn't have time. I did write it up but then my first child came and so that the paper, it was there, and he would have put his name on it. But it never got to the publisher because I just didn't- also physically couldn't discuss with him enough. So that was- Perhaps I should get you the title of my...I can certainly find the title of it somewhere.

**[2:34:22.0]**

*OK. So tell us- You haven't told us how you met your husband and how that move to Vienna really then happened.*

That's right. I mean, I just wanted to say, of course I- can I just say, I had a lot of fun at Oxford. It was a wonderful experience. Of course I played the cello, perhaps more than I studied! [laughs] And played in- in orchestras, in chamber music, recitals ...at the music club. At... at college- in college orchestras. Christian and you know, I think we did the St John Passion ones. I was an active member of the Jewish Society. I, I went along nearly every day for lunch. There was a lovely Austrian lady called Frau Federhofer, not Jewish, who was a wonderful cook. She was the cook for the students. And since she knew I was usually late, especially if she made crumble, she'd always put some in the oven and keep it aside for me. And I kept in touch with her for many years after I got married. She kept everything strictly to the- to the letter of the law in Kashrut. She ...was a political refugee. She'd been a Communist so...and she'd - she'd married again in Oxford. She was so- that was a lovely thing. I also, yes I took part in other societies and so on and... Of course in those days there were so few women in Oxford, that even though I was rather ancient in comparison with most of the undergraduates, I did get invited out quite a lot by - by the men, because they had very little choice. So it was very nice. I had a horrible digs at first. It was not easy of course to find somewhere when I was in, in... Edinburgh working in hospital. So I was with a German lady who was a refugee, but she was very odd. She had an Austrian girl for a- as an au pair I remember. And the lady went on holiday, my German...

*Landlady.*

Landlady, thank you. And she said I should keep an eye on, on, on the au pair to make sure she didn't have any boyfriends and I just thought that didn't seem to be really my...my- But anyway she was very odd, so after a year I- I moved to much...

**[2:37:13.0]**

*One moment. Yes please.*

So I was just going to say I had a very nice landlady then for the rest of my time. Unfortunately the year after I went down, Somerville had a graduate house. It would have been very nice to have the experience of a year - which I didn't have in Edinburgh - and it would have been nice to have had one of the graduate rooms. But that only happened after I left. So...from time to time of course... like all good Jewish parents my... my parents would, perhaps with the knowledge of other or the helping hand of others - somebody would want to come round and see - and see Oxford. So I had

the, the, the pleasure or otherwise of showing people round Oxford who no doubt were intended by some well-meaning family, as a possible suitor. And...On one occasion then towards the end of my time at Oxford...there I heard again. But this was somebody different. This was somebody who... had, whose father was a cousin of a cousin of my father's. In other words, they had a common cousin but were not related because it was on the other side of the family. And he was from Vienna but he'd spent time in the United States and in Israel. And he'd like to see Oxford, so I thought Great. OK. And I still remember going to meet a train, and - oh, yes I had a bike in those days of course. A ramshackle bike, which was very necessary. You couldn't get around otherwise. The bus service was always impossible. I remember as usual, being late then, for the train. So there was nothing for it. I had intended either to walk or something. There was nothing for it except by bike-to go by bike. And then get rid of my bike. Now, there are huge areas where you can get rid of it, in those days there weren't, so it wasn't so easy. So I still remember, my family will laugh, that- My husband, whom I met then, my future husband - the man who came, George, or Georg, who came off the train, when I said, "I'm sorry, I've got to get rid of my bike first". So [laughs] he had the opportunity, he told me later on, to have a good look at my legs, which was a very important asset that they passed muster. [laughs] Otherwise he might not have been so interested in seeing Oxford. As it was, I showed him all the sights in Oxford or at least some of them. And he seemed to like Oxford and came back again, and...

**[2:40:14.0]**

So, I mean my father had- my parents, my father had known his father - not well but - in previous years. Because my husband's family came from Pressburg, Bratislava. His mother came from the Hungarian area, just outside, there, the Hungarian part of Slovakia. And they lived in Bratislava. His grandmother lived in Vienna. So of course there was quite a connection, and his father came often for business or so to Vienna. And since there was the cousin in common, they must have known each other. And so... Georg came, he came and we he came when my parents took me to Florence that summer then for a holiday. Georg came for a few days too, and thought it would be nice to see Florence and then invited me to Vienna. So...we got engaged and ...then got married half a year later as soon as I had finished my- my thesis. I actually would have had the possibility, with the Carnegie Scholarship. I had made this possibility that after I had finished my thesis, I would have had maybe six months or three months or six months left of my scholarship. And I'd arranged to, Professor Krebs had arranged that I could go to the - to Rehovot - to the Weizmann Institute, to work there. But when Georg came on the scene he said, no way, was he allowing me to

go to Rehovot. He said I'll never come back. So... because he'd spent time in Israel working in Tel Aviv and then he'd also and he spoke perfect Ivrit. He spoke many languages. Partly because of the- the circumstances of the war he grew up German speaking. His mother though spoke Hungarian. So he heard his parents, his father could also- I don't know how his father spoke Hungarian. But they spoke Hungarian sometimes at home, so he heard it. And then they were in Bratislava until 1942. And then his father was tipped off by a business acquaintance who was a Nazi, a high ranking Nazi who liked him personally, and had brought food parcels - well not food parcels but food - from the country to them as a family then. And he told Georg's father to be out of- within hours. It was apparently the day of the first roundup in Bratislava in 1942. So he was very resourceful, Georg's father. Immediately contacted his mother: "Pack a few things". And they moved to the Hungarian part of Slovakia to the relatives there. And he knew that there was one taxi driver, who had permission to cross the frontier. There was only one. The others had to apply, and it would have taken twenty-four hours. As it was, they immediately left, leaving all their possessions. The piano...everything. They just packed a few clothes and that's all they ever got back, I mean all they ever possessed from their time in Bratislava. And they then spent a year - illegally - in Budapest, father managing to do some business. Georg and his sister went to school there. So they immediately had to learn Hungarian so as that not to appear... it would not be dangerous. And then...in spring 1943...just before his Bar Mitzvah, the father managed to get them out to Istanbul. It was absolutely amazing. He was incredible. It was very dangerous. They were- a long train journey. They were almost caught in, in ...Romania, where they, the train stopped for many hours. And a Jewish acquaintance came to see them and fortunately said that he couldn't accompany them because of the curfew back to the train, because he had to wear the star. And that would have been their downfall because a Nazi official stopped them and asked them what they were doing and Georg's father had prepared some piece of paper, in Romanian...or was it Bulgarian? I've forgotten. It could have been Bulgarian; I'm sorry

*Probably Bulgaria.*

**[2:45:29.0]**

It was Bulgaria. Sorry, my geography was my weakest subject. It was then, Bulgarian. He'd prepared a piece of nonsense, he said. But it had an official stamp from a diplomatic source saying he was on a diplomatic mission. And, and the Nazi asked somebody to translate it, and was satisfied. But they were very dangerous moments. And they got to Istanbul in 1943. Georg had his

Bar Mitzvah in the synagogue there...you know a few weeks later. And both he and his sister went to the English school there. So they had a very happy schooling there. So they both learnt to speak English. Both of them were very, very gifted for languages.

*And then how did they come back to Vienna?*

They then, when they both finished school, the family wanted to go back to Bratislava being Communist by now. Of course they wanted to go back to central Europe, so they landed up in Vienna. And his father kept on the business. He'd established a small business - export business - in, in... Istanbul. And... of course they both learnt Turkish, spoke very good Turkish, both he and his sister. His sister still spoke Spanish and Greek later too. So that's how. And then they went to- Georg went to University. His sister then, she went on, she went to Ulpan and got married to an American who was in Israel. And they were partly in the America and partly in Israel then. So she didn't stay very long in Vienna. But Georg went to university; he got a degree in Economics. At the Universität für Welthandel. He was in business with his father. He also then spent as I said, a year with...I don't know, two brothers, I've forgotten the name, in Israel. Very interesting he said, he was their dogs body, but he learnt a lot. And then he worked in New York. That was the shipping with...I've forgotten the name. I can easily find it out.

*Don't worry.*

**[2:48:03.0]**

Very well known. I think they got the- the business then after- after 9/11 ...the scrap. And he worked for their...he said it was fascinating to be in New York, but he said it was...it was such a difficult life, business wise and he came - he always gravitated back to Vienna.

*So by the time you met he didn't want to- He wanted to live in Vienna?*

He wanted to live in Vienna. Yes, sorry, excuse me, I just want to get my hanky. Thank you.

*Mnn. And so what did your parents think about your moving... to Vienna?*

They never...I don't know, they must have had mixed feelings. I think they were very relieved that I was getting married, like all Jewish parents, quite honestly. And you know, to a sort of family with a Continental background. And...I suppose that - I just don't - we never had this discussion. I don't know. They....they must have had mixed feelings. I'm sure they would have preferred if I had been closer to home - to their home. After all, as an only child. And later on, if my father went on holiday as a single handed practitioner, he had to find a *locum*. So they went away for four weeks; it was very, very difficult and very expensive for them to actually go away for four weeks. So they would come to Austria or we would meet somewhere. And I would come as often as I could but it was only twice a year so...It was, they loved coming to Vienna. They wandered around; by this time Vienna looked quite different of course to our first visit was in 1952. It was no longer grey and the music was wonderful. They would wander around they said, as if- As if the years had just fallen away. And... they - they just loved being there, but only just for the time. And it was very different to, I think many people had this love-hate relationship with Vienna that I found later on. ...And to digress, we went, we, we, we had, my husband had,...we have to finish perhaps my husband, and his career first. He was in business with his father. Then with other things. He tried this; the tried that. He wasn't very happy in business. And after our youngest son, Ernst, was born in 1971 he decided finally, with three children, really had to do something he liked. And when he was in New York, he'd been assessed and in I think one of these psychologic - psychometric tests. And they had said he had a very good head for mathematics. And so he decided he'd like to switch and become an accountant. So he wound up his business. He went to night courses. He- During the day he managed for find a firm... of accountants that he could be a trainee with. He didn't discover, for quite a while, that it was actually- that they were a communist company. It was very... You asked me about Jewish people perhaps in, maybe I'll come back to Jewish people in Vienna later. But there were so many communists amongst those who went back.

*Yep.*

It was very, very interesting when you said, would my parents have wanted? The - the assimilated Jews who went back, whom I met, were nearly all communists. So my husband suddenly came home and he said, "These Russian- these communist companies", you know? And he discovered- he hadn't a clue. He'd got it through the Kultusgemeinde, he had a friend he had at the Kultusgemeinde. Georg went there and said, "Is there a firm of accountants? Jewish?" And the man said, "Not directly. There are none members of the Kultusgemeinde, but I know that so and so who was a refugee in England, that, that he and his partner who is not Jewish, that they have a business,

an accountancy firm". So Georg applied there and they took him on. And I think they were- he did a very good job for them, because of his business experience. And he loved his work and he was a - a wonderful accountant. Every case was a personal one to him. He thought of what he could do for each person individually. And, but his beginnings were in- and worked for a while- He worked independently for himself later. But he did do quite a lot of work for the companies that he'd look after when he was a trainee, once he'd graduated.

*Mn-hnn. But you said, there was something you wanted to link it to your parents when they came back...?*

When they...well...it was just about...sorry, did I?

*You said was it a house in the country or something. It was leading to something and it linked you back, when they came to visit?*

**[2:53:48.0]**

When they came to visit? Well not really, but would you like to find out about my- should I go back to my family then, which came from Austria, the part of the family, the...?

*No, I would like to go back, in that case about you and what you did in Vienna and how difficult it was. To the way you had to do the reverse to what your parents had to do in terms of recognition of exams ...or degrees?*

Yes. Well. The- the trouble was, every country is of course very jealous of its medical degrees, and makes difficulties. Just like the British had been difficult with my father despite the fact that they knew what a wonderful reputation was. What upset me so much was that the medical school which had been so wonderful until the Jews were thrown out- Now I'm not saying that all the Jewish doctors were wonderful; I'm sure they weren't all wonderful. But. You cannot throw out over fifty percent of your Senior medical staff overnight, and expect the medical school to stay the same as it was. I mean this is just an impossibility. And it has probably taken Vienna two generations to get back I suppose to the level that perhaps ...a European level, I think. So I, with my medical degree, I had- I had every university going crazy because I had the distinction of getting a degree with Honours; there were four of us in our whole year of about - I don't know how many graduated -



about 138 at that graduation, but all together of course some 150 in the year. I had, had, I had been Houseman to the Professor of Medicine, a Physician to the Her Majesty the Queen in Scotland. I had, I had Professor Krebs, Nobel Prize winner, who said he could say how good my medical - because he was a doctor, a medical doctor - how good my education in Britain had been. And there was Vienna, whose medical degree at the time was frankly - lousy. It was really poor. The students would do one exam at a time, they could fail up to four times; I think somebody had to come from the Ministerium then. I was told you have to study for Pharmacology a whole year, that's after having studied pathology - only pathology - for a year. They would learn from scripts, which you could buy. And it was all oral. And if you were going to have an exam from so and so, you had to know that the answer that he wanted was such and such from your script.

*So did you study again...or did you?*

**[2:57:06.0]**

I'm sorry, I, I, I will come back to that. Just one second. And, and then they said to me "Internal medicine? Easy. Six weeks." If in Britain you fail the clinical medical exam you have to do all your exams for the final again. Medicine, Surgery, Paediatrics, Obstetrics and Gynaecology. You have to do them all again if you fail the clinical exam; that's how important the clinical work is here. In Vienna: six weeks!...from your... So what they said was, at first they didn't want to allow me to do anything. They said, I went to- actually that's how I got into the Pharmacology department. The professor who was in charge of the *Nostrifikation*<sup>2</sup> - that means somebody who decided whether somebody, whether your degree was going to be recognised. He was the Professor of Pharmacology, very distinguished medical family, Professor von Brücke. He had worked in London before the war with Sir Henry Dale and he was a wonderful man. And he said to me, "Look, I know your mother. I know how good your degree is because I've worked in Britain. I'm just going to have a terribly difficult- It's going to be very difficult because in Britain you have a Bachelor's Degree. You have an NBCHB, and they will not want, in the faculty to say that it's an equivalent to our MDE, which used, before all the Jews were thrown out, before they lost half their faculty or more, to have of course a very high reputation". Now the students didn't even have to write a thesis any more. Or they could write a thesis if they wanted. They didn't have to do any practical work in a hospital at all in those days. They - they, they had to do all their practical work after they got their

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<sup>2</sup> Recognition and admission of degrees (regarding the health profession) obtained abroad

degree. So this was medicine in Vienna at the time. And I had actually had done a Doctorate in - in Biochemistry. A pre-clinical subject but it was still a Doctorate - and it was in Oxford. And...So here was this problem. He said to me, "I'm going to do what I can, but maybe I should say that if your parents had not been thrown out, you would have been able to stay and - and study in Vienna". So I said, "I don't actually know whether I would like you to say that". I had no idea whether this was a double edged sword or not in anti-Semitic Vienna. And in any case I had always been used to standing on my own feet. I had never wanted to ... I didn't know the Viennese mentality. Very eastern and if you know the right people, you can still sort things out. At least I hope it's not like that in Britain today, it certainly didn't used to be like that. And...So what he said he'll do his very best for me. So they argued... with Edinburgh going crazy not recognising their degree, etc. as to whether I could even do exams...there was a question. So after about two and a half years, two years, I think they came to the conclusion - typical Austrian conclusion, they said, right, they made my life relatively easy. They said, "You will matriculate. You will do the exam in *Gerichtsmedizin*, medicine in relation to- I mean the law in relation to medicine, forensic medicine. "And then we will let you graduate from Vienna University. We will not recognise your degree". And that's what happened. I- that's how I got my Degree. But then they turned round to me and said, "Right. Four years in a hospital if you wish to be a GP. Seven years for a specialty".

**[3:01:09.0]**

And I said, I was fully registered in Britain. I could have become- I could have - in those days I could have become a GP. Of course I would have done more before... But I could have joined a practice in Britain already. In Austria they wanted- with a young family? How should I have done it? ...non-medical family. So when Professor Brücke saw me, he said, "I have a position vacant in my department. Would you like to be...?" It was I think a - it was a temporary lectureship. And I said, "Thank you very much". And...and so that's how I came into the Pharmacology Department and stayed there. I introduced some of the methods that I'd learnt under Professor Krebs. I introduced them, and adapted them for the work. They were working on... a vasodilator on the heart at the time so it was quite interesting to do these methods. But ...they were very reactionary. There was only one woman *Dozent* in the department. She was from Hungary. She was a refugee who had presumably been a distinguished pharmacologist before she came out in '56. Not a single woman was made a *Dozent* in the thirty-five years or so that I was in the department. And at first I tried to do research; I found that umpteen men put their name on my paper. I think my chief, not Professor Brücke, but Professor Krauff, who later became - who got the chair after he died. Who is

the one who...who then, as a medical student had done the test of my mother. And... he changed my...my- he, he argue...the arguments - the...it was then often that they were- were rejected. I just lost ...I lost confidence, I lost interest. So I did almost entirely medical editorial work. Anybody who had a paper in the department would come to me, and I would put their paper into decent English so that it could be internationally published. I very often found that there were scientific queries that I was not- I knew very well those who wrote careful and good papers, and those in the department where I had to struggle. And when I complained to the leader of the, "Why doesn't he look to make sure that the results are correct?" He said, "Oh, I know you'll do that for me".

**[3:03:52.0]**

It was dogsbody work. It usually got a little sentence at the end "with thanks". I was such a- I was so naive, that I didn't insist that my name went on the paper. I mean...that was how - how it was. I struggled in Austria. I struggled even to get- I wanted to be Austrian for my work. I thought it was important that I got the nationality. The problems that I had, although I had been born in Austria, my father had been born in Austria, even my grandfather, they got the papers out, even my grandfather. My husband was Austrian. They made problems with my Austrian nationality. In the end it turned out that it was because I was British that the prob- That at that time, not at the time I got married but a year or so later, you couldn't be- have dual nationality and I would have never given up my British nationality. Never. So that was a problem. I said, "Yes, but now one can have dual nationality". But the man looking at the... notes, he couldn't...he...it was a ridiculous bureaucratic thing. I - I wanted to play my cello. I found it so difficult. There was this *Akademischer Orchesterverein* - Academic Orchestra. I had the academic qualification to be a member. I sat at the back of the cellos, it wasn't all that great. And the second or third or fourth rehearsal - I still remember - my husband said, "Do you think I can come and - and listen?" I said, "Well in Britain, there would have been no problem." I said, "I suppose so". Maybe I was wrong; I should have asked. So he was sitting at the back. They rapped on their- the conductor rapped, "It's our Annual General Meeting and we have ...we have people in the orchestra who have not been officially a member yet...", and there were strangers, glowering at my husband. "And I'm afraid they'll have to leave whilst we do our business". Somebody got up and said, "You know, since we didn't tell these people not to come until later it's not very right to throw them out". They put it to a vote, and we were voted out. My husband said to me, "You don't want to play in this orchestra do you?" So I went home; never played there again. I did find other orchestras, but I never went back there.

[3:06:23.0]

*And what was it like for you with the German? Did you...How...?*

I had...German was not really a major problem. Written German I had never learnt properly. So, it was a bit of a struggle with written German, I- Anything important I asked my husband or my colleagues later on because I still made- I make grammatical errors. Not speaking fast, but of course if it's important I - I had to. But even in the Jewish Community I found it hard. I again, totally naive. I thought my grandfather had held this high, important position. I belonged you know...[pause]

I thought I...I had a - a right, you know, somehow, to at least be in this Community. And...my father struggled to get me a seat in those days. The only synagogue which survived the war was the Seitenstettengasse. It was protected because it was not only adjacent but actually a part of the neighbouring houses. So they did not set it afire like every other synagogue. And- But he did manage to persuade the *Amtsdirketor*, that's the position that my grandfather had had, only now there were only a few thousand Jews in Vienna, whereas there had been 200,000 when my grandfather was in this high position. And I just found, since... I'd always spent my life in- in academia. I didn't know how to get dressed to the hilt...And since I obviously didn't wear the right clothes or the right jewellery I was not, you know, very few of these women talked to me. Very few of them were originally from Austria, because most of those who returned were not members of the Kultusgemeinde. And therefore they were refugees too!

[3:08:38.0]

They'd come- either they were ...they were survivors from the concentration camps, or they'd come out in various waves. One has to say that, one has to perhaps understand. I had to - I felt very bitter about my medical degree. I don't first of all know whether- I doubt whether I would have enjoyed actually working in hospital in Vienna, with the hierarchy and the Big Chief who would come in and all his- even his second in command quaking in his shoes. That wouldn't have been for me. Really not... to be fair. But I had loved hospital work in Britain, and I would have loved to have done, you know- People said to me, "I'm a woman. I've got a family; what do I want?" I said, "My friends whom I graduated with, they have a position in Britain, and have a family, and are married." I just didn't understand these arguments. But I don't know whether- I think I would have

been unhappy working as a doctor in Vienna. But I didn't know that at the time. One just, to- to be fair, people slipped into Austria by back routes... from Russia, I suppose mainly, and so on in those days, long, long before the fall of the Iron Curtain. And had probably some pretty doubtful medical qualifications. So perhaps there was, you know, some justification for at least looking carefully at the degrees that they wanted to recognise. But having said that, somebody could have used a little intelligence and some disgression about which they were going to recognise and which they weren't. So, again, that was not...

*No, it must have been very difficult.*

**[3:10:35.0]**

It was very difficult. I felt everywhere- I tried in the Community, I tried to invite some people who seemed about our age or so on. They'd come, they'd be invited; I'd invite them for a meal or for tea or something and they'd say, "You must come round". We never saw them again, I mean, or maybe just in the synagogue. We were friendly with a handful, but literally a handful, from the Community. Friendly, anyway. Our ear nose and throat surgeon - very nice - he was a member of the Kultusgemeinde and from an old, very well-known Viennese family. He and his wife we were friendly with. But having said that: He still today, will not call me by my first name. He will say to me *Frau Doktor*... I say "Look, I have a name. You don't have to say 'Du' to me, but please, call me by my name - *Sie*". He still won't...*Frau Doktor* this...If I play chamber music- the nice thing, the one nice thing about the department- there was a colleague, very nice, turned out his father had been half Jewish, his grandfather was Jewish. They had a tough time during the war. Married into a distinguished family. Boltensern. His father-in- law had been the architect who re-designed the Opera...after the war. And they really were an Anti-Nazi family. I discovered not from the family, but from an exhibition that Erich Boltensern, the architect, had been thrown out in- when the Nazis came to power, of his position at the Academy. And they were a lovely family. And they played music. So that was one wonderful thing. I was invited to play chamber music and Erich Boltensern's son, who was also an architect, over all the years invited us. He had been a prisoner of war in Britain probably as a sixteen year old or so. His- I found that very often in Vienna, that...if one spoke English, somebody would say, "I was a prisoner of war in England. It was the best thing that ever happened to me. I was not in the front line, being shot, and the British were the kindest. The Americans were ok. The French were dreadful, and the Russians were ...despicable. But to be a British prisoner of war was the best and he was in England. And he actually, because of his viola

and violin playing, he was invited to play chamber music with British people and stayed friends with them forever. So that was a lovely introduction. But apart from him, he would- he would call me by my first name. But everybody else I played chamber music with: *Frau Doktor* back to the letter 'A' or something. It was all so formal.

Yeah...

It was foreign to me. I was like a duck out of water in the Jewish Community, in my scientific work, in...in, in music. The petty, little with music, also, the amateurs who also...were petty.

**[3:14:11.0]**

*So in this situation what sort of identity did you want to give to your children, or what future did you see for them?*

We - we sent them to school in Britain. We first sent them first to the lovely English school. That was my salvation. There was a lovely English school in Vienna; it was called The English School. It had been founded by Mr Thornley, who was a soldier, a Major, in the British Army who got married to an Austrian lady from Kärnten, I think. And he realised, because of course the four powers were in Vienna for ten years until 1955, he realised that there was a necessity for a school for the children of the Army- mostly Army personnel. So the American Army and British Army children went to this school which he founded entirely on British lines.

*Right...*

It was excellent. But mostly only at the primary school level. Mostly all the parents then sent the children back, because there was no- there were no facilities for science, I mean practical science, etc. Later the Americans had their own school; they broke off and it was the American International School. But The English School flourished for many years and our children were happy there. It was the happiest place. We didn't want to send them to ...to the Austrian schools for various reason. It was very reactionary. You had the same teacher for four years; if you didn't get on with the teacher you were then stuck with that teacher for four years. The Austrian children who came to the British school, they all - they were so happy. They had to go back at *Gymnasium* stage then to an Austrian school at that time because of the exams. But these children after being so unhappy in

the Austrian system, they just- they blossomed in the English school. So we were very, very happy. And I - because we sent Peter to Kindergarten there already - I got to know the British parents. By this time ...it was of course also- I mean it was now post- I mean there were no armies anymore in Vienna. But you had the- many British companies, who sent out their ...envoys as it were to establish business, their businesses, branches of their business in Vienna, which was the furthest East they could get. So that they did business behind the Iron Curtain, but they wanted their business established in a Western country. So there were many business people. And I got to know most of my friends from the parents of the children at the school. And I'm so grateful for that. I mean often they went back then so it was not permanent, but I'm friendly with them now in this country.

*Right. And then for secondary school?*

This was the problem. With secondary school ...we had to make a decision. We wanted them also to have a Jewish education. It was very important for us. The education at the time in Vienna was abysmal. ...Most of the- the families that were traditional, maybe, very orthodox I'm sure had their - their schools. But those who were more traditional but wanted a good education sent their children to the Lycée, which was a very good school. But we were rather worried about an extra, already English, German, we didn't know whether a third language- It might have been. They spoke beautiful French when they came out of the Lycée. And they had a resident - not a resident - but they had a teacher dedicated to that, for that school. The teaching otherwise once a week at Cheder was minimal, to put it mildly. And it was really important especially since they were beginning to approach Bar Mitzvah age. So we felt that there was nothing for it but to send them to Carmel College. My husband of course had been at- to British schools, so he very much relished his British education. It was very, very important to him. And...sorry. Can I continue?

**[3:18:48.0]**

So... we felt that - we both felt it was not only my decision - that difficult as it was for us to send our children away, it was very difficult. The idea of sending the children to a boarding school. We thought they would get a good ...British education and a good Jewish education at the same time. The only trouble was that they took Peter, my eldest, Rabbi Rosen was the Headmaster at the time - Took him very young. He said he was an intelligent child, but he felt - I think not justified, this was not justified, his opinion, but perhaps Peter hadn't done so well in the interview - felt that his

education, that there was a difference in the level of his education which I don't think there was. And said, "I'd like to take him" when he was nine. And, "he will repeat the first year". Well what happened was that he settled in really quite well. He did academically OK, and he went up a year young which was not good, because he wasn't a mature child. He was a perfectly ordinary boy, away from home so that I wasn't there to make sure that he did his homework etc, etc. And... that was not a good idea, but I think that to send them to Carmel they really made their friends for life there. For us it was hard. I had all these Austrian women who'd say, you know, "Where's your school?" "Where does your...?" What does one say to people, but even the Jewish ones, especially the Jewish ones! I had the wife of the *Oberrabbiner* saying to me how could I send my children to Carmel College which I thought was very odd... when I said that I wanted them to have a proper Jewish education. "How could you send them to a boarding school?" "what kind of a..." You could just hear them thinking, what a dreadful mother you are. And here my heart was bleeding and here these people made it worse for me.

**[3:21:00.0]**

*I guess it's not part of the Austrian culture except there were some pre-war, some...sort of communal boarding schools - you know, Socialist schools, but on the whole it's not part of continental...*

It really made my life even, even harder because then one begins to wonder, has one made the decision correctly? But I hope they would agree that. And I must say to be fair to Vienna today, there is an incredible upsurge now, in the small Community insofar as there's not only one school, there are two. There's the Lauder School and the Chajes School named after the Rabbi - famous Rabbi. And there had been a Chajes Gymnasium before the war, and it was renamed. Very good Jewish schools in Vienna today, but this possibility wasn't open to us.

*Sure. But it meant that in two generations you went back and forth, and back and forth.*

Yes...yes. That's right. So, but...

*And did they stay in England or did they...?*

They stayed in England. They all went to University then here and I think they- they fitted in. I mean they go to Austria perfectly happily. My youngest, Ernst, his best friend is actually from



Austria and didn't know him, until this boy also went to Carmel and Ernst was asked to look after him. And they've become friends for life now. And he's mostly in Israel, he's partly Austrian and partly Israeli. And...and another of his very best friends who he met at University College, when he went up to study law at University College, Ernst. The very first few days he met Simon who also comes from Vienna, and whom he didn't know in Vienna. I obviously- perhaps there was the Mizrahi in a small Community which I was unaware of. Maybe we didn't know the people so well. I mean meanwhile of course Georg knew a lot of the Community because he had retrained as a chartered accountant. And...I mean, many of his clients were in the Jewish Community. He had many Hungarian clients of course at that time it was still behind the Iron Curtain. He had Hungarian firms, not Jewish, I mean state firms who he looked after because of his facility with Hungarian. He had Israelis. He had a very- And he could talk to each in their own language and give them advice in their own language. He'd switch from one to the other.

*And now do you divide your time between London and Vienna and Edinburgh or...?*

**[3:23:54.0]**

I do divide my time but I spend very little time, I'm nearly always now in London because I'm blessed with eight grandchildren, and I just love being an active Granny. I hope I'm still of some use. I am often called on. I don't know whether it's to give me something to do or whether I'm- and I do hope I'm genuinely of some use. And...I just love being of help in that way. I - I do go back to Vienna occasionally. I still- My youngest son especially but all my sons have been extremely helpful since my husband sadly died in January, it was three years ago and... in 2012. And they helped me enormously with- it was very difficult for me, the legal ...German in winding up the business. But my second son Robert is a trained lawyer and also he's an attorney. He has the New York qualification as well, and with their good German and Peter with his training for ...removal and since he's in charge of the shipping, we've managed to get quite a lot of things over from Vienna. Actually it was Georg's wish, even in his lifetime, that the piano should come over. So that's- he had a baby grand piano and that's in Ernst's house because they have most room for it. We've also got an upright- a Bechstein, an old, old Bechstein for Robbie and his family. So they've all been a tremendous help. So I spend very little time- Ironically I do go for especially dental treatment, and some medical treatment. Because over the years we did at last find some good doctors. I must say the obstetric treatment I had was not only bordering - it actually was malpractice

that time, for my children. Fortunately, I had all my children in, hospital- in the hospital I worked in in Edinburgh in the Simpson I worked in the Royal Infirmary.

*So you came especially to give birth...?*

I came specially for each of the children, I- they absolutely had to have British. It was an essential- it was absolutely essential that they had British Nationality. I- There was no question of European Union in those days. I mean Austria and European Union. I absolutely wanted them to have British Nationality. I wanted my parents to have a little- I got off - In those days, it was six weeks before the expected date and six weeks off, after; eight weeks if one was breastfeeding. I got eight weeks off after Peter was born. That's all. Twelve weeks for Robbie because he was premature. That was the law in those days. But at least my parents had the joy of having me there, seeing the new baby, and I had decent medical care; I had wonderful medical care. In those days the Health Service worked fantastically. And I was treated like royalty.

*So they were all born in Edinburgh.*

**[3:27:30.0]**

They were all born in Edinburgh. And I had, of course it was my old hospital, the Royal Infirmary. And I knew so many people still. The obstetrician who delivered me, I said "Please..." - you know in those days ...one was given castor oil to ease things, and... and alcohol for purposes of disinfection. And I said, "Please, please no castor oil". He said, "You must have been asleep in my lectures. I said that it should be the other way around. It's important that the lady gets some alcohol down her throat, and the castor oil can be relegated to the nether regions". [laughs] So I was at home. I was at home in Britain, also for any medical care I used to collect all my, and the children's complaints, and see doctors in Edinburgh when- my father arranged of course, that. He sadly died very suddenly of a heart attack just before a few months- I was about six months pregnant with Ernst, so he never had the joy of seeing his, his third grandson. He didn't know in those days of course one didn't know that it was going to be a boy, but he'd already made sure that...that the Mohel who had done the others, was informed that his services might be needed. Cause he'd moved to Sheffield by this time! [laughs]

*Aha, so not only the delivery, you also had to organise the circumcision.*

They were all in Edinburgh, and it was- they were all Bar Mitzvah in Edinburgh my boys...

*As well?*

As well, yes.

*So you kept those strong ties.*

Yes, they wanted- and Georg was perfectly happy with this. My father sadly didn't live to see this - but my mother could come to their Bar Mitzvah - that they...that they would be in a Community. There are very few Bar Mitzvahs especially that the Community has dwindled so much. I mean, from the times where ...there was this full congregation with two butchers or even- two if not three when I was a child, and a grocer, to now having to get meat from Manchester once every few weeks and put in a freezer. It was very, very different ...but yes, they- they had their Bar Mitzvahs all. And everybody remembered my father, and me as a child. And they made a fuss of them. So it was very special, the connection with Edinburgh. I still have my home there which is crazy.

**[3:30:19.0]**

*And you've got the home in Vienna as well?*

Yes, that we will give up eventually but...Just at the moment there's no urgency. We've brought a lot over here and sorted out things. The family would like to maybe come still once or twice for a holiday, so they say. And it's perhaps not ideal but that's- the Edinburgh is perhaps a little more crazy because for one thing, I can't just throw everything out there. It needs going through. There are probably things of maybe historical interest.

*Yeah. Liesl we just need to stop here for a little while.*

*Liesl, I wanted to ask you since you've moved from Britain to Austria and sort of half back and half not. How would you define yourself in terms of your identity?*

I'm- I'm British. I'm very proudly British. I'm proud and I'm very grateful that one accepts me as such. I never consider myself Austrian. I- My family comes from Vienna. I have a continental background... very interesting, I think, continental background. And I'm sure that maybe I'm richer because of this cultural background I have. It's enriched my ...my knowledge of things, I hope. But my whole mentality and- that's why I found it so difficult when I came to Vienna! That- I just didn't fit in! I - I was like I said, a duck out of water.

*You wouldn't have chosen to go to Austria as such?*

No, I- In those days I think one just went where one's husband was, I mean, unquestioningly. I don't know what I would have done if I had realised what it really- what it was like.

*What you were letting yourself in for?*

**[3:32:25.0]**

Yes. I... Vienna is a beautiful city. It's just that the- the people. I don't know. I know I was going to say before what was interesting. My husband had a very good friend, that was Leon Zelman who was a Holocaust survivor. Wonderful man, and... he probably wanted to go to the States but he was in such bad condition - I think he probably had tuberculosis - that he couldn't get to the United States. So he stayed in Austria, and it became his mission in life, public relations between Austria, and Israel and Jews in general. And... amongst the other things he did, I mean first of all he took groups to Israel. And it was wonderful how he introduced doctors or other- groups of people, and took them to Israel. But he also - it had been quite common I think in Germany - to invite back the- those who'd been thrown out in Austria. Everything came much later and I mean they did not ...accept any guilt or accept any responsibility I think...for so long until Vranitzky got up in Parliament and made his historic speech, to say that yes, there's not such a thing as collective guilt, but certainly - responsibility. And one has to have the knowledge of what Austria actually did. And... so it came much later that they invited back groups primarily I think people who hadn't been able to afford to come back. And groups with grandchildren, to show them, and so on. And very often he invited my husband and me to - to come along when there was a *Heuriger* evening and so on. I found it always very interesting to observe how these people, they- they were also taken of course to the *Bürgermeister* - the...and exhibitions and so on. They were- they were shown Vienna today. But the *Heuriger* they suddenly presumably remembered what it was like when they were

young and they would be right back in their old ...feeling of nostalgia, and warmth, and they must have probably had this love hate relationships with Vienna. Which actually my parents didn't have. I don't know, perhaps because they were able to make a successful career for themselves. It was maybe that it was a new chapter in their lives. I mean they had been very happy in Vienna until the fateful months before, and their whole background was from there. But they went back happily on holiday, but they looked at a distance. I don't even know if they had regrets - it's- Maybe they regretted the life they had had, as well as everybody when they look back on things that had been pleasant.

*But they didn't have a sense of nostalgia in the same way?*

I - exactly - that's the word I- I - thank you. I don't think they had this nostalgia; this craving, and yet- nor did they actually have the hate, I don't think. I think they just looked, you know, accepted what had- I mean I'm sure they didn't accept what had happened, personally. But they accepted the fact that life was different and... probably life in Vienna, as I discovered, was no way like life had been when they were young.

*But you were in a difficult position, because you couldn't have had the nostalgia, because you had no memories; you were too young to...*

**[3:36:20.0]**

Yes. It wasn't made easy either because I had no family there either. I had no family; we were a very small family in any case, and totally scattered. I mean, then, apart from my two aunts who were in Britain. Otherwise the family who survived were scattered.

*And was the past something you talked about with your parents and - or with your children?*

Not excessively. My parents were always so busy, that I think they always talked about the present. Possibly about the future but mostly about the present. About their day, and their - their work, their personal things, their friends... My mother was, yes, my mother - liked, really enjoyed entertaining is not the correct word. She tried to be hospitable and we had, we had the lovely Seder evenings where we invited friends. There were two ...refugee sisters from Germany. Lovely people who always came for instance, who were in Edinburgh. There was a- you see they were amongst they

were observant Jewish refugees. Also there were some. And so you had- there was plenty- I, they- I unfortunately don't really know very much about my family, because from my parents, because they didn't - they were really occupied in making a living for themselves and, and my father was always being called out in those days. Evening visits. He went to visit patients often in an evening, weekend.

*But subsequently I think you found out more and you're also in doing your own research?*

Yes...yes.

*So what triggered that interest?*

**[3:38:24.0]**

I was always interested. [pause]

What triggered my interest? First of all my aunt, the lawyer, Julie. She knew most about the family and she would tell me far more for instance about the Prague relatives, whom I - I mean my father was close to but he never- I think it was really just lack of time. I didn't see my aunt so often, but when I did see her or if I was in London occasionally - it didn't happen so often in those days - or she came to visit in Edinburgh we'd chat and she'd tell me. So she started telling me about the Prague relatives, about the family. But I had been interested by myself, because when this elderly great-uncle who survived Theresienstadt - uncle Bel Jeteles- with my, who had come from Prague with my grandmother, he wrote to my father and he said he had a family tree which went back for generations. And I asked him about it. He wrote me a letter. He unfortunately didn't give me a copy of the family tree which is probably lost somewhere. But I started then, and since then I really have always wanted to- perhaps because we're such a small family and so scattered I keep on always trying to find the lost relatives, and find out for my children. My problem is getting it into the computer because I'm - I'm so, like all elderly or old people I find it hard and lose things and...

*But you are trying to find the lost....*

I'm trying to at least put it in to the computer so that my children know about as much as I have discovered, and especially now I have to do it for my husband too. I mean he didn't do it either -

write it down. But his father left a lot of notes on the terrible old tracing paper you know that one used to put on, well copied paper that one put. I've only got the copies that he left. I've no idea where the original is. And it's- I've tried to decipher it for Georg's nieces who went on a- they specially went to Bratislava ...last autumn. When my eldest grandson was Bar Mitzvah they came- Three of the four girls came and they went beforehand to Bratislava, and I had to try and dig out as much family history for them as possible on my husband's side. And that was an undertaking.

*But I guess on your own side you're a single child so it's on you, the onus, or...?*

Yes, there is, and- and only one- one first cousin on my mother's side whom I unfortunately haven't had much contact with, cause he's in Brazil. And my, my ...uncle and his mother divorced already at the end of- around the end the war so I unfortunately, have- I have a little contact with him but I don't know how interested he is in the family. There was a cousin of my mother's who was much younger in Paris who only died recently, and she gave me a little family history on my mother's side which was very good. But I mean it was also interesting, her...also from very orthodox background and... distinguished rabbis and ...yes.

*Mnn. And you, so did you think it was important to do the interview and tell your story... for yourself?*

**[3:42:10.0]**

I'm very grateful, because although I had wanted to write it down, apart from the article which I wrote in 1998 - '60 Years Anschluss' - for the '*Wiener Klinische Wochenschrift*' which I - I worked on mostly because I was given all the papers, and I had look at the English. And... it was very often I had to try and correct the- I mean- It wasn't my job, but in order to understand the English, I very often I had to correct the scientific content. And I didn't make myself very popular with the authors who thought that their paper had been- had been accepted and then I'd sometimes, because I didn't understand the English that they had attempted or the German summary and I went into their papers and discovered actually that there were sometimes mistakes and had to then of course verify with specialists - I didn't do it off my own back - but I mean before it was published. So I had a lot to do with the *Wiener Klinische* and the English...editorial work then, that I did latterly. But I did, I don't know whether you'd like to hear about some of the things that I've been doing more recently...?

*Go on.*

I always felt very dissatisfied that I'd had the privilege of a wonderful education and training in Britain, and that it just was not used. I mean the fact that I helped other people publish their papers was really, and probably some of them may have been perfectly good, but most of them were pedestrian and undistinguished. And in- round the early 90s about '92 or '93, a technical assistant in Vienna in the Department of Pharmacology approached me because she knew that I did the work for all the colleagues and for the *Wiener Klinische*, the English. She said her brother, whom I had known as a medical student because he stayed with her in Vienna. Who lives in South Tyrol in- just across the border from Austria. And he is a mountain rescue- general practitioner and mountain rescue doctor. And... he's busy doing some research, because his practical experience in rescuing victims of avalanches and their probability of survival, does not match the generally given guidelines of rescue and better to say the probability of surviving. There was a curve which had been produced in Switzerland I think, about twenty years previously. Now he had access to very - you can imagine - meticulously prepared data from Switzerland. And together with a friend of his who's a statistician, they had set up a new probability curve, which had important implications for rescue work, for survival.

**[3:45:28.0]**

And he would- first of all he was writing a preliminary paper for the *Wiener Klinische*, could I have a look at it, it was in German. So I had a look at it, and then I was therefore in contact with this Doctor - Brucker - and he said would- he like to publish internationally because it was such an important subject. So I said I'd be delighted. He said would I like to participate and I said, "Yes, please" but this time I'd like to participate as a full member, not that I understand anything about the practicalities of it, but only from the way of using the data provided. So I, it was a real cooperation. It was not only a translation. From the scientific point of view, I asked whether he had more data on this or that from Switzerland. We worked at it intensively and we got a page in 'Nature' ...which was really wonderful, because it showed a graph which showed that one had really a good chance of rescuing people until let's say for the first fifteen minutes. So it's essential that people first- they don't go off and try and get other help but they, they search in the first - vital -fifteen minutes. And then unfortunately the curve just plummets to about thirty-five minutes. So you then...and various other implications like the necessity of an air pocket, even no matter how



small, therefore trying if one is in this panic situation to at least to make sure there is, if one has the possibility. This gave guidelines internationally. There are a lot of fatalities every year. And we went on from then; we didn't get anything again published in 'Nature' but in distinguished journals of ...on that area we then laid down guidelines, other similar guidelines for when one can actually say that somebody's- is dead and not put the rescue team to great danger, in trying to rescue and manoeuvre down somebody, you know as, that- where you cannot save them anymore. It means it's very dangerous perhaps for the rescue team. And other ones: we published a miraculous case of survival of a young man who had survived the second lowest temperature ever recorded. And... It was then investigated two years later with absolutely no physical aftermaths or psychological... so there were a series of papers. And the lovely thing is, that we're so grateful to each other. I'm grateful to Doctor Brucker, that he gave me the opportunity that I felt that I had done something, just a little thing of some value using my training. And he is grateful to me always. I'm very- I feel I don't deserve it but he has now, he's not only a GP two days a week but he's also the Head of a department in Bozen - in Bolzano International Department of Mountain Medicine. And a *Dozent* at a University of Innsbruck not the basis of- of his work- of our joint work.

*But you also work on the Refugee Doctors and Scientists. Maybe this is relevant for here. Tell us a little bit about that.*

**[3:49:18.0]**

In 1998...sixty years Anschluss, there was going to be- there was an international conference was Congress of Gastroenterology, was scheduled to be held in - I think jointly in Vienna and Graz. And a group of American gastroenterologists said that they were going to Veto this Congress unless the medical school- the Viennese Medical School - I don't know about the Graz school - would look into their past seriously. And so my chief, Professor Schütz was the Professor of Pharmacology and he held the Chair of Pharmacology and was the Dean Elect of the Vienna Medical School. So he asks me whether I would help him doing the research. And they put on a whole day, in the end, of talks. People had prepared talks. I prepared a list from the archives of all the *Dozenten* who had been dismissed. I managed to include somebody who'd been left out of the Archives - a very famous Professor Fröhlich had a syndrome a pituitary syndrome named after him - who was a friend of my parents. A generation before. My parents played tennis with him in the courts of the Vienna Hospital. And I have a lot of correspondence between him - he went to the United States - and my mother, after the war. So there was this list of the actual names of the medical faculty

members who'd been dismissed. Over fifty percent of the faculty. A few were political. Most- Nearly all of them were Jewish, and some of the political ones were also Jewish. And there was also a special- there was also a special...issue of the *Wiener Klinische* to which I contributed...I was asked- I actually edited it along with the - the editor of the time, and - and therefore there was an article on my parents in English of course in that. And amongst the speakers, not at that conference but the History of Medicine Department also put on a series of talks. Paul Weindling who was at the time Professor of the History of Medicine at Oxford University. He then moved to Oxford Brookes because I think he got better facilities there to store the enormous amount of stuff that he's got. And he gave a talk, which was very interesting on the refugees, the Viennese refugee scientists and medical refugees who'd come to Britain. And he mentioned my mother. So I went to talk to him afterwards, and... I told him that how I knew so many of the refugees that had come through because of the fact that they knew my parents, came through Edinburg. And he asked whether I would like to just work in a purely honorary capacity. So since then, I have been helping, as best as I can with this database which has expanded enormously since then. And through chance remarks of friends I have discovered new names, or more information about those. And I love doing it. And it's really a great thing, and another thing that - that he shows- I mean he says he's appreciative and I am grateful for the opportunity of doing something which I feel is of importance to record.

**[3:53:36.0]**

*Yeah. So that's a very important contribution.*

It's, well, some people...my family wonder how important it is. I try and stress that I think it's good.

*So you know the research a little bit on the refugees. Is there any field, for example for future research, something which has not been considered yet, or...?*

Well...in this regard?

*Yeah.*

I'm sure Paul Weindling would say so. One thing that he's at the moment researching intensively is the period of internment, which very little has been done on. And that's, I mean of course he has

other interests apart from these refugees. But since his parents were also refugees. His father was a dentist thrown out, and possibly one of- there were forty Austrian dentists who were allowed to come into the country. Or better to say dental surgeons, because there was a difference between dentists in Austria, and the medically qualified ones. So I'm talking about the medically qualified ones who then specialised in dentistry.

*I just meant more in general, for example now we are starting this new project. One of the issues we'd like to address, is certainly the issue of mental health which seems to have been neglected. Or the issue of gender, which sort of came up in your interview in a way.*

Yes, I mean...but specifically with the refugees.

*Yeah.*

My mother did apply for- to become Senior Lecturer in the Biochemistry Department and did not receive- she did not get that position. Whether she was perhaps too old, whether it was because she perhaps was a refugee...or not. I don't think for biochemistry that the medical qualification would have been such an issue. But, Or maybe there was just a better...

**[3:55:42.0]**

*Candidate?*

...candidate, which is very possible. She certainly had, I think Professor Sir Henry Dale who was a referee for her; she had very distinguished referees. Previously, although he was no longer alive at that time, she worked of course closely when she came to Edinburgh first with the professor of Obstetrics and Gynaecology who was well at least the clinical - he was Professor Johnston who was very interested in her work, especially on the toxæmia of pregnancy.

*Yeah, but what about you? Do you think it would have been different if you were a man going back to - not back - going to Vienna?*

Yes. You mean going back or...?

*Not back, but in your circumstance, let's say?*

Of course. I mean... there were- the women came and went. I used to try particularly to help women when- who were working for some - medical women - who worked in the department for a year or so, and they wanted to publish papers. I made a particular effort for them. I mean I made - I can't work otherwise. Obviously I worked... let's say, you know, if it meant effort on my part and that I neglected my - I don't know about neglecting my children - but I tried particularly hard for the women to make sure the paper, especially correcting the scientific content, or making suggestions so that they would get publication. So- But they came and went, the women. The tech- there were technical assistants - of course they were all women. Not all, that's not correct; the majority were women. Members of staff. Towards the end of my time there came a new generation, and one of those immediately became Dozent. So the younger women of today I'm quite sure, have a- and if I'm saying 'today', I'm sorry. I have to go back to when I- which is a long time ago. I have to go back to when I retired when I was sixty-five, which is fifteen years ago.

*Right.*

**[3:58:04.0]**

So then, there was already a new generation of women. And it might be quite different today. But in the years, between '63 that I got the position in '64, until I retired in '95...

*Mnn...*

No woman was made *Dozent*.

*Right. Just kind of wrapping up: Where would you consider yourself to be at home?*

Well that's in the United Kingdom, I guess.

*Anywhere?*

I'm now very comfortable in London, but I do enjoy going to Edinburgh. Of course it's still- I have my friends there. I am somewhat concerned about the political situation in Scotland. I must say that

I'm afraid that this- the nationalistic tendency especially when one comes from Austria. [audio interruption] If one comes with my experience, then one views such nationalistic tendencies - especially the last election I ...it was one thing with the, the referendum but now after the election. I also find it very distressing that my University that Edinburgh University, that they shout down the ...Israeli Ambassador, the students. So that I don't understand this free speech for the one side that they can shout and yell, and that somebody who has been invited to speak - and I think that an Ambassador is due the respect of any gentleman - that this should have gone by. Or I believe the only Druse member of parliament couldn't speak, in my university, and as far as I know the university did not clamp down. At least in a way which I would have considered. I find it very upsetting.

**[4:00:19.0]**

*Mnn. And you? Would you consider yourself Scottish?*

I think that that... I can't say. I, I grew up in Scotland. I always say I'm British. ...Sometimes as naturalised, but I usually just say I'm British and I grew up in Scotland. I don't like to- After all I don't have a tartan, I don't have a Scottish family. And I don't think I have the right. But I'm grateful to Scotland at least as it was, for giving me an wonderful education and giving me a lovely background. And I think that's- that's the important thing.

*Liesl, is there anything else which you would like to add which we haven't discussed? You wanted to add the name of the violinist?*

Yes, I think I've remembered that; that was Nathan Milstein. What I wanted to say is perhaps just, if you're interested in... anti-Semitism in Austria?

*Go on.*

I would just like to say that, whilst I'm fully aware ...of the fact that Austria has always been considered an anti-Semitic country, that the- the terrible- the not only what happened during the war, but the reparation story and so on- the inadequacy of the reparations. I would just like to say, to be fair, that personally I have never... I have never encountered anti-Semitism in Austria. I felt uncomfortable when my Chief, Professor Krauff, harped on, when we were perhaps having a snack

lunch or something together in the department, about his time in the war. How he had to fight and...once told me that all his friends at school in Baden, outside Vienna, that all the Jewish pupils had managed to escape. And I said, "Well then they were very lucky". I said, "Because after all roughly sixty - just under 60,000 Austrian Jews perished... out of- I don't think in the 30s that there were 200,000 anymore, but about 190,000 very roughly at the time, in Vienna. And they were very lucky. And that some of them died like in- those- there were cases. My mother's chief for instance, baptised chief, he didn't live to see it. He died in the autumn but shortly afterwards still in 1938, I believe, his son was sent to Dachau and never came back. They just got the remains, so. I mean a family that thought they were completely assimilated for generations. And I know this. But I do have to say that I think... to be fair there are- there's a historian I have met in Wiener Neustadt and he must be - I hope he's not the only one, whom I got to know. I can explain later the reasons for his finding my history of the temple which my great grandparents erected on their property, in- in Erlach in Niederösterreich, lower Austria. But he gets his high school students to volunteer to work in the Jewish cemetery because of course they're neglected. There are just so few Jews - 7,000 Jews or something. I don't know what the official estimate is today in Austria to look after the graves. So he is organised. He gives talks to - to apprentices for instance. He says they're so ignorant- many so ignorant. And there are people like that; he's put on a wonderful exhibition about the Jews in Wiener Neustadt which was a major city outside Vienna. And there are people like that. Fortunately. And many young people strangely - as a consequence perhaps it started after the Waldheim affair, where the young people - started asking. And you have of course refugees going back, as you probably know, to talk in schools. It was very interesting, the two Nobel prize winners. There was Kandel and before him, also with a K...Katz? I'm so sorry now, my memory again. But - Famous of course. Austria was so excited when - I don't remember when but maybe fifteen years ago. One forgets how time flies. One after the other received I think for medicine the other for chemistry. They wanted of course to say these were Austrian - Austrian Nobel Prize winners! They still remembered how at school- They had been possibly at the famous *Akademisches Gymnasium*. And how they had been treated. How their families - I think the parents certainly in one case - had been murdered. And they just said they're not Austrian, and they never would have received the Nobel Prize if they were in Austria. And they are proud Americans. Having- I rather rejoiced in that because the papers were trying to- to say, "Austria has won a Nobel Prize!" And Kandel the second in recent years. They wanted to give him the medal for I don't know what. Freedom of the City of Vienna or The Gold Medal of Austria, or whatever. He said he doesn't want any distinctions from Austria. If they want to do something, they should put on a symposium on anti-Semitism in Austria, and the Austrians did that. There is a willingness. And I think I, yes, by the way, going back, that

when the Austrian medical faculty did put on this symposium, the- the, it was not- The Americans came to the gastroenterology conference. It was not cancelled in the end. So they did over the years at least try, the medical faculty to at least then look into their past. Now there is a- the lawyers- the...*Rechtsanwaltskammer*, that would be equivalent to the Law Society here, commissioned an academic to look into the lawyers, the Jewish lawyers who were thrown out and a book has been published. So I have got to know the young historian who did that and have given her a little more information about a few people I know and about my aunt, of course. And she has now been commissioned, the *Ärzttekammer*, the medical practitioners have now commissioned likewise an historical review on the doctors. So I help her a little. That's another thing I do, I help her a bit there too.

*OK. So my last question would be to you: Have you got a message to somebody would might watch this film, based on your experiences?*

**[4:08:23.0]**

I should have thought of that beforehand. I'm sure there are lots of messages. I think one has to be tolerant. One has to be educated. One has to know. One has to educate oneself to know what happened. I think one has to have a certain understanding, that if one has not experienced what it was like on the one hand to have been in the concentration camps, I think one should not, one has not got the right to form the slightest judgment on such people. On the other hand, to be fair, I like to think that if I had been older, and not Jewish, at the time, I like to think that I would have done the right thing and been courageous and stood up. My mother I think would have. But I don't know how I would have behaved, if I had been in that situation. I think that many people would behave like a majority, which was to get on with their lives and put their faces down and just try, and not see what was going on. I'm afraid. But I'd like to think that I wouldn't have been like that but I don't think you can judge, what it must have been like, also for the other people. I have no tolerance on the other hand for what happened in Austria after the war. The bitter faces that I saw, that everybody said about the 'terrible experience we had' and 'the Russians' and I'm sorry. I have no sympathy for that. But how one would have behaved - ...who knows. And I think one has to think about that in this day and age, perhaps.

*Liesl, thank you very much for the interview. We are going to stop now and we will look at some of your documents and photographs. Thank you.*

Thank you. It's a pleasure.

**[4:10:45.0]**

**[End of interview]**

**[Start of photographs]**

**[4:11:11.0]**

These are my grand- great-grandparents, my fathers - on my father's maternal side. Simon Hacker and his wife Rosalie, whose Hebrew name was Sarah and I'm called after her. And...Simon Hacker had a wine business- wholesale. They had hundreds of vats of wine which they made from the *most*, that's the unfermented grape juice that was brought to them from the neighbourhood. And they then collected it in barrels, and when it was wine then sold it in the neighbourhood. And it was he who - who built the synagogue which we'll see later on, on his property.

This is the synagogue in Erlach built by my great-grandfather Simon Hacker and later on his son, Leopold, the brother of my grandmother functioned as Rabbi there. There was a Chazzan and all the Jews came from the neighbouring villages on foot of course on a Shabbat or on a Yontev, on... all the Jewish Holydays. Also when there was *Jahrzeit*. I think that somebody would go round and ask people in the neighbourhood if they would come to make up a Minyan for the person who wanted to say *Jahrzeit*. And my parents - my father and his cousins were often there as children for the summer holidays. And when the New Year fell early in the year, then they'd be there for Sukkot. My aunt also remembers always throwing down from the women's Gallery, which was separate - higher - throwing down sweets for the children on Sukkot.

*And is it still there? What happened to it?*

No. It's not there. It was used during the war as a place to put up the prisoners of war. It was taken away of course from my great- uncle who perished with his wife in Auschwitz or possibly Theresienstadt. And...everything was removed, of course. There were two- possibly three Torah scrolls and all the appurtenances, I mean it was very- there was everything there that was required, and it was all stolen.



[4:14:00.0]

*Thank you. Yes please, Liesl.*

This is the Seder dish that belonged to my great-grandfather Simon Hacker. And it's a very treasured piece that we really enjoy every Seder, every year. And ...I believe that it was kept by somebody in Erlach, and that my uncle in Sweden, Uncle Willy, the famous tennis-playing uncle. He was playing tennis until he was over 100 years old, and he got it after the war. He must have managed to rescue it. And my father, since he hadn't - no children, my father asked whether it could come to us. And it was treasured and handed down in my generation then, from generation to generation. I think it must be from first part perhaps of the 19th century. At any rate, mid-19th century perhaps.

*And did your parents send it on their crate or...? How did it get here?*

I brought it once, I remember, with great difficulty coming through customs! They were- but it's many, many years ago. I took it to Vienna actually... so that we had it there. And ...and then it came from Vienna here. So it's gone quite a lot of places. One can open the curtain and there's place for the three round matzoh down below. And...as I said it's....we love it.

*These two are?*

Yes...yes...These are my great-grandparents on my father's paternal side. There's Doctor Salomon Adler and his wife Julie, née Teweles. He was the doctor, the *Stadtarzt* in Pohrlitz and his wife came from Prague, from the Rabbinic family of Teweles in Prague.

This is a picture of the Café Adler in Pohrlitz, Moravia on a postcard from the 1930s which my grandfather actually sent to the family in 1936. It depicts what had been the *Gasthaus Adler* which had belonged to my grandfather's grandfather, who was Josua - Joshua - Adler. He had the *Gasthaus* and he was also a scholar, and he often used to deputise on the request of the Rabbi when the Rabbi couldn't take service. So he was also a very learned man, and I don't- I think that it may exist still today. I have been to Pohrlitz trying to look for graves and found the graves of the family.

[4:17:47.0]

*Where is Pohrlitz?*

It's in Moravia...which is just, I think you go from Brünn...on the way to Prague from Vienna, if you. But I'm sorry geography was not a strong point.

This is my paternal grandfather, Doctor Emil Adler, who had studied law. But he then became a civil servant and held the highest executive position in the Vienna Community at a time when there were 200,000 Jews in Vienna. He served the community for forty years, and for the most part as it was called after the First World War, *Erster Sekretär* and then *Amtsdirktor* of the *Kultusgemeinde*. And he got the distinction of being titled *Regierungsrat*. And in Austria titles are very important. [laughs] so...I don't think it mattered much to him.

*When was this photo taken, roughly?*

I'm sorry I don't know, actually, but I would think it would be taken at the time he was still in office, maybe when he was about sixty years old. I...that I don't know. There's no date on the back.

This is a picture of my grandparents Doctor Emil Adler and his wife, Caroline, née Hacker, and it's on the seventieth birthday of my grandfather. And they look like a really loving old couple.

*When was it taken?*

**[4:20:00.0]**

Sorry, did I not say? It was for the seventieth birthday of my grandfather. That was 1935, when the world still looked rosy and ...yes.

This is a picture of my father, Ernst Adler. And his sister Julie who was the oldest of the three girls. Taken, I think probably my father was four or five, and his sister was a year and a half younger. I think it would have been round about 1903 or '04 - in Vienna.

This is a picture of my mother and her mother, my grandmother Eva, née Landtmann. And it must have been taken when my mother was roughly sixteen years old. Her mother, my grandmother used

to sometimes drag her to a spa and she had to drink the waters which she usually then managed to spill behind her mother's back when she wasn't looking, because ether always tasted awful, she said, these waters. My mother was born in 1900, so it will be taken round in about 1915-16- I should think, 17. So during the First World War.

This is my great-grandmother on my mother's side; Rachel Landmann, née Liebreich, with me, at about ten months old. She was a lovely old lady, very orthodox with her big sheitl but very modern in her outlook. And I think it must have been a pleasure to her to have a great-grandchild whom she could put on her lap and adore.

*Which year?*

That will have been about 1935 ...In Vienna. She lived in Vienna with my grandmother's sister and her family.

**[4:22:51.0]**

This is a family picture taken on my grandfather Emil's seventieth birthday, I think. With my grandparents Emil Adler and Caroline, his wife, and me, admiring my grandfather's pocket watch. My mother is top left, next to her my aunt Hedi, the youngest of the three sisters. Below my aunt and right next to me, is my aunt Julie, who was the lawyer, and on...above my grandfather is her husband Doctor Hans Riesenfeld. And on the right standing is my aunt Gertrud or Trude she was called who tragically perished then in Auschwitz. And on the lower right is my father; he must have set the camera and then come, with a *Selbstaumlöser* must have come to be in the picture. Taken in 1935.

This is a picture of my grandmother, with me in Lederhosen. Age two, about, in the little bit of garden that my grandparents had on the Castellezgasse near the Augarten in Vienna. Taken in 1936 and we're obviously having a nice conversation.

This is a picture of me in the summer. I think I was - I think probably about 1936. I was in the home of Doctor Leipen the advocate who always gave me hospitality in the summer, with my pram and a favourite doll. The pram survived and even came with me in emigration to Scotland and did pretty well until my eldest son decided to bang it down the stairs or something and it lost all its wheels.

But...I'm looking very proud in what looks like a new outfit, and it was a very happy time. Possibly '37.

This is a picture of my parents, probably about the time- the late 30s, before they left Vienna. My father writing a prescription, and my mother in the laboratory, busy as usual.

This is a picture of my father. I don't know who took it because he was the photographer, as you can see, in the family. And nearly all the pictures which I'm showing of the family have been taken by my father. It must have been taken some time after the war, probably when he had set up in practise again, and looks as if it's on the outskirts of Edinburgh somewhere- certainly in Scotland. The camera was his proud possession. It was a Kine Exakta, bought with the money that my parents couldn't bring from Vienna to Britain. And therefore he invested in his favourite hobby, which was photography. And when coming to Britain, the customs officer very nicely wanted to help him and said, "It's an old camera, isn't it?" And my father, in somewhat broken English said, "No! It's new, I've just bought it!" And the officer tried again, "But you've had it for a while". And my father said, "No!" So unfortunately my father had to pay duty on the camera from the precious pounds; I think that one was allowed to come in with two pounds - two pounds, ten shillings per person was the amount, and although that's worth a multiple today, of course, but nonetheless not very much to start a new existence on.

**[4:27:35.0]**

This is a picture of my mother with me, very shortly after we arrived in Edinburgh in 1939. We arrived probably in February it was. And you can see from our clothing that it must have been very cold still at the time. Very continentally dressed. The British used to brave the weather, with no coats on; perhaps they had some woollen underwear. But I'm quite sure that no Scottish people would run around the mountains like that. It's on Arthur's Seat, which is very close to where my parents first lived; their first home in Scotland and in the background one can just see the Salisbury Crag.

This is a picture of me playing our beautiful Blüthner piano in Edinburgh. I must have been about nine years old, and the only problem was it was so cold, especially in the winter. And...There was only a fire- a coal fire to heat the room, but that only got put on when we had were visitors. So in

the winter, piano practicing was not exactly a great favourite of mine. I would say about 1945, but I'm sorry I'm not sure.

This is a picture taken at the time of our concert when the National Youth Orchestra played at the Edinburgh Festival, in 1953. I'm sitting next to Rowena Ramsell who led the cellos. And Sir Adrian Boult is conducting. The cello soloist was Carol Sansom; she was playing the Saint-Saens Cello Concerto and it was a wonderful concert.

*Where are you?*

I'm on the first desk sitting just underneath the conductor, on the inside. The leader sits always outside towards the audience. I'm sitting next to the leader.

This is a picture of me on my graduation from Edinburgh with my MBCHB. It was actually taken the day after the graduation because the official photograph was so awful that I asked whether I could keep the hired gown, and my father took this picture of me the next day, then. I also would like, talking of graduation, like to point out that my mother was also a graduate of Edinburgh University. After she came to Britain she worked towards the DSC - the Doctor of Science, which is a very high distinction and received this degree from Edinburgh University in 1941...And later in life, she was distinguished in Vienna by getting *Das Goldene Doktorat* - The Golden Doctorate - of Vienna University, which is given to people on the fiftieth anniversary of receiving a degree if they have had a distinguished academic career subsequently..

**[4:31:31.0]**

This is a picture taken on our wedding day, which is the first of August 1963 in Edinburgh. We were married in the Edinburgh Synagogue which I had attended since I was a little girl, always going with my father. And...it was a lovely, sunny day. And there we are, after the ceremony. 1963, first of August. 11th of Av.

This is a picture of my children...my sons, and their wives, which they had photograph for our fortieth wedding anniversary, ruby wedding anniversary in 2003. On the top is Peter with his wife, Rachel, and below Peter is Ernst, my youngest son with his wife in front of him, Adrienne from South Africa, and their first born, Elianna. And next to Ernst is Robert, my middle son, and he's got

Sarah in front of him with Raphael and actually almost Jonah who was born within days. We didn't know quite whether she was going to make the celebration. But I'm very blessed by my wonderful family. And my sons brought really such great girls for me; I didn't have any daughters until they've come into my family, and I love them all very much.

This is a picture taken on my 80th birthday, last year, 2014, with all my eight grandchildren. It was a wonderful occasion. A surprise weekend away. And... next to me...standing on the right is Jonah who is Robert's second son, Robert and Sarah's second son. Otherwise we have starting from the right...there is Amalia, their youngest, Raphael, their oldest who was just Bar Mitzvah to our great joy in October. He *leined* the whole of *Parchat Noach* and we were so proud and my only sadness was that my husband wasn't there to join us in the joy that we had from his wonderful rendering. Next to him is Elianna who is Ernst's older daughter. Then there is Sigalia who is the older daughter of Robby and Sarah. Next to her, third from the left, is Sammy, who is obviously amused about something. My youngest grandson and grandchild. And - Then there is we, we have ...next to him is Joshua, who is Peter's at least next to him Joshua, Peter and Rachel's son, with Maya, got her arms round both Joshua and Sammy her brother.

This is the document in which my father received notification of his *Fristlose Entlassung* - that means that he was immediately dismissed from his position in July 1938... as a doctor with the *Krankenkasse*, with the health scheme in Vienna. And... one had no recourse to any justice whatsoever. No payment, nothing.

**[4:35:56.0]**

This is the *Vermögensverzeichnis* which actually was filled in in this case for my grandfather in April 1938. Very shortly after the Anschluss in that was March between the 11th and the 13th 1938, all Jews, at least those who were earning, I'm not sure about every adult had to fill in such a *Vermögensverzeichnis*. They had, in a most demeaning way, not only to give their personal details, but details of how much they earned, how much - what they and in the way of monetary assets, and even all their private jewellery and everything that was of any value that belonged to them. The downside of this was, not only was it such a demeaning thing to have to fill this in, was that when Austria eventually made some compensation very belatedly only now, ten, fifteen years ago, this document was used then, to assess what the person had in value at the time in 1938. And of course many people quite naturally tried to play down some of the assets that they had at least to minimise

what they had at the time, so as to try and save just small amounts of money for themselves which they needed to subsist on then later on.

This is the letter that was sent out in June, I think 1940, at a time when many of the refugee men were interned. And those who were not interned and all women, had to leave the East coast of Britain. After Norway fell, the British were naturally very concerned about security. And... this was the general letter that was received. My mother then, which was possible, applied for permission to stay. And she was granted that permission, and the next photograph will show the letter she received.

This is then the treasured document that my mother received that she was given permission to stay in Edinburgh. Only two women, she and Doctor Käthe Herman, the neurologist, were allowed to stay in Edinburgh and therefore she was able to continue with her research work, and also just earn a little with her grant money so as to support the family, and was given exemption from having to leave.

*Liesl, thank you very much.*

**[End of photographs]**

**[4:39:21.1]**