10-9-1981

Hanna Northway interview for the Emmanuel Ringelblum Collection

Hanna Northway
Cary Kozberg

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Today is Oct. 9, 1981. I am Barbara Tureff, a member of the Survivor of the Holocaust Oral History Project. This afternoon I have the privilege of interviewing Hannah Northway at her home in Yellow Springs, Ohio (located about 20 miles East of Dayton), where she resides with her husband and family. I can not describe the setting. It is fortunately very beautiful, in contrast to the subject we are going to discuss. We are sitting outdoors, surrounded by goats, chickens, dogs, cats and a lovely natural landscape. With that as a preliminary I am going to begin by allowing Hannah to introduce herself. Maybe we could start with that process and, from that point, go back to a not too pleasant subject. With regard to the present I know that you are a mother, a wife and that you have professional activities. You are a teacher, I turn this over to you. Perhaps you can introduce yourself and tell us how long you have lived in Yellow Springs.

I am a mother and a wife and a teacher. I have been all 3 for 35 years - not a mother, I have been a mother for only 31. I don't know which is the most important part of my life. My children; I feel that being a mother is an important part of my life. However all of them are important. As long as I have had 5 children I have always been a substitute teacher, I have my fingers somewhat in the pie, but I have been a substitute at least one day a week. I have been a mother and a teacher for as long as I can remember. My husband and I met in NYC. He was a conscientious objector. He was in a malaria unit. He loved folk dancing. We got married rather quickly, six months after we got to know each other.

I was 19 and he was 25.

What year was that?

1946. We lived in NYC for 3 more years. I was a junior in college. I had to finish school which is always a good life insurance. You have something to fall back on if something happens. Then I taught for one year in NYC in an after-school
They hired teachers in a tuition program. Then we moved to Yellow Springs. We wanted to move into a small community that was interracial and interfaith. We were not interested in raising our children as Jews, as such; but we were interested in having them know that they came from a Jewish culture. I did not want them coming home with Anti-semitic jokes. They had a Jewish heritage. Both of us felt really strongly about that. We thought of Haskell, Oregon (transcriber can not locate this place, or anything which sounds like this) in the area of Eugene. We also knew of Yellow Springs with Antioch and that culture in the town, which had all the qualifications. We decided on Yellow Springs because it was close to my parents who lived in NYC and to Dick's folks who lived in Indiana.

Richard was raised in a small town, on a farm of 20 acres, one of 6 children. His parents were not so well educated. His mother did not finish High School, she actually never finished Elementary School. His father went to High School and graduated; then he had one year of college. Our backgrounds were quite different.

BT Your husband is not Jewish?

HN My husband comes from a Methodist background. At the time when we were engaged and Dick was going to go home and see his parents and tell them that we were going to get married. He said that he came home and he talked to his parents and he told his Mom that I am Jewish; she said: "I don't care what she is, as long as she is a good Christian girl!" Christian meant to my mother-in-law a good, ethical person. That is "christian" with a small "c". I am sure that they had not heard of Judaism, as such, since there was no one in town like that. Well, they had, but they had not come in contact with any one who was Jewish. They were both extremely nice in accepting me and I could not have asked for better parents-in-law.

BT How long have you lived in Yellow Springs?

HN I became pregnant with our first child in 49, so we decided that it was time to move. Actually it was the other way around; we decided to move so we decided to have a child. We decided to move to Yellow Springs, so we came in 1949.
We lived out at Glenn Homestead. We bought a little house and fixed it up. My husband did not have a job. He came here and did odd jobs. At one time he was painting Lucille Morgan's barn behind the Community Theatre. Lucille Morgan heard that I was pregnant and that Dick was looking for a job, so she went to Ernest Morgan and said: "Ernest, we must hire Richard Northway! He is a good worker." That is how he got a job at the Book Plate Company, and he has been there ever since.

BT From the description of your life, you seem to have such a positive outlook.

It is interesting that you are integrated in life and that you accept being married to a Non-Jewish person. Let us now go back a little and see how you came to where you are right now. OK, let's go back!

HN I forgot to mention that we do have 6 children. OK, you were going to ask me about that later!

BT OK! That's fine! It is good that you bring that up.

HN We do have 6 children. Our oldest is now settled in Eugene, Ore., as a Psychologist with Rabbi Gottlich and as a carpenter, as a combination. Our second child, Tom, is happily married in Denmark, to a Danish woman. They now have a child. He is a teacher and she is working on an associate degree. Joan is very happy in Yellow Springs working as a nursery school teacher and part time bar tender. Betty is in Seattle, Wash. She is happily married to a lovely young man, Alan. They are making their life together after graduating from college. Paula is still a senior in High School and she is interested in possibly becoming a veterinarian or something in that line. Then we adopted, 10 years ago, a young black boy, who was 3 years old, at the time. He is now turning out to be a beautiful 13 year old upcoming teenager. He still goes down to the Art School and is very musical. He is very thoughtful and likes playing the violin and piano and cornet. He is just beginning to find out who he really is.

BT Again, as you elaborate your life seems so competent and you seem to have such a, I would say, a good point of view on life in terms of family and by the fact that
you adopted a Black child, not a Jewish child, that you married a Non-Jewish, rather than a Jewish person. I will go back again and if anything I ask is objectionable or too personal, don't hesitate to tell me. Let's go back to your life! You were telling me that you were born in Germany. Let's start with what year you were born in. Let us just go back and see if, maybe, the fact that Germany was an integrated society, if that had any bearing on your life. Maybe we could start with when you were born and with how old you were when Hitler came to power.

HN I was born in 1926, in Sep. As I think back I can not remember very much of my early childhood. I am an only child. All my life I regretted that. I imagined playmates on and off. The thing which stands out in my mind is that after my paternal grandparents died, in 1933, my father never seemed to be equally happy, as he had been earlier. He never seemed to smile as much. Maybe that had something to do with the sudden death of his parents and with the rise of Hitler. I guess Hitler had been in power about 6 months, or rather 9 months. I do not remember much of the actual taking of power. The impression on a 5 year old, at the time (BT corrects HN to make it 7 and HN agrees, although she was just a little over 6. HN was 7 years old when her grand parents committed suicide) was that, all of a sudden I saw a lot of brown shirts, (the S.A. or "Sturm Abteilung" i.e. the Storm Troopers of Hitler's party were brown shirts and trousers, as uniforms) and a lot of marching and goose-stepping. That was very impressive for all the children who went to school with me. I just went to the first grade in Public School. All the girls around me were wearing brown dresses and the boys were wearing their uniforms such as white shirts and black pants. I can't visualize it, but I can see the little girls.

BT Do you recall your friends of that time? Was there any difference in playmates at that time?

HN No, I can't remember very much. Maybe I blocked it out. I still can't remember much. My more vivid memories were of going to a Jewish school where there were only Jewish Children.
BT After 1933?

HN I guess so, after the first grade. This is very unclear to me when I started to go there. I guess that it was seen after Jan 1933, when Jewish children were not allowed into Public Schools anymore. I can't remember an awful lot about that, except that we used to tease the teachers an awful lot and that we had to learn Hebrew. That school is kind of a blank for me.

BT OK! Let's go back to the time before Hitler took power. Do you remember who your close friends were?

HN That I don't know. They were the same people who were my close friends afterwards. They probably happened to all have been Jewish (in Public School HN was the only Jewish girl in her class, says her mother, Margaret Ebret, who was interviewed as part of this project) however they did leave Germany eventually, before we did. When you are 5 years old you don't have any real playmates. Do you look back and have any close friends at age 5 or 7? No!

BT You don't remember any dramatic break?

HN No, I don't remember anything dramatic. I remember not being able to go swimming or skating (all these recreational areas and even entire towns were posted, from 1934 on: "Jews are not wanted here!"). I remember being in the Jewish School and that other children kept teasing us as "Jews" and hitting us on our way to & from school. (If you hit back you were, even as a young child, liable to be punished by the authorities on the spot!) You know, that type of thing. I don't exactly know what happened, in relation to how old I was, but, you know, I remember some of these things.

BT Now, at an earlier age, you probably had been allowed to go swimming and to do some of these other things. You don't recall any conflict, in your mind, as to why you could do that at an earlier point, but not at a later point.

HN My parents must have done a really good job. I remember going to Switzerland on vacation and about how nice it was to be able to do all these things, which I could not do at home, as a youngster. I don't remember much! I can relate very well to Blacks living here and people calling them: "Nigger!" You know that you
make a person stronger if you can give him a lot of love and attention. I can relate to the fact of being called names. You have to carry your head twice as high!

BT What do you recall if someone were to ask you: "What is your whole life like?" "What did your parents do?" "What style of living did you have?" "What religious life did you have?" Do you remember your parents putting emphasis on religion?

HN I don't remember the nurse we had. I remember us always having a maid, at one time or another. Toward the end of our time in Germany, Jews were not allowed to have maids. I do remember going to the Temple. My father and mother were not very religious. My grand parents, on my mother's side, went to Temple every Friday night. At my grand parents' house they would have the Kiddush (the prayer over the candles, the wine and the bread which is said in a Jewish home, traditionally, on the eve of the Shebbat, or any other home Holyday) and then sitting down for the meal. I just remember going to my grandparent's Friday nights! I remember Chanuka (the eight day period of the rededication of the Temple sanctuary after the Machabeth chased the Syrians from Jerusalem - at that time, traditionally, candles are lit, prayers and songs are chanted every night). I had a period when I was quite Zionistic (this means that she wanted to go to Zion, i.e. to Palestine). I wanted to move to Palestine. My parents were not Zionist. I had a period, probably just before coming to the US, i.e. between 37 and 40 I would say, where I was almost Kosher. You know, I tried it. I celebrated all the Jewish Holydays and I am sure that I did not agree with my parents.

BT Let us backtrack chronologically. In 1933 Hitler took power. When did you leave Germany? I remember in my conversation with your mother that you left earlier than she did, in 1938, and that you went to Switzerland.

HN Oh yes! After Nov. 10, 1938, which was called kristallnacht, because of all the broken glass, (that was the night when the NAZI's, i.e. the followers of Hitler, had a government sponsored program in Germany, when all the synagagues and all the stores owned by Jews, as well as many apartments in which Jews lived were looted and burned to the ground and Jewish men were arrested on sight), my mother took
me to Switzerland, to Basel (47.30N, 7.30E). I stayed there for about 3 weeks. I remember being extremely homesick, so homesick that I cried every night and the woman with whom I stayed was not very sympathetic to my tears. Finally, after 3 weeks I came back home. They allowed me back into Germany!

BT What was life like then? That was a pretty bad time already in Germany. Were you still living in the same house?

HN Yes, we still stayed in the same house.

BT Do you remember what it was like, eating wise? Do you remember concern about what you could get?

HN No, not yet! That happened after the war started in 1939. This was still 1938! Things were pretty much the same. I mean that I went to school. My parents had a big yard which was away from the house. They had a piece of property on which nothing had been built. It seemed to me to be an area, actually it was probably less than an acre, where I could play with my friends from the Jewish School. It was a fenced in area and we would play. We pretended that we were in Palestine, on a Kibbutz (these were the types of communal village where immigrants settled) and go out and plant our garden and come home. It was nice. It was isolated from the rest of the community. It was a pretty safe upbringing. You know, as long as we were in a fenced in yard, no one would bother us. It was large! We were impressed by the fact that if you went out in the street you would be taunted, however you accepted that, as I am sure that a Black person playing on Main Street does. It is part of life! Then, in 1939, things were getting hard. My father left for England (he was tipped off that he was going to be arrested). That was a lot of trouble, but I stayed with my mother. We moved to Mannheim (49.29N, 8.28E) after the war started, in Sep. 39. My memories of those days were that my mother would come back from her work at the GESTAPO (Geheime Staats Polizei or Secret State Police). When she would go to visit the GESTAPO, she would get back when she could. I remember that I was carrying a goodly amount of money with me in a purse around my neck to be used in case we were separated.

BT What do you think that you would do with the money?
Oh, I would try to leave, try to get to England or Scotland (HN's father had taken refuge in one country and his brother in the other). I never thought about that. I guess that if you have enough security you don't need to worry about it. It wasn't that much of a thought. As I said that some days my mom would get home from work late, but I didn't feel extremely threatened, at least not now, as I look back on it.

Do you recall discussing what was going on with your friends or with your family?

Yes, I could not understand why my parents had waited so long and why it took so long to get to the US, or otherwise to get out. Hitler was not getting easier. Many of my classmates had left for Holland or for the US. I realize now that my mother did not leave because of her parents. She felt very strongly that she had to take care of her parents and they were not going to leave.

You do not recall a gradual or dramatic deterioration of your lifestyle?

Yes, I guess that I do; but there was still food on the table, at least until after the war started and there was rationing. Then we were getting a cup of milk a day and things of that type. Now, that affected my mother more than it did me. You know that you accept things like that as long as you have the security. I mean children will live through poverty and lots of things, as long as there is enough security there. They will grow up as normal persons. I really credit my parents with doing a good job.

I am impressed and totally amazed. I am also curious about your interest in Zionism. Where did you get your ideas on that? From the School? From your teachers?

Well, the school was part of it. We had to learn Hebrew and some English. I could not speak any English, but I certainly knew some basics by the time I came here. We had a Zionist Youth Movement, you know, of the type of the Boy and Girl Scouts. In our groups there were Zionists also, and, as I said, we fantasized. We made Hebrew signs when we were in the yard, we talked about what people did on the Kibbutz. There was a little hill and I can still see us marching up with a shovel on the shoulder as if going out into the fields. You know, we played like any 9 or 10 year old. Now they fantasize about going into space. So we went to our
BT Was there discussion in school concerning what was happening in Germany?

HN There must have been. I can't remember! We didn't do it much (there was the constant fear of being overheard and denounced). I always regret, since German is my mother tongue, I have forgotten much. I don't read it well. I don't speak it extremely well anymore. I certainly don't know any German literature. We didn't study it. We studied some of the Jewish authors. I didn't get to study Goethe or Schiller or any of the German culture.

BT Do you recall wearing your badge (the yellow Star of David all Jews were required to wear in specific places on their outer garment)?

HN Yes, I remember the badge! By the way my mother made a mistake in her tape: the boys were not called "Ismael" but "Israel", as the "Jewish" middle name and the women were called "Sarah". I do remember having to sign "Hannah, Sarah".

BT Do you recall any reaction when that came about, or accepting it as "That is the way it is"?

HN Yes, that was so. Essentially you accepted that! I will not deny that I often hit my name against a stone wall and I get extremely frightened when everyone is so passive about accepting everything. That just scares me! I am sure that it goes back to having, down in my subconscious, seen Hitler come to power. So I will fight much more, just as we did in the case where we were suing the school board. I said: "They can't just push us around!"

BT I was going to ask you about that at the very end: what your reaction was.

HN My reaction was that I refused to be pushed around.

BT Do you recall many of your friends?

HN Yes, I remember: most of my friends. Many of them ended up in concentration camps. Sometimes I think about some of them and wonder what has happened to them. I don't hear from any of them!

BT You don't know what happened to any of them?

HN No! There is one woman, she was my adopted friend, her name was Gerta. I corresponded with her. I have not seen her since we have come to the US. I remember
her as a 12 year old, but we do correspond. She lives in Florida. I remember the really good times we had together! She had had ballet lessons. I wanted to have ballet lessons all my life. We pretended that we were in a ballet class together. Anyhow I have not seen her, but she is about the only one I have kept in touch with.

BT The ballet lessons, were they in the Jewish sphere?

HN No! I don't know how she got them. She must have gotten to them earlier than I did. Maybe they had more money. I do remember some of the people in NYC politics. In NYC I knew some more people; but, you know, in the Jewish Community in NYC, as in many other communities, you get compared. I remember someone saying, "So & so is marrying a doctor!" and "So & so is marrying a lawyer!" and "Hannah Ebert is only marrying a nice guy!" So I probably lost contact more in relation to that kind of thing of just marrying a nice Christian boy. A Gentile was, you know, out of the realm of the Jewish community, but not in the relationship to the rest of my family. My uncle married a Gentile, and so on. I never thought about it.

BT If we can just go back again. I guess it is most fascinating, the idea of acceptance and what your education was like. When you went to school to study do you remember whether this was a pleasant or an unpleasant experience?

HN No, people were like they are; I compare it to slavery in a way. Within the Black culture, the slaves were usually happy and had their security; and that, in a way, was what it was like within the Jewish community in Germany. (HN seems to miss the target on both sides of her comparison. No sense of security could exist in the slave society since any master could, at any time, sell any or all slaves when the master wished, disregarding family ties. Under the NAZI dictatorship any ruffian could assault or arrest any Jew at any time; when Jews left for work particularly after 1938, they never knew whether they would get home again or, if they did, who would be there. This is why HN carried all that money around with her.) I felt secure! I still remember with shock and horror seeing the Temple burned.

BT That was Kristallnacht?

HN Yes, Nov. 10, 1938.
BT What were your reactions the next day?

HN I guess we just came there! I guess that we did not hear anything during the night! I was on my way to school when I saw it.

BT How old were you then?

HN In 1938? I was 12! We were on our way to school! We walked to school in a group, usually (that made it less likely for any one individual to be beaten up) just there is, maybe, safety in numbers. I remember standing in front of the Temple which was still smoldering. Obviously there was no school because the men (teachers, administrators, janitors etc.) had been taken away. That is about the only remembrance I have. I am trying to think if I can remember a feeling of being afraid. No, I guess not, mere the feeling of disgust and probably some hatred there. Just being disgusted.

BT What was your feeling when you saw all this? all the GESTAFO people there?

HN I was not extremely scared.

BT Did you get any advice? Were you ever confronted?

HN Yes we were! You know that everyone gets confronted at times! No, I can't remember. Of course, we would get off the sidewalk, if someone came by taunting us; then you stepped off the sidewalk to let the person by; they had the right of way! A song of the time which had made a strong, strong impression on me went: "Die Gedanken sind frei!" which translates into "The thoughts are free!" This meant, I believed, that no one can catch you and punish you for what you are thinking.

BT That is a German song?

HN Yes, that is a German song. It means that, no matter what they do, you can hold on to your own thoughts, or maybe just that no one can guess your thoughts, and that, as long as you are strong, strong in your head, you can have your own thoughts, no matter what "they" say or do. Yes, that was sort of a theme song of most of my friends.

BT Do you recall Bar Mizvos and religious functions?

HN I don't know if they had Bar Mizvos. They must have had some in the Temple, but
I don't remember attending any (Bar Mitzvos, other than just the religious service, in that area of Germany, after 1936, were held in the strictest privacy since assemblies of Jews were asking for beatings) but they I was 12 years old, so I was still too young for that. No, I don't remember any Bar Mitzvos!

BT Do you remember celebrations of holidays?

HN Yes, I remember going to hear the Shofar being blown (the Shofar, or ram's horn is blown at Rosh Hashana & Yom Kipur, the Jewish New Year as anniversary remembrance of when the ram was provided, on Mt. Tabor to replace Isaac as the burnt offering) I remember some of these things from before I was in the US. The women were sitting upstairs and the men were sitting downstairs in the Temple. Yes, I remember that, but not anything really specific. I remember Chanooka and Passover. My parents never set up a Passover meal; we usually had to go out to someone's house to have a Seder.

BT They didn't do that because other people did it, or did they just not do it?

HN They didn't do either. I mean that I would go but they didn't. They would not participate! Mother would go for the High Holidays (i.e. the Jewish New Year). On Rosh Hashana she would go to Temple. As I said that I remember Chanooka at my grandparent's house, on the 8 days everyone lighting the candles and getting gifts, also going into a Succot and having Purim. However these were not family functions. I remember the kind of things we did in (the Jewish Day) School. We did not learn much in School (after 1934 no Jewish teacher could teach in Public School, no Non-jewish teacher could teach in a Jewish School, no new Jewish teachers were graduated from the usual Normal Schools, except one, the younger teachers were amongst the first to leave Germany whenever they could, classes in Jewish Schools were often disrupted by incidents and the student population fluctuated due to emigration).

BT You don't remember your parents making any special emphasis on your Jewishness?

HN No! We were Germans first! We did not really consider ourselves Jewish. As we got together with the Polish Jews and the Russian Jews of our community, since we were all in the school together, there was a certain prejudice (against these
"Eastern Jews"), The German Jews always had their nose up higher than the Polish or the Russian Jews. It took me a long time to realize that the Russian and Polish Jews were also good Jews. Well, partly, my parents didn't help with that, they thought that we were superior.

BT Would you also associate that with the socio-economic position.

HN The socio-economic position had something to do with it.

BT Your parents had superior professional occupations.

HN Sure!

BT What was your mother's position?

HN Yes, I listened to the tapes (of the interview with Margaret Ebert), but I do remember her while I was growing up. I don't remember her working in the law firm (obviously meaning Paul Ebert's law firm) where my father worked, because he quit too early (after 1934 Jews were stripped of their licenses to practice law, medicine etc.) and tried to sell insurance. After that my mother worked for the HIAS (Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society) to try to get people out (of Germany). She never talked much about it, but I remember her being gone late and so on, trying to get people out. I know that we got our visa to come through Switzerland for emigration was definitely just because she had worked for HIAS. (Switzerland was not generous with visas since they wanted no refugees as residents, unless they had independent means) People were not allowed to go to Switzerland. We had a hard time convincing my mom to leave when she did, even though my grandparents were dead by that time. They (her mother's parents) died in 1939.

BT Of natural death?

HN Yes. My grandparents on my father's side committed suicide in 1933, but my grandparents on my mother's side both died in 1939 of natural causes. On Oct 8 and Nov 3, respectively. My grandfather and then my grandmother. So they were both gone, but still she really dragged her feet about going. My, being very forceful and saying: "We are leaving tomorrow, for goodness sake, relax!" The next couple days everyone was taken to Gurs (that was the camp in Southern France, near Pau, where the Jews from the Mannheim area were shipped, but that did not happen until
Then I insisted that we take that specific boat out of Italy and not to spend any more time in Switzerland. That was the last boat out of Italy, in May 1940 Italy attacked France thus entering the war and no boats could go past Gibraltar any longer) get us here. Really my mom dragged her feet, and I understand that!

BT Why do you think that she was reluctant to leave? Was she concerned about change?

HN No! No! She was leaving her homeland (and also abandoning her HIAS clients, for whom she had tried to find a haven), her homeland, Yes! It is like someone saying to you or me: "Gee, you need to move to New Zealand". We would drag our feet to, rather than to go to a completely new environment such as South America or Africa.

BT You mentioned that your grandparents had committed suicide. These were your father's parents?

HN Yes.

BT Did you know at the time that they did?

HN No, I did not and I have no impression except that my father was much less jovial after that. That was my only impression which I had of that. I did not know about their suicide until, I believe, after I came to the US. I had often wondered: "How come that they both died the same day?", but I never put it together.

BT What was your grandfather's occupation?

HN My grandfather on my father's side was a lawyer. They all were members of a big association. There were 3 or 4 generations of lawyers. My father was a lawyer and my uncle was a lawyer. My grandfather on my mother's side was a hardware man. He had a wholesale hardware business. He also handled iron and had a big hardware store.

BT Do you recall if either of your grandmothers had gone to the University?

HN They were both well educated people, that is the impression I had. They knew art and culture. They were much more cultured than most American educated people, but I am not sure. No, I don't know about University studies. Did mother mention it?

BT I really did not ask her that. It just crossed my mind now.

HN I think that I will ask my aunt and uncle. They are still alive. Why are you
questioning that?

BT Because you always think about what the men did, but your mother was a professional. As a matter of fact she made a point of saying that she had received a PhD in Germany.

HN Yes! Yes! I don't really know, so I will ask my uncle and aunt. It should be interesting.

BT There was actually a woman's right movement in the Weimar republic.

HN I have never felt it. You know, even in my own mind, I never felt that I needed authority. I am sure that I did not get involved. Yes, my mother cooked, after the maids left, and my grandmother did the same, but there was a certain inequality there. I never had this feeling of sexual discrimination. I can not remember my grandparents on my father's side, that they needed these women's rights, as they are needed now. But that, of course, pertains to the upper class.

BT Before we leave this subject, it is just fascinating to see how you reacted, or failed to react. Would I be right in summing up your reaction to this part that you were just very receptive and that you integrated this in your life. Now you went to Switzerland and then came back. How did your parents explain this?

HN Well, they were very honest. You know, since I was there and Hitler did not like the Jews, that I would probably have a better education and that it would be safer for me. You worried about safety when you were all by yourself and about the safety of your parents.

BT Where did you go to school in Switzerland?

HN I put that out of my mind too because it was such a horrible experience. No, I never went to school during those 3 weeks. I was just determined to get back. I didn't enjoy anything. The stay in Switzerland was contrary to my parent's home. Ours had been a very warm, accepting home; this home in Switzerland was a very cold sterile home and the woman just could not understand my crying. It was just unexplainable to her.

BT Was it a Jewish family?

HN No, it was a Gentile family. I guess the family was Protestant. However I don't
think that that would have made much difference. The home atmosphere was just so different. I just really felt that I wanted to be with my parents.

BT What language did you speak there?

HN German! Yes, the German language was the same and the maid which this family had was lovely. They had 2 girls my age. It must be hard for an only child to, all of a sudden, be a sibling and not only a sibling, but an outsider at that. These 2 girls had to accept me at short notice! I never thought much about that at the time. I do remember sitting in the railroad station (HN uses the German word: "Bahnhoff", all of a sudden) in Basel and see my mother taking some of her jewelry out of her purse, to take it out of Germany. There was enough to worry about! That is how my mother got a lot of her jewelry out of Germany, that is by giving it to the people in Switzerland. That was one reason why we came through Switzerland when we left Germany; to pick it up.

BT Would you make any other comments about your early life.

HN Well, I would say that it is better not to go through the experience I had, but I have some real feelings that, if you carry bitterness and hatred around, it tears you up, it does not do anything to any one else. It tears your body apart and I had some feelings about that, as I went back to Germany in 1972. That was the first time I went back alone. My son was getting married and the wedding was to take place in Denmark. We couldn't both go, because we had just gotten Victor, our adopted son. Three of us going was too much and we couldn't take Victor and not take Paula. So, only I went. After the wedding I went to Germany for 4 days, Just to Karlsruhe (49.01 N, 8.24 E) to see the old woman who had lived downstairs in the house and had seen me grow up. It was just fascinating, my feelings, I mean. I would walk around early in the morning, just by myself, and see all the children with their knapsacks. You knew they carried their books that way, on their backs (as HN had done). I kept wondering and, all of a sudden, I was 12 again and saw the school I had gone to and the bakery and the ice-cream store. It was just a fascinating thing and I could not understand. I kept wanting to say: "I was here!" I had a hard time. At that time I came from Denmark and people were blonder and
more Aryan looking in Denmark, than they are in Southern Germany. I could not
understand how anyone fathomed that! The other realization was that there were
quite a few people who remembered Hitler. People who had to have been my parents
age, to really have lived through it (Hitler killed himself in 1945, just 27
years before that visit), however some people had not lived through it. They had
a beautiful new Temple (Temples were rebuild after the defeat of Germany, but they
are mainly museums since hardly any Jews survived in Germany and only very few
old pensioners have returned for economic reasons. Some former "Displaced Persons"
from Eastern Europe took refuge in Mannheim and other parts of the Rhine Valley.)
but not in the same location where the old one was. I talked to an aunt of a girl
I had gone to school with. The girl had died in a concentration camp. The aunt
took me to the Temple and we talked for a while. You know, it is almost as if it
never happened. That is kind of a strange feeling. Strange is not a good term, it
is kind of a nebulus, scary feeling.

BT Was it a frightening experience?

HN Yes, it is frightening when I see people acquiescent to everything, as I said
before. For example our social security law. We get the social security number.
Now it is being used at Wright State. You can't take an exam without giving your
social security number. You can't get a driver's license without it. It is some­
what almost like being dehumanized! It is scary, but we acquiesce to it.

BT Several items you mentioned. For example you mentioned the fact that your husband
is Non-Jewish.

HN That was by coincidence. I belonged to a hiking group and it was made up of Jewish
kids, at least most of them were Jewish kids. (Here the tape stops being intelligible)

BT We were on the other side of the tape and I had asked you about the choice of a
husband, and you were speaking about a hiking group, maybe we can continue to
follow that point.

HN We had an international group, two people from Yugoslavia, there was one young
person from Belgium, one from the United States, Austria. We were 12 altogether,
6 girls and 6 boys. We had more in common than with the American children. For
one thing, the Jewish community was very snobbish. They didn't want anything to do with the refugees, the German refugees or any other refugees. So I went to an agricultural young people's group and I met these people. It was not a social group. We would go on hikes on Saturdays and Sundays, or we would go to concerts or the museums. That is how we went to Templin, at the School of Living, because they had a School for Living there and we could spend a week for culture between Christmas and New Years. We went there and we played soccer-ball and dodge-ball and we went hiking. It was not a sexual thing, it was just great companions getting together, friends who had a good time together. I remember Dec. 7, 1941. We were out hiking in the Palisades park (that is the park which is located just upstream on the Hudson River from Fort Lee, N.J., the western anchor of the George Washington Bridge) wondering how many people would still be alive after the war. From them I met some more people who were conscientious objectors during the war. I just didn't like the American aggressive manner. I guess that I met Dick, and I knew that he was my kind. I met him folk dancing at the Madison Ave. Presbyterian Church (in NYC). That was the second time he had come there. He walked me home. It was a really stormy night. We walked through Central Park in NYC with 12 inches of snow. It was so quiet. We did a lot of talking and we got to know each other better. Dick and I had a lot in common.

BT If I can interrupt you here: you left Germany in 1939?

HN In 1940!

BT Oh, 1940! You say that things had gotten worse between 1939 and 40? Do you recall?

HN That's right.

BT Maybe we can pick up just a little from there. What do you remember as getting worse? Then, when you came to the US? Well let's go from there.

HN I was talking about always having a feeling that you didn't have to be in a synagogue to say your prayers, so that you would be close to God, or to whatever you want to call it. I remember that, after having seen the Temple burned, I went biking past the Catholic Church and going into the Church, dipping my hand into the Holy Water, doing the Crusifix and genuflecting; then sitting down and saying:
"Shma Israel: Adonai El Huenu, Adonai Echud!" (this is the watchword of the Jewish faith and is translated into: "Hear O Israel: The Lord Our God, The Lord is One") and saying my prayers and crying. You know, being somewhat upset, but saying: "one can talk to God anywhere! one can be in a Catholic Church, as well as in a Synagogue." I had the feeling that you are a lot better off going back out, out of the Church. That was one of the things I remember. I wonder if I can thank my parents for that, for having kept me secure, you know, not too religiously oriented.

BT OK! After Kristallnacht, in 1938, can you recall specifically - maybe you can mention some specifics of how life was worse for you, or did you become more fearful - was it the diet you had, the clothes you wore or what?

HN After Kristallnacht, you had to wear a star. I guess that my mother said that she didn't have to wear one, but I remember wearing the Star of David, but it was in a jewelry form (that contradicts the reminescences of several others who talk about having to wear armbands with a yellow star as well as clearly visible yellow stars on both the front and the back of the outer garment over the heart, and that these stars had to be worn whenever one was in the presence of others, including in concentration camps) and I was proud to wear it. You know I did not mind this. I remember having to sign my name "Sarah" on everything. It get progressively worse, but so slowly that I don't remember anything specific. We still went to school. There were some more people who had left. People kept emigrating all along, so the group got smaller and smaller. That was just one of the facts of life! You know: the group gets smaller and your friends leave. Some of them went to South-Africa, to England, to Australia or to the US. These were the realities.

BT When your friends left, did you correspond at all? Do you remember getting any mail?

HN No!

BT Do you remember getting any mail from the outside?

HN No.

BT Not at all?

HN No! (It was dangerous to receive mail from abroad, all letters were censored)

BT Did you have any close friends leaving?
HN Yes and no. I kind of can't recall. It is interesting that when a date comes along - Oct 5, or whatever - I think: "Oh, this is so and so's birthday! I wonder whatever happened to them!"

BT You had no idea as to what was happening to them?

HN No, but I have not heard about them since then. There were some really close friends who went to South-Africa. I have never heard from them since then, but I remember their birthdays.

BT When you left Germany, do you actually remember the trip out of Germany?

HN No, I don't remember much about leaving Germany. I remember being in Italy, in Genoa at the boat deck and my mother having to do something with paperwork. We had 15 pieces of luggage, a humendous amount (these were all their possessions since no furniture, or other goods could be shipped, and they were coming to a country where their resources were limited). These individual pieces were spread all over the deck. I remember the Italian men, you know being a young lady (she was then 13½ years old) at the time and flirting with Italian men. That is how I got the luggage together without me speaking any Italian.

BT You don't remember masses of people who did the same thing?

HN No, it was a joyful experience. (By that time the number of people who could leave had dwindled to a trickle.)

BT Do you recall what you left in your house? Things which you wanted to take?

HN No. Now I think: "Cee, it would have been nice to have this or that." I had a beautiful dollhouse, and it would be nice to have. It was interesting that when I went back to Germany, I went back that time with my husband and 4 children, we stayed with that woman who had a lot of my parent's silver. Well, she was having it there, she was pretty senile, and I kept wanting to take some of these pieces. She had a set where you put the silver on a silverwareholder, made out of silver. My dad used a plastic one here. I almost swiped it from her. My senses just kept me from doing it! I came back and explained it to my mom and I said: "Oh, that used to be ours!" Well, in hindsight, I wish that I had swiped it (as per the German post 1946 law of restitution, or Wiedergutmachungsgesetz, all these items belonged again to the Ebert family, unless they sold it freely, after WW2).
She wouldn't have known the difference, anyway. You know; she had a lot of my
parent's things and it was fun seeing them. She had a plate and a footmat, which
I had made for my parents when I was about six. She gave that to me and it was
good. However I don't know, it isn't anything that important. I wouldn't change
my life.

BT When you came to the US, did you have some of your family greet you?
HN My father was at dockside.
BT Your father had left earlier?
HN He had been in Scotland.
BT Your father was in Scotland? When had he left Germany?
HN Sometime in early 39. Then the war started. I do remember that, after the war
started, my mother was not able to talk to my father and was not able to write
to him (Scotland and Germany were on opposite sides of the conflict). My mother
had to write to Switzerland and they would put it in an envelope and to mail it
to England or to Scotland. Then dad would write to Switzerland and they would
put in a different envelope and send it to Germany. (This kind of exchange was
probably not all that straightforward due to censorship; either letters were
copied or summarized - exchanging letters with people in enemy countries was not
tolerated by either side.) That is how my parents communicated. I remember that
mother tended to worry about that, you know, how could communications be maintained.
My father came to the US in April of 1940, and we came in May of 1940. My father
was at the dock. That was nice. I remember the joyful waiving! "How do you like
America?" is what he shouted at us. That is about the only remembrance I have,
and then adjusting to NYC.

BT Were your associations Jewish? The Ethical Culture Society was your school?
HN No, that was the social group. I went to Julia Richmond High School in NYC. That
is the High School where I started.

BT Did you not discriminate? I mean did you seek Jewish friends?
HN No.

BT This was not on your mind one way or the other?
No, I still felt Jewish and I guess that I will always feel Jewish, I mean that we raised our children to celebrate the Holydays, like Chanooka and Passover. Paula stayed home from school yesterday, which was Rosh Hashana. Even the children who are gone (i.e. who no longer live at home) and who have Gentile mates, still talk about Passover. Becky still does the Seder (Seder literally means "order". The order of the Passover meal is fairly rigidly stated in the literature and, therefore, "doing the Seder" implies some conscious commitment, at least.) It is a bastardized Seder, but it is a Seder. You know; they talk about it and she will have friends in. Tommy took a Menorah (the traditional Chanooka candleholder with spaces for 9 flames, generally 9 candles) back to Denmark with him, which he remembered from his childhood. As I said; they have a Jewish tradition and I feel that we managed to deal in that respect with the Jewish heritage, which they have, just like they have a strong American Methodist heritage.

Let me ask you; you went to public school and your extracurricular, your social affiliation, your religious affiliation, was the Ethical Culture Society and you mentioned that you had become acquainted with your future husband, who was a conscientious objector, and that you had met other conscientious objectors. What was your feeling since the war was going on at the time? Did you have a concern about the condition of the people you left behind (in Germany)? Did you feel that we should go in and help them?

Oh no! I see what you mean. You mean; how can I justify my Judaism and adopt Pacifism at the same time.

Did you think every day, every week about what was happening in Germany?

I mean; most of the Jews were already deported (that certainly was not the case by Dec. 7, 1941). I felt that the US was partly, and other countries also were to blame. For one thing, they let Hitler go awfully far (presumably in order to stop the Communist menace) and, by the way Hitler did some good things for Germany. You know that he did start the Volkswagen, and there were some good things happening inside Germany. I mean politically, oh not politically as much as economically (in the early and middle 20's the German economy had fallen victim
to runaway inflation due in great part to the costs of WWI) I didn't have the feeling that he did not encourage the Jews to leave. (As a matter of fact the official policy of Hitler's party, the NAZI party, was to get as many Jews as possible to leave Germany providing they left their worldly goods to the Nazi's, rather than to Germany. It was only once Germany overran Europe, thus requiring these same Jews who were by then without means, that the "Final Solution" was adopted as official policy in 1942). Some of the people like my parents were reluctant to leave. Once they wanted to leave there was the "Quota System". (By the laws of 1921, revised in 1927 the US would only admit a specific number of immigrants each year, based on quotas by nationalities. Other countries regulated immigration by other means) New Zealand and Australia didn't take people. Canada took some in. England would take them, but the British colonies would not, (Actually Australia as well as England accepted people qualified in certain professions. South-Africa took in many refugees. Palestine took in only very few people after 1936, when the riots occurred, except for youngsters, to give some examples. Also France would accept people but refused them the right to be employees.) It was not just Germany that had its dislike; there is Anti-semitism here, in the US.

BT When you came here, did you sever your ties with those people you left behind?

HN There weren't any people left. There was no one left. (HN probably means that there was no one left whom she knew. Her mother detailed some of her HIAS clients who were left. Many Jews from HN's area of Germany were deported including those who went to Gurs after May 1940)

BT In terms of the US getting involved in the war and perhaps liberating camps (camps were not liberated until late in 1944, at the earliest), was that not necessary?

HN I still have the feeling that I think that some could have gotten out. Actually I didn't have that feeling (when I met Dick); by then I had already met Ralph & Lila Templing who had a real influence on my life. He is a strong believer in the Gandhi-nonviolent culture. He had known Gandhi; Mohandas Gandhi, the ultimate proponent of passive resistance, of non-violence. He was a great person. He
explained the Trinity to my satisfaction, to my Jewish satisfaction and laid the groundwork to my understanding pacifism a lot more, that is the non-violent approach. So, when I met Richard, I was ready. You know; they are not proselyising. His whole life is that he will not kill. You know; he won’t lay a hand on his children, or such. He has a non-violent approach. I really appreciate that.

BT Was that not in the way in which the Jews handled themselves in Germany?

HN Yes, it was. It was almost too passive.

BT So, did that present a conflict for you?

HN No.

BT Do you think that the Jews should have behaved in another way, in Germany, when it was all happening?

HN I think that they could have been stronger. I mean that they were pretty acquiescing. I am not sure.

BT I wonder how you integrate the fact of people being acquiescing with your non-violent doctrine?

HN Between acquiescing and non-violence there is a step!

BT Could you illustrate this? Have you worked that out? I wonder how you rationalize this.

HN Yes, I have worked it out, but I am not sure that I can put it into words. I think that there is a difference between the idea of non-violence and acquiescence. You don’t have to cooperate to be non-violent. There is a fine line and I have not done that much thinking about it in order to explain it. I am trying to think of something. I think that if someone came up and assaulted me, I would not fight, I would probably scream and give them the money and protect myself that way, since obviously I am too weak to fight. It does not make any sense to go and hit! There are other ways of defending yourself and I think that this is the case in the whole country. I think that if the Jews had been maybe more united amongst themselves they could have done something, but that is hard to tell. It is water over the dam.

BT Essentially then during the 40’s, during the war, you were part of the Ethical
Culture movement and you really swayed toward pacifism?

HN Yes, toward pacifism. Maybe that was because I appreciated the young men I had met. Remember that I was a teenager.

BT And you didn't argue with him, what about the Jews and all that?

HN No. Well they were already saved; some of the people had already come. When France was overthrown, that was before America joined the war. French Jews had been liberated (that is contrary to the fact since, starting with the fall of France in May-June 1940 and accelerating after our invasion of North Africa in 1943, when the Germans overran even the small enclave controlled by Marshal Petain in Vichy, Jews were deported by trainloads into slave labor camps and extermination camps, starting with the German and other Jews who had found refuge in France since the end of WWI). You know, America did not stumble into the war (Germany & Italy declared war on the US after the US had declared war on Japan, after Pearl Harbor). That is such a mute question! I do have feelings about my children being in the armed forces, I don't think that there should be a draft. I have some very strong feelings about that. My boys, the older boys, were all registered as conscientious objectors.

BT From 1940 to 1945 were you, or your family involved in any sort of negotiations, or any sort of assistance or being mentally or, in any way involved, with what was going on.

HN Oh, my mother was very much involved, but she has always been much more of a political person than I am. Well mom and dad were involved. They had met Ralph & Lila Templin also, and I am certain that that had some influence. My parents were very good friends with them. Ralph is a very charismatic person. I mentioned John Hayne Holmes, the minister of the Community Church (a name is added here which the transcriber could not pickup, it may be the name of another person, or the location of the Community Church). All the people really had a strong philosophy. There is a difference between a whole country starting a war, or even fighting a war, and individuals. There is a definite difference between an individual defending himself or a whole country.

BT You mean to say that, if you had had your preference the US would not have gotten
involved in the war?

HN No, I am not saying that. I don't know. I really don't have an opinion either way. I mean that I had not reflected on this, I was young. I would have an opinion now, over something which was happening now. No, I hadn't thought about it.

BT But at the time, were you thinking about it.

HN No. I was glad that they (meaning the US) had joined the war. That disparity between my thoughts and with my husband's or boy friend's strong feelings - I never thought about that. You know how these things go.

BT Sure, as a young teenager you don't rationalize that much!

HN Sure, at the age of 16, you don't think about that.

BT Let me ask you now, in terms of that whole experience and on how it has affected your life; at that time there were many American men in uniform. Do men in uniform trouble you in any way?

HN No.

BT You don't recall anything like that? Marching and that.

HN No. Well, I don't like goose stepping (the parade march of the German soldiers with legs raised to 90 deg. from the vertical which was never used by the US). I never encouraged boy scouts & girl scouts for my children. It is interesting. Maybe that was a reaction to the atmosphere in Germany, but I don't know. A policeman does not scare me, a doctor does not scare me! I think that my experience has been that I have a very strong self-image actually. I fight for what I believe is my right. You know; they can put me in prison and I will stick to what I believe! Hopefully both Dick and I have brought this over to my children: "This, above all, to thy own self be true!" You have to be true in your feelings.

BT Oh yes, the question I have is: how did your experience, your early experience, affect your child raising practices? Do you see a relationship about what happened to you and how you brought your children up?

HN No! I have always been pretty individualistic, I mean Dick and I, both. We don't follow the crowd. I am not sure that that has anything to do with that, or if there are other reasons.

BT Psychological?
HN You know, I don't have to keep up with the Jones and neither does Richard. That may have to do with the influence of Ralph & Lila Templin or (here is another name which the transcriber could not understand). When we came to Yellow Springs we raised our children, we wanted them to be able to be something. There was no Unitarian Church, at the time, so we did join Quaker Meetings. I consider myself a Jewish Quaker. I have some feelings about organized religion, in general.

BT I was going to talk to you about this afterwards.

HN I feel that no matter how, what, who, I am pretty much of an individualist and I don't approve of some of the things the Quakers, or anyone else does in organized religion. So we are not very active. We are active but we don't go to meetings.

BT Are you active in the social concerns?

HN Yes, with social concerns, but I am not for any religious activity.

BT Do you think that this was caused by what happened?

HN Oh, I don't know. I have strong feelings about pro-choice for abortions. I think that the state government needs to stay out of your own personal life. It should not dictate: abortion is one of these things, not to be allowed to commit suicide is another, having to wear helmets, when you ride a bicycle is another. That should be your own, private, choice. Maybe that comes from Hitler wanting to run your whole life, but it may have happened anyways. We have raised our children with respect for human beings. When we adopted Victor we had to go through a whole bunch of meetings with the Children's Mental Health Service in Dayton, or in Montgomery County (the county where Dayton is located). I went to a lot of meetings. We had to go through an encounter session with King - I can't remember his first name - he would always say: "Pretend you are Black!", or such things.

BT Victor is a Black child?

HN Victor is a Black child. I could not see myself being a Jive-Jewish-Black mother, going jiving along. That is not my nature. We were rather blunt about that and we almost did not get a child because we said that we had some questions. We were going to raise a human being, like any other human being. We were not raising a "Black" human being, or a "Yellow" human being. We were going to raise Victor
as a human being. That is the Black is secondary, just like the fact that we are white is secondary, he is a human being. We almost did not get a child, though. Seeing Victor, now, at 13, not to brag, I think that we have succeeded, he is a delightful young adolescent.

BT Well, from what I perceive, I agree with that. Let me ask you with regard to your children, and your own commitment, how do you feel about patriotism and loyalty to one's country? or are these issues you don't deal with?

HN Oh I do! I do. We vote!

BT Do you think of yourself as an American, or do you think of yourself as a member of a larger community?

HN I think of myself as an American, although I am not a very patriotic American.

I will not wave a flag. I feel strongly that everyone should vote!

BT You mentioned that your children are conscientious objectors.

HN Yes, and we are working on Victor. That goes with Quakerism and, maybe, that is what I like about the Quaker approach. There are other ways of saving humanity besides fighting.

BT Would that be applicable to what happened in Germany, do you think? or is it something which you haven't thought about? or are you not relating the two?

HN Yes, I heard from someone who lived through the war in Norway and Germany - Germany having conquered Norway during the Spring of 1940 - that person said that the Norwegians about whom we were talking thought about it. She was in a concentration camp. She was a Quaker, a Norwegian Quaker. They used the passive resistance approach, the non-violent approach I guess, against the Germans. They just did not cooperate. (That however was by no means the attitude of the majority of the Norwegians who used their rugged countryside, with easy contact to seaborn British support to harass the German occupiers). The American Revolution got started by us not cooperating with buying English goods and not cooperating with the stamp act, Just, while teaching American History, I was thinking about that. The Boston Tea Party was a non-violent action. Eventually something happens. It's sort of mute. History did not turn out that way. I don't know what would
have happened. I am sure that the Germans, eventually, would have - or someone else would have done Hitler in. Hitler was already done in by the time America entered the war. That is sort of a mute question. What would have happened if?

BT Let me just ask you two basic questions here. How do you feel about Israel? Do you have a loyalty to Israel? An interest in Israel? Specifically coming back to your Zionist days.

HN I am not a Zionist. I have cousins over there. I guess that I admire Israel. I think that they do some stupid things at times. I wish that they were slightly more non-violent, quite often, but at the same time there is a certain vivaciousness, a certain excitement there.

BT Do you personally identify with Israel, as a Jew?

HN No!

BT Do you refrain from debating Israel because you are a Jew?

HN No! No! It is interesting though. I would sometime, maybe, like to see it, to visit there. Just out of curiosity. No, I would not want to go there. No, I am an American. No, there are other places where I would rather live, if I had to live elsewhere, besides Israel. I am saying that now. I would be unhappy if my children went there.

BT It seems that at this point we are entering a new concern about a nuclear war. In your perception of World affairs do you have any fears growing out of your earlier experiences?

HN I have fears!

BT We all have fears.

HN I have strong feelings about Reagan.

BT Do you think that it is all related to what happened to you.

HN I would say that I was almost too young for that, but everything shapes out of your early childhood. OK?

BT You don't get any anxiety because of that.

HN No. I am not about to dive into an air raid shelter. We have not built an air raid shelter. My son David has some land in British Columbia which I am urging
him not to sell. It is someplace to go, if things get worse.

BT When we hear about the pending disaster, is there any recall to your early experience or how do you deal with it.

HN No! No! I think that I pretty much deal with it as reality. In my dealings with kids and with Psychology I realize that reality is that we are here. What happened before shapes your life, but you can't change that. Put all of that behind you!

BT But there is no different feeling because of it. You mentioned the acquiescence.

HN Yes, there are things for which I will fight. Sometimes I fight things. I tend to be a fighter and I think that this is partly because of having seen the acquiescence before. How can you modify your opinion easily?

BT My last question is, and you alluded to the answer several times in what you said, I was going to ask you whether what happened to you as a child has strengthened your ability to cope or weakened you. Obviously you are a stronger person because of the experiences.

HN Yes, I am sure that you asked me this before. The 2 things which are guidelines for me are: In my youth it was, as I said; "Die Gedanken sind frei!" meaning; "The thoughts are free and no one can catch them, no one can guess them; you can have them at any time and they are yours!" I feel that very strongly. In later years it has been a poem by Ian Malcolm (transcriber is not certain of the name) which goes:

"I admit it, he drew a circle which shut me out Heretic rebelled the thing to flaunt But Levin had the wit to run We drew a circle which took him in"

That sort of stayed with me as well as some of the other sayings of Templin.

BT That is a fine conclusion which I have had and I thank you. It has been a fine experience.

HN Well, thank you. Thank you for this interview. It is kind of neat to have to think about it, so I should thank you. It also has helped me in clearing my thoughts.

BT If you want to, at any time, to tell us things which came up, I would be most appreciative. It has been a most reflective experience.