EXILE EPISODE 6

MANDY PATINKIN: For almost a year, William Nussbaum or Willi to his family, writes to his wife, Lotte.

VERONIKA LIPPHARDT: And he was writing her letter after letter every day, sometimes two letters a day that she must, must, must, must emigrate.

MANDY PATINKIN: It’s 1936 and William sees that things are going from bad to worse for Jews in Germany.

VERONIKA LIPPHARDT: So William Nussbaum immigrated to the U.S. And then, of course, he tried to get his family out.

MANDY PATINKIN: His wife and two kids apply for visas at the American Consulate in Berlin. They wait…and wait…and wait. All the while, Jews are being stripped of their rights. Finally, Lotte and the children get an appointment for a medical exam.

VERONIKA LIPPHARDT: There they were examined by a doctor. And then again, it took a very, very long time until they received a response.

MANDY PATINKIN: And the response that finally comes? It’s a yes. Lotte is welcome in America. Their eldest, four-year-old Bernard can come too. But baby Michael….

VERONIKA LIPPHARDT: The little one cannot enter the U.S.

MANDY PATINKIN: The Consulate denies Michael a ticket to safety because he was born with an arm that stopped at the elbow. Though Germany will take eugenics to its darkest conclusion, America also subscribes to the movement.

And so does William Nussbaum, a gynecologist and dedicated doctor with an interest in heredity. The same man who’s desperately trying to get his family away from the Nazis.

VERONIKA LIPPHARDT: Then William Nussbaum tried to convince his wife that she would have to leave little Michael behind with his grandmother. And she said, “No, no way, no way. I can't leave him. It's impossible to leave him behind.”

MANDY PATINKIN: But William never wavers in urging his wife to leave.
VERONIKA LIPPHARDT: This is what many people do, leaving a child behind for a while with grandparents. And you and Bernard must get out. And then it will be easy to get Michael out as well because we can lobby here and there are many specialists who will write us letters that Michael will earn his own living and we will be able to get him over.

MANDY PATINKIN: And he makes it pretty clear to Lotte that this might be her last chance to get out.

(OPENING THEME)

MANDY PATINKIN: Welcome to Exile - a podcast from LBI, the Leo Baeck Institute, New York. I'm Mandy Patinkin. When everything is taken away, then what? From LBI's archives, untold stories of Jewish lives in the shadow of fascism.

To us - today - the story of William Nussbaum is one of deep contradictions. He was Jewish and a eugenicist. He studied under a prominent race scientist who later mentored the notorious SS physician, Josef Mengele. And William steered an ambitious research project - approved by the Nazis - that measured the physical characteristics of over 1,000 German Jews. Little did he know that the science he championed would be used to keep him from his family. And in a few short years, Eugenics would be used to justify the murder of millions of his people.

VERONIKA LIPPHARDT: When I first realized what Nussbaum had planned to do, I just could not believe it.

MANDY PATINKIN: Veronika Lipphardt is a science historian. A professor at the University of Freiburg in Germany. If you want to know about William Nussbaum's life, she's the one to ask.

VERONIKA LIPPHARDT: Because it sounded so crazy and so incredible and undoable.

MANDY PATINKIN: William called his project the "Working Group for Jewish Genetic Research and Eugenics." It included a large study gathering the measurements and hereditary information of German Jews.

So, if you were Jewish in Berlin in 1933, you might have volunteered to be one of William Nussbaum's subjects. You would have found yourself, probably naked, in a
white-walled examination room. A researcher or Dr. William Nussbaum standing by your side, clipboard in hand, holding a standardized form he diligently put together.

Dr. Nussbaum would have been measuring your forehead and nose, your lips and limbs, and other parts of your body. Recording the numbers meticulously in the appropriate box. There were boxes for skin and hair colour, body hair, so-called hereditary defects as well.

You would have had no idea what eugenics or race science was going to lead to. Some people were already skeptical but you believed this research might help you and your people. And you trusted a figure like William Nussbaum. A doctor. A scientist. A fellow Jew.

A study of this size and scope had never been done before by a Jewish German. And definitely not in 1933.

VERONIKA LIPPHARDT: This is an extremely bold move because everyone in German-Jewish circles was just so upset and oppressed at the time, and people were confused and had no idea where this would lead to.

MANDY PATINKIN: The year William started his “Working Group for Jewish Genetic Research and Eugenics” was also the year Hitler was elected Chancellor of Germany. And one of Hitler’s first moves? He legalized the forced sterilization of anyone who had a physical or mental disability. So maybe the fear among the German Jewish community was…are we next? Despite all of this, William - ambitious, smart and a smooth talker - got a lot of support.

VERONIKA LIPPHARDT: And so I see that in his letters, he was promoting different purposes to different people, sometimes contradictory. So he would promote the pride of Jewish people about their very specific heritage. And then to others, he would say Jews are not different at all. Or he would speak very eugenically towards some people and not eugenic at all to others.

MANDY PATINKIN: And, so, because he tried to appeal to pretty much everyone, his "Working Group" made for strange bedfellows. Like…the Gestapo. Maybe they thought William’s project would be an easy source of data on the Jewish population.

There are several correspondences between William and the Secret Police. Like in 1934, when he was summoned to their offices. Or in 1935, when he petitioned to expand his project into a Eugenics Association and the Gestapo asked for the names
and addresses of all of its members. William did share that list. It included the names and addresses of mainly German Jewish doctors - the founding members of the Association he was trying to start.

As far as we know, what he did not share was information about his actual study - including any personal data on the over 1,000 Jewish Germans who volunteered to be measured. Along with the Gestapo, many Jewish organizations and individuals also supported William’s work - counterintuitive, I know.

**JOHN EFRON:** They were interested in what he had to say. He called for family trees to be sent to him and hundreds of people responded with family trees going back to the 18th century. It's part of the general tenor of the times, the zeitgeist. Everyone is interested in racial lineage. Even the Jews in Nazi Germany.

**MANDY PATINKIN:** John Efron is a historian and author of “Defenders of the Race”, a book about Jewish race scientists. A lot of German Jews were interested in genealogy, especially in the Weimar years. For some, it was a way to celebrate Jewish culture. For others, it came from a concern for the health of the Jewish population.

**JOHN EFRON:** So Nussbaum said one of the things that he was concerned about - it sounds utterly ridiculous from today's vantage point - but he was concerned that the Nuremberg laws would cause more inbreeding than ever before because what the Nazis were doing were pushing Jews back into a ghetto. And this constituted a threat to Jews is what he's arguing. That the Nazis are in fact causing a decline in the racial health of the Jews.

**MANDY PATINKIN:** And because William cared about heredity, he also offered hereditary counseling.

**VERONIKA LIPPHARDT:** Whom should I marry and whom should I not marry? Would it be a good idea to marry that man knowing that there's depression running in his family or schizophrenia running the family? And the other thing was what kind of job should my boy take up or be trained for given the talents that are running in our family? So these two things, it was about jobs and it was about who to marry.

**MANDY PATINKIN:** Who to marry - was definitely a eugenics concern.

**JOHN EFRON:** Yes, that is to say the science of trying to breed out illness and disease.
MANDY PATINKIN: The idea was that so-called traits were passed on by our genes. Like illness and disease but also things like disability, addiction, sexual non-conformity, poverty, and even race. Underlying it all was the question of who should exist. Whose genetic material should continue into the future. And it wasn’t just the National Socialists - also known as Nazis - who thought this way.

VERONIKA LIPPHARDT: That is something that is much more widespread and also much more culturally accepted than we are led to believe in our history lessons where eugenics is very often said to be what the National Socialists did with killing people, etc. But this is a too narrow depiction of what eugenics is. Eugenics is a much broader and much more complex phenomenon.

MANDY PATINKIN: The Eugenics movement swept across various countries, mainly in the West, and in pretty much every institution you can think of. Proponents of eugenics had different views about how far to go in terms of controlling procreation. From eugenics light - like William Nussbaum’s hereditary counseling sessions - to eugenics heavy - like forced sterilization laws to, later on, Nazi death camps.

Related to this eugenics obsession with who should have kids, whose genetic material should be passed on - was the Jewish Question. Or as it was also called, the Jewish Problem…a key concern that also preoccupied William Nussbaum’s mind.

JOHN EFRON: And that's one of the most hotly debated issues in race science in the 19th and early 20th century.

MANDY PATINKIN: At the heart of the Jewish Question was whether Jewish people were a part of the so-called European race - considered the top of the racial hierarchy. Or whether they were a separate and pure race on their own. Separate - often code for inferior. Race science - a close cousin to eugenics - was used to help answer this deeply problematic question. Where measuring physical characteristics was thought to help classify which group you belonged to - a debunked science today, a legitimized science during this time.

JOHN EFRON: Anthropometrics is measuring different parts of the body. Cranium metrics is measuring the skull. And millions, millions of people were examined this way. Measured from head to toe, literally.

MANDY PATINKIN: Measurements that classified you as white, heterosexual, monied, able-bodied, you get the idea…put you at the top of the hierarchy.
VERONIKA LIPPHARDT: People said, well, there are many degenerated Germans like, for example, working class people or feeble-minded people or whatever. But in general, many people in Germany believe that Jews as such are completely degenerated and they have bad racial characteristics. So many people in Germany thought like that.

JOHN EFRON: You know, the sort of ideological root or scientific root of the Holocaust was race science. And so it seemed odd that Jews - the victims of it - would have also been practitioners of race science.

MANDY PATINKIN: So how does a nice Jewish doctor join a scientific movement used to justify the murder of his people less than a decade later?

ANDREW NUSSBAUM: My grandfather was many things, but one of them would not be a good driver. And I recall specifically, one time we were in the back seat and my father, his son, was in the front seat in the passenger side and we came to a stop sign.

MANDY PATINKIN: Andrew Nussbaum is one of William’s grandsons - from William’s oldest son, Bernard - the one who initially got a visa to come to America with his mother.

ANDREW NUSSBAUM: And my grandfather just went straight through it. And my father turned to him and said, “Poppy, you know, that's a stop sign.” And my grandfather’s response was, “Well, yes, I know, but it has a white border and that means it's optional.”

Well, I think he was a very creative guy in a way who has sort of lived in his own views about how the world operates. And the stop sign, a four-way intersection where there were no other cars. You know, why stop?

MANDY PATINKIN: Before William Nussbaum was bucking stop signs in the United States, he was doing things his way in Germany. He was born in 1896 - 13 years after the term “Eugenics” was coined. He studied medicine and then practiced as a gynecologist in Berlin. He met Lotte Frankfurther - 5 years his junior - while she was getting her PhD in Economics. A trailblazer in the 1920s.

VERONIKA LIPPHARDT: They met at William Nussbaum’s boss who was a doctor, of course. And he had obviously given a dinner invitation and the two would meet there. And were very much in love with each other.

MANDY PATINKIN: That love oozes from the troves of letters William wrote to Lotte. From one of his letters:
“So, what shall I write to you today? First, I love you. Second, as I just said. Third, as I just said.”

MANDY PATINKIN: William and Lotte married in 1929. And by all accounts, they were a modern couple. William painted and wrote poetry. Lotte, a key figure in feminist circles.

VERONIKA LIPPHARDT: Lotte was a member of a number of Jewish clubs, particularly feminist Jewish clubs. And she also brought in her connections when the two later came to do their work with the working group.

MANDY PATINKIN: That is William’s “Working Group for Jewish Genetic Research and Eugenics.”

ANDREW NUSSBAUM: You know, to hear that your grandfather, whose family was effectively a victim of race science and the notion of racial superiority…

MANDY PATINKIN: Andrew Nussbaum, William’s grandson.

ANDREW NUSSBAUM: And then to hear that he was doing research, including on how to measure capacity and potential both physical and intellectual was quite a shock.

JOHN EFRON: So lots of groups were the subjects of race science and subject of anthropological investigation. But you know, some of the most important ones were, of course, women, Blacks, and Jews.

MANDY PATINKIN: Historian John Efron.

JOHN EFRON: But the Jews were in a somewhat different position. It was Jews who had such a high percentage of doctors, particularly in Central Europe, that they had tools and the language of science at their disposal. So they were able to respond using the language and methodologies of that dominant discourse in a way that other groups could not.

MANDY PATINKIN: Before setting up the Working Group in 1933, William studied with the prominent race scientists of the day. Heredity and race science was something he was very interested in.

ANDREW NUSSBAUM: I really never spoke much with my grandfather about the why of the research that he did. I do know that he was very determined to take it all with him when they left Germany and not leave any of it behind. And whether that was because
he had a fear that it might be misused or whether it was because it was important to him to take it with him, I honestly don't know. When we went to Lake Grove as kids, he used to like to take us down to this basement. And walk through the aisles and aisles of papers and many of them were these scientific papers that he had kept.

MANDY PATINKIN: It was in those boxes, initially housed in William's basement in New York, where historian Veronika Lipphardt found hints of answers to questions she worried about.

VERONIKA LIPPHARDT: I have sometimes heard people saying that there were also Jews in Germany who would have agreed to become national socialist if they had been allowed to...which is a very bold thought that I would never have thought of myself. And so I was wondering whether William Nussbaum was one of those.

MANDY PATINKIN: What were William's motivations? And was he - as Veronika asks - a Jewish German who would have joined the National Socialists, the Nazis, if he could?

VERONIKA LIPPHARDT: But then something really significant happened and that helped me a lot to get over this confusion.

MANDY PATINKIN: What Veronika found was a letter - a letter written by one of Lotte's best friends. Let's call her Grete - a gentile. The letter was addressed to William.

“This letter is not easy for me because it is always painful to experience that political events influence human relationships. I also know that some friendships between Jews and Christians have ended because of political reasons, especially in the last few weeks. And it would be very sad if we too became estranged now.”

MANDY PATINKIN: The letter was written after a dinner party at the Nussbaum home. It was one of those dinner parties where things got heated. Where the conversation turned to politics. And where it left a bitter taste in everyone’s mouth - including Grete's.

VERONIKA LIPPHARDT: And in that letter, she complained so heavily about William Nussbaum’s political views that I was much relieved. Because she was about to defend National Socialists to explain how important that movement was for the German people and that everybody would have to accept some compromises.

MANDY PATINKIN: In her letter, Grete continues:
“We are by no means asking you to see things the way we do. I can imagine your feelings reading this now, when you're sort of “locked out”. It would be almost illogical to have a positive view. For us, however, the Jewish question is currently one of many questions that touches us very personally but cannot make us hate a whole government, which we otherwise have to give great credit to.”

Grete's letter is dated April 12th, 1933 - written almost two weeks after the Nazi boycott of Jewish businesses and professionals.

**VERONIKA LIPPHARDT:** And she made it pretty clear in that letter that William Nussbaum was very sharply speaking out against National Socialism. For me, that was a very important finding. So after that, I could contextualize his writings better.

**MANDY PATINKIN:** It settled for Veronika the question of whether William Nussbaum would have supported the Nazi party and the darkest corners of eugenics. She also found more clues in his research findings. William concluded from his research into over 1,100 German Jews that Jews were not a separate race.

**VERONIKA LIPPHARDT:** Jews have been living here for hundreds of years and they have adapted and that way became Europeans. He even called them hyper Europeans at one point where he says they are so well-integrated that they are actually representing Europe very well.

**MANDY PATINKIN:** It's something William believed before he conducted his massive study. Categorizing German Jews as European implied that Jews were not inferior.

**VERONIKA LIPPHARDT:** We have the measurements to prove that we are healthy, that we are adapted to our environment, that we're not abnormal, and that was pretty much his mission.

**JOHN EFRON:** I call this a form of resistance, because they didn't let the dominant discourse - which was at the end of the day, anti-Semitic - they didn't let it go unchallenged. So therefore, it forms out of resistance.

**MANDY PATINKIN:** But is it possible to do race science and separate it from the idea that one race is better than the other?

**VERONIKA LIPPHARDT:** William Nussbaum would have said, yes, it is possible to do that, and we want to get rid of these hierarchies because they are unimportant. But today, I think philosophers of science are more of the opinion that it is impossible to do this work without attributing in some way or another, some assessments and valuations.
MANDY PATINKIN: I mean, those assessments and valuations were built into it. Whether it's race science or eugenics, someone or some group defined what so-called traits were desirable to pass on. What characteristics made you part of x or y group. And which group you'd want to align yourself with in the first place. And those decisions were made by those in power.

VERONIKA LIPPHARDT: Yeah, I think it's striking that you can never really erase politics from this kind of biology of the human species, it's impossible.

I think that he was pretty megalomaniac. He was very, very much convinced of his own possibilities. I also think that he really believed he would be able to change the situation of Jews in Germany. He really strongly believed that he could.

MANDY PATINKIN: In 1935, William’s ambitions were quashed. The Nazis shut down his research after two years. In a letter to him they wrote:

“There is no need for such an association. It is also undesirable under current state policy.”

Did this have to do with William’s preliminary findings that Jews were not a separate race, despite what Nazi propaganda said? We don’t know. What we do know is that the same month the Nazis revoke their support of William’s Working Group, his youngest child is born, Michael. And he’s born with an arm that stopped at the elbow.

VERONIKA LIPPHARDT: So it is the case that the first child of them was born in 1931. They called him “ein Prachtexemplar” which translate like this is a brilliant exemplar of a human being, so to speak. Prachtexemplar.

MANDY PATINKIN: The exemplary human being was Bernard Nussbaum, William's first born.

VERONIKA LIPPHARDT: And then in 1935, in March, Michael Nussbaum was born. And he was a healthy child, except that he had only one arm. And there was a first shock for the parents because they had been very much interested in eugenics, but not in the sense of an S regime rather in that sense of the liberal left eugenics that was calling for marriage decisions that were well-thought through, etc. But nevertheless, at the first time, that was a shock for them.

But then many people they knew, many doctors calmed them down and said this will be no problem for the child. And they accepted that and integrated that into their view and
then became the strongest supporters of their child. So that, for example, William Nussbaum told his son Michael when he grew up, if you choose a job, make sure that you’re going to be the very best in your job. Even if you decide to be a thief, make sure you are the best of all thieves. I like that a lot.

**MANDY PATINKIN:** A few months after his Working Group was shut down and Michael was born, William left Germany…for good.

(**CLIP - WILLIAM NUSSBAUM**)

**WILLIAM NUSSBAUM:** Because I couldn't breathe anymore.

**MANDY PATINKIN** The voice of William Nussbaum recorded in 1985. He’s elderly at this point - 89 years old, nearing his death.

**WILLIAM NUSSBAUM:** So all excellent German heritage was forgotten...Only a few things were remembered. But classical poetry like Schiller and Goethe was forgotten. Philosophers like Leibniz and Kant were forgotten.

**MANDY PATINKIN:** The audio quality of William’s tapes is pretty bad. But you can still hear his disappointment in Germany - forgetting its culture, its art, its humanity. William says what becomes important, of hypnotic importance, is the racial issue.

**WILLIAM NUSSBAUM:** Only racial issue was in the fore and background and it became of hypnotic importance for all extremists like Hitler. And they were willing to destroy all other races. I couldn't breathe anymore.

**MANDY PATINKIN:** While William was working like mad to conduct his research and establish his Working Group - knowing this places him on the radar of the Gestapo and Nazi administration - he was also fervently trying to leave Germany that same year, in 1933.

**VERONIKA LIPPHARDT:** He certainly thought that the data collection and all his attempts to, all his energy that he put into his work would help him with this career abroad, right? So he would not necessarily have thought of these two things as contradictory. He could have thought of these things as helping each other.

**ANDREW NUSSBAUM:** I think he made his decision to leave at a time when nobody knew, nobody could have possibly imagined what was coming. And one of the stories that we often heard as a family was that he had many siblings, my grandfather. And he
tried to persuade them to leave, too. And this was fairly early days, and they all thought he was kind of crazy.

MANDY PATINKIN: Finally, after two years of trying to secure a job and a life outside of Germany, William leaves in October of 1935 - less than a month after the Nuremberg Race Laws were passed - stripping Jews of their German citizenship.

He got a job as a researcher at Columbia University with the famous anthropologist Franz Boas. The plan was that Lotte and their two kids would join him shortly. But things got complicated. Fast.

ANDREW NUSSBAUM: You know, the anti-Semitism of the Nazis was becoming more and more pronounced. There were forfeitures going on. There was more violence going on. Property was being confiscated. And there was a point in time when my grandmother's family had been warned that they probably shouldn't stay in their house, that there was a risk of arrest and confiscation. And so at that point, much of her family did start to flee.

MANDY PATINKIN: William wrote to Lotte on February 29th, 1936.

“I would say stay two, three years in Berlin until I can offer you a house near New York or somewhere else. But I don't want you and the children to have to live under the Nuremberg Laws.”

ANDREW NUSSBAUM: And I think my grandmother kind of waited as long as she could sensibly wait and then made the decision to leave, which must have been a very, very difficult one because she was going to have to leave Michael behind. And she left Michael behind with their family who had plans to come to the States about six months later. By the time she was leaving, you couldn't take more than a very nominal amount of Deutsche Marks out of the country. But what she did was she sold whatever she could sell and bought diamonds and sewed them into the lining of coats. And in the early years, actually one of the things that they lived off of was the proceeds of selling those diamonds.

The last of those diamonds was used in the engagement ring for my older brother and he went to tell my grandmother that he was going to propose to his longtime girlfriend. And she basically said, Wait a minute, I have something for you. And gave him this stone that he then had set into a ring for his wife.
MANDY PATINKIN: In August of 1936, William’s wish came true. Lotte finally boarded a ship with Bernard, their eldest son, headed to America.

ANDREW NUSSBAUM: And there’s actually even a photograph of this.

MANDY PATINKIN: You can see Lotte and Bernard in the corner of a black and white picture. A huge ship takes up most of the frame. Lotte is wearing one of those fashionable hats of the time so you can’t really see her face. They’re walking towards their new life - hand in hand.

A recording of Lotte from 1985.

(CLIP - LOTTE NUSSBAUM)

LOTTE NUSSBAUM: So we decided, as hard as it was, to accept the visa for myself and Bernard, leaving Michael behind with my mother.

MANDY PATINKIN: What made it even harder for Lotte to leave Michael, their youngest, with family in Germany was how much time it took to see him again.

VERONIKA LIPPHARDT: And then it was absolutely not easy to get him out. It only worked out in 1938, two years later, and he left with his cousin, a 14-year-old cousin, on the boat. And when they arrived on Ellis Island, they came to the officers who would check immigration, and the officer said the girl can enter, but the boy has to go back on the next boat. Simply for eugenic reasons.

MANDY PATINKIN: Michael was a toddler by then. A three-year-old. The science William believed could convince Germans that Jews were not inferior was now the science used against his son in America.

It’s the second time, as far as we know, that William has had to reconcile his belief in eugenics with his reality. The first was Michael’s birth. And now, with the immigration hurdles keeping his family apart.

VERONIKA LIPPHARDT: So then for two weeks, the two kids were detained on Ellis Island and the parents brought petitions to Washington and tried everything they could to get the kids out. And after two weeks, they finally succeeded. But Michael would not know his parents anymore. By that time, he was three years old and had no remembrance of them. And so seeing that yourself and your kids are the object of such
politics must be a super painful experience. And I can't imagine anybody holding on to eugenic ideas after that.

MANDY PATINKIN: A year later, Germany invaded Poland and World War II began.

With his immediate family reunited, the Nussbaums made a life in New York. They didn’t look back. William eventually returned to his roots as a gynecologist and obstetrician, with Lotte running their practice. Lotte continued her feminist activism and even met Eleanor Roosevelt. Both of their sons, Bernard and Michael, ended up being successful lawyers. By all accounts, William gave up his eugenics beliefs. But it seems Eugenics itself hasn’t died.

In the last two decades, accusations of forced sterilizations continue - in America, from racialized women at an immigration facility; in Canada, from numerous Indigenous women; and in Australia, from girls and women with disabilities. History is alive and well. And the powers that be are still deciding which groups of people get to exist into the future.

ANDREW NUSSBAUM: My grandfather would say to you that he was actually very lucky and he was very fortunate. And there were many, many things that could have gone wrong along the way. He could have not decided to leave as early as he did. He could have left, but not been able to really maintain a job here to support the rest of his family coming over. My grandmother could have waited too long and then not been allowed to leave. My uncle could have been sent back and never allowed to enter. And yet they landed well. You know, not easily, but they landed well. And I think maybe that, ultimately, may explain why he lived a life that was much more about trying to look forward rather than looking back. That he was someone who was willing to take risks and move ahead based on what he believed and the values he wanted to live by.

(CLOSING THEME)

MANDY PATINKIN: The William & Lotte Nussbaum Collection in the Archives of the Leo Baeck Institute in New York includes correspondence between William and Lotte, William’s paintings and poetry, as well as records of the “Working Group for Jewish Genetic Research and Eugenics.” It’s all online at www.lbi.org.

VOICE ACTOR - CREDITS: Exile is a production of the Leo Baeck Institute, New York and Antica Productions.

It’s narrated by Mandy Patinkin.
Executive producers include Katrina Onstad, Stuart Coxe, and Bernie Blum. Senior producer is Debbie Pacheco. Associate producers are Hailey Choi, Jacob Lewis, and Emily Morantz. Research and translation by Isabella Kempf. Sound design and audio mix by Philip Wilson. Theme music by Oliver Wickham.

Thank you to Outloud Audio, the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum and the National Archives and Records Administration, Veronika Lipphardt and Alexandra Weinschenker for sharing their research with us. And to the Nussbaum family for being so generous with additional materials.

**VOICE ACTOR - TEASER:** Exile will be back with a new season in early 2023. A new batch of riveting and untold stories of Jewish lives in the shadow of fascism. From the Jews of Shanghai, to writers Joseph Roth and Stefan Zweig as frenemies in exile, to Dr. Ruth on her struggles as a stateless teen. These stories – and more – on Season 2 of Exile. Coming soon.