

Paulgerhard Lohmann

**The Anti-Semitic NS Racial Mania
and the Fritzlar Jews 1933-1949**



Dedicated to the former Jews of Fritzlar,
to their children and
grandchildren

This book provides a second revision of Chapters 13 and 14 of my book entitled “Hier waren wir zu Hause – Die Geschichte der Juden von Fritzlar 1096-2000”, ISBN 978-3-8311-4579-2, comprising 536 pages and containing further source references.

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English text revision: Eric Mark, Kraainem, Belgien; Technic revision: Alexander Fischer, Fritzlar
Layout: Dr. Heinz Nöding, Wabern-Hebel

Production: Books on Demand, Norderstedt, 2008
ISBN German version: 978-3-8334-7504-7
English version: 978-3-8334-7570-2

This report is intended to be a monument,
a memorial that not only recalls memories, but also provokes thinking:
“Recollection, shattering and thought,
these three should never allow a holocaust to happen again.” (Yehuda Amichai)

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Introduction

This book is a factual, documentary work. The juxtaposition of many quotations from newspapers in the first part and of the reports on events in the second part of each annual chapter is designed to help the reader to form his own opinion. For that reason the author has mostly held back from providing his own comments.

As regards the Title: “Anti-Semitic NS racial mania”

1. By mania I understand a completely dominant, objectively unfounded, but irrefutable fixation on one “idée fixe”. For the topic treated here that is the Nazi claim that t h e Jews - every one of them individually and all of them together – were the cause of all the problems that had arisen since 1914. They were all judged to be Jewish capitalists and Jewish Bolsheviks. To reduce multiple causes in this way to a single root for all national difficulties is “pure madness”.

2. Whilst Hitler connected the concept of the “Jewish race” with “Jewish blood” he did not specify any scientifically provable racial characteristics. According to his definition a Jew was someone who descended from at least one Jewish grandfather or grandmother. The Judaism of that grandfather or grandmother was not recognised as deriving from his “blood” or any racial characteristic, but from the outward membership by at least one grandparent of a synagogue community. This was not a matter of inheriting or passing on a religious belief - that was of no consequence. It was a matter only of the fact of membership of a grandparent and the fact of descent; the personal religious belief of the individual Jew played no role.

3. Hitler thus maintained the opinion expressed in his polemic “Mein Kampf”, which he had written in 1924/27 and which was the decisive textbook of the Nazi movement.

4. Next to the racial madness was the delusionary overestimate of himself as “Führer” (leader) and the collective Hitler cult by the German people.

- All soldiers and officials, as well as all pastors and all youths over the age of 14 had to swear an oath to Hitler personally – not to the rights and the wellbeing of the people,
- Parliament was dissolved and the Reichstag was only summoned in order to take official note of the decisions of the Reich government without debating them or voting,
- The independence of the law courts and any form of power sharing was abolished,
- and the freedom of the press and of expressing one’s opinion was gradually done away with.

In this manner dictatorship became the extreme opposite of democracy.

5. Individualism was rejected and the value of the individual disregarded; in its place the “people” were apparently authoritative, clearly summarised in the slogan: You are nothing, your people is everything! In this way it was attempted not only to destroy the Jews systematically to “protect” the German people, but in the end to sacrifice even the German people as a “race” which in the long run was inferior and too weak.

As regards the Structure:

In this book a chronology has been drawn up for each year, essentially on the basis of the reports in the local newspaper, to describe the general situation. The second part of each annual description contains a report how the laws were implemented as regards the Jews in Fritzlar, a North Hesse town near Kassel. This method clarifies the effects of general orders on actual persons and situations in a specific town.

The years of terror 1933-1945

1st phase: Restriction of earning opportunities and pressure towards emigration

In the early stages the aim of the National Socialist (NS) policy was to shatter the influence and economic power of the Jews and to expel them from Germany. Two hurdles stood in the way of this aim: one had been put up by the German side itself, i.e. the high taxes on departure; the other hurdle had been raised by the other countries, in other words their strict limits on immigration.

The first NS year

A chronology of the year 1933

On **January 30**, 1933, Adolf Hitler was appointed Reichskanzler (Imperial Chancellor) by Hindenburg.

As early as **2nd February** it became clear that the Communists would be the first to be fought and persecuted.¹

On **27 Feb** a draft "Order against betrayal of the German People" was submitted to the Reichspräsident, stating "particularly severe damage to German interests may also be noted where someone launches detrimental news in the foreign press". The order was adopted on 28 Feb.

In the night of 27/28 **February**, the Reichstag (Parliament) building was set on fire, and as one of the suspected arsonists the Dutch communist Nauro Marius van der Lubbe of Leyden was arrested. The Reichstag members and officials of the Communist party, a total of 130 persons, were immediately arrested.

The Osterhofen camp was installed as the first Hessian concentration camp (KZ).

On **1st March**, i.e. the day after the Reichstag fire, an "Order for the Protection of People and State" "for defence against Communist acts of violence imperilling the State" was passed.

Right from the beginning Jews became victims of the fight against Communism. Thus we can read in the Homberger Kreisblatt of **2nd March** that during "a search of a Jewish tearoom in Berlin" 30 foreigners had been arrested who were unable to produce residence permits. And on **3rd March** one could read: "The premises of the Centralverein deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens (the Central Association of German citizens of the Jewish faith) were thoroughly searched, producing a massive volume of hate propaganda... This material showed that a Communist aid organisation was hiding beneath the innocent sounding name of this Association. The documents seized prove beyond doubt the financial and spiritual support given to Communism."

On **March 5**, a Reichstag parliamentary election took place, which was the last time that votes could be cast for parties. The NSDAP obtained 43.9 % of the votes in the Reich as a whole². In Fritzlar, the Zentrumsparlei was still the strongest, obtaining 1,020 votes out of 2 340, an increase over the year 1932. However, the NSDAP already ranked second with 756

¹ The Homberger Kreisblatt (HKB) printed the following on 2 Feb: "Kassel: Police Headquarters has banned all meetings of the KPD and their subsidiary and branch organizations in the open air, including demonstrations, because of the immediate danger to public security.

On 3 Feb: "The acting Prussian Minister of the Interior Göring has issued a directive to all local presidents... All communist meetings in the open air ... are banned". It is therefore clear that Kassel led the pack! It was only on 7 Feb that a decree by President Hindenburg was published "for the protection of the German people" regulating such prohibitions. On 11 Feb Hitler proclaimed in the Berlin Sports Palace: "I shall never give up the task of rooting out Marxism and its accompanying aspects from Germany" Hitler's electoral campaign was therefore specially directed against Marxism. Thus he talked again in Berlin on 2nd March about the "global danger of Bolshevism". On March 4 the Kreisblatt published an electoral call in huge letters across three columns: "An end to the communist-marxist murderous arsonists! German Citizens, Workers and Peasants protect yourselves and your children, protect your property! Help us to build a better future! Vote for party list No.1 – vote for Adolf Hitler, the Leader of the German People. (All underlining, including in quotations, is the author's)

² Rees 53 (The number following a book quotation is the page number)

votes, which was also more than in the previous year³. The Social Democrats still maintained the third rank, however with a mere 250 votes, substantially less than in the previous year. (It seems that Zentrum followers still protested against the NSDAP, whereas more and more of the SPD followers joined that party.)⁴

Immediately after the election, the SPD was declared as an enemy, in addition to the Communists.⁵

From the beginning of **March** anti-Semitic actions increased noticeably. In Kassel an extensive boycott of Jewish businesses took place as early as **9th March**⁶. Once again Kassel led the way. Jews were held to be the same as Communists and Social Democrats; doctors and lawyers were particular targets⁷. Politically active Jews were attacked, abused and taken into "protective custody".⁸

On **March 12**, elections were held for state, district, and municipal assemblies⁹. In accordance with the result the democratic government of Hesse which dated back to the Weimar Republic period was superseded by a Nazi government on **March 13**.

On **17 March** Jewish businesses were again boycotted. In Kassel an appeal appeared: "German housewives, buy from German businessmen!"¹⁰ Once again, Kassel led, in which the Kassel solicitor and NSDAP member of the Hessen Parliament Dr. Roland Freisler played a significant role.

On **March 21**, the first permanent concentration camp (KZ) was installed at Dachau. In spite of its success in the March elections, as early as **March 21** the government passed an ordinance "for the defence against treacherous attacks on the government of national revolution".¹¹

A Communist hand grenade assassination attempt on Hitler was foiled.

On **March 23**, in his inaugural speech, Hitler described the Christian confessions as the most important factors for maintaining the national traditions.- The Catholic bishops took the oath of allegiance.

On **March 24**, Hitler had the newly elected parliament pass the "Enabling Act for abolishing the distress of people and Reich", which terminated parliamentary democracy and thus paved the way for dictatorship. The Constitution of the Weimar Republic was repealed by using this emergency law and that of 28 February; the state of emergency remained in force until the end of the war.

The Homberger Kreisblatt reported from Frankfurt a/M: "The Frankfurt Judicial Authorities have taken the necessary steps in order to transfer Jewish judges from handling penal law to civil law"

On **March 25** the Homberger Kreisblatt reported for the first time that "pogroms against Jews und barbaric treatment of political prisoners" had been written about abroad.

On **March 28**, the NSDAP party leaders decreed that every local party group would have to constitute an action committee immediately for the purpose of the practical and

³ FKA 4.3.1933; Archiv Fritzlar I 2.2.20 ; see Annex 1

⁴ The author's personal opinion and interpretation are always shown in small type and in brackets. .

⁵ On March 11 the Reich Interior Minister Dr. Frick declared: "Not only the Communists must disappear, but also their red comrades of the Social Democracy, because that Social Democracy was the root which brought forth Communism. Let that be Adolf Hitler's aim." (HKB). As a consequence the Hessen Police Commissioner ordered on March 17 that the social democrat, communist and all associations closely linked to these two parties were banned and disbanded with immediate effect.

⁶ Krause-Vilmar 'Judenverfolgung' 294

⁷ On March 18 the Kreisblatt reported from Berlin: "In most of the municipal hospitals there seem to be 80-90%, sometimes even 100% Jewish Communist and Social Democrat doctors at work. In accordance with the instruction issued by the Berlin Regional Commissioner the contracts of all these doctors should be terminated at the earliest feasible date" .

⁸ Immediately after the elections of March 1933 a series of random attacks on Jews took place. Everywhere in Germany there were reports that Jews had been humiliated in a great variety of ways. (Rees 81f). On **31 March** solicitor **Dr. Max Plaut** died in Kassel from the serious injuries he had suffered. (Krause-Wilmar, Judenverfolgung 295, Kropat, Hessen 15 Anm.36)

⁹ See Annex 1

¹⁰ See Annex 3

¹¹ See Annex 2

methodical execution of a boycott of Jewish businesses, doctors and lawyers on April 1¹². The aim was to eliminate German Jews from cultural, economic and public life.

At the Kassel slaughterhouse as well as in the county of Fritzlar-Homburg Jewish ritual butchery was prohibited with immediate effect. (As a result Jews could no longer buy ritually clean (kosher) meat.)

On **March 30**, the NSDAP party leaders published an appeal for a boycott "to initiate the defensive fight against the atrocity propaganda from abroad"¹³. This was the first party measure which included all newly created administrative districts (Gau) in the new Reich¹⁴.

On **March 31**, a radio call was made to all judicial authorities: Because of the alleged excitement of the people about the arrogant manner of practicing Jewish lawyers and Jewish physicians which represented a danger for maintaining the authority of judicial system, all Jewish judges and attorneys were to be suspended and Jewish lawyers should be allowed to practice only in a number corresponding to the Jewish percentage of the population.¹⁵¹⁴

On Saturday, **April 1**, starting from 10 a.m., all Jewish shops were to be boycotted. Pickets in front of the entrance doors were to "warn" the population against entering Jewish shops, but Jewish persons and their property were to be protected¹⁶. (However, most of them did not content themselves with just warning, and persons and their property were protected in only a few places.) SA members not only stood in front of the shops as guards, but also smeared them with Stars of David and prevented "Aryans" from buying from Jews or engaging their services. In some places, considerable property damage was caused, for which a special "Disturbance Damage Act" was passed. On April 1, 1933, not only Jewish shops, but Jewish physicians and law practices as well as newspapers were boycotted as ordered. (This was the first anti-Jewish action performed centrally at Reich level. It was initiated by the NSDAP and was deliberately made public, everyone was intended to see it.)

(There were only a few protests, e.g. the theologian Dietrich Bonhoeffer criticized the boycott. The churches remained silent, so they wronged the Jews from the very beginning.) The churches remained silent in spite of the telegram of the "Reichsvertretung der deutschen Juden" (Reich representation of the German Jews) addressed to the Protestant supreme church assembly and to Cardinal Bertram on March 30: "The German Jews are hoping, against the threats facing them, for a word spoken soon on behalf of religion by the Protestant and Catholic Church in Germany, so that irretrievable damage - for to common elements of faith, too - may be averted. Same dispatch sent to Cardinal Bertram."¹⁷ The admonitory note of the Reich representatives of the Jewish state ("Land") associations on the previous day, pointing out how the participation of Jewish men in "all national wars" had clearly and impressively proved that the Jews belonged to the German people by virtue of their deeds and sacrifices, went unheeded.¹⁸

Jechiel Ogdan who, in his youth, had often stayed with his relatives in Fritzlar, recounted: "The Nazis obtained more and more votes in the Reichstag elections, and anti-Semitism increased day by day. ... But the Jewish population took it upon themselves as if it

¹² Annex 3: "Following the seizure of power by Hitler the elimination of German Jews from cultural, economic and public life which was part of the NSDAP Programme soon became reality. The NSDAP had outstripped all other nationalistic organisations, partly by absorbing them. From 1933 it represented the great melting pot for anti-Semitism of all kinds and over and above that turned it into a programme of state activity in all areas. (Deutsche jüdische Soldaten 56)

¹³ HStA Marburg 180 Landratsamt Fritzlar 2748

¹⁴ The following quotation clearly shows the dominant position of the party: "Today's National Socialist State is a product of the National Socialist movement or party. In other words : the Party was there first and only then the NS-State. The Party is therefore in a way the producer and the State is the product. The child must always be subordinate to the father. That is the law of life and nature. In the same way one must understand the word which is often misunderstood and yet irrefutably correct. The party gives orders to "the State" ('Lord Mayor' Dr. Heyung 2 March 1935). "The correct recognition of the Jewish question is one of the most important foundation stones of the National Socialist philosophy" (id. 22 May 1936).

¹⁵ Hangebruch 158 ff

¹⁶ Archiv Fritzlar XVIII 1,3,22

¹⁷ Röhm & Thierfelder 77

¹⁸ Deutsche Jüdische Soldaten 2

were a transitory evil ... It believed and hoped that nothing would happen and that their Christian neighbours, with whom they had lived for ages, would not allow anything evil to befall them. But they were mistaken. Already in March 1933, there was a boycott against the Jewish shops. At the elementary school, we were separated as Jewish children, and malicious words were uttered against us. Here and there, Jews were arrested and abused."¹⁹

On **April 1** the German government welcomed the fact that the American government and people rejected any loosening of the restrictions on immigration

Already on April 3 the FKA was able to report that the Southwest Radio Programme no longer employed any Jews.

On **April 5** the Government declared that they were very satisfied with the effect of the boycott on foreign countries. According to the FKA Jewish notaries had been relieved of their posts.

On **April 6** the Minister of Finance decreed that the money foreseen in the state budget for Jewish religious purposes would not be paid out. The president of the State Supreme Court in Kassel published the fact that only two Jewish lawyers were still admitted in Kassel courts; there had been 24. All Jewish notaries were forbidden to exercise their activities.

On **April 7** the Law on Conformity (Gleichschaltung) was adopted, in accordance with which Länder and Communes would be administered in a uniform manner. The Land Parliaments were abolished and a unitary state created. Irrespective of this process, "tribal spirit" (Eigenstämmigkeit) and national traditions were to be promoted.

On **April 7**, the "Law for the Re-establishment of the Professional Civil service" was passed²⁰. According to § 3, civil servants of "non-Aryan" origin were to be retired – that was the so-called "Aryan clause"! Exemptions from this were, at first, provided only for Jewish war participants, i.e. those "who fought for the German Reich at the frontline in the World War or whose fathers or sons lost their lives in the World War"²¹. The aim of the law was to eliminate "non-Aryans" from the civil service. According to the 1st Implementation ordinance dated April 11, it was sufficient for identification of "non-Aryan" origin that one of the parents or grandparents was "non-Aryan"²²

This law also applied to the clergy and other church officials of Jewish origin. Among the "German Christians", an association of Protestants of national socialist convictions, this law met with approval. They decided, during their Reich congress in April: "Only those who are of purely German blood shall be admitted to the priest's office. A honorary church office may be bestowed only on those who have no foreign blood in them." The church elections in **July 1933** propelled numerous members of the "German Christians" into leading functions in the church, the synods and parish councils of the state Protestant Churches. They caused clergymen and other officials of non-Aryan origin or married to a person of non-Aryan origin to be retired in several state Protestant churches. During their demonstration in the Berlin Sports Palace on **November 13**, 1933, the "German Christians" demanded that the "Aryan clause" should be applied also in the remaining state Protestant Churches. In December, they expressly declared their support for the Führer Adolf Hitler and coined the slogan: "One people! One God! One Reich! One Church!" The resolution adopted in Berlin on November 13, 1933, said, "We demand that the church of the German people should be serious about propagation of a plain Gospel purified of all oriental distortions and of a heroic Jesus figure as the basis of appropriate Christianity, in which the broken servant's soul will be replaced by the proud human who, as a child of God, feels duty-bound to the divine nature in himself and in his people."

The first voice opposing the adoption of the "Aryan clause" within the church came from the "Jungreformatorische Bewegung" (young reforming movement), an association of Protestants founded on **May 9**, which supported the separation of state and church. It was

¹⁹ Jechiel Ogden: Obituary for his mother **Sara Sidonie Blumenkrohn**

²⁰ s. Annex 4

²¹ Kropat, Alltag 424

²² Benz, Enzy. Art. Antisemitismus 366. It was even sufficient if "one parent or grandparent belonged to the Jewish religion" (Lohmann Schicksal 18). Jews were persecuted in the first instance because of their alleged race but also because of their religious affiliation.

decided on May 9: "We reject in principle the exclusion of non-Aryans from the church." In September, the "Pfarrer-Notbund" (emergency federation of priests) headed by Pastor Martin Niemöller originated from this movement.

The Nazi measures were supplemented by the exclusion of Jews from the professions: in the first place, notably, on **April 7**, for lawyers, on **April 22**, for physicians under the health insurance scheme, i.e. Jewish doctors lost the right to treat Aryan patients under the public health scheme and, on **April 25**, for pharmacists. In **May**, even the treatment of Aryan private patients by Jewish physicians was restricted. Adolf Hitler emphasized on April 7 to a medical congress "that by eliminating the excessive number of Jewish intellectuals from the cultural and spiritual life of Germany, its natural right to provide its own spiritual leadership would be respected. The greatest achievements of spiritual life had never been produced by racial foreigners, but by Aryan German spiritual forces. ... Admitting foreign elements in an excessive proportion relative to the people as a whole would have to be interpreted as an admission of the intellectual superiority of other races, which must be very firmly rejected. ... The support given to intellectual professions must depend on their cooperation in the building up of an authoritarian, cleansed and strong German State system. The cleaning up process of racial hygiene should create a firm foundation for future national development". (It is clear that there was no longer a future here for German Jews.)

The sports and gymnastics clubs also had to reorganize, separating Aryans and non-Aryans²³.

On **April 8** the Commissioner for the top medical associations declared that "a large number of Jewish doctors had been dismissed from universities, institutes, clinics and from municipal health services" and that "Jewish doctors would no longer or only in exceptional cases be admitted for activities within the health services". He added: "The same measures would also apply to Marxist physicians and to those who would not or could not internally change their attitude towards conformity and the requirements of the present time... The Marxist and foreign spirits in the social security system will be stamped out without exception." (the choice of words should be noted!)

In the month of April the Geheime Staatspolizei (Gestapo) was established

On **April 13** the Reich Gazette published the first regulation on the implementation of the Act for the Re-establishment of the Civil Service, which specified: "A person is considered non-Aryan if descended from non-Aryan and in particular Jewish parents or grandparents. It is sufficient for one part of the parents or grandparents to be non-Aryan.

In another announcement on the same day it was stated: "In tackling the removal of Jewish and Marxist elements from the teaching body on the basis of the new regulation on the Civil Service a further intake of new teachers may be counted on", and "there is no new generation of Jewish lawyers coming up, because no rights exist for admission to the legal profession or for transfer to the Judiciary" – "It is proposed that Jewish and Marxist editors may not apply for membership of or belong to the Reich Press Association".

On **April 13** The Homberger Kreisblatt published an appeal by the German Students Association "Against the un-German spirit". Point 4 said "Our most dangerous opponent is the Jew and he who listens to him. 5. A Jew can only think as a Jew. If he writes in German, he is lying.... 6 We want to eradicate the lie.... 7. We want to consider the Jew as a foreigner and we want to take national tradition seriously. We therefore demand of the censorship: Jewish works appear in Hebrew. If they appear in German, they must be classified as translations...The un-German spirit will be eradicated from public libraries.... 10. We demand of German students the will and the capability to overcome Jewish intellectualism and the liberal symptoms of decline in German spiritual life which are associated with it."

On **April 21** the slaughter of animals by way of a special cut of the throat was banned throughout the Reich, so that in the whole of Germany there was no more kosher (i.e. ritually clean in accordance with Jewish religious belief) meat available.

On **April 25**, an attempt to assassinate Hitler in Munich was foiled.

²³ Kropat, Alltag 416, 424

On the same day the "Law against foreign infiltration of German schools and high schools" was passed. This fixed the numerical ratio of "non-Aryans versus Aryans at the proportion of non-Aryans in the population of the German Reich". Overcrowding of schools and universities was given as a reason for this restriction. "The children of Jews who immigrated from the East after 1 August 1914 will be excluded from all schools, colleges and universities".

As early as **27 April** the first implementation order was published. It laid down "In the case of new admissions no more than 1.5%²⁴ non-Aryan pupils or students may be admitted and for those already in public schools or at universities the percentage of non-Aryan pupils and students must be reduced to 5%. The reason given was "The economic and intellectual influence which those of foreign origin (i.e. the Jews) have on German life weakens the unified spirit and the firm national power of the nation and the State"

On **April 26**, the municipal authorities in Kassel decided: "In the city of Kassel only one Jewish doctor will be authorised, who may in special cases consult one Jewish medical specialist."

On **9th May** a second implementation order of the Law on the professional Civil Service laid down that its provisions on party officials, non-Aryans and politically unreliable persons should also apply to employees and workers. Anyone who had been communistically active was to be dismissed without notice. The third implementation order defines the concept of "frontline fighter" as only those who had taken part in a battle or siege. It also lays down who is politically unreliable as meaning all those who had acted against the Movement. "The official must provide detailed information, especially about his Aryan descent; such questions also apply to the parents and both sides of the grandparents".

On **May 10**, student rallies "against the non-German spirit" took place in various university cities, including the burning of books which also led to the denunciation of books by Jewish authors.

In Berlin Joseph Goebbels spoke about the tasks of the German theatre. He said that in lieu of the deification of the individual it was now the nation that should be deified. "German art ... will become national with great pathos, it will be both *obligatory and unifying*. ... I believe that one does not have to exclude the Jew from German art by law, it is the nation which will keep him out. ... The nation will not accept a type of human being foreign to it as a representative of this nation". In consequence Jews active in culture united to form the "Kulturbund Deutscher Juden" (Cultural Federation of German Jews).

On **May 13** the Draft Law on Inheritance was published. In its preface the ideology of "Blut und Boden (Blood and Soil)" was laid down as follows: "The indissoluble attachment of blood and soil is the indispensable prerequisite for the healthy life of a nation." In § 2 it stated: "A person is not of German blood if he has in his male ancestry or among his other ancestors into the fourth generation someone of Jewish or coloured origin" (It should be noted that this goes beyond the grandparents!).

On **May 17** the Reichstag met one more time. On this occasion the NSDAP, the German National, the Zentrum and the Bavarian Parties as representatives of the German people expressed their appreciation of Hitler's policy. The Social Democrats endorsed it, so that the declaration of the Reich Government was adopted unanimously.

On the same day the Homberger Kreisblatt reported: "Of the 233 lawyers in the Kassel Regional Appeal Court area there were 192 Aryans and 41 Jews, of whom 19 were *Senior Lawyers* and 12 frontline fighters. Prohibitions to practise have been issued to 10 Jews and 2 Communists; 31 remain licensed."

On **May 22** The Reich Commissioner for Justice Dr. Frank declared: "We are anti-Semites, but we are not barbarians. We conduct our fight against Jewry in such a way as to reflect the cultural level of the German people ... We are ready to become a master race again." (HKB)

²⁴ In June 1933 the proportion of Jews in Germany was 0.76%, in Hessen 1.25% and in Fritzlar 2.8% (s. Annex 1)

On that day Kassel witnessed a rally against un-German literature and un-German intellect" accompanied by the burning of books.

On **June 16** a national census of professions and enterprises was carried out.

On **June 22**, the Social Democrat party (SPD) was prohibited.

On **28 June** it was reported : "Jewish employees are excluded from all National Socialist organisations, as well as from the associations of the German Workers Front" (HKB) The Aryan Paragraph also applies to the professional associations for salary earners.

On **30 June** the first meeting of the expert committee for population and racial questions took place. At it Reich Minister Dr. Frick declared i.a.: "Mixed marriages with those of a foreign race must be characterised as what they are, i.e. the reason for spiritual and mental degeneration, as well as for alienation vis-à-vis their own people. (HKB) This also applied to Jewish mixed marriages.

In **July**, the military and naval regulations were modified to the effect that non-Aryans were no longer allowed to become soldiers whilst the brides of soldiers also had to furnish evidence of their "Aryan origin".

On **3rd July** Hitler emphasized in his speech: "The revolution of the National Socialist Movement has recognised the importance of the Race Problem. ...A selection of potential leaders conditioned as to type and blood must be built up". (HKB)

In a supplement to the Civil Service law on **4th July** it was repeated again: "Whoever is not of Aryan origin or is married to a person of non-Aryan origin may not be an official of the Reich.

On **July 5th** the dissolution of the Deutsche Volkspartei, the Bayrische Volkspartei and the Zentrum Partei was announced. Thus all the remaining parties existing in addition to the NSDAP had been dissolved. The headline in the Homberger Kreisblatt was: "Nation State instead of Parties State". (In this way after a little more than 5 months party democracy had ended).

The Reich Minister for Employment Seldte emphasized: "Physicians are called upon to assist the whole body of the nation towards recovering its health, to gradually eradicate degeneration and to preserve the purity of the characteristics of the species". (HKB)

The Reich concordat with the Catholic Church was initialled on **July 10**. "The creation of clear responsibilities will in future exclude any quarrel between the State and the Church". In that respect Chancellor Adolf Hitler issued the following order:" The conclusion of the concordat appears to provide me with sufficient guarantees that the German members of the Roman Catholic faith will from now on put themselves ruthlessly at the service of the new National Socialist State".

At the same time the Constitution of the German Protestant Church was completed. On **12 July** the representatives of the Protestant Regional Churches accepted the new constitution unanimously. In this way "the Church has completed its entry into the history of the German people". (HKB) The Church constitution did not contain an Aryan Paragraph; in that connection it was said: "The Aryan Paragraph is concerned with national needs, the constitution of the new ministry of the Church is determined on the basis of the Gospel by Protestant needs. This does not exclude defence against degenerating influences, especially within the Church leadership. However, such defence is concerned with the next generation of church leaders, not with membership of the Christian Community." (HKB)

On **July 14**, the Cabinet adopted the constitution of the German Protestant Church and the Reich Concordat with the Vatican .

On the same day, an act was passed covering the "Revocation of Naturalizations and the withdrawal of German Nationality". The decisions to be taken as a result would enter into force with their publication in the Official Gazette (Reichsanzeiger) The Act also envisaged seizure and confiscation of property, as well as denaturalization of family members; it was specially aimed at Jews. Those deprived of German nationality became stateless. § 2 laid down: "German Nationals who are residing abroad may be declared as having lost their German nationality insofar as they behave in a manner which violates their duty of loyalty to the Reich and its people and thus damage German interests." (Such loyalty was expected even from the German Jews who were so greatly reviled!)

Finally, also on **July 14**, an Act for the prevention of offspring with hereditary diseases was passed, covering forced sterilization of "subjects of inferior races".²⁵ It was published on 26 July.

On **July 21** The Concordat with the Vatican was solemnly signed. As a result the Catholic Church withdrew from politics, priests resigned from their membership in parliaments, and the church waived its right to make political protests²⁶. Moreover, by decision of the Chancellor all women belonging to the Zentrum had to give up their seats. (By way of the Concordat and the Constitution both churches supported Hitler, without objecting to the persecution of Jews.) The election announcement proclaimed: "You will reply to God's vital question to you, which will forever seal the unity of the Gospel and national tradition." (HKB)

On **July 23**, the "Glaubensbewegung Deutsche Christen" (Faith Movement of German Christians) sympathizing with the National Socialists obtained a share of around two thirds in church elections.

On **July 26** the first implementation order on the Denaturalization Law was issued. § 1 stated: "Priority will be given to the racial, nationality and cultural points leading to an increase in the German population which will benefit the interests of the Reich and people." (HKB) On **31 July** further orders to this Law were issued, showing that denaturalization would apply in particular to Eastern Jews and that such decisions could not be appealed against.

At the **end of July**, the regional head of the Nazi German League of Lawyers pointed out in an appeal, that unfortunately it had been repeatedly found that Aryan parties to a court case had used Jewish lawyers. This was undoubtedly behaviour incompatible with the principles of national reconstruction. The Jewish lawyers were described as foreign representatives.

On **25 August** the Homberger Kreisblatt reported on the plenary session of the Zionist Congress. It was noted there that there was no possibility of professional employment for 200 000 German Jews in Germany. It was demanded that these German Jews who had become "surplus" should be taken into other countries.

On **30 August** HKB reported: "In order to contribute to the fight against atrocity stories and slanders abroad on the subject of the treatment of German protective detainees, the administration of concentration camp Breitenau authorised a visit by the American physician Dr. Stern, New York". All detainees appeared satisfied.

On the "Party Day of Victory" in Nürnberg on **4 September** Dr Goebbels spoke about "The racial question and world propaganda". He said i.a.: "By trying to regulate the Jewish question in a practical manner and therefore tackling the race problem in our country for the first time on behalf of all Europe, we are only following the course of our times. In that connection the defence against the Jewish danger is only part of our plan and our aim... The Aryan being stands in opposition to the Jew as a creative character. The intrinsic difference between the two races has led to explosions... The racial problem will not come to rest any longer ... In its solution lies the future of our nation. (HKB)

On **6 September** the General Synod of the Protestant Church declared that the Aryan Paragraph also applied within the Church.

As the boycott of Jewish shops and enterprises had negative consequences for the economic system, the Reich Minister of Trade and Commerce wrote a letter to the German Association of Chambers of Commerce and Industry on **September 8**, stating that non-Aryan enterprises should not be boycotted any longer.²⁷

In **September**, the German Association of crafts and trades suggested to its members, in a circular letter, that Jews should be excluded from the training of Aryan craft apprentices²⁸.

On **September 17**, the Reich representation of Jewish State (Länder) associations was modified to form the "Reichsvertretung der deutschen Juden" (Reich representatives of German Jews). (They were still allowed to call themselves German (!) Jews.)

²⁵ Deutsche Jüdische Soldaten 101

²⁶ Battenberg II 267, Groß 17f

²⁷ HstA Marburg 180 Landratsamt Fritzlar 2748

²⁸ Kropat, Alltag 431

On **19 September** the Kassel city council decided that in future Jewish traders would in principle no longer be admitted to fairs and markets taking place in Kassel

On **September 22**, the "Reichskulturkammergesetz" (law defining the Reich chamber of culture) was passed, as a consequence of which Jews were largely excluded from active participation in public cultural life.²⁹

On **October 1**, the German Reichskriegerbund (warriors' federation) Kyffhäuser excluded "non-Aryans" from membership.³⁰

On **3rd October** the Inheritance Law was published. It provided that whoever has Jewish or coloured blood among his/her ancestors on father's or mother's side cannot be of German or racially equal blood. The limit for investigation was fixed at 1 Jan 1800.

In the **October 4** session of the Minorities Committee of the League of Nations it was pointed out that the German Jews were neither a language nor a national minority. In Germany it was in the first place a population policy and social problem.

On **5th October** the local Gazette quoted Ambassador von Keller: "In public discussions the Jewish question has in various ways been amalgamated with the minorities question. It is not permissible to connect this problem, which represents a specifically different racial problem, without further ado with the question of minorities. In the first place the German Jews are neither a language nor a national minority." (FKA 5.10.)

On **6 October** the Editorial Law laid down that editors had to be of Aryan descent and not married to a person of non-Aryan origin.

On **10 October** the HKB reported on the League of Nations meeting in Geneva: "The League of Nations is gathering its final signs of life in order to complete its discussion of the Jewish question – which was its only real theme this year – by a massive demonstration for equal rights for the Jews. .. The argument with Jewry is a historical problem in Germany which is marked by a defensive struggle". The German representative registered his veto against the idea that Jews in Germany would fall under the protection of minorities.

On **October 14**, Hitler declared withdrawal from the League of Nations "because of the humiliating situation in the Disarmament Conference" and the lack of equal rights. In this connection the Reich President dissolved the Reich and State Parliaments and prescribed new elections to the Reich Parliament on 12 November, "in order to give the nation the opportunity to adopt a position on the vital questions of the German people". The Government put the following questions to the German people in its electoral appeal: "Does the German people approve the policy of its Government as submitted to it and is it ready to declare it as the expression of its own opinion and its own will and solemnly to declare its support for it?" (HKB This time it was a question of armament policy, not racial questions.)

On **November 12**, Reichstag elections were again held; this time the NSDAP won 92 % of all votes³¹; so it had doubled its share of votes from 43.9 % in March. . In this way 92 % of the electorate had also indirectly approved of the anti-Jewish measures initiated so far. In Fritzlar all 2463 entitled to vote voted Yes. In the simultaneous plebiscite 2 votes were invalid. (FKA 12 Nov) .

On **15 November** the expert committee for population and racial policy said: "The Führer has emphasized time and again that he considers racial policy, i.e. taking care to increase the number of valuable German national comrades, health inheritance and racial purity of the people as the main task... The Reich Government has clearly realized that the elimination and selection of those with hereditary diseases and of foreign races would not be sufficient". (HKB, FKA 16 Nov)

In **November**, the "Free Jewish Teaching House" was re-opened in Frankfurt/Main on the initiative of Martin Buber.

On **6 December**, the Minister of the Interior Dr. Frick told the press: "The National Socialist racial laws start from the idea that racial purity is of decisive importance for the future of the German people. Of the foreign races in Germany the Jews are the most strongly represented. To stop this excessive alienation had become a matter of vital interest for the German people, so that racial legislation represents only an act of self-defence and not of

²⁹ Kropat, Alltag 427

³⁰ Deutsche Jüdische Soldaten 57

hatred. In addition it is the aim of the Government to nurture the racial wealth of the German people and to ensure its purity. In making these endeavours the Government wishes in no way to pronounce a value judgment on other races. It is perfectly conscious of the fact that many peoples racially different from the German people represent an ancient and great culture. To diminish these is the last thing the Government and the German people would wish to do.” (HKB)

In early **December**, the Protestant youth associations joined the Hitler Youth organization.

On **December 12** the new NS Reich parliament with its 661 members met in session. “Whereas in previous parliaments Jews were well represented, the new Reichstag includes only men of Aryan descent. Women, too, can no longer be found in it. More than 600 of the 661 members wear the brown shirt.” (HKB)

Fritzlar Jewish citizens 1933

At the end of March, it was officially proposed to put the merchant **Julius Joseph**, 67 years old³¹, into preventive detention, which was justified by stating that Mr. Joseph had harmed many farmers in the surroundings of Fritzlar by his insolvency proceedings. “It may therefore be concluded with certainty that a number of these harmed persons will appear in Fritzlar on April 1 to assault Joseph.” Mr. Joseph was thereupon put into preventive detention on 31 March, but released after three hours on account of a medical certificate, as he was old, ill and unfit to undergo detention. The doctor referred him to the hospital.³² All this happened whilst his insolvency proceedings were still under way. It was concluded only on August 22, 1933.³³ Mr. Joseph moved to Frankfurt/Main on July 7 and perished in Treblinka in 1942.

In Fritzlar, where at this time the NSDAP was still weak and the Zentrumspartei quite strong³⁴, there appear to have been only a few outward signs of boycott³⁵ of Jewish shops on April 1, but their sales figures decreased rapidly.

The dentist Dr. **Ludwig Erlanger** (35) became so panicky by the announcement of the boycott of his practice that he fled to Switzerland with his family – his wife was 31 years old and their children four and 1 ¾ years –in the night before April 1. In his case, the restriction of earning opportunities achieved its goal of pressing Jews to leave Germany.

When the law limiting the share of Jewish pupils to 1.5 % was passed on April 25, three Jewish girls were still attending the Catholic Ursuline school: **Lisbeth Kaufmann** (12), **Blanka(II) Löwenstein** (12) and **Ruth Speyer** (15); it is astonishing that two of them were allowed to remain, likewise, two Jewish boys could remain at the municipal Rektorats-School. (At this time the Catholic character of the town still had a moderating influence on the implementation of the new orders and laws.)

On 29 April **Gretel Feldberg** and **Leo Nussbaum** published their engagement in the FKA and on 6 May there appeared a message of thanks for gifts received.

On 1st February only seven children went to the Jewish school.³⁶ On 6 May the following report appeared in the FKA: “The local **Jewish school** which currently registered only six children was closed a few days ago. The teacher was sent on leave by the authorities, the children have been allocated to the Protestant elementary school”. The teacher was **Gustav Kron**.

³¹ See further in b)1-3. In this book the age of the person concerned at the time is shown, so that readers can better appreciate the situation; the address will also be shown in accordance with the current street name.

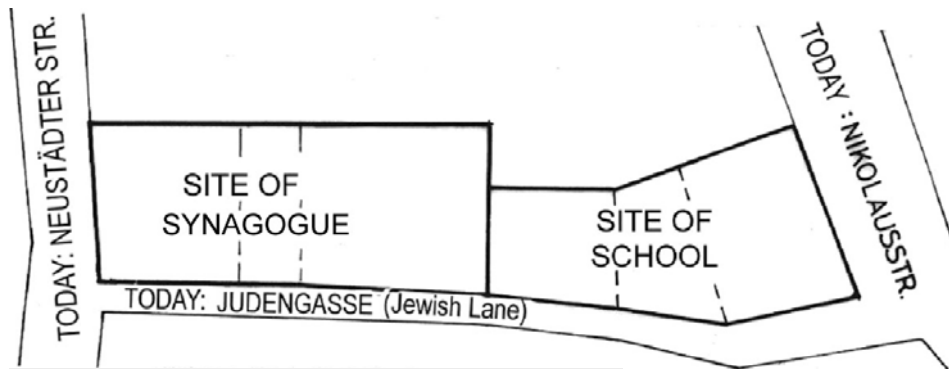
³² Archiv Fritzlar XVIII 1,3,17

³³ id. XIX 4, 11, 12

³⁴ Voting ratio 736 to 1011, see Annex 1

³⁵ Lohmann, Schicksal 17

³⁶ Archiv Fritzlar XIV 2,4,8



On 25 May the FKA referred to a lecture of Kassel Party Comrade R. on the subject of Talmud and Judaism. The introductory sentence by the editor: "The local NSDAP Group requests inclusion of the following lines" shows the paper's distance from the NSDAP.

On account of the prohibition to practice, the physician **Hans Joseph** (31) travelled to Palestine in June to check on employment possibilities there. He set out with his younger brother **Alfred Alexander** (29) who emigrated to Palestine. Hans married **Hildegard, née Katzenstein** (20) in that country. As however there were already many German doctors in practice there and as he did not want to work in a different profession, he returned to Germany with his wife. His father-in-law was also a doctor and had committed suicide in Karlsruhe when his licence to practice was withdrawn.

Jewish gatherings had to be announced and were put under surveillance. So, when a community meeting took place in the Jewish classroom on August 3, the police officer on duty reported in writing: "The meeting was attended by 15 Jews. No political issues were raised."

On August 4, the regional governor announced that the Jewish elementary schools would soon be closed due to the low number of pupils. That was the end of the Jewish school in Fritzlar, which had existed for over 100 years.

The Jewish teacher **Gustav Kron** (55) was retired as from January 1, 1934, according to a decree of the regional governor dated November 9. He had worked at Fritzlar since 1925, and his history was characteristic of that period. (Born in Wolfhagen (Northern Hesse) in 1878, he attended a Jewish elementary school and then had private lessons as there was no Jewish secondary school. He was trained at the Jewish teacher's seminar in Kassel to become a teacher and cantor and after military service obtained his first employment in Arolsen from 1904 to 1905 as a

teacher for Hebrew and religious instruction at Mengringhausen, where he lived in the service flat in the Jewish school. Apart from that, he was also obliged to perform ritual slaughtering and to hold two Sabbath services per month in Arolsen. In 1905, he became a principal teacher in Westhofen/Alsace-Lorraine. He was called up on the second day of mobilization in 1914 and served on the western and southern fronts. He returned to Alsace-Lorraine in 1916 from military service but as a German was expelled from there in 1919, . He came to Harmuthsachsen to replace the local Jewish teacher. There he got to know the teacher's daughter **Selma Blumenkrohn** (born in 1890) and married her in 1921. From there, he came to the Fritzlar school in April 1925.)

When he was retired on January 1, 1934, at the age of 56, he found an activity as a Hebrew teacher. He had attended a course for modern Hebrew in Kassel in 1933 and began to teach in Fritzlar what he had learned. One of the two policemen of Fritzlar was ordered to observe the Hebrew lessons. The policeman was so fascinated by this language that he joined in attentively and became one of the best pupils of that course.

Bertel Kugelmann, aged nine years at the time, remembers:

"We spoke German only, nobody spoke Yiddish. We appreciated and sang all the German songs, folk songs and others, like all inhabitants of Fritzlar. On our house doors, we had the Mesusa, a small box with words from our Holy Scripture. We were Jews and the neighbours were Catholic, and during my early childhood that was of no importance. But soon after Hitler came to power in 1933, things began to change gradually. Non-Jewish children of the neighbourhood insulted us. Some said, 'You are a Jew, and you(!) killed Jesus³⁷, I cannot play with you any more.' I went home crying and asked my parents what that accusation meant. My parents tried to calm me down, explaining to me that we are not guilty of the death of Jesus. When persecutions of Jews started to increase and one heard of Jews in neighboring towns and villages who had been beaten, of tombstones that had been thrown down and of window panes that had been smashed, Jewish families and individual adults left their houses and birthplaces to emigrate. ...



"My father **Josef Kugelmann** was a grain merchant, highly respected in the community and also by the farmers of the surrounding villages with whom he was dealing. Everyone knew him and, if needing help, went to him. Once, when he stood surety for a farmer, he had to spend a lot of money to buy out the other person. He had served in the German army and had been deployed at the front in France all the four years of World War I.. His father, my grandfather, had served during the Franco-Prussian war.

Both felt themselves to be Germans like all the other veterans. With comrades from the wars, they got together in clubs and organizations.

When my mother urged my father to leave Germany, he would not listen to her. 'Don't be upset', he said, 'nothing will happen to us. Hitler will be gone within a short time.'

³⁷ The absurd accusation that today's Jews had killed Jesus corresponds to the depiction of the traitor Judas in the Middle Age passion paintings in the Catholic and Protestant Church in Fritzlar. In these paintings Judas always wears the pointed Jewish hat which was customary at the time in the Middle Ages which was done in order to make it clear that the Jew of the present time was guilty of the death of Jesus which had happened centuries earlier.

"My brother Max, twelve years older than I, was a fervent football player and belonged to the local football club. One day, he entered my room after a football match – I remember it as if it were today – his face was black and blue, his lips were swollen.



He told me he had been beaten by some spectators; they did not want a Jewish boy to take part in the match. After that, my father agreed that my brother should move to the USA to live with my father's two sisters³⁸, to where my elder sister **Irene** had emigrated already in 1929."³⁹ (Such was the fate of Jewish children ever since April 1933; nevertheless, most of the electorate voted for Adolf Hitler and the NSDAP in November 1933!)

Emigrations, Moves and Sales 1933

The aim of the Nazi measures was to compel Jews to emigrate; and this pressure was successful.⁴⁰ Discriminations and restrictions triggered an increasing trend towards emigration, which started in early February and was supported by Jewish offices and provident societies.⁴¹ Emigration reached a first peak, which was obviously due to the shock of the seizure of power by the National Socialists and the onset of persecution. In particular, exclusion from professions directed against Jewish university graduates and the 'numerus clausus', i.e. the restriction clause for Jewish students and high school pupils, made it plain that the Jewish adolescent generation could expect only severely limited professional opportunities.⁴²

The first hurdle for legal emigration was the "Reich escape tax". It had already been adopted by the Brüning Government in 1931 in order to reduce the flight of capital, but now it became a special tax on Jewish emigrants.

a) Emigrations 1933

1) **Ida Bittiner, née Katz** (48), owner of a hat shop, emigrated to Palestine (Israel today) even before Hitler's time on 5th January.⁴³

2-5) **Dr. Ludwig Erlanger**, (35), dentist, who had lived in Fritzlar, Allee 2, since May 5, 1929, emigrated with wife **Hanna, née Burland** (31) and daughters **Eva**, aged 4 (later married to Caplan), and **Ruth**, 8 months. No official notice of departure exists in the archives; it appears to have taken place suddenly and secretly. They emigrated on April 1, first via Basel to Johannesburg in South Africa and from there on to Palestine, where they were granted citizenship on May 26, 1939.⁴⁴ On 4th

³⁸ In December 1933 Max Kugelmann emigrated to the USA, aged 22.

³⁹ Borowsky, *Meine Geschichte*, *Wochenspiegel*, *Heimatzeitung der Stadt Fritzlar*, 7 Nov 1996.

⁴⁰ In 1933 according to Kropat, *Alltag* 433, 45 000 or 38 000 Jews emigrated from Germany; according to Battenberg II 268, there were 37 000.

⁴¹ The Berlin Central Office of the Aid Society received 400-500 daily emigration applications during the period April to Juli 1933. In the autumn this number decreased to 100-200 per day (Lohmann, *Schicksal* 19 F25)

⁴² Kropat, *Alltag* 433; Lohmann, *Schicksal* 18

⁴³ Ida Bittiner had informed the Chamber of Commerce on 30 August 1932, that she was giving up the business and emigrating to Palestine. (Archiv Fritzlar XI 12,25)

⁴⁴ Lohmann, *Schicksal* 19. The dental practice was taken over by Dr. Gutbier.

April the FKA published an advertisement that Dr Erlanger's dental practice had been taken over as from April 1 by someone else. When the mayor's office was officially informed on 11.9.1935 that these four had been granted Palestinian nationality it was recorded that as a result they had lost their German nationality.⁴⁵

6) **Alfred Alexander Joseph**, named Fredy (29), Am Hochzeitshaus 10, moved temporarily to Berlin on February 13 to learn the fruit trade at Tietz's. However, he continued to feel himself to be a Fritzlar citizen. On June 16, he was still counted under Fritzlar in the census. He emigrated to Palestine in June, also without giving official notice of departure, for his Catholic bride **Miriam Krewett** of Bad Lippspringe followed him on a KdF boat, and this was intended to pass unnoticed. They married in Palestine. After the War, Fredy visited his sister-in-law at Bad Lippspringe almost yearly and then always came to Fritzlar as well.

When he died on December 12, 1993, in Hadera/Israel, the Fritzlar town council dedicated the following obituary to him in the local paper: "We are notifying his numerous Fritzlar friends and acquaintances that Alfred Alexander, known as Fredy, Joseph, born on November 6, 1904, in Fritzlar, died at Hadera, Israel, on December 12, 1993. In spite of great misfortunes, the deceased always remained an enthusiastic son of his home town. Although he stayed abroad for decades, he was still excellent in expressing himself in the original Fritzlar dialect. His close acquaintances could find much comfort and understanding in him regarding the disgrace that our people committed against his people".⁴⁶

Fredy J. had two sons: **Hansi**, born in 1937, and **Dany**, born in 1940. Both are living in Israel. Hansi was the leader of the fire brigades in the Hasharon region, he lives at Kefar-Sava, and Dany is an expert in fish-farming, living at Kibbuz Maabarot. They both visit Fritzlar frequently.

7) **Max Kugelmann**, (22), student at the Fritzlar Latin School, went to the neighbouring town of Gudensberg on April 14, 1926, as an apprentice, from there to Würzburg on November 13, 1933, but remained registered in Fritzlar, and emigrated from Würzburg to the USA on December 15.⁴⁷ He married **Paula, née Wertheim**, on June 27, 1939, and has a daughter **Beatrice**, who is married to **Dan Dickey**. From 1943 to 1945, Max K. was a US soldier and was decorated several times for his bravery. As a US soldier, he also briefly came to Fritzlar in 1945. When he died at the age of 77 on July 17, 1988, the Max Kugelmann Study Fund was established in his honour in the USA.

8-9) **Alfred Löwenstein** (31), married to **Gitta, née Schloß** (29), Fraumünsterstr. 22, emigrated to Tel Aviv/Palestine with his wife. He was still counted under Fritzlar in the June 16 population census but his wife was not. Alfred died in Israel in 1986, Gitta in 1987. Alfred and Gitta Löwenstein left a son **Gideon** who was born in Palestine in 1935 but now lives in the USA with his wife **Melanie**. Gideon L. is professor for interior and furniture design. He studied in Germany from 1956 to 1960 and speaks fluent German. Gideon and Melanie L. have two sons, **David and Adin**, and three grandchildren.

10) **Richard Meyerhof/Maierhofer**, emigrated to England in June.⁴⁸ He was still included in the Fritzlar census of June 16.

These ten Fritzlar inhabitants correspond to the figure mentioned in the anonymous statistics of March 6, 1937.⁴⁹ No notifications of departure exist for them at the Fritzlar registration office.⁵⁰

⁴⁵ Archiv Fritzlar XI 12,27

⁴⁶ The local newspaper No 51/52- 1993

⁴⁷ The Archive has no record of any notice of removal.

⁴⁸ Hans Heintel in the Fritzlar-Homberger-Allgemeine, 9 Nov 1978

11) On 23 May **Herta Speier**, b.11.11.1913 in Fritzlar, saleswoman, residing at Poststr. 27, obtained her father's permission to emigrate to Holland.⁵¹

b) Moves within Germany 1933

1-3) **Fritz Joseph** (36), Am Hochzeitshaus 3, moved to Frankfurt/Main on July 7. He went with his parents **Julius Joseph** (67), who was called the "Big Baron", and **Helene, née Willmannsdörfer** (61). Frankfurt/Main was where their daughter **Tessy Joseph** (35) lived; she had moved to Niederrad on January 27, 1931. Fritz's parents were deported from Frankfurt into a KZ and became victims of the **Shoah** in Treblinka.⁵² Fritz and Tessy emigrated to the USA.

4-6) **Moritz Joseph** (63), fruit merchant, and **Dina, née Höxter** (57), married since 1901, Am Hochzeitshaus 10, had two sons: **Hans** (31) and **Alfred Alexander**, named Fredy (29). Moritz Joseph was jokingly called "the Little Baron". The spouses moved to Gemünden on the Wohra, Dina's home town, on June 2. They were both still counted in Fritzlar on June 16. They were deported in 1942 and became **Shoah** victims in Maly Trostinec.⁵³

7-9) **Siegfried Kaufmann** (51), cattle dealer, wife **Paula, née Sauer** (40), and daughter **Lisbeth/Lieselotte**, 12 years old, Gießener Str. 17 (today Bettenhaus Hammerschlag), moved to Borken, Mr. Kaufmann's birthplace, on November 2. Siegfried and Paula K became victims of the Shoah in 1942 in the Lublin area, Paula on May 21, 1942.⁵⁴

Lieselotte K. attended the Ursulinen School in 1932 and had to leave it in 1933. She moved to Borken with her parents and lived at Frankfurt/Main in 1938. She emigrated to England on May 8, 1939, at the age of 17, probably with the help of a 'Kindertransport' and married Mr. **Mills**, who was a British soldier at the time, on April 29, 1941. They lived in London; their house was destroyed by a German bomb. Lieselotte Mills died on June 28, 1997. The Mills have two sons: Paul, born in 1944, and Peter, born in 1946. Peter Mills lives in Canada, Paul in England

10) **Lisette Katz, née Gluck** (80), who had moved to Fritzlar, Am Hochzeitshaus 17, on November 13, 1932, went to Stuttgart⁵⁵ on July 6 and died in 1940.

11) **Theo Mannheimer** (14) moved to Battenberg on June 6, from there to Meinbressen and back to Fritzlar and from there after a short stay to Laasphe in 1937. From there he emigrated to the USA in 1938.

c) Deaths in 1933

1) **Riekchen Speier, née Hammerschlag**, first wife of **Susmann Speier**, died on April 4, shortly after completing her 58th year. The FKA published a notice of death which does not reveal that she was Jewish and was buried in the Jewish cemetery.

2) **Gitel Kugelman**, December 12, 58 years old.

⁴⁹ HStA Marburg 180 Landratsamt Fritzlar 2748, Schattner, Wabern 16

⁵⁰ Archiv Fritzlar XVIII 4, 12, 7-9

⁵¹ Archiv Fritzlar XI 12,27

⁵² Lohman Schicksal 19, According to the Memorial Book they disappeared in Minsk. Fritz is a brother of Ernst Joseph, b. 3.8.1894, who had fallen on 13.3.1918.

⁵³ According to the Holocaust and War Victims Tracing and Information Center, Baltimore. The Memorial Book records "disappeared Minsk". Maly Trostinec lies 18 km from Minsk. The victims were gassed.

⁵⁴ According to the Memorial Book they were "missing without trace".

⁵⁵ Lohmann, Schicksal 20



Jettchen Löwenstein

d) Shops and other places of work 1933

Hermann Bloch (62), Am Hochzeitshaus 17, deregistered his cattle trade in August but remained in Fritzlar and was still registered there on July 4, 1938.

Jettchen Löwenstein (58) Marktplatz 1, inserted in the FKA of 24 January : “Fresh matzo daily, Löwenstein, Markt”.

On 4 October bankruptcy proceedings were opened for “the property of the trader **Karl Mansbach**” (FKA 7.10). Shortly afterwards the following advertisement appeared: “In the shop belonging to trader Karl Mansbach, Fritzlar, Geismarstrasse, stock included in the bankruptcy is being sold at reduced prices”. (FKA 16.11)

On 8 June and 19 August the FKA published announcements by the Community leaders that grass in the **Jewish cemetery** was being sold.



On 19 August the FKA published the following notice under the heading “Affiliation of Jewish members of craft associations”: “Nothing is to be changed in membership insofar as obligatory and legal prescriptions exist, but Jews should not occupy any offices or board positions in craft associations”

e) Houses and real estate 1933

On 18 July **Hermann Bloch**, Geismarstrasse inserted the following:” Because we are abandoning our household I am selling immediately at low prices” and household objects were listed. (FKA)

Julius Joseph's bankruptcy estate⁵⁶ included the house, courtyard and garden Am Hochzeitshaus 3 and 5, a field on the Spies River and a field on the Zennerweg. The sale of "real estate due to bankruptcy" was notified in the local paper. (FKA 20.7)

On 23. 9. **Max Lissauer** sold a field on the Hellenweg.

f) Stock sales 1933

Dr. Ludwig Erlanger left his furniture behind which was to be sold by the Jewish furniture merchant **Max Lissauer**, but was partly stolen.⁵⁷



Town plan (Dagmar and Clemens Lohmann, *Das Schicksal der Jüdischen Gemeinde in Fritzlar 1933-1945*, p. 48 & 49, with kind permission of the authors) The town plan shows where Jews lived on January 31, 1933.

Data 1933

In 1933, Fritzlar counted 4,237 inhabitants, including the military. Religious denomination was not recorded, but street and house number.⁵⁸ According to January 1933 official statistics, 119 of these were Jews, i.e. 2.8 %, and therefore twice the average percentage for the country as a whole.⁵⁹ The population census

⁵⁶ see above in: Jüdische Bürger Fritzlar, Archiv Fritzlar XIX 4,11, 12.

⁵⁷ see above in: Jüdische Bürger Fritzlar, Lohmann, Schicksal 19

⁵⁸ Archiv Fritzlar II 2,12,4; 2, 17, 1; cf Ide 122

In 1933 17 888 Jews lived in Hessen, i.e. 1.25 % of the inhabitants. This put Hessen into second place after Hamburg with 1.39% (Kropat Alltag 411f, id. Hessen 1)

In Germany as a whole there were 503 000 Jews in June 1933, i.e. 0.76% of the population (Rees 22. "Of these 80.2 % had German nationality and 19.8% other nationalities... "20% of German Jews belonged to the politically and religiously neutral Centralverband deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens (Central Association of German citizens of the Jewish faith)... The Reich Association of Jewish Frontline Soldiers had approx. 35 000 members (Benz Encyclopedia. Art. Juden)

⁵⁹ In 1932 there had still been **128** (Hess. Städtebuch) See also the statistics from 1921-1932 in Lohmann, Paulgerhard, Hier waren wir zu Hause, 238. Aufstellung über die Bewegung der jüdischen Bevölkerung, Fritzlar 6 March 1937 HStA Marburg 180 Landratsamt Fritzlar 2748 ; Schattner, Wabern 16. Lohmann's list (Schicksal 72-74) shows only **103** persons by name with profession, date of birth and address. By way of comparison 124 Jews lived in Gudensberg on 30 Jan 1933 (Klein 16).

was taken on 16 June:⁶⁰ in it I counted 111 Jews living in Fritzlar at that time. The following were not listed on 16 June: **Gitel Kugelmann** who died on 12 December⁶¹ and **Gitta Löwenstein, née Schloß**, who emigrated with her husband **Alfred** in June.⁶²

On 16 June according to the official statistics, of the 4 123 civilians there were still **113** Jews, i.e. 2.6%. Between 31 January and 16 June the number of Jews living in Fritzlar thus decreased by six persons.

On 10 October of 4 121 civilians there were only **106** Jews⁶³, i.e. barely 2.6%. In accordance with his list they included 11 cattle traders, nine textile and clothing merchants, two grain traders and one agricultural products merchant. Ten others were unspecified merchants and traders. Of the women only two were in employment, as housekeepers. According to an incomplete listing dated 1947 there were only sixteen Jewish businesses in 1933.⁶⁴ The 106 Jewish citizens had nine children under the age of 6, seven children were required to attend school and two children were more than 14 years old.

⁶⁰ see Annex 1. During the 16 June 1933 census there was no question on religious affiliation. Fritzlar's 4 123 civilians and 116 military personnel, i.e. 4 239 in total had 980 households, 130 agricultural or forestry enterprises and 167 trading businesses. **108** persons were listed as of the Jewish faith. The different indications regarding the 16 June census (here 108, in the earlier text 111 and 113) reflect the rapid changes during these months caused by emigration or moves to other German places..

⁶¹ see above at c)

⁶² See above at. a) Nr. 8 and 9

⁶³ The census of 10 October 1933 resulted in the following: Civilians 4 121, of whom 2 395 Catholics, 1 599 Protestants, 106 Jews, 21 other confessions. In addition there were 106 military personnel so that in total there were 4 237 persons in 543 houses and 983 households. (Archiv Fritzlar II 2,17,1)

⁶⁴ s. Annex 7; Archiv Fritzlar XIII 3,1,19; HStA Marburg 180 Landratsamt Fritzlar 2749: Register of 6 March 1947 based on an enquiry dated 27 Feb 1947. A comparison of the register of 9 Feb 1946 with that of 6 March 1947 shows how difficult it is to remember things correctly. The former showed only eleven names, the latter contained an additional nine names. C.Lohmann mentioned 17 business people. (Lohmann, Schicksal 16).

The second NS year A chronology of the year 1934

On **January 11**, the Prussian Minister of Economic Affairs and Employment expressly pointed out that "non-Aryan employees and workers are also entitled to be protected by the government"⁶⁵.

On **January 24**, Alfred Rosenberg was commissioned to supervise the entire mental and philosophical training of the party and of all the associations which had been brought into line.

On **January 26**, Germany and Poland concluded a pact of "mutual understanding" containing a non-aggression clause.

- "Der Stürmer", the newspaper of the SA and SS, published a special edition of medieval legends, which intended to prove that Jews made use of the blood of Christians in their religious rites.

On **30 January** the NS-Reichstag met for a second time. It unanimously adopted the Law which abolished the people's representations of the Länder, transferred their sovereign rights to the Reich and subordinated the Länder Governments to the Reich Government. It also empowered the Reich Government to adopt new constitutional laws. On **14 February** the Reich Council, which had been the representative body for the German Länder, was abolished and thus its role in legislation and administration.

On **7 February** a decree by the Reich Minister of the Interior noted: "The German legislation on Aryans is required on national grounds and for reasons of state", but it did not yet apply to private enterprise.

Adolf Hitler declared on **8 February** to the German Student Association: "The intrinsic nature and aim of the Communist process lies in the attempt to split up nations consisting of different racial cores and to replace the current political and philosophical leadership by a new and in this case Jewish master class." He conjured up the danger that Communist subversion would bring about the rule of a "new international-Jewish upper class". He saw the Communist "sub-humanity(!)" subject to "Jewish intellectual leadership". (HKB; the insinuated close connection between Jews, Communists and the attempted Jewish world dominion should be noted.)

In Fritzlar Mayor Dr. Schnitzler was sent on leave and provisionally replaced by the local Nazi Party Chief. (HKB)

On **9 February** the Kreisblatt reported a meeting by the Reich Chamber of Culture in which Dr. Goebbels said inter alia: "I have noticed with displeasure that the Jews who have been pushed out little by little from other professions are looking for new employment possibilities in cultural life where the Aryan Clause is still lacking. It cannot be tolerated that in the end all Jews who have been removed from the civil service, legal and medical professions and as authors gradually surface in the cultural sphere. The law gives us the possibility to prevent this... In my view and experience a Jewish contemporary is in general unfit to administer German culture"

On **16 February** Reich Interior Minister Dr. Frick addressed the Diplomatic Corps about the Third Reich's racial legislation: "In November 1918 a foreign race took power: the Jewish race... Our laws do not in any way oppose the Jewish religion... We have not simply thrown out the non-Aryan officials, but pensioned them... German racial legislation does not want to judge what other nations or races do".(HKB)

On **24 February**, the HKB reminded readers about the programme of the German Workers Party, from which the Nazi Party had originated and which Hitler had publicly announced on 24 February in the hall of the Hofbräuhaus in Munich. Point 4 read as follows: "A German citizen can only be someone who is a national comrade. A national comrade can only be someone who is of German blood, without taking into account religious denomination. No Jew can therefore be a national comrade. Point 5: Whoever is not a citizen, may only live as

⁶⁵ HStA Marburg 180 Landratsamt Fritzlar 2748

a guest in Germany and must be subject to legislation on foreigners. ... Point 24: the Party fights against the Jewish-materialistic spirit".⁶⁶

On **February 28**, the "Law for the re-establishment of the Professional civil service" was also applied to soldiers of the Armed Forces. The 70 Jewish soldiers still serving had to leave the army. Apparently Colonel von Manstein was the only one to protest that soldiers "burdened with one non-Aryan grandmother" were excluded from military service⁶⁶. The Jews, who were fully conscious of being Germans, did not accept being excluded from army service. On March 23, the Reichsbund (National Federation of Jewish Front Line Soldiers), protested against the "exclusion of our young Jewish generation" from service in the German army. They regarded that service as a "supreme duty and supreme right", which Jewish Germans had exercised as a duty of honour since the wars of liberation. The Federation numbered around 30,000 members; after the "Centralverein deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens" (Central Association of German Citizens of the Jewish faith) and the "Zionistische Vereinigung für Deutschland" (Zionist Union for Germany) it therefore counted among the large Jewish associations⁶⁷. (The attempt to hold on to military service and integration shows how the situation was misjudged by the Jews. Neither the statements in Hitler's book "Mein Kampf"⁶⁸ nor the NSDAP party programme had been taken seriously).

On **8 March** the Kreisblatt officially reported: "It has been increasingly observed that non-Aryans, who had already disappeared and in general probably fled abroad, are appearing again in theatres, variety shows, cabarets etc. I want to point out that appearance on German stages is dependent on membership of one of the professional associations of the Reich Theatre Chamber and that admission to such associations is regularly refused to non-Aryans... I demand firm execution of my request. A situation must not be allowed to develop in which the public uses its own direct methods of combating the appearance of elements from whom it believes it has already been freed."

On **27 March** the HKB reviewed the racial policy guidelines of the Office for Racial Care. In that connection it defined what was a race: "A race is a group of people distinguished from other groups by a number of commonly inherited characteristics and which permanently reproduces only such characteristics... Any interbreeding with a foreign race (bodily or spiritually) signifies that the nation concerned has betrayed its own tasks, and therefore ultimately leads to its destruction. Outward appearance has nothing definite to say as regards racial appurtenance ... The shared possession of Nordic blood unites all Germans biologically too. There is no reason for belittling those of other races... For us, of course, our own type (racially defined: the Nordic characteristics) is of the highest value."

On **3 April** the HKB reported a visit by the Bavarian Minister-President to Dachau and headlined its report "Dachau – a model camp" "The concentration camp Dachau had been equipped as a model prison camp. In addition the healthy look of the prisoners and the quality of the food was stressed."

On **23 April** the HKB published some information on the introduction of the Aryan Clause in the Armed Forces. In the Army the exclusion concerned five officers, two officer-cadets, one medical officer cadet, 31 non-commissioned officers and enlisted men, a total of 39 persons, whilst in the Navy there were two officers, four officer-cadets and five NCOs and seamen, a total of 11 persons. These 50 soldiers had to leave the Forces of the Reich.

On **22 May** Reich Minister Dr. Goebbels opened the "campaign against belly-achers and fault-finders" with an enormous rally in the Berlin Sports Palace. In his speech he said inter alia: "I cannot withdraw the legislation on the Jews in Germany because the Jews abroad are boycotting us; we must rather just pull through this crisis (continuous assent and applause)". (HKB 22.5)

In **May** the Reich Cabinet decided to change the regulations on the Reich Escape Tax. Accordingly tax-free levels were reduced from RM 200 000 to RM 50 000 for Jewish property and from 50 000 to 10 000 RM for incomes. Whatever exceeded these amounts was taxed at 20%. In case of emigration all those who had an annual income of more than

⁶⁶ see Annex 5

⁶⁶ Deutsche Jüdische Soldaten 19 cf 57

⁶⁷ Deutsche Jüdische Soldaten 1

⁶⁸ See Annex 5

RM 20 000 were to be summoned for a “final large contribution” (HKB 16.5) This Fiscal Amendment Act was the beginning of the deprivation of the Jews of their fiscal rights. The Act was preceded by a preamble: “Fiscal laws are to be interpreted in accordance with national socialist philosophy”.⁶⁹

On **19 May** the Reich Minister of Justice published an order on the “Implementation of Prison Sentences and Measures for Security and Improvement”... “It signified a complete break with the humanity stupidity of the past system”. (HKB 19.5)

On **6 June** Dr. Goebbels said in the Campaign for destroying belly-aching and grumbling: “If on the other hand international Jewry now believes that it can gradually draw away the world market from us by rabble-rousing boycott propaganda, then these representatives of world capitalism should not think that money will in the long run be stronger than race and strong will and resolution”. (HKB 8.6)

In a Warsaw speech Dr. Goebbels pointed out that in 1933 Jews had made up only 0.9% of the German population and had nevertheless largely influenced German spiritual life, “Resistance had frankly become unavoidable”. (HKB 14.6)

On **June 20**, the regional governor in Kassel opposed signposts reading, “Do not buy from Jews”. “Such announcements are contradictory to the attitude of the Reich Government. They are to be avoided and removed. I firmly expect that denouncing and boycotting Jewish business people will cease in future.”⁷⁰

At the Academy of German Law’s annual meeting the Reich Justice Commissioner rejected “legal law” and put up “a people’s law which serves the people” in its stead.

In the period **June 30 to July 2**, Hitler had 85 political opponents executed and murdered for attempting a “revolutionary conversion of the German Reich”, among them Ernst Röhm, chief of staff of the SA and Reich Minister⁷¹, Kurt von Schleicher, General, Minister of Defence and ex-Reich Chancellor, as well as Gregor Strasser, who had withdrawn from the NSDAP in 1932.⁷² In addition 1124 persons were taken into “protective custody”. (Although this murderous action did not hit Jews, it made plain what could befall dissidents at any time. And the people remained silent! Or feted Hitler as saviour!) On **July 4** the “measures taken” were after the event declared to be legal by the Reich Cabinet as “self-defence by the State”.

Prussian Minister-President Goering told the public prosecutors: “The law and the Fuehrer’s will are one and the same thing”. As regards the executions referred to he declared: “The action by the country’s leadership was the supreme realization of the awareness of the law by the people.” (HKB 13.7)

On **13 July** the NS-Reichstag was summoned for the third sitting following its election on 12 Nov 1933, in order – as it was put – to “accept a declaration by the Reich Government”. (HKB 11.7) On this occasion Hitler spoke at length about the abortive coup of 30.6. The Reichstag accepted his explanation and “thanked the Chancellor for his active and decisive saving of the Fatherland from civil war and chaos.” (HKB 13.7)

On **July 14**, the assets of the Federation of Jewish Employees were confiscated. (Although that federation did not have an outpost at Fritzlar, so that upon enquiry by the Gestapo a negative reply was given, this operation characterized the further aggravation of the situation)⁷³.

On the same **July 14** the President of the Reich, on a proposal by the Government, founded a Cross of Honour for all German nationals who had participated in World War 1914/1918, not only for all surviving participants but also for the widows and parents of those who died. Deserters were among those excluded and the Cross was only granted on application. (HKB 16.7)

On **17 July** expatriates were deprived of the title of doctor awarded in Germany .

On **August 2**, Reich President Hindenburg died. The Government decided by law with immediate effect that the office of President would be combined with that of Chancellor and that the Presidential powers would be transferred to the Führer and Chancellor Adolf Hitler.

⁶⁹ Legal 11 and 13

⁷⁰ HStA Marburg 180 LandratsamtFritzlar 2748

⁷¹ In 1933 Ernst Röhm was the only one who still stood next to Hitler in the place of honour at the Reich Party Congress (Photo at Thamer 421).

⁷² Rees 63. According to other sources some 200 persons were arrested and murdered

⁷³ Archiv Fritzlar XVIII 1,3,22

Thus Hitler became the Head of the State too and combined the offices of president and chancellor in his person.

On the following day the Government decided at the Chancellor's request that he would not adopt the designation Reich President; there should be a referendum on August 19 on the combination of the offices.. Hitler's reasons for demanding a referendum were that "he was firmly convinced that all State power must derive from the people and that it must be confirmed in a free and secret election". (HKB 3.8)

Also on **3 August** the Armed Forces were sworn in on Hitler. The oath was as follows: "I swear by God this holy oath: that I will give unconditional obedience to the Leader (Führer) of the German State and People, Adolf Hitler, Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces and that I will be ready as a courageous soldier at all times to offer my life for this oath." (HKB 3.8. In this way all of them were tied to Hitler personally)

On **6 August** the NS Reichstag officially took cognizance of the decisions of the Government.

In the plebiscite on **August 19**, Hitler obtained 89.9 % of the votes. (Approval had therefore decreased!)⁷⁴ In Fritzlar 2 413 voted Yes, **118 voted No !**, i.e. 4.6%! 22 voting papers were not valid. (FKA 21.8 There were still, after all, some courageous opponents!)

On **23 August** civil servants also took an oath on Hitler: "I swear that I will be faithful to and obey the Leader (Führer) of the German Reich and People, Adolf Hitler, that I will comply with the laws and conscientiously fulfil my duties, so help me God". (In this oath too, God is mentioned!)

In **August**, the "Aryan Clause" was officially adopted by the leaders of the Reich Protestant church; accordingly, priests and other church officials who had Jewish ancestors were dismissed from church service, irrespective of their personal belief and affiliation to the church. Within the churches, only a few people sided with the Jews, although the Jewish-Protestant priests had generally been addressed as "fellow clergymen" among their colleagues until then.

The "Third Jewish World Conference" ended on **23 August**. It "emphasized solemnly and emphatically the boycott proclaimed by the Jewish World Conference of the previous year against Nazi Germany... The aim of the Jewish struggle was the restitution of full and unlimited equality of treatment of German Jewry and its recognition as a minority. The Conference realized that the problem of accommodating Jewish refugees from Germany in various countries was still far removed from being solved". (HKB 24.8)

The NS Party Congress took place in Nuremberg from **4 to 7 September**.

On **13 September** the Reich Bishop of the German Protestant Church issued an order in accordance with which church officials would have to take the same oath to Führer Adolf Hitler as public civil servants. (HKB 15.9)

On **September 15**, the Kassel state police sent a circular letter to the mayors, saying: "Although Jewish youth organizations are not confessional but racial associations", sports activities will be "allowed them by way of exception in order not to render sports training for participation in the Olympic contests impossible for them". In the circular letter of **October 17**, it was then pointed out that the "Deutsche Makkabi-Kreis e.V." and the "Sportbund des Reichsbundes jüdischer Frontsoldaten" (sports federation of the Jewish front-line soldiers) were the only Jewish sports associations admitted in Germany. (The record does not disclose whether these groups existed in Fritzlar⁷⁵. However, this temporary considerate treatment with a view to the 1936 Olympic Games did not have any permanently beneficial effect on the relationship with Jews.)

⁷⁴	19 Aug 1934	12 Nov 1933
No of registered voters	45 474 157	
Votes cast	43 530 323	
Yes votes	38 363 195,	nearly 40 million
	in the Fritzlar-Homberg District: 36 146	
No votes	4 294 727, in the Fritzlar-Homberg District: 216	
Invalid votes	872 310 (HKB 22.8 see Annex 1)	

⁷⁵ Archiv Fritzlar XIX 4,7,4

On **October 3**, the Protestant Reich bishop Ludwig Müller explained his view of the Unity of State and Church.

On **December 12**, the Reich Minister of Economic Affairs and Prussian Minister of Economic Affairs and Employment wrote: "The Reich Government has already pointed out several times that the so-called "Aryan Clause" of the civil service legislation is not intended to apply to the private economy. ... I therefore request that infringements of the law, such as obstruction of the buying public, bedaubing streets and shop windows, as well as putting up boycott signs are to be firmly opposed."⁷⁶ (Even this appeal had no real effect on the anti-Jewish atmosphere).

Fritzlar Jewish citizens 1934

On February 15, the head of the district administration demanded an "exhaustive report on all essential manifestations within Jewry in the political, economic and cultural area, with special consideration of the current status and activity of Jewish organizations"⁷⁷.

The head of the police replied on February 23: "Fritzlar Jewry has fully and entirely adapted to the changed conditions in every respect. The Jews, who did not pursue public political activities in previous years, are not carrying out any political activity today either, as they have adapted to the changed political situation. In economic respects, the Jews have been affected severely as the great majority of their former customers are buying from Christian shops now. In respect of culture, the Jews are active only in so far as their rites are concerned. Apart from services in the synagogue, no Jewish meetings are taking place. Jewish organizations do not exist. The welfare facility within the Jewish community has been closed down completely, as no funds are available any more. Teacher **Kron** still teaches the new Hebrew language (meaning Biblical Hebrew) in order to render the service more understandable for the Jews by learning that language"⁷⁸. The current general status of the Jews in Fritzlar is that they are making no particular appearance in the political, economic or cultural spheres, as they have adapted in a reasonable way to the completely changed conditions."⁷⁹ (This documents the tremendous pressure already exerted on the Jews in 1934, although that year still constituted a phase of relative calm).

Looking at the economic situation of the Jews, the following indicates the point: It was reported that as from 1934 **Max Gutheim's** grain and feedstock business rapidly declined⁸⁰. The above report shows that the same was true of the other Jewish businesses. (It indicates the disastrous effect of the business boycott.)

According to a letter dated July 28 from the mayor "to the Board of the Jewish organization", illicit assemblies had taken place: "It has recently happened several times that assemblies were held by Jewish organizations which had not been announced. These assemblies took place in resorts, country houses and private homes. Such behaviour is contrary to legal regulations and will not be tolerated under any circumstances in the future. I hold you responsible for ensuring that all meetings of the organization will be registered with me in due time and in writing."⁸¹ (The Board mentioned in the address meant the leaders of the community whose names were known to the mayor. The style of the letter indicates contempt of the community seniors. The letter further

⁷⁶ HStA Marburg 180 Landratsamt Fritzlar 2748

⁷⁷ Lohmann, Schicksal 77

⁷⁸ In this case the Police chief confuses the new Hebrew language which was developed in Palestine by the Jews with the old Hebrew in which the biblical texts and prayers in the synagogue are written. Teacher Kron, pensioned on 1 January, taught both forms of language. (Archiv Fritzlar XIII 2.20)

⁷⁹ Archiv Fritzlar XIII, 1,1,1 and XIII 1,1,3, Lohmann, Schicksal 78

⁸⁰ id. XIX 4,11,17

⁸¹ id. XVIII 1,3,23; Lohmann, Schicksal 80

suggests that informers were among those attending the meetings, who furnished reports to the mayor.)

Upon instructions from the Berlin Gestapo, Jewish religious services for the Jewish New Year were supervised in September 1934. On September 12, the mayor reported with reference to the Jewish New Year's service, "No particular occurrences have been noted." And shortly thereafter, he reported with a view to the services on September 18 and 19 for the Day of Atonement: "No political remarks were made."⁸²

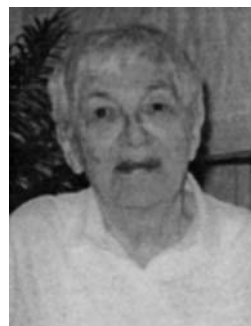
On October 13, the regional administrator wrote to the mayor: "There have been repeated riots against Jews as well as their property recently. As such infringements by individual hotspurs are not a suitable means of fighting against the Jews, action must be taken against the offenders. I therefore request you... to point out that such incidents will have to be avoided under all circumstances in the future."⁸³ (So it was not a question of human rights but of the right method of fighting the Jews. However, such statements, which appeared to protect Jews, again and again gave them false hopes.)

Walter Kron, son of the Fritzlar teacher, recounted: "From 1933 onwards, we were no longer protected by law and by the courts. Hard times were beginning. When we had played football together, they attacked me and beat me up. I learned very quickly to defend myself. I applied a trick. I jumped into a brook and pulled another boy over me like a shield. This helped for some time. Insults and molesting then were a part of daily life. For me it was a sport to run away through the avenues of Fritzlar to escape from the thugs. I knew my way about Fritzlar quite well, and my father frequently asked me which streets were safe at night and which alleys could be passed through unmolested. At that time, our friends all of a sudden became our enemies. There was no one to help us. Nobody raised a voice for us.

The Nazi propaganda was aimed at young people particularly. Most of the boys wore the uniform of the Hitler Youth and thereby felt strong and obliged to show national loyalty. One day, one of those youth groups faced me menacingly and declared: 'We want our school to be purely Aryan. We are all Aryans, only you are not. So take care to leave our school. Clear out of here!' The reply of the 12-year-old was simple: 'That is your problem and not mine. There's no way I will go away. I want to stay at this school!' The classmates were furious. Again and again they said 'Clear out at long last!' But I had my pride and refused to resign. In the end, the fellow pupils made a proposal: 'Walter, we have thought about it. You are actually a good bloke, even though you are a Jew. We like you in spite of that and, therefore, we too want you to stay at our school. So we will declare you an honorary Aryan, then you may stay, and we will be a hundred per cent Aryan school nevertheless. But I replied: "No, I don't want that!" The fellow pupils had thought they had granted me a great honour and could not grasp that I refused.

'Why should I want to be an Aryan? You know the pictures where the ancient Germans are lying on bearskins and drinking mead. Do you know what the Jews were doing at the same time? They were writing the Bible! Why should I want to become an Aryan?' And I remained at that school. In spite of the insults and molestations we had to face every day, we regarded Fritzlar as our home town."⁸⁴

Berta Kugelmann, 10 years old, was not allowed to attend the Ursulinen School after completing elementary school because only one Jewish German was allowed for each 100 "Aryan"



Bertha Weitzenkorn

⁸² id. XIII 3,1,22; Lohmann, Schicksal 81

⁸³ Archiv Fritzlar XVIII 1,3,13: copy of the document at Schattner, Wabern

⁸⁴ Glickmann, Walters Geschichte

Germans. She completed her education later on in the USA and became a teaching nurse.

On 2 June the Fritzlarer Kreisanzeiger published the engagement notice of **Herta Speier** to **Erich Poppert**. It was signed by Josef Speier, the father of the fiancée, and indicated Erich Poppert's place of residence as Zaandam/Rotterdam.

During a discussion in 1999, Mrs. **Bertha Weitzenkorn** heatedly asked a Fritzlar woman: "Why did you not notice our difficulties? In 1934 I was, at the age of twenty, an attractive young lady who was invited to all the parties, and I had many friends. But all of a sudden, the invitations ceased. Nobody talked to me any more. At once I had no friends any more. Why did you not notice all that? Why did it not strike you?"⁸⁵

In 1934, one girl still attended the Ursulinen School and one boy was at the Rektorats-School. Teacher **Kron** was in a position to give private lessons and was able to hold two more courses at the vocational school, where apprentices having completed elementary school obtained supplementary lessons in the afternoon.

Emigrations, Moves and Sales 1934

a) Emigrations 1934

1-2) **Bella Lissauer**, , née **Hofmann** (31) had married the merchant **Gustav II Lissauer** (31), Gießener Str. 18, in September 1933. Shortly before the birth of their first daughter **Dorothy/Dina**⁸⁶ they both emigrated to America⁸⁷. Their business was taken over by her sister-in-law Siddy Blumenkrohn (36), who lived in Erfurt at that time⁸⁸. Bella Lissauer died in the USA on 7 Jan 1950 and Gustav on December 10, 1955.

After the war, Gustav Lissauer remembered with thanks, in a letter, the assistance of the magistrates' court judge at Fritzlar, who was "an exception", as Mr. Lissauer wrote. He had not only looked after Lissauer until 1934 but also proved a "decent friend and adviser" of his relatives. When making his farewell in 1934, Mr. Lissauer said, "A civilized state that turns right into wrong is destined to perish."⁸⁹

3-4) **Paula Speier**, (19) who attended the Ursulinen School from 1925 through

⁸⁵ Unpublished tape recording of 1982

⁸⁶ She later married **Hans Meyer**.

⁸⁷ Their second daughter **Joan Emily** was born in the USA in 1942. Dorothy/Dina is married to Hans Meyer and lives in Sherman Oaks, USA, whilst Joan E. is still called Lissauer and lives in West Hollywood, USA. The sister of Gustav L., **Siddy/Sidonie** emigrated to Palestine in 1938 and **Frieda, Gustav's sister**, visited Palestine in 1934 and emigrated to the USA via England in 1939

⁸⁸ Archiv Fritzlar XIX 4,11,6, HStA Marburg 180 Landratsamt Fritzlar 2741

⁸⁹ Undated letter, probably 1947



The daughters of Joseph and Ida Speier

1928⁹⁰, and **Gretel/Margarete** (18)⁹¹, also a pupil there in 1927/28, emigrated to the USA on 12 December⁹². They officially lost their German citizenship on 23 Nov 1940.⁹³ Paula died in the US in 1997 and Gretel in 2006.

Attempts to emigrate faced a multitude of difficulties. Not only was it hardly possible to obtain a reasonable price when selling one's own business; the necessary acquisition of foreign currencies was also associated with high losses. As from 1934, emigrants were allowed to take away an equivalent of 10 Reichsmark in foreign currency; if travelling to states that had no common border with the German Reich, double the amount was allowed. A similar exemption limit also applied to goods and thus restricted the possibility of taking saleable goods out of the country.

In order to obtain even the most vitally needed sums of foreign money, Jews wanting to emigrate had to exchange their money at the "Allgemeine Treuhandstelle für die Jüdische Auswanderung" (General Trust Corporation for Jewish Emigration) at 50 % of the exchange rate. The limit here amounted to 8000 Reichsmark (until October 1937).

In the statistics of March 6, 1937, the number of Jews who had emigrated in 1934 was also indicated as four. The infant **Dina Lissauer** had obviously not been included. Unfortunately the official list does not show any names.

b) Moves within Germany 1934

1-2) **Benno Friedberg** (53), merchant, Kasseler Str 14, left Fritzlar on **April 23** with his wife **Johanna, née Neugarten** (46),⁹⁴ They moved to Berlin. Both of them emigrated to Shanghai⁹⁵ in 1939 and later to the USA.

⁹⁰ Later married to Mr. **Frei**, died on 15 March 1997

⁹¹ Later married to **Leopold Appel** from Borken, died in May 1995

⁹² Of these four only one was found in the police deregistrations..Archiv Fritzlar XVIII 4,13,5-10

⁹³ Hepp, Die Ausbürgerung

⁹⁴ Archiv Fritzlar XIX 4,11,12

⁹⁵ Up to 20 Aug 1940 there existed within the Chinese Greater Shanghai an international settlement subject to different concessions, and including a Japanese garrison. 776 Germans lived there in 1925 (KFH 18.8.37); 560 Germans left Shanghai on 24 Aug 1937 because of the warlike clashes between Chinese and Japanese troops (KFH 25.8.37)

3) **Susanne/Susi Lissauer** (25), Gießener Str. 8, attended the Ursulinen School from 1917 through 1927 and subsequently the domestic science college. She married Dr. **Paul Luss** (34) in Fritzlar on June 22, 1934. He lived at Uerdingen near Krefeld, where he ran a manufactured goods business. Susanne moved to Uerdingen. The spouses had no children. Dr. Luss's mother Henriette, née Hecht, lived with them. In the course of the November pogrom, Dr. Luss was arrested on November 10, 1938, detained at Dachau and forced to "Aryanize" his business⁹⁶. Susanne Luss visited Fritzlar in March/April 1940⁹⁷. In July 1941, Dr. Luss filed an application for permission to teach Jewish children, which was denied⁹⁸. The spouses were deported from Krefeld to Izbica near Lublin on April 22, 1942, and became victims of the **Shoah**.⁹⁹ As Dr. Luss lost his German nationality on September 5, 1942, he had probably been murdered already at that time¹⁰⁰.

4) **Julius I Löwenstein** (87), father of **Hilde** (see below), moved away from Fritzlar.

5-6) **Aron Neuhaus** (61), Gießener Str. 13, former teacher, who had lived in Frankfurt/Main in 1930-1933, and his sister **Rosalie** (63) Fraumünsterstr.8 moved to Kassel, Jordanstr. on March 26; they had to move another three times in Kassel¹⁰¹. On September 7, 1942, they were deported from there to Theresienstadt, where Aron became a Shoah victim on February 7, 1943¹⁰². Rosalie was liberated from Theresienstadt in 1945.

7-8) **Leopold Nussbaum** (33) from Borken, had moved to Fritzlar, Kasseler Str. 14, as late as May 30, 1933, and **Gretel, née Friedberg** (20), student at the Ursulinen School from 1923 to 1928, had come back to Fritzlar only on December 17, 1932. They got engaged on April 30, 1934, shortly after Gretel's 20th birthday¹⁰³ and moved to Berlin on May 1¹⁰⁴. Leopold was deported in 1943 and became victim of the Shoah at Auschwitz¹⁰⁵; his wife managed to emigrate to Shanghai with their 3 year old daughter in 1938. Gretel died in Shanghai on 11 Jan 1943, her daughter emigrated to the USA in 1947.

c) Deaths 1934

1) **Pauline Löwenstein, née Reis**, died on July 17 at the age of 59.¹⁰⁶ She was buried on 19 July, as reported in an obituary notice in the Fritzlarer Kreisblatt.

She left her husband, David and her children Bessy and Siegmund. On 28 July the Kreisblatt published their thanks for the sympathy shown. That was, as far as I

⁹⁶ Hangebruch 178 and 216

⁹⁷ The deregistration of this visit on 10 April 1940 is available: Archiv Fritzlar XVIII 4,13,6.

⁹⁸ Hangebruch 230

⁹⁹ Gedenkbuch (Memorial Book). Perhaps they belonged to the transport from Koblenz to Izbica on 15 June.1942

¹⁰⁰ NS-Documentation Office, Krefeld

¹⁰¹ In 1938 they moved to Moltkestr. 7 in Kassel, in 1941 they had to move to No. 10 und in 1942 to the Mittelgasse. Archiv Fritzlar XIII 4, 2,19; Gedenkbuch; Kleinert, Prinz 223; Lohmann, Schicksal 20.

¹⁰² Gedenkbuch

¹⁰³ Engagement Announcement of 29.4 Archiv Fritzlar

¹⁰⁴ Lohmann, Schicksal 20

¹⁰⁵ Gedenkbuch

¹⁰⁶ On her tombstone in the Fritzlar Jewish Cemetery is the following Hebrew inscription: "Here is interred .. a splendour and an honour for her husband and her children; she strove for justice all her life Mrs. **Pauline**, daughter of Simcha, who died on 17 July 1934, to account for herself. May her soul be kept in the assembly of the living" On the back of the tombstone in German: „**Pauline Löwenstein, née Reis**, born on 3.6.1875, d. 17.7.1934.

can see, the last Jewish announcement in the Kreisblatt. Husband **David Löwenstein** remained in Fritzlar until 1939.

2) **Esther** (tombstone fragment of a married woman)

d) Shops and other places of work 1934

1) **Benno Friedberg** (53) cancelled the registration of his business on 30 April¹⁰⁷.

2) On 30 January a large advertisement read as follows: "Stock sale of **J. Katz Ww.Nachf** (widow successor) **Inh.(proprietor) Leonor Katz**, Münsterstr. 70. As far as I know this was the last business advertisement in the FK.

3) **Frieda Mannheimer** (49), widow of **Moses M.**, cattle dealer, Nikolausstr. 4, reported cessation of the trade of her husband, who had died in 1931, on April 5¹⁰⁸ but remained in Fritzlar until 1937.

4) **Hermann Speier** (54), cattle dealer, Martinsgasse 18, deregistered that trade on August 1¹⁰⁹, but remained in Fritzlar.

e) Houses and real estate 1934

1) **Benno Friedberg** was able to sell his house on 21 March, two days before he left¹¹⁰.

2) **Frieda** and **Max Lissauer** sold a garden on Am Hohlen Graben on 5 June and a field on Am Kleinen Spieß on 10 December.

3) On 6 June **Hermann Speier** sold his house. In the "Speier Affair", the Court of Justice had to clarify after the war "whether the sales contract dated June 6, 1934, had been concluded following pressure by the then mayor of the town of Fritzlar, who told the owner that if he did not sell the property, he would have it expropriated." ¹¹¹ According to a letter dated June 9, 1949, Mr. Speier had been forced to sell in 1934¹¹².

Data 1934

On April 1, 140 persons at Fritzlar were reported as jobless; 650 were "actively working", of which 250 in 215 commercial enterprises. Only six enterprises employed more than ten employees, none of them were Jewish¹¹³.

On July 28, the number of Jews living in Fritzlar was stated as **95**, i.e. 2.28 % of the population. There were no mixed marriages, the number of children from purely Jewish marriages amounted to 32¹¹⁴. The number of Jewish inhabitants had therefore decreased by eleven between October 10, 1933, and July 28, 1934.

In the census of **October 10**, there were nine fewer Jews. Only 86 remained, in a number of 4,171 civilian inhabitants¹¹⁵, i.e. only 2.06 %. The distribution of Jews among the four city districts differed widely: A: 4, B: 18, C: 54, D: 10. There were 41 male Jews and 45 female¹¹⁶.

¹⁰⁷ Archiv Fritzlar II, 2,17.7

¹⁰⁸ id. II, 2,17,7

¹⁰⁹ id. II, 2,17,7; XXIII 5 B a, 21,16

¹¹⁰ id. XIX 4,11,12

¹¹¹ Hearing of the Court of Justice on 9.3.1950 based on the submission by Theodor Speier, business man, Frankfurt/M and San Diego, USA (Archiv Fritzlar XIX 4,11,15)

¹¹² Archiv Fritzlar XIX 4,11,6

¹¹³ 100 worked in agriculture and 300 in other occupations (Archiv Fritzlar II 2,12,4)

¹¹⁴ Archiv Fritzlar XIII 1,1,2

¹¹⁵ No. of inhabitants including army 4 581, of which 2473 Catholic, 1993 Protestant, 86 Jewish (FKA 10.10)

¹¹⁶ Archiv Fritzlar II 2,17,2. The count at that time was 2 401 Catholics, 1 655 Protestants, 86 Jews and 29 other confessions, in total 4 171 civilians, to which were added 410 military personnel whose

number had increased considerably.. The total of 4 581 was also recorded in a.a.O. II 2,12,5, also showing the number of men of 18 years or more: 1554. The emphasis on the military is quite obvious. On 1 April , 997 homes were registered in 554 buildings (a.a.O. II 2,12,4)

2nd phase: Radicalisation of racism and further deprivation of rights
The third NS year
A chronology of the year 1935

When publishing some statistics, the NSDAP Agency for racial policy commented that “since the cut-off date of June 16th, 1933 the number of Jews had probably decreased further, since emigration had continued.” The numbers did not refer to race, but to religion. “It may be assumed that the part- Jewish population is several times greater than the number of those who still confess to the Jewish faith today.”¹¹⁷

On **January 11th** Minister Dr. Frick answered the question by an American journalist whether the non-Arian population of the Third Reich would be granted the right to vote: “This depends on the further development of the law of citizenship in the German Reich. According to the principles of the NSDAP dated 1920¹¹⁸ only Germans should be citizens of the German Reich. But German is only someone who is of German blood.” (HKB)

On **January 16th** genetics and racial knowledge were introduced as school subjects. (HKB) The NSDAP district administration held information evenings in 20 towns and villages of the district about “The threat of World Jewry and how to fight it” (FKA)

On **February 1st** HKB reported on “the registry offices being made kinship offices in order to register the German people genetically....The kinship office is to prevent German blood from being mixed with foreign blood, ...it is to bring into being the racial will of the people ...and help to make racial science and caring for our heritage effective.”

In **February, March, and April** there were again boycotts of Jewish shops and doctors’ surgeries.

In a meeting with foreign diplomats and journalists on **March 23rd**, the director of the NSDAP Agency of racial policy rejected the charge that “the National-Socialist principles of race led to contempt and even defamation of nations of a different race.” He pointed out that “on the contrary, the idea of race was the best guarantee of mutual respect ...because we respect other races’ rights in the same way we claim the rights of our nation.” (HKB)

The racial policy agency published the monthly magazine “New Nation”. HKB wrote in this context: “Since National Socialism took power in Germany, all spheres of life are being evaluated and ordered anew from a racial point of view. This will never again be changed.” (HKB, May 14th)

On **May 11th** *Gauleiter* Julius Streicher launched a malicious anti-Jewish campaign in speaking to the Anti-Jewish World League in Nuremberg..¹¹⁹ HKB quoted him as follows: “Those who know about the question of race, know that the real enemy is the eternal Jew, who has no Fatherland, but whose God is gold.”

On **May 14th** a trial on the authorship of “Protocols of the Elders of Zion” came to an end. Whereas the National Socialists claimed that they had been written in 1897 by the Zionist Congress or the B’nei-B’rith congress taking place at the same time, the court came to the conclusion that they must be considered forgeries and plagiarism. (HKB, May 15th)¹²⁰

On **May 20th** the police in Harvestehude forbade a citizens’ club . HKB reported under the headline, “Jews cannot be citizens”: “Jews can no longer be regarded as (German) citizens but can commonly be considered only as ‘German subjects of Jewish national traditions’.... Only a *Volksgenosse* can be a proper citizen. And *Volksgenosse* can only be someone who is of German blood. Consequently a Jew can never be a citizen.” (HKB, May 21st)

On **May 21st** the *NS-Reichstag* met for the fifth time to listen to and accept an “important statement of the *Führer* on foreign politics”.

On **May 22nd** the Military Service Act was published. §1 said: “National Service is a service of honour for the German people. Every German man is liable for military service.” §15 stated: “Arian origin is a condition for active military service. Only persons of Arian

¹¹⁷ In 1925 564,372 Jews were counted, on June 16th, 1933 499,682. In Hessia there were 17,888 (HKB, January 1st).

¹¹⁸ cf. appendix 5

¹¹⁹ Kropat, Hessen 16

¹²⁰ cf. appendix 5

origin can be of higher rank in the Armed Forces.... Persons of Arian origin may not marry non-Arian persons.... Wartime service by non-Arian persons will be regulated separately.” This meant excluding Jews from military service. They were exempted from conscription, introduced by law on March 16th. Moreover certain books were forbidden, e. g. “War letters of German Jews killed in action”.¹²¹ On the other hand as late as 1935 former Jewish soldiers were still awarded the “Cross of Honour for Front-Line Soldiers” in the name of the *Führer* by decree of July 13th.¹²²

On **May 28th** there were reports about police action against “terror groups” which had defaced Jewish shop windows and entered shops by force in Munich on May 18th and May 25th in order to “push the anti-Jewish movement forward”. (HKB, May 18th)

On **June 29th** the NSDAP’s chief organizer stated at the annual conference of the Academy for German Law: “Man will always be a product of his race. Law is that which serves this race and this nation.” (HKB, June 29th)

On **July 6th** HKB reported an amendment to the penal code. Minister of State Dr. Freisler said: “National-Socialist law is bound to our philosophy, and is therefore militant and not neutral. Such a view must regard the law as being defined by and dependent on the national racial order.... This view sees the law growing in the soil of the people’s conscience.... The amendment to the penal code allows jurisdiction to follow sound public opinion.”

On **July 9th** the Arian principle was extended to the German universities and colleges of further education. From then on only persons of Arian descent could be accepted as students. (HKB, July 9th)

On **July 18th** HKB reminded its readers that Hitler’s “*Mein Kampf*” had been published ten years earlier.¹²³ The book was characterized as “the textbook of all party members and the whole German nation” and as “the basis of German philosophy, the guiding principle for the life and aspirations of every German.” (HKB, July 19th)

From summer onwards the Jewish population was banned from cinemas, theatres, public swimming pools, and holiday resorts. (HKB, July 20th)

As justification for the “alleged persecution of Jews in Germany” the commander of the German police published a statistical survey about crimes on **July 22nd**, which showed that out of 100 Germans accused of a crime 76 were Jews, “and that the Jew was guilty of 80% of certain types of crime” (HKB, July 22nd, this included racial and currency offences, which almost exclusively concerned Jews. Thus the statistical summary was deliberately misleading.)

On **July 30th** the admission of non-Arians to military service was regulated in the following way: “Persons both of whose parents are of Jewish blood or who have three Jewish grandparents, are not liable for active military service. If they are fit for military service, they are all transferred to the reserve forces II Mustering will take place without regard to race.” (HKB, July 30th)

On **August 1st** HKB reported from Berlin: “It has lately been observed that despite difficult circumstances a particularly large number of strangers, mainly Jewish elements, have moved to Berlin. As this influx is definitely undesirable and in contrast to the measures taken by the *Reich* government, in future social security for Jews in need of assistance will without exception be limited to aid in shelters for the homeless and all other public care refused. These people in need will be cared for by the municipal shelters, where they will only get the most basic aid in order to get rid of them as soon as possible. Stern warning is given against the influx of non-Arians into Berlin.” (HKB, August 1st)

On **August 5th** Dr Goebbels said: “The Jews in Germany must submit to the laws of the host nation.... We will not grow tired of warning the German people against the dangers presented by this international race. Marriages between Germans and Jews will no longer be tolerated in future. We will not allow this racial disaster to go on in future generations.” Minister Dr. Frick responded to foreign accusations of “a so-called persecution

¹²¹ Deutsche Jüdische Soldaten 2

¹²² *ibid.* 21

¹²³ cf. appendix 5

of Jews in Germany” by saying: “The Jewish question will slowly but definitely be solved in the way provided for in the programme of the NSDAP¹²⁴.” (HKB, August 5th)

The commander of the German police gave a speech on “law and principle in the Jewish question”: “The legal measures which necessarily result from the German people’s avowal of the importance of race will destroy the basis of any present or future dominance of the Jews.... The Jew is and will be in today’s Germany what we allow him to be.” (HKB, August 6th)

There was wide-spread fear of being pilloried by the “Stürmer”, the newspaper of the SA and SS. The following text from “Hessischer Kurier” of **August 10th** shows how far the slandering of Jews and those who stood by them, went: “Extern Stones forbidden for Jews – Germanic holy shrines only for Germanic people – Detmold, August 9th. In a new Order the Extern-Stones-Foundation regulates admission to the old Germanic holy site.... One specific point of this order says that Jews are generally forbidden access to the Extern Stones. Reason for this is the well-founded and correct view that Jews cannot have and do not want to have the necessary understanding for this ancient Germanic holy shrine and place of worship. It is moreover of special relevance that, in a supplementary paragraph, all those people who are still today harming the German people by doing business with Jews and also making friends with them can also be kept away from this German place of worship.”¹²⁵

On **August 17th** Gauleiter Julius Streicher gave a speech about “the evil influence of Jews.” (HKB, August 17th)

On **September 3rd** the participants of the 19th Zionist Congress in Lucerne/ Switzerland appealed to the nations of the world to stand by the German Jews deprived of their rights.

On **September 10th** a decree of the ministry ordered “the most complete separation of races feasible” to be realized “for pupils of all types of school” from the school year 1936 on. Consequently classes for Jewish pupils only were ordered to be organized. The Fritzlar district gazette made this public under the headline “racial separation in schools”: “In elementary schools non-Arian pupils of Mosaic belief have already been put together by the foundation of private Jewish elementary schools; the decisive point, however, is not the Mosaic religion, but being of Jewish race. The racially different Jewish pupil is an alien element in the Arian community of pupils and teachers. The new decree’s intention is complete racial separation, without regard to religious belief.... Separation along religious lines is insufficient, instead racial separation must be realized.... 1933 statistics showed a 1.5 % share of non-Arian pupils at secondary schools. Today this percentage has decreased to less than 1 %.” (FKA, September 12th; HKB, September 11th)

The leader of the NSDAP racial policy agency explained: National Socialism has made racial policy the central issue of all policy, since this is the basis of national life. (HKB, September 10th)

On **September 11th** Hitler’s deputy, Rudolf Hess, said at the 7th national party congress in Nuremberg: “With the decline of the Jewish influence ... socialism too has collapsed in Germany. After the elimination of Jewish working-class leaders, of those influenced by Jews and of Jewish influence on the working-class press, the workers as a whole have found their way back to their German nation.... Under the influence of the NSDAP the German people has become immune to the influence of the Jews.” (HKB, September 12th)

In his first speech at the same congress on **September 12th**, Hitler saw “Jewish Marxism and parliamentary democracy related to it as the most destructive influence.” (HKB, September 12th) On the following day the leader of the *Reich* doctors said: “We must relentlessly go on to suppress the Jewish influence in business and public life as far as this is possible in practice.” He went on to announce a “law for the protection of German blood.” (HKB, September 13th)

On **September 15th** President Göring, speaking to the Reichstag in Nuremberg, announced three government laws : the Flag law, the Citizenship law, and the “Law for the protection of German blood and German honour”, the so-called Nuremberg Laws. The

¹²⁴ cf. appendix 5

¹²⁵ typeface in the original, newspaper archive

Citizenship law denied Jews their Citizen status, they became only were subjects of the State (*Staatsangehörige*).¹²⁶ This corresponded with Hitler's expositions in "*Mein Kampf*".¹²⁷

The "Protection of German blood and German honour Act" forbade "marriages between Jews and citizens of German or related blood", including extramarital intercourse. This offence was called *Rassenschande* (*racial dishonour*), without of course taking human relations into account. "Marriages entered into against this law are invalid."¹²⁸ § 3 said additionally: "Jews may not employ female citizens of German or related blood under the age of 45 in their households."¹²⁹

Before the reading of these laws Hitler said: "The German *Reich* government's basic idea is by offering a once-for-all secular solution to create a level which could be the basis for the German people to find an acceptable relationship to the Jewish people.... The law is an attempt of a legal solution to a problem, which in case of renewed failure will then have to be solved for good by transferring it on a legal basis to the National Socialist Party. In the evening Hitler emphasized again "that this National Socialist legislation was the only chance to reach an acceptable relationship with the Jews living in Germany. He emphasized that these laws would give the Jews living in Germany the chance of an independent life as a people in all modes of life." (HKB, September 16th; note that here Jews in Germany are for the first time seen as a Jewish nation with an own life as a people and that a final solution would be up to the party (!).)

The DNB editor commented on the Nuremberg laws as follows: "With these laws it has been made perfectly clear that the German people have nothing against the Jew, as long as he wants to be a member of the Jewish people and behaves accordingly, but that they refuse to regard the Jew as a German *Volksgenosse*.... The speakers at the Zionist Congress said that the Jews were a people in its own right and they again declared Jewish national claims Only by regarding the Jews as a national minority is it possible again to establish a normal relationship between the Germans and the Jews. With the new laws the Jewish minority in Germany will have its own cultural life, its own life as a people.... By giving the Jewish minority the chance to express itself and live its own life, Germany supports the development of the Jews as a people and helps to improve the relationship between the two nations." (HKB, September 17th; Hitler's first mention of the Jewish people/nation therefore reverts to the Zionist Congress!¹³⁰)

The Jewish representatives' comment on the Nuremberg laws from September 22nd shows how difficult these official representatives found it to take a stand. They took Hitler's statement literally and said that the Jews were on the one hand "deeply concerned" by these laws, but emphasized on the other hand that the Jews hoped that "an acceptable relationship between the German and the Jewish peoples" would from then on be possible and that "an end of slander and boycott" would give them "morally and economically the chance to exist."¹³¹ (Note that here an official Jewish statement talks about a "Jewish people" within the German people. Thus this statement uses the NS-terms.) But the impression of an acceptable

¹²⁶ citizenship law §2: "*Reichsbürger* is only a citizen of German or related blood." (HKB, September 16th; Lohmann, Schicksal 88) A Jew is "a person who derives from at least 3 racially fully Jewish grandparents", a half-caste a person who has got two "fully Jewish grandparents".

¹²⁷ cf. appendix 5

¹²⁸ Deutsche Jüdische Soldaten 101; Lohmann, Schicksal 87

¹²⁹ The „decrees about the citizenship law and the law for the protection of German blood from November 14th“ were published in the district news on November 19th together with explanations about the "regulation of the racial question" and the "solution of the Jewish problem". The law began with the following words: "Convinced of the knowledge that the purity of German blood is the basis for the existence of the German people, and willing to save the future of the German nation...." (HKB, September 16th; Deutsche Jüdische Soldaten 101; Lohmann, Schicksal 87)

¹³⁰ On October 4th, 1933 the minority-committee of the League of Nations refused to acknowledge the minority-status of the German Jews (see above, October 4th, 1933) and the German League of Nations representative vetoed the proposal for regarding the German Jews as a minority. (see above, October 10th, 1933)

¹³¹ Kropat, Alltag 432

solution proved to be wrong. The Nuremberg laws meant the beginning of “the realization of radical racism, the complete deprivation of their rights and the persecution of the Jews.”¹³²

The Arian paragraph was extended to nearly all professions and trades, and Arians under the age of 45 were forbidden to be employed in Jewish households.¹³³

A letter from the Kassel state police of **October 1st** shows the suspicions connected with sales and emigration. It reports the establishment of a central information office at the Berlin inland revenue office, whose task it would be to take measures against all kinds of tax evasion, flight of capital, illegal movement of means and property etc. This was directed especially against Jews. The letter said that “recently Jews had financially harmed the *Reich* by tax evasion because the inland revenue office had learned about them leaving the country too late.” Therefore it was emphasized again that Jewish business people who were preparing to leave the country should be reported as “suspects” to the Berlin office via the Kassel state police ..

On **October 19th** Dr. Goebbels said in a speech to the SA Berlin: “The Jewish question won’t be solved by individuals, but with laws which we pass because we are an anti-Jewish government (minutes-long applause)”. (HKB, October 19th)

On **November 14th** the first decree to the citizenship law ruled: “A Jewish half-caste is a person who has one or two racially fully Jewish grandparents.... A grandparent is regarded as fully Jewish if he / she belonged to the Jewish religious community.... A Reich citizen is a State subject of German or racially related blood... Only a Reich citizen with full rights can hold an official position.... A Jew cannot be a Reich citizen. He may not hold an official position. After December 31st, 1935 Jewish civil servants will be retired A Jew is a person who is descended from at least 3 racially fully Jewish grandparents.... A Jewish half-caste descended from 2 racially fully Jewish grandparents is also regarded as a Jew.” (HKB, November 16th) By the force of law Jewish arbitrators, meat inspectors, stamp distributors, auditors, and stockbrokers lost their public functions. Jewish doctors were no longer allowed to be employed in public hospitals.¹³⁴ Jews were also denied the right to vote.

The 1st decree for the implementation of the law for the “protection of German blood and German honour” was also published on **November 14th**. It stated that among the forbidden marriages were “also the marriages between Jews and half-caste Jewish citizens who have only one fully Jewish grandparent. Half-caste Jewish citizens with two fully Jewish grandparents must get permission for a marriage with citizens of German or racially related blood or with half-caste Jewish citizens who have only one racially fully Jewish grandparent.... Half-caste Jewish citizens with only one racially fully Jewish grandparent shall not get married to each other.... Extramarital intercourse between Jews and half-caste Jewish citizens is also an offence.” (HKB, November 16th)

The minister of state said about these laws: The citizenship law and the law for the protection of German blood... are the legal basis for the settlement of the race problem.... Both laws present and aim at a clear separation between Germans and Jews and thus provide a legal basis for a *modus vivendi* which considers all the different interests and issues. Considering that Judaism is a community based on blood, this law guarantees the independence of this community, ... its freedom of worship, its own cultural life and education.” (HKB, November 16th)

The following sentence illustrates the relationship to Poland at that time: “As in addition to citizens of German blood, citizens of related blood can also become Reich citizens, Reich

¹³² Herde 23

¹³³ Lohmann, Schicksal 87. There was already then rioting against Jews. There are e. g. reports from Spangenberg: “After one of the Nuremberg party congresses which passed the law that Jews were forbidden to have German employees, there was a pogrom in that night. I remember a torchlight procession of the Nazis through the town. When they reached our house, they forced their way in, beat my mother before my very eyes, and took our Christian employee with them. My father and grandfather had escaped over the roofs to a neighbour. After these events we woke up. My father and Uncle Hugo discussed the possibility of emigration.... Life in Hessia became unbearable.” (**Jeziel Ogdan**, obituary on his mother Sara Sidonie Blumenkrohn)

¹³⁴ HStA Marburg 180 district office 2748; Kropat, Alltag 415

citizenship is also open to minorities living in Germany, like Poles, Danes etc.” (HKB, November 16th)

On **November 16th** Dr. Goebbels said at the 3rd annual conference of the Reich chamber of culture: “Today the Reich chamber of culture is clear of Jews. There are no more Jews active in the cultural life of our people. Consequently a Jew cannot be a member of a chamber. However, Jews leaving Germany’s cultural life have been most generously offered opportunities to develop their own cultural life. The Reich Federation of Jewish cultural organizations has 110,000 members.... Jews are only forbidden to take part in German cultural life.” (HKB, 16th; accordingly Jewish children were e. g. forbidden to sing traditional popular songs!)

On **November 26th** it was made public that so-called stage names were forbidden to all Jewish artists. (HKB, November 26th)

Home Secretary Dr. Frick published a comment on the Nuremberg laws. He wrote: “The Jews shall not be deprived of the possibility of living in Germany.... Jewish half-castes will in future also be banned from the civil service and various professions and trades, nor can they be members of the NSDAP or its organizations. Economically however, they have the same full rights as persons of German blood.... However, half-castes with only one Jewish grandparent will be offered better chances of becoming German.” (HKB, December 2nd)

District head of propaganda Gernand said in Homberg: “The Jewish question has now been settled by the Nuremberg race laws. Whoever still has contact with Jews, passes sentence on himself.” (HKB, December 2nd)

Prime Minister Göring said in a statement on the Jewish question that “that was not a problem of hatred, but it has been and still is a problem of absolute necessity.... With the latest laws and decrees we have saved the German people from racial disintegration.” (HKB, December 9th)

Fritzlar Jewish citizens 1935

The Jewish men's club, the club "*Humanität*", went on existing. On March 6th the managing committee of "the old Israelite men's club" asked for permission to hold its regular annual meeting in the "school of the Jewish community". This permission was given and the meeting was kept under surveillance, with the comment: "Political matters were not discussed."¹³⁵

Answering the district administrator's question of April 24th concerning the situation in the town, the mayor wrote on June 19th: "We have a very orderly situation, people are generally satisfied about the peace and quiet. The economic situation shows a general upturn." He gave a similar report on August 26th.¹³⁶ (Life was peaceful and cosy in the small garrison town of Fritzlar. Things looked very different, however, for Jews and those people who supported them.)

A defamatory article against the Fritzlar lawyer Schulte-Wintropp in the "*Stürmer*" showed the risks taken by those who treated Jewish and Arian citizens alike. He was counsel for the defence of the Jewish cattle dealer **Ludwig Mansbach** (in the "*Stürmer*" deliberately? called Massenbach in error). The article's title was "How the Jew Massenbach betrayed a farmer – a German lawyer defends the dirty trick" and it began with the words: "Someone who does business with the Jew, can never be the winner. It is always the Jew who makes a haul. And as the Jew again and again passes the art of deception and fraud down from father to son, the Jews are and will always be masters of swindle." (Note the generalisations: the Jew, never, again and again, always, the Jews!)

The article goes on: "There still are German 'law'yers who have no scruples about earning money with the defence(!) of swindlers. The Jew Massenbach chose lawyer Schulte-Wintropp as his counsel for the defence. The latter said that the Jewish question had nothing to do with the matter and that he knew Massenbach. He had never (!) betrayed anyone and had never been in conflict with the law. (Because his mean tricks have never come to light.) Massenbach was, according to Schulte-Wintropp, a good (!), orderly (!) person and businessman.... This was not (!) a case of fraud and he pleaded for a v e r d i c t o f n o t g u i l t y!!!" (exclamation marks etc. in the original)

Ludwig Mansbach was sentenced to "three months of imprisonment and had to pay for the costs of the trial." He and his family escaped to Holland.¹³⁷ (The article is an obvious example of prejudice and prejudgement.)¹³⁸

On September 10th it was decreed that pupils must be separated according to race. That was why **Ruth Stern** (16) had to leave her school.¹³⁹ She wrote that from 1935 onwards Anti-Semitism changed life in Fritzlar terribly. "I went to a Catholic school

¹³⁵ archive Fritzlar XVIII 1,3,11; Lohmann, Schicksal 82

¹³⁶ archive Fritzlar XVIII 1,3,11. – „As a small garrison town Fritzlar had a peaceful and cosy life. This changed when the airport was built between 1935 and 1938." (Ide 113)

¹³⁷ cf. chapter "emigration..."

¹³⁸ Next to the article several letters to the editor were published in the "*Stürmer*". Two vicars wrote: "...biblically the question is: in order to give man proof of his infinite grace and mercy God chose the dirty, disobedient, ungrateful, stubborn, and impenitent Jewish people, with whom he put up with incomprehensible patience.... But when all attempts, even sending his son, were in vain, God explicitly rejected and condemned the Jews ("His blood may come upon us and our children."). Following God's orders we must therefore regard and also treat the Jews as a depraved people." (Theologically this view cannot be adhered to!)

And a party member's letter to the editor said: "... Whoever wants to be a German and wants to become a National Socialist, must know about the racial question. He must be absolutely convinced that the Jew has always been the enemy of all culturally advanced peoples and that he will stay so in future. If we solve the Jewish question, we will not only save Germany, but we will also save the whole world." (People had such naïve and evil ideas at that time!)

¹³⁹ cf. chapter "emigration..."

until a nun asked me in a very friendly way to go home as she was concerned about my security. She was afraid that the other girls in my class might throw stones at me. I was shocked.” This is what she said in 2003 and she added: “I remember that as if it had been yesterday.”¹⁴⁰

In 1935 two girls still went to the *Ursulinen-School* and two boys attended the *Rektoratsschule*.

When asked about the Freemasons by the district administrator on September 21st, the mayor answered: “Such movements are not known and have not appeared in public.”¹⁴¹

Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei

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Kreis Fritzlar
Ortsgruppe Fritzlar

Telefon-Nummer: 262

Der Ortsgruppenleiter

Fritzlar, den 24. September 1935

Herrn

Bäckermeister

F r i t z l a r .

Wie mir mitgeteilt wird, kaufen Sie fortlaufend Mehl von jüdischen Händlern. Ich hoffe, dass es nur dieses Hinweises bedarf, damit Sie in Ihrem eigensten Interesse die Geschäftsverbindungen mit jüdischen Lieferanten sofort abbrechen. Einer Antwort Ihrerseits sehe ich entgegen.



Heil Hitler!



That was a clear and sharp warning. The letter shows that the initiative to boycott Jewish businessmen and women came from the party. A gardener was told by interim order from September 28th that he had been expelled from the NSDAP because of “violation of § 4.2 b of the statutes.” The reason given was: “Some time ago you bought a horse from a Jew.” The expelled gardener objected to the expulsion because there were no horses to be bought at Fritzlar cattle market. On November 8th the former leader of a local party group was expelled because of the same offence. Also in November the “*Stürmer*”, the SA and SS-paper, reported that a Fritzlar veterinarian had gone to look after the sick cow of a Jew. There are further hints that one watched very carefully to ensure “party-members or SA-men” did not buy cattle or meat from Jews. In the file of warnings of the NSDAP local branch Fritzlar it says

¹⁴⁰ Bridenthal, When Biology, pp 334

¹⁴¹ archive Fritzlar XVIII 1, 3, 11

about someone: "The fact that he is still on friendly terms with Jews and that he sold a calf to a Jew on the 23rd of this month shows that he does not think much of NS-philosophy."¹⁴²

On December 10th the district administrator informed the mayor: "Following a radio message from Frankfurt police ... the Jew **Moritz Stern**, born on February 2nd, 1907, should be arrested."¹⁴³ Further details are not known.¹⁴⁴

Bertha Weitzenkorn, a former Fritzlar Jew, who left Germany in 1936, wrote in a letter: "I can well remember how we, as German citizens, were treated in Fritzlar. The only thing we heard was: 'Jewish stinker, are you still here?' ... But it was our home."¹⁴⁵

Walter Kron said: "Most people in Fritzlar were decent, not everybody was a Nazi. I remember for example that hairdressers were forbidden to cut Jews' hair. So a hairdresser came to us privately and said that he would cut our hair in our flat."¹⁴⁶ Accordingly an entry in the warnings file of the NSDAP said: "NN does not see himself as a member of the *Volksgemeinschaft*, moreover he still serves Jews." In the same files it says about a master saddler: "NN is still today friends with Jews." About a worker it says: "Still has contact with Jews and still also works for Jews." And about another one it says in a warning tone: "He is politically unreliable and known as a great friend of Jews."¹⁴⁷

Emigrations, Moves and Sales 1935

a) emigrations 1935

aa) direct emigrations from Fritzlar

1) **Julius Moritz Joseph** (41), Am Hochzeitshaus 3, emigrated to Palestine.

2 -3) Though **Susmann Löwenstein** and his wife **Hilde, née Löwenstein**, **Julius L's** daughter, had moved from Fritzlar as they are not in the 1935 census, they were still considered citizens of Fritzlar as they were apparently counted in Fritzlar's emigration statistics when they left for Natanya / Palestine in 1935.

4-8) **Ludwig Mansbach** (39), Gießener Str. 14, cattle dealer, married to **Herta, née Levie**, (28) since 1928, had three children: **Otilie** (6), **Hans-Jörg / Hans-Jürgen** (4), and **Günter** (3). In 1935 the family escaped to Amsterdam after the above-mentioned trial. Amsterdam's foreign police reported this to Fritzlar on November 22nd and asked if extradition was demanded¹⁴⁸ but the mayor attached no importance to the "further pursuance of the Mansbach emigration".¹⁴⁹ Officially the family lost its citizenship only on August 21st, 1939.¹⁵⁰ Their escape shows how strong the pressure was on Jews in this supposedly quiet year. After the occupation of the Netherlands in 1940 the family was arrested and on September 3rd, 1942 they were deported from Westerbork to Auschwitz where they were murdered on March 3rd, 1944.¹⁵¹

¹⁴² HStA Marburg HStAM 327/6 Nr 7

¹⁴³ archive Fritzlar XVIII 1, 3, 22

¹⁴⁴ From 1935 there are many letters from the *Gestapo* Kassel, which are not concerned with Jews, however: 1934: 1; 1935: 17; 1936: 10; 1937: 1; 1938: 8 (archive Fritzlar XVIII 1, 3, 22)

¹⁴⁵ letter by Bertha Weitzenkorn, née Mannheimer, from March 3rd, 1998

¹⁴⁶ Glickman, Walters Geschichte

¹⁴⁷ HStA Marburg HStAM 327/6 Nr. 7

¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁹ Lohmann, Schicksal 86

¹⁵⁰ Hepp, Ausbürgerung; archive Fritzlar XIX 4, 11, 12

¹⁵¹ According to the Memorial Book the whole family were considered citizens of Fritzlar, they were officially declared dead

9) **Erich Meyer Mark** (12), son of former Fritzlar resident Otto Mark emigrated on January 13 from Magdeburg with a small children's transport to England, where during World War II he changed his name to Eric William Mark.

10) **Sofia Resnik, née Hecht** (31), shop assistant, moved to Frankfurt/M. in 1935, from where she emigrated to Palestine. In the statistics she was obviously counted as an emigrant from Fritzlar.

In the March 6th, 1937 statistics the number of emigrants in 1935 was given as 13. This obviously included three non-Jews.¹⁵² It was the highest number of emigrants in one year and contrary to the 1935 tendency.¹⁵³

b) Moves within Germany 1935

1-5) **Ascher Mansbach** (70), Am Hochzeitshaus 23, in Fritzlar since 1896, trader in textiles and cattle dealer, and his wife **Anna, née Marx** (also 70) had six children: **Siegfried** (who died shortly after his birth), **Ludwig** (39), **Arthur** (37), **Sidoni** (36), **Karl** (32), and **Jakob** (died as a baby) In November the parents moved together with Arthur and his family, and Karl to Neuss / Rh. On December 2nd, 1941 Ascher was admitted to Grafenberg mental home in Düsseldorf, then to the Jewish mental home in Bendorf-Sayn¹⁵⁴, where he died a natural death on April 12th, 1942, aged 77.¹⁵⁵ Anna M. had gone to Düsseldorf and Bendorf-Sayn together with her husband. In 1942 she was deported and then went missing in Izbica.

Together with his wife **Johanna, née Hirtz**, born 1890 (45), Arthur took over a textiles shop in Neuss, Kapitelstr. 1. They had two sons: **Fritz**, born in 1926, and **Ernst**, born in 1927. From 1936 – 1938 Arthur M. was a representative and board member of Neuss synagogue. He was arrested in the night of the pogroms on November 10th, 1938 together with many other Jewish men and then maltreated in Dachau. On December 10th / 11th, 1941 the Mansbach family was deported via

¹⁵² HStA Marburg 180; district office Fritzlar 2748; Schattner, Wabern 16. I can name 10 Jews and 3 non-Jews of the 13 emigrants listed in the official statistics for 1935. Two nuns of the *Ursulinen*-order went to Lima/Peru, one man emigrated to London. There are no official entries for the Jewish emigrants (archive Fritzlar XVIII 4, 14, 1-8).

¹⁵³ The number of emigrations from Germany decreased further to 21,000 in 1935 (Battenberg II 268; Kropat, Alltag 433). But this changed towards the end of the year. The number of Jewish emigrants increased again under the impression of the Nuremberg laws. The "second stage of Jewish persecution" led to a "second great wave of emigration" (Lohmann, Schicksal 21). The customs office Frankfurt reported "a very great number of passport applications (so far up to about 1,000)" and complained about not having enough civil servants to deal with these. It was the task of the customs office to prevent "flight of capital" by emigrating Jews. Emigrating Jews had to hand in lists of capital and property, but they were not allowed to know that the customs office would deal with the applications "because such information could jeopardise the success of measures to be taken" (letter of the *Regierungspräsident* to the mayors on December 18th). "After the end of 1935 the Jewish department of the *SD* (Security service) also concerned itself with the plan of a controlled emigration of German Jews to Palestine". (Kropat, Hessen 17)

¹⁵⁴ "Since 1869 the *Jacobysche Heil- und Pflegeanstalt für Nerven- und Gemütskranke* (a mental home) which the board of the Bendorf synagogue had founded for Jewish patients" (Memorial book) existed in Bendorf. At the end of June 1940 it was leased by the *Reichs* Union of Jews in Germany. On December 10th, 1940 it was decreed that all Jewish mental patients in Germany had to be taken to Bendorf-Sayn. No patients were murdered there. From March 1942 on they were deported to the east, later transports were organized on April 30th, June 15th, and November 10th, 1942. Then the Jewish mental home was dissolved and closed. (Gedenkstätten 652f)

¹⁵⁵ "As reasons of death were given: old-age insanity, illness of the heart-muscle, acute heart-insufficiency as testified by Dr. W. Rosenau, senior consultant of the Jewish mental home". "Like all the other persons buried at the Sayn Jewish cemetery Mr. Mansbach did not get a tombstone; from a map we know, however, where he was buried. I am certain to have proved that nobody was killed in Sayn." (letter from D. Schabow, Bendorf-Sayn; cf. also Memorial book; Lohmann, Schicksal 21; Rohrbacher)

Düsseldorf to Riga, where Arthur and Johanna went missing. Their son Ernst died in Stutthof in December 1944 after the “return” (“*Rückführung*”), their son Fritz in Buchenwald on January 5th, 1945 after the “death march”.¹⁵⁶

Ludwig went together with his family to the Netherlands in 1935 (see above).

Karl also moved to Neuss in 1935 and managed to emigrate to the USA via Amsterdam in 1939.

6) **Ferdinand Löwenstein** (10), a pupil of class VI of the municipal *Rektoratsschule*, left this school on November 30th “in order to attend the Jewish elementary school in Fulda” as it says in his school-leaving certificate. He gave notice in Fritzlar that he was moving¹⁵⁷ on December 1st and emigrated to the USA in January 1939.

7) **Ruth (II) Stern** (16)¹⁵⁸ had to leave her school (see above) and was afraid of living “in this atmosphere of hatred in the town”. So she left Fritzlar in order to work near Würzburg. As life there was just as bad for Jews, she returned to Fritzlar for a short time in 1938 and soon moved to Hamburg. From there she was deported to Riga in 1941 and then to Stutthof and Thorn, where she was finally liberated in April 1945.¹⁵⁹

c) Deaths 1935

1) **Julius (I) Mannheimer** (40) died on June 24th. There is only a fragment left of his tombstone in the local cemetery. He had moved to Adorf in 1927.

2) **Simon Speier** (83) died on December 6th.

e) Houses and real estate 1935

1) On January 1st the value of the house of **Frieda Auerbach, née Lissauer**, in *Gießener Str. 18* was fixed. Then the house was “taken over” by the *Landesrenterei*.

2) On October 1st the **Bacharach** siblings sold a field in *Am Spieß*.

3) On January 1st **Hermann Bloch**, who had deregistered his cattle trade in August 1933, was able to sell his house and site at *Am Hochzeitshaus 17*.¹⁶⁰

4) On October 1st **Adolf Kleinberger** sold a field in *Am Spieß*.

5) On January 1st the value of **Josef Kugelnann's** house in *Fraumünsterstr. 19* was fixed.

6) On January 1st the value of **Max Lissauer's** (Frieda's brother) house in *Gießener Str. 18* was fixed and on January 8th his garden in *Hohlgraben* was sold.

7-10) The value of **Hermann Speier's** house in *Martinsgasse 18* was also fixed on January 1st, as were the values of **Josef Speyer's** house in *Gießener Str. 25*, of **Susmann Speier's** house in *Fraumünsterstr. 2*, and that of the Jewish school in *Nikolausstr. 10*.¹⁶¹

Data

In a list dated June 3rd **89** Jews were registered, which was equivalent to 2.06 % of the population.¹⁶² At the census on October 10th only **85** were counted, i.e 4 (2 male, 2 female) in district A, 20 (8m, 12 f) in district B, 51 (23m, 28 f) in district C,

¹⁵⁶ Memorial book; Rohrbacher 176, 187, 190, 214, 221, 302

¹⁵⁷ archive Fritzlar XVIII 4, 13, 4-10

¹⁵⁸ There was another Ruth Stern, born on April 5th, 1911, married Eggener. She emigrated before 1933.

¹⁵⁹ Bridenthal, When biology, pp 334

¹⁶⁰ archive Fritzlar XIX 4, 11, 12

¹⁶¹ archive Fritzlar, file Gutheim

¹⁶² archive Fritzlar II 2, 12, 16 and XIX 4, 11, 12

and 10 (6m, 4 f) in district D. So in October the Jews amounted to barely 2 % of the population.¹⁶³

¹⁶³ archive Fritzlar II 2, 17, 2. At that time 4,323 civilians and 296 military lived in 560 houses and 992 households in Fritzlar. By confession they were split up follows: 2,440 (including the military 2,478) Catholics, 1,757 (including the military 2,015) Protestants, 85 „Israelites“ (Jews) and 41 others. (FKA December 17th)

3rd phase: Pressure for giving up business and increases in emigration costs

The fourth NS year A chronology of the year 1936

On **January 4**, the newspaper "Fritzlarer Kreisanzeiger" published under the headline "the Jews as an ethnic minority" fundamental statements on the "Jewish question" from an official comment on the Nuremberg legislation: "If the Jews already had their own state, ...the Jewish question could be considered as already solved today For the Jews in Germany legal separation would also mean legal protectionbut of course they would not become a national minority in the sense of international law Therefore the Jews would be an ethnic minority, not a national minority in Germany in the sense of international law. The Jewish guest-nation would from now on be separated from the German nation." (FKA 4.1.) The "Homburger Kreisblatt" one day earlier already published the official comment of the Reich Interior Ministry's reporter. It "pointed out, that the Nuremberg legislation according to the will of the Führer does not imply measures to increase and consolidate racial hatred for ever, but measures which mean the beginning of pacification in the relation of the German and the Jewish nation In future they could live in their own wayIf Germany today by legal coercion would push the Jews towards their characteristic life, racial hatred would vanish and would slowly be replaced on both sides by a healthy feeling of mutual differences, free of passionate effects. This clear and cool mutual acknowledgement could guarantee an acceptable coexistence of the two nations in the same state. (HKB 3.1. That sounds good, but completely contradicts what is known about the development of Anti-Semitism. Especially the Jews practising their alien Jewish cult regulations again and again caused the racial hatred of the host-nations.¹⁶⁴)

On **February 5**, the national-socialist Landesgruppenleiter Wilhelm Gustloff was shot by the Jew David Frankfurter in Davos/Switzerland. As a result on February 6 "all events of the Reich Federation of Jewish cultural associations were prohibited by Reich Propaganda Minister Joseph Goebbels." (HKB 6.2)

On **March 7**, the Reichstag (parliament) was convoked – as usual - to accept a declaration by the Reich government. On this occasion Hitler announced the re-occupation of the demilitarized Rhineland zone by German troops and suggested a demilitarized zone along the French and Belgian borders and a non-aggression treaty with France and Belgium. He closed his speech with an appeal to the German people: "I cannot end this historical period of restoration of my nation's honour without asking the German people now to give me belated approval of all these seemingly headstrong decisions, these hard measures, which I had to take and the big sacrifices which I had to demand. Therefore I decided to dissolve the Reichstag today, in order to let the German nation give its judgement on my leadership and that of my colleagues." (HKB 9.3)

The elections to the Reichstag were scheduled for **March 29**. It was stated: "According to the Reichstag election law of 7.3.1936 not entitled to vote are Jews, who are descended from at least 3 Jewish grandparents as well as ...half-castes descended from 2 Jewish grandparents, who belonged to a Jewish religious community on September 30, 1935" (HKB 10.3) In the following "election campaign" the positive changes of the recent years under Hitler's rule were stressed. Among these: "The destructive Jewish elements have been removed." (HKB 17.3)

On **March 14**, the Reich Minister of Justice stated: "The Nuremberg legislation has organized the Jewish question ... only in respect of national and matrimonial law. Economic law concerning Jews has not been legally regulated yet."¹⁶⁵ Accordingly, the regional governor wrote in **March**, i.e. 6 months before the Olympic Games, to the district administrator, who forwarded the letter to the mayors: "I regret to find that the prohibited individual actions against Jews in the region have not ... ceased. This

¹⁶⁴ Thiede, Carsten Peter: „The roots of Anti-Semitism, hostility towards Jews in antiquity“

¹⁶⁵ HStA Marburg 180, District Office Fritzlar 2478

situation is ... not compatible with the will of the Führer. In this respect, I refer to the decrees of September 3, 1935 and... August 20, 1935 respectively, which all obliged authorities concerned to oppose such actions ruthlessly. ... I therefore request you in all seriousness to dedicate your particular attention to the prevention of excesses against Jews. ... I also want you to discuss the state of affairs with the competent local party offices and to induce these to exert an instructing and calming influence on the population...".¹⁶⁶

On **March 29**, a so-called election to the Reichstag took place, which in fact was a plebiscite about Adolf Hitler. 98% of all those entitled to vote agreed to Hitler's policies¹⁶⁷ and accordingly also to the anti-Jewish measures! In the Fritzlar-Homberg district only six (!) voted against Hitler. In Fritzlar all the 2539 entitled to vote took part in the election, no ballot was spoilt; all (!) were pro Hitler.¹⁶⁸ (FKA 31.3)

As regards emigration, the Jewish Aid Society in Germany stated in September: Jewish emigration from Germany, which began in early February 1933, amounted to around 93,000 people until March 31, 1936. 22,000 of them moved overseas, (including around 10,000 to the USA), 31,000 to Palestine and 40,000 to European countries. Overseas emigration was "astonishingly low", even "unimportant, almost minute", a fact which was certainly connected with the immigration limits set by these countries. The emigrants were convinced "that they could contribute essentially to the economic development of those young countries and that they had no other aim than to establish a new existence in a new home country, in which they could live in honourably as Jews and uphold their religious and cultural traditions. The hope remains that valuable forces who can no longer find occupation in Germany will not be allowed to lie fallow, but may be given the chance of a new fruitful efficiency."¹⁶⁹

On **April 1**, the editorial of the "Homberger Kreisblatt"¹⁷⁰ said under the headline: "Bolshevism and Judaism": In Soviet Russia the organisation of Jewish exploitation by the State has become reality.... But the Soviet Union is not only a Jewish dominated state of exploitation, it is at the same time the nucleus of Jewish international communism for the whole world."

As from **April 6**, Jews were no longer permitted to exercise the profession of interpreter. "Aryanization" of Jewish businesses began.

The "Reichsfluchtsteuer" (penal tax for fleeing from the Reich) was introduced.

On **May 1**, the national holiday, Hitler said: "I ask myself: Who are these elements, who do not want peace and quiet and understanding, who continue to agitate and cause mistrust, who in fact are they? (Tumultuous applause and shouts: The Jews!) I know. (Tumultuous applause lasting several minutes)". (HKB 2.5)

Dr. Freisler said in his lecture on "Race as the basis and aim of German national law": "Today we put the German nation into the centre and its crucial racial nucleus... our law can only originate from the nation, only find its sense in decisive service to the nationour healthy national sense lives in the words of the Führer and the NSDAP programme. The ethnically based German national law therefore cannot be a law of lawyers...in this regard the national-socialist national order is a true constitutional state in its national sphere." (HKB 19.5.)

The commander of the SS, Heinrich Himmler, became head of the German Police. (HKB 18.6.)

¹⁶⁶ Letter of the „Regierungspräsident“ in the files of the local NSDAP-section, according to the archive of the bishopric Fulda; Schattner, Wabern 124

¹⁶⁷ Of the 45.431.000 entitled voters of the German Reich 44.955.000 cast their ballots, i.e. only 476 000 did not participate. Among the voters only 543 000 did not mark anything on the ballot, where only Hitler could be marked. That means only 1 019 000 voters did not vote for Hitler, which is slightly more than 2%. (Thomas Schattner, yearbook of Schwalm-Eder district 2007, 154 ff)

¹⁶⁸ in Fritzlar on 5.3.1933: 756 – on 12.11.1933: **all** 2463 –on 29.3.1936: **all** 2539

¹⁶⁹ Emigration, correspondence sheet, September 1936, page 7

¹⁷⁰ From 4.1 onwards by initiative of the Reich Press Chamber the "Fritzlarer Kreisanzeiger (FKA)" and the "Homberger Kreisblatt (HKB)" were merged into the "Kreisblatt for the district Fritzlar-Homberg (KFH)".

At the end of the Reich conference at Krössinsee castle the Hauptamtsleiter stressed the difference between German and Jewish persons: "These opposing parties are bound to remain in an eternal racially caused struggle The German fights for national socialism, the Jew for international capitalism." (HKB 22.6.)

The chief of the Bureau of Racial Policy told foreign students: "German racial policy is not directed against any country and any nation except the Jews. The Jewish question had become a problem of internal politics, because the Jew has destroyed all religion, culture and morality and moreover is the agent of Bolshevism." (HKB 24.6.)

On **July 12**, the construction of the concentration camp Sachsenhausen was started.

From **August 1 through 16**, the Olympic Games took place in Berlin. They were the climax of the propagandistic self-portrayal of the NS government. The National Socialists had done their utmost not to jeopardize the organization of the Games, which had been awarded to Berlin already before 1933, and to make them a great spectacle which was to conceal all traces and news of persecution and violence. Weeks before the beginning of the Games, all malicious anti-Semitic campaigns were discontinued upon instructions from above.¹⁷¹

Also in **August**, a "Jewish World Congress" took place in Geneva in connection with the League of Nations, to which German Jews did not get exit permits. (Probably it was feared that Jewish complaints about persecution would be reported in the international press.)

During the fourth Reich conference of Germans living abroad the chief of the bureau of racial policy said: "We have eliminated the only foreign national element, the Jew, living in our nation, we did that because we had to. The Jewish question is a matter of internal politics." (HKB 8.9.)

On **September 9**, the Reich federation of Jewish cultural associations organized its annual meeting. (HKB 9.9.)

On the "Reichs Party Day of honour" Hitler said: "We German national socialists never feared communism. We only recognized this disgraceful Jewish theory of worldwide agitation, studied its diabolic methods of preparation and warned against the consequences." (HKB 10.9.)

Dr. Goebbels explained: "True socialism only can be realized, if its meanest and most compromising failure, Jewish bolshevism is removed There is no doubt, that the Jew has created bolshevism and carries it today Therefore we will be tireless in calling to all nations: The Jews are to blame, the Jews are to blame!" (HKB 11.9.) On September 12 the Kreisblatt headlined (KHF)¹⁷²: "Alarm against the red global danger. Dr. Goebbels unmasks international Jewish bolshevism The practice of bolshevism is the widespread attempt of Judaism to achieve domination over all nations."

At this Reichsparteitag the Hauptamtsleiter said: "But those who think the Jewish question would be solved by the Nuremberg legislation for good should learn that the fight goes on, caused by worldwide Jewry itself." (HKB 12.9.)

On **October 15**, the "Fritzlarer Kreisanzeiger" reported on Hitler's book "Mein Kampf"¹⁷³ and called it the "book of fate for the German people". Therefore the main (NSDAP) party publishers edited "one of the most important chapters of the Führer's work, the part "nation and race" as special edition for 20 Pfennigs"¹⁷⁴. The HKB commented: "The special edition available now will fulfil a task of enormous importance and can, not least because of its low price, contribute to the ideological education and orientation of the whole nation The paper presents the long desired material for the educational work of the party, the SS, the SA and the HJ. It will provide a valuable contribution in school lessons and should definitely be part of every German household, so that German youth can recognise a clear path to the German future." (HKB 4.11.)

Under the big headline "race is fate" the "Homberger Kreisblatt" published on November 14 an article by the head of the Bureau for Racial Policy, which stated:

¹⁷¹ Thamer 425

¹⁷² By pressure of the Reichspressekammer the two newspapers were merged: Fritzlarer Kreisanzeiger and Homberger Kreisblatt to Kreisblatt für den Kreis Fritzlar-Homberg.

¹⁷³ see annex 5

¹⁷⁴ At that time this was the price of 2 cigarillos (HKB 7.11.)

“Differences between races are not limited to the physical and external aspects. They also influence the character, the mental and emotional aptitudes races are different, because their blood is different.” An article of an employee of this office said: “We once gave hospitality to the Jews. They misused it because of their different racial character and the resulting mentality So it was obvious that after this experience we had to expel the Jewish people from life partnership with the German people ... Only those who have German blood can belong to the German people!” (HKB 14.11.)

In the introduction to a report from Romania it was written: “Since Germany freed itself from the activities of a Jewish bolshevist parasitism, Jewry and its bolshevist supporters have started a relentless fight against Germanism.” (HKB 17.11.)

During a conference in the Ministry of Justice Dr. Freisler discussed the race protection regulations in the Nuremberg legislation. He pointed out that violation of this law, which was essential for the realisation of the national-socialist race idea, had to be regarded as an attack on the life-system of the nation He mentioned in this context, that the percentage of jail sentences for Jews for racial offences had substantially increased during recent months.” (HKB 17.11.) – For example a Jew from Witzenhausen was sentenced to one year in jail. This was lenient on the one hand, because he had been fighting in the (first) war and had been buried alive and the Aryan woman, with whom he had intercourse, had a bad reputation, on the other hand “the punishment should have a deterrent effect on the Jews.” (HKB 21.11.)

During the solemn inauguration of the “department of research on the Jewish question” in the Reich Institute for the History of the New Germany the President held a speech about “German science and the Jewish question”. (HKB 20.11.)

At the main conference of the Reich farmers association the chief of staff and leader of an SS brigade spoke about “capitalism as the breeding ground of Judaism”: “A very subtle method is to haggle and to practise usury, but the most subtle method is to develop exploiting and profiteering from the host-nation into a scientific system which today we call capitalism The first people in history, which in full realization of the real causes has started to clean up this issue, is the German people, which became immune against the Jew through National Socialism This is today’s situation: Over there we have the Jewish-bolshevist disintegration and anarchy.... but here we have the system of National-socialism rooted in blood and soil where the economy serves the nation.” (HKB 28.11.) – At this farmers conference the leader of the Reich farmers said: “National socialism, which is Adolf Hitler, is the personification of the divinely intended order within our nation, bolshevism is the cancer-like decay of all divinely intended living conditions of our nation, proposed by the Jew and his rules.” (HKB 30.11.)

On **December 1**, the “law on Hitler Youth” was promulgated, according to which the whole German youth within the Reich territory was united. “All German youth must be educated, in addition to at home and in school, in the Hitler Youth physically, mentally and morally in the spirit of National Socialism towards service for the nation.” (HKB 2.12.) – The Reich Youth Leader described the Hitler Youth law as a creation by Führer Adolf Hitler, who via the contents, form and signature of the law expressed his will to connect the coming generation for all times with his person and his project.” (HKB 9.12.)

Shortly after the Olympics, on **December 30**, the Gestapo enacted the total prohibition of Jewish youth organizations.

The number of emigrants from Germany in 1936 amounted to around 24.000 - 24.500.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷⁵ Kropat, Daily life 433; Lohmann, Fate 21

Jewish citizens of Fritzlar in 1936

In reply to a routine inquiry from the district administrator, the mayor's office again wrote, on February 25: "Orderly conditions are prevailing, and this state of calm and security is causing general satisfaction." On April 18, too, there was nothing in particular to report.¹⁷⁶ (Obviously, the mayor did not regard Jews as citizens whose concerns and fears he was obliged to look into.)¹⁷⁷

In June, five tombstones were overthrown in the Jewish cemetery. The community seniors **Leopold and David Löwenstein** reported this to the police, which documented their confidence in the police, asking them to make investigations as to the offenders.¹⁷⁸

In July a Fritzlar businessman, who was a member of the SS, was reprimanded, because in his shop "Jews were still going in and out and served with special politeness, which contradicted the order of the Führer's representative." – In November a Fritzlar butcher was called to account for acquiring sausage skin outside the town "from a Jewish business". "It would be an unacceptable situation, if the troops in Fritzlar and the local population were supplied with sausage whose skin comes from Jews," the party district-leader wrote.¹⁷⁹

On November 20, the Gestapo informed the mayor that "the attempts of Jewish business owners to camouflage the true character of their enterprises by machinations of the most varied kind" were increasing. The mayor replied on December 4: "Camouflages of Jewish businesses and dispatch of goods with the help of Aryan employees have not occurred here and would in any case be revealed in public at once."¹⁸⁰

1936 was the last year in which one girl pupil was still allowed to attend the Ursulinen School and one boy pupil went to the Rektorat School¹⁸¹, for as from the new school term, Jewish children had to be taught in collective classes only, and for this, their number in Fritzlar was too low.

Emigrations, Moves and Sales 1936

a) Emigrations 1936

aa) Direct emigration from Fritzlar

1-4) **Max Gutheim**, (42), Martinsgasse 2, soldier in 1914-1917, was preparing his emigration. On January 23 the Homberg revenue office wrote to the mayor of Fritzlar: "As I am told, the merchant Max Gutheim is thinking of emigrating. I advise you respectfully in strictest confidence that G. and possibly also his mother are subject to Reichsfluchtsteuer. I therefore ask you to keep a watch on Gutheim to find out if he may be seeking to liquefy his assets. As soon as you notice anything in this respect, please communicate this to me, possibly by telephone, so that I can take the necessary steps immediately. I would ask you to ensure absolute secrecy of the

¹⁷⁶ Archive Fritzlar XVIII 1,3,11

¹⁷⁷ On 5.3., the „Fritzlarer Kreisanzeiger“ reported, without mentioning the name, about a childless couple, which had emigrated to Canada and had returned to Fritzlar in 1931. The man died soon after and the woman stayed in Fritzlar until August 1936. She was sentenced for violating the foreign exchange regulations, because she refused to transfer her money from Canada to Germany. It could not be clarified, whether this concerned a Jewish lady.

¹⁷⁸ Lohmann, Schicksal 26

¹⁷⁹ HStA Marburg HStAM 327/6 Nr. 6

¹⁸⁰ Archive Fritzlar XVIII 1,3,22

¹⁸¹ According to the Rektorat school records of 24.6.1936, 42 pupils were Protestant, 28 Catholic and 1 of "additional religion". (Archive Fritzlar XIV 11, 28, 4) For comparison: in the year 1939/40 there were 79 Protestants, 40 Catholics and 2 "believing in God". (Archive Fritzlar XIV 11, 28, 5)

aforesaid."¹⁸² (Although the hint at imminent emigration was true, it was obviously based on a denunciation.)

On August 28, the mayor wrote to the revenue office that Gutheim had notified his departure for the USA and that packaging and loading was due in Frankfurt/Main on August 28.¹⁸³ Mr. Gutheim emigrated to the USA on September 1 with his wife **Franziska, née Sauer** (34) as well as sons **Lothar** (10) and **Heinz** (7).¹⁸⁴ "Based on § 2 of the law on the Revocation of Citizenship and Relation to the German Reich dated July 14, 1933", these four were declared "forfeit of their relation to the Reich in 1941, because they had damaged German interests by their behaviour, which violated the obligation of loyalty towards Reich and people".¹⁸⁵ (Unthinkingly, a formula was used here to satisfy the law, as no loyalty to the German Reich and people was expected of Jews. The Jews had been denied Germanness against their will!)

The residential house and barn at Martinsgasse 2 were sold in January 1938 at a normal price which exceeded their fire insurance value by RM 1,000.

A school girl found out the following facts about Max Gutheim: "Max Gutheim was known as a good and honest grain dealer. The grandfathers of our village Riede brought their grain to Max Gutheim in Fritzlar. Their experience with him was always good. They never felt they were being cheated by him."¹⁸⁶

5-7) **Ida Hirsch, née Mansbach** (36), Flehmengasse 13, emigrated to Johannesburg/South Africa on December 3 with her children **Hannelore** (6), who later married Lever), and **Walter** (5).¹⁸⁷

8-10) **Adolf Kleinberger**, (47), Von-Hund-Gasse 17, butcher, wife **Luise, née Bacharach** (51), and son **Ernst** (13), escaped by night in July, following a warning by a neighbour. They had to hide in a cellar for three months until they were able to organize their flight with the assistance of escape agents. Departure was not notified, but the sale of his landed property was.¹⁸⁸ The family was routed via Switzerland and Italy on to a ship that went to America via South Africa. As they knew no one in America, they left the ship in South Africa.¹⁸⁹ Ernst Kleinberger became a businessman in South Africa, married Sadie and has a daughter. Mrs. Kleinberger and daughter are maintaining close contact with Fritzlar.

11-13) **Speier, Josef** (56), soldier in World War I from 1915 - 1918, **Ida, née Weinstein** (49) and **Ruth**, the last of her six children, 17 years old, pupil at the Ursulinen School in 1930-1933, emigrated to New York/USA on March 10.¹⁹⁰ Ruth married Mr. Freimark¹⁹¹

¹⁸² Archive Fritzlar II 2,17,7

¹⁸³ Archive Fritzlar XI 12,27

¹⁸⁴ Archive Fritzlar II 2,17,7; XIX 4,11,17 according to a certificate dated 11. 10. 1957, the change of address notice of the four is in the archive (XVIII 4,16, 1-3); see Lohmann, fate 22

¹⁸⁵ HStA Marburg 180 Landratsamt Fritzlar 2741

¹⁸⁶ Conveyed by teacher Gröteke

¹⁸⁷ Archiv Fritzlar XVIII 4,15,1-9; XIX 4,11,12. According to Lohmann, fate 22, they emigrated to the USA. Concerning the husband see below, chapter "moves".

¹⁸⁸ Archive Fritzlar XI 12,27

¹⁸⁹ Archive Fritzlar II 2,17,7; XIX 4,11,12; Lohmann, Schicksal 22

¹⁹⁰ Notice of change of address, Archive Fritzlar XVIII 4,15,1-9

¹⁹¹ The eldest daughter was **Irma**, born in 1910, student at the Ursulinen School 1919-1924, married to Mr. **Hecht**, emigrated to the USA in 1929 and deceased in 2002; the second was **Flora**, born in 1912, student at the Ursulinen School 1922-1928, married to Mr. **Reinhardt**, emigrated to the USA in 1929, deceased on January 23, 1992; the third was **Herta**, born in 1913, pupil at the Ursulinen School 1923-1928, married with Mr. **Boudin Poppert**, Belgium, deported to Auschwitz, where she survived, she married Mr. **Massy** in France and died in December 1991. **Paula** and **Greta** had emigrated to the USA in 1934 (see above).

The official statistics of March 6, 1937 indicate twelve emigrations for the year 1936.¹⁹² Of the Jewish emigrants, only four notified the police of their departure to the USA and three to South Africa.¹⁹³

ab) Indirect emigration following change of location 1936

1) **Emil Hirsch** (50), Flehmengasse 13, shoemaker and salesman, deregistered in Fritzlar on October 10 and travelled around.¹⁹⁴ He emigrated to South Africa on December 3.

2) **Hans Fritz Joseph** (33), Am Hochzeitshaus 10, had passed his High School final examination at Wilhelms-Gymnasium in Kassel on 3.3.1920, afterwards studied medicine in Würzburg, Freiburg and Marburg and finished his studies by examination on 28.7.1926. In Karlsruhe he met his future wife **Hildegard Katzenstein** (22). She was the daughter of a Jewish physician, who had committed suicide in 1933 because of the race legislation and the prohibition to practice. Hans moved to Karlsruhe in 1933, married Hilde and practiced in Karlsruhe for a short time. Their son **Herbert Helmut** was born there in 1934. In 1933 all three were listed in the census as inhabitants of Fritzlar. Hans travelled to Palestine, where his brother already lived, in 1933 with his wife and in 1935 with his wife and their one-year-old son,. However in Palestine they needed agricultural experts and workers, but not physicians. There were already enough physicians in the country. So the couple came back to Karlsruhe, but considered emigration as an urgent need.



Hans Joseph

Hans was a dedicated German, a patriot like almost all German Jews, who under different circumstances would have liked to become a soldier for pre-1933 Germany. Contrary to his national feelings he felt obliged to leave Germany, because from 1933 onwards Jewish physicians in Germany were allowed to treat only Jews or private patients. Because the situation in Germany deteriorated further, in 1936 Hans started again to look for a working opportunity abroad. In order to find a suitable place to stay, he found employment as a ship's doctor with the Jewish shipping-line Bernstein.¹⁹⁵

At the end of the journey to America he went to New York, repeated the necessary exams, obtained permission to practice in the USA and started a surgery. In 1937 he fetched his wife Hilde and his son Herbert Helmut. Mr. Hans Joseph died in August 1982 in the USA. He left behind his wife, their son Herbert Helmut, who became an orthopaedic surgeon, and daughter **Dorothy**, born on 16.6.1945, who married **Irving Cohen**. Both children live in the USA.

3) **Mannheimer, Bertha** (22), Nikolausstr. 4, still remembers the 1200-year festivities, in which she participated in 1925 at the age of 10. She attended the Ursulinen School from 1925 - 1928 and subsequently a private commercial college in Kassel. After her father's death, she moved to Spangenberg on May 23, 1931 and to Hamburg in 1935, but remained on the Fritzlar register. She deregistered in Fritzlar on September 8¹⁹⁶ and was able, with the assistance of distant relatives, to

¹⁹² HStA Marburg 180 Landratsamt Fritzlar 2748; Schattner, Wabern 16

¹⁹³ Apart from the Jewish emigrants, six Ursulinen nuns went to Lima and two persons from Fritzlar emigrated to New York. (Archiv Fritzlar XVIII 4,15,1-9)

¹⁹⁴ Archiv Fritzlar XVIII 4,15,1-9

¹⁹⁵ Lohmann, Schicksal 20

¹⁹⁶ Archiv Fritzlar XVIII 4,15,1-9

emigrate to the USA on September 11. She made her farewell to her family in Fritzlar and set out alone, first to New York, later on to Florida.

She talked about it to Fritzlar pupils in 1982: "We spoke only German, no Yiddish. We sang all the German songs, just like the others, but also songs in Hebrew." – "Before the Nazi period, we Jews were no different from the Christians, we were the same, we were always together, we were all friends. We went for walks together. The only difference was, we went to the synagogue and the others went to church, that was the same after all. We ate together. It never happened that there was such spitefulness. No hatred was expressed against each other. And then Hitler came. He talked about the 'pure' race and always railed against the Jews. He talked people into hatred, and people believed it. Everybody ran after him. At Fritzlar it was particularly bad. Fritzlar was one of the places where the terror first began. I can remember well how we were being treated in Fritzlar as German citizens. The only words we heard were, 'Jewish stinker, are you still here?' We were no longer allowed to walk on the sidewalk, we had to walk on the street. When we had gone to the café, there was a paper in the shop window in the evening saying 'Jews not welcome'. Only the Ursulinen sisters were quite nice, they did not join in the hatred. When you went to hospital, they never asked, 'What (creed) are you?' But Hitler did not love any religion, he did not want the church. ... When we needed help, nobody cared for us, none of the religions. Today people say they were afraid for themselves. So no one stood up to help us. The girls who had been at the Ursulinen School with me, who were my best friends, they treated us as if we had a rash.

A woman who lived across from us called to me when I left: 'I cannot say Aufwiedersehen (a German way of saying good-bye with a view to meeting again) to you.' Nobody wanted to accompany me to the railway station in 1936. So afraid was everyone. I emigrated and was allowed to take away 50 Mark, that is all they allowed me, 50 Mark! And they declared me as stateless! And in the passport, big letters read 'Jew, stateless'. You cannot imagine what a feeling that was for us, as all our ancestors had been born in Germany and fought for Germany. In 1936, the Olympics took place in Berlin, and it was hardly possible to get embarkation on a ship. So I went to Le Havre by train via Paris during one whole day. In Paris, a young man from Fritzlar helped me, he gave me a few Mark, for with 50 Mark you cannot do much. From Le Havre, the ship took me to New York. ...

The start in the USA was very difficult. We knew no word of English. I worked at once as I wanted to keep myself and save money to let my family come as well. The only work I could get was a post as a maid. In America, times were also bad then, it was hard to get work."

And she added: "One must forgive, but one cannot forget. My only desire is that this may never happen again. It is not my fault after all that I was born as a Jew, and not our fault, that we are white, as little as others that they are black."¹⁹⁷

In America, she later married **Erich Weizenkorn**. They have a daughter **Linda**, married to **Nesselroth**, who speaks German and has two children: **Jeffrey** and **Liza**, who also have two children each.

4) **Ida Mansbach**, born in 1901, married to **Emil Hirsch** in 1928, Flehmengasse 13, emigrated to South Africa. Mrs. and Mr. Hirsch had two children: **Hannelore**, born in 1929, later married to **Lever**, and **Walter**, born in 1932. Ida H. and Hannelore died in South Africa, Walter emigrated to the USA.

¹⁹⁷ According to a recording of Mrs. Weizenkorn's report in the District Vocational School. The visit in October 1982 was initiated by the teacher Heinrich Gade and supported by the protestant church and the town council. The report was supplemented by remarks in letters.

5) **Karl Mansbach**, born 15.12.1903 in Fritzlar, Geismarstr.42, had emigrated from Neuss to Amsterdam. From there the police department for foreigners inquired in Fritzlar, whether anything was pending against him and whether his extradition was desired, but the mayor wrote, because nothing was pending against him, there would be no need for an extradition. He would be "not interested in further pursuing the person Mansbach".¹⁹⁸

6) **Moses, Erna** (30), in Fritzlar from August 24, 1934, housekeeper for **David Löwenstein**, Gießener Str. 22, moved to Ziegenhain temporarily on October 31.¹⁹⁹ She emigrated to the USA a short time thereafter, married Dankmar Abraham from Bebra there and died in New York on June 13, 1958.

7-9) **Speier, Moritz** (60), cattle dealer and merchant, had moved to Merseburg in 1929, but apparently remained on register in Fritzlar because he kept property there (see below under 1939). He paid taxes and lived in Merseburg, at Weißenfelder Str. 18 from 1933 - 1937 and Kleine Ritterstr. 12, in 1938.²⁰⁰ Three of his children: **Norbert** (26), **Bertel/Bertha** (23), later married to **Glassman**, and **Clara/Clare** (16), later married to **Baer**, emigrated from Merseburg to the USA in 1936; they were not regarded as Fritzlar inhabitants any more.

Norbert Speier, who still remembered the 1200-year festivities of Fritzlar taking place when he was 14 years old, wrote: "Fritzlar is my former home town. Before the Nazi times, I had a nice youth there. I attended the Jewish elementary school and then the Latin school. I would never have thought that such annihilation as in the **Shoah** was possible in a country like Germany and that the citizens would join in." **Clara** also remembered the town jubilee although she was only five years old, but it impressed her very much, as she wrote.



Norbert Speier, Bertel Glassmann, Clare Baer

Norbert died on January 30, 1999, at the age of 88. Because of his death, the three siblings were not able to attend the Memorial Week. **Bertel** has been living at Baltimore, she has a daughter **Evelyn**, married to **Held**, and two grandchildren.

b) Moves within Germany 1936

1) **Max Lissauer**,²⁰¹ (29), Gießener Str. 18, came to the "Israelite mental and nursing clinic" of Bendorf-Sayn near Koblenz as he was mentally ill – like Ascher Mansbach before him (see 1935). He was deported from Bendorf-Sayn to Izbica/Lublin on June 15, 1942, losing his life on June 15, 1942, i.e. on the day of the transport.²⁰²

¹⁹⁸ Archiv Fritzlar XI 12,27

¹⁹⁹ Archiv Fritzlar XVIII 4,15,1-9; Lohmann, Schicksal 22

²⁰⁰ Town archive Merseburg, information from 7.1.1999

²⁰¹ Max L. is an uncle of **Jechiel Ogdan, alias Manfred Blumenkrohn**.

²⁰² On June 15, in the course of the 3rd deportation from Sayn, 328 persons were "evacuated to the East", as went the official wording, in cattle wagons from Koblenz via Düsseldorf. It has not been proven that the train actually arrived at Izbica. (D. Schabow, letter to the author, Gedenkbuch, Gedenkstätten 652f; Klee 258; Rohrbacher)

2) **Elli Lina Löwenstein, née Wallach**, had married **Siegmund L.** and moved to Fritzlar on October 11.²⁰³

c) Deaths 1936

1) **Fanny (I) Löwenstein, née Moses**, died on May 18 at the age of 92. Her death was the last to be entered in the synagogue death records by teacher Kron.

2) **Löwenstein, Hermann** died on September 3 at the age of 67.

Thus five Jewish persons died in the period 1933 to 1936.²⁰⁴

d) Shops and other places of work 1936

1) On March 25, Mr. Gutheim notified cessation of the grain trade, which was still registered in the name of his father **Jakob Gutheim**, and on the same day sold his grain and feedstock business.

2) The cattle trade of **Josef Speier** was deregistered on February 18, whereas the grain business was closed down later, on March 25.²⁰⁵

e) Houses and real estate 1936

1) **Adolf Kleinberger's** slaughterhouse in the Lierloch was sold on November 5, and the residential houses Von-Hund-Gasse A 16 and 17 on December 3; the field Am Spieß had already been sold on October 1, 1935.

2) **Max Lissauer** had a guardian and property manager, Mr. Arendt, who sold one garden Am Hohlen Graben as early as January 8, 1935; two gardens on October 7 and November 26, 1936, and the remaining two on May 25, 1937.

3) **Josef Löwenstein** sold land on 7 February and 21 December to the aviation finance department for construction of the airport.²⁰⁶

4) **Ascher Mansbach**, who had moved in 1935, could only sell his house on 29 April.

5) **Mrs. and Mr. Schloss** sold the house and shop Flehmengasse 1 on 25 August.

6) The family **Josef Speier** left behind their house in Gießener Str. 25 (today hotel and restaurant "Zur Post"²⁰⁷), as well as the gardens Am Hohlen Graben and Gartengässchen.²⁰⁸

²⁰³ Archiv Fritzlar XIX 4,11,12; HStA Marburg 180 Landratsamt 2748; Lohmann, Schicksal 21f; registration on 12.11.1936 (Archiv Fritzlar XVIII 4,16,1-3)

²⁰⁴ HStA Marburg 180 Landratsamt 2748

²⁰⁵ Archive Fritzlar II 2,17,7

²⁰⁶ Archive Fritzlar X 22,22

²⁰⁷ There is a stone above the front door with the Jewish year number 5547, which is equivalent to our year 1787 (see title and first inside page of the book "Hier waren wir zu Hause"). A photo shows grandfather Simon Speier and granddaughter Greta, another shows the six girls (Wochenspiegel 41/98 of Oct. 10, 1998).

²⁰⁸ Lohmann, Schicksal 20f



Front door of the House. *Giessener Strasse 25*
Above: Cutting with the Jewish Date of 5547 which is the year 1787.

Below: grandfather Simon Speier and granddaughter Greta



Data 1936

The October Census counted **62** Jewish inhabitants in Fritzlar; 27 males 35 females, or 1.4% of the 4,307 civilians and distributed: District A 5 (2 m, 3 f), B 11 (4 m, 7 f), C 41 (19 m, 22 f) and D 5 (2 m, 3 f). , In the list " movement of the Jews in Fritzlar", dated March 6, 1937, the following calculation was made: Of the

119 Jewish population in January 1933 39 had emigrated in 1933 - 1936; there remained, with additions by birth or arrivals: 81, five of which had died and 18 moved away within the country, so that only **58** persons remained.²⁰⁹

Year	Emigrated Officially	indirect by name		Age, excl. Children	Moved away, officially	Moved away, by name
1933	10	11	-	20-35 u 48	8	11
1934	4	4	-	18-31	7	8
1935	13	10	-	28-41	3	7
1936	12	13	9	22-58	0	2
Total	39	38			18	28

Number of departures 1933-1936: officially **57** persons. It is noteworthy that the younger ones were the first to emigrate, and older ones as from 1935. Those who went away were between 25 and 70 years old. The **58** persons accounted for 1.35 % of the population.

²⁰⁹ Archive Fritzlar II 2,17,2. 4307 civilians and 324 military persons were counted, i.e. the number of civilians had decreased by 16 and the number of military persons had gone up by 28. (II 2,12,5 also counts 4307 civilians, but only 312 military, in total 4619 in 992 households). The division of the civilians according to confession was as follows: 2394 Catholic, 1821 Protestant, 62 Jewish and 30 other confessions. The population lived in 553 houses, which was seven less than in the year before, and in 1004 households, which was twelve more than before.

The Fifth NS Year

A Chronology of the year 1937

On **January 25**, a decree on the cattle trade required owners and operators to have the necessary personal and material qualifications.²¹⁰

Pope Pius XI published an encyclical on the situation of the Catholic Church in the German Reich on March 14, 1937 under the heading "Mit brennender Sorge" (With ardent concern – first published in German and then translated into Latin), which rejected all racial doctrines as incompatible with Christian truth, without however directly mentioning, let alone overtly criticizing, anti-Semitism and the persecution of the Jews. "In respect of the persecution and the start of mass extermination of the Jews, no real and credible protest was voiced on the part of German bishops in all those years. No pastoral of any bishop and no proclamation of the German episcopate ever used the word 'Jew'."²¹¹

January 30: The Reichstag voted to extend the Authorization Law for an additional 4 years.

March 27: When the Homberger Kreisblatt²¹² and the Fritzlarer Zeitung were merged they announced simultaneously, "the German press should indeed express the real opinion of the population in its publications and should serve the German people but not control their minds. The press will cooperate in the consolidation of National Socialist philosophy." (KFH 27.3. As usual, no reference was made to the local Jewish citizens!)

March 30: The Law of July 14, 1933 on the withdrawal of German citizenship was amended to stress racial aspects.

At a local party meeting on **April 7** the district chairman of the board of education referred to many examples of cultural liberalism from the time of Heinrich Heine onwards; foreign influences had constantly become stronger and were overpowering German culture. Every listener felt deeply shocked to realize the dangers resulting from recent Jewish attempts to control their cultural lives by acquiring leading positions. (KFH 8.4.)

The town of Bad Ems no longer appreciated Jewish guests. In all hotels, pensions and guest houses signs were posted declaring: "Jews no longer served here". (KFH 4.6.)

The Reich Minister for the Interior, Dr. Frick spoke to the German Society of Medical Science, "The racial purity of our people is permanently assured by the Blood Protection Law and the Citizen's Protection Decree. These measures should not be judged by what they mean to an individual; they are legally justified because they benefit our German people." (KFH 20.5.)

Information about the British Palestine Report was given under the headline: "Jewish Voraciousness". (KFH 9.7. and 10.7.)

July 15: Construction of the Buchenwald concentration camp commences by prisoners from the Sachsenhausen concentration camp.

At the opening of the Great German Art Exhibition of 1937, Adolf Hitler said that in art, above all, the Jews had managed to get hold of the means and institutions which form public opinion. The Jews knew how to destroy the prevailing healthy artistic tradition. At the same time another exhibition took place called "Entartete Kunst"/"Degenerate Art" offering insight into the Jewish Marxist concept of art. (KFH 19.7.)

September 6: The headline in the Kreisblatt for the opening of an exhibition in Nuremberg, coinciding with the Reich Party Conference read, "Judaism, Bearer of Bolshevism." (KFH 6.9.) This anti-Bolshevism exhibition described as illusory the Jewish belief that they were God's chosen people. Judaism, originating in Palestine had not only distorted law, customs, art and culture in the spirit of its Asiatic-Oriental racial mix, but corroded the blood of its host nations. Other Jewish falsehoods had their origin in Palestine and show everywhere the same Jewish desire for world domination. (KFH 2.9.)

²¹⁰ Schattner, Wabern 43

²¹¹ Groß 26f In the encyclical, a mere reference is hidden: "Those who detach the race or the people ... that occupy an essential and honorable place within the earthly order, from this earthly scale of values, making it the highest standard of all values, are reversing and falsifying the order created by God and commanded by God..." "During the years 1933 to 1945 the word Jew was not mentioned officially by neither the Pope nor Bishops". (Gross 33)

²¹² Printing and editing remained in Homberg.

As from **September 7**, mayors were required to furnish a quarterly report on the "travelling movements of the Jewish population" every three months. This decree was only repealed, on July 27, 1942. Unfortunately, in the archives the author could only find the March 6, 1937 report, and the last quarterly report of 1942.²¹³

September 9: At the Reich Party Conference the chief Reich physician stated, "Our racial laws are created not only to protect German blood but its honour as well. These laws will fulfill their purpose when a new generation in Germany, with self-evident National Socialist convictions, will reject the Jews and become immune to the Jewish spirit and poison." (KFH 9.9.). Dr. Goebbels explained, "Judaism which is the main bearer of Bolshevik world revolution philosophy has been recognized and unmasked, after it has shown itself to be an asocial and parasitic element amongst civilized societies." (KFH 11.9.)

September 13: At the Nuremberg Worker's Party Congress Adolf Hitler gave a speech which became the source of an intensified Jewish policy. He made a close connection of Jewry with Bolshevism and Communism, as he had already alleged in, "Mein Kampf".²¹⁴ Under the headline "War Against the World Plague" the Kreisblatt quoted "Judaism is an international parasite that has grown for many hundreds of years throughout the world in order to bring about complete destruction in our present time." The Kreisblatt under the sub-headline "The Jewish race is inferior" stated, "there is one certain conclusion regarding this race; it is neither ideologically nor morally motivated, in both cases it is absolutely inferior. In European cultural society the Jewish Bolshevism is an alien body contributing zero to our economy and culture and only bringing about complete chaos." (KFH 15.9.)

The proposal for Jewish emigration to Madagascar was also pursued by the Polish government. (KFH 15.9)

November 5: All non-citizens lost their claims for pensions.

On **November 8**, Joseph Goebbels opened the Munich "Enlightenment Show – The Eternal Jew".

Hermann Göring temporarily took over economic affairs and proposed "Aryanising the economic system".

On **December 3**, the religious and education authorities decreed that the curriculum for Jewish children was to omit everything "that looks like sponging on German cultural possessions"; for example. Jewish children were not allowed to sing German folk songs.

Fritzlar Jewish Citizens 1937

The situation of the Jews in Fritzlar is made very clear by the following occurrence: On April 5, the head office of the Jews in Kassel proposed to the chairman of the regional administration to absorb the last four Jewish persons remaining in Ungedanken into the Fritzlar community²¹⁵ and to transfer the synagogue, the sale of which was imminent, as well as the cemetery and a field to the Fritzlar synagogue community²¹⁶. When asked for his comments, the Fritzlar mayor wrote, on June 6: "There are no direct objections against the proposed integration. However, I hope that the synagogue community here will also cease in the not too distant future. So I wonder whether it would not be more expedient to integrate Ungedanken into the larger Kassel synagogue community."²¹⁷

Close relations existed between the Jews living in Fritzlar and Ungedanken. **Walter Kron** remembers that the younger members of the Fritzlar synagogue community used to go to Ungedanken once a year to hold a service there. After that

²¹³ HStA Marburg 180 Landratsamt Fritzlar 2741

²¹⁴ see Annex 5

²¹⁵ Lohmann, Schicksal 98. **Levi Gutheim**, age 73 was head of his three person family which was composed of his wife, age 55, a son and a daughter.

²¹⁶ Lohmann, Schicksal 98

²¹⁷ Archive of the city of Fritzlar XIII 1,1,8; Lohmann Schicksal 99. The Synagogue of Ungedanken, erected in 1864 was sold in August 1937 to a Christian family and later converted to a single residence. The house still exists to date.

they went to the inn operated there by Mr. **Gutheim**, a member of the Ungedanken community, to have a little refreshment.

Light is also thrown on the racist thinking of that time by the following occurrence: In 1937, Dr. med. habil. Kurt **Hempel** was appointed as senior physician of the Fritzlar Hospital zum Heiligen Geist.²¹⁸ He was married to **Ursula, née Baroness von Meltzehr**, born in 1915, who was "related to Jews via her great-grandmother", as this was described then. Moreover, he was not a member of the NSDAP. He therefore could not become a lecturer at Marburg, where he worked as an assistant in the surgical university clinic. The usual application procedure was carried out in Fritzlar, and Dr. Hempel was appointed, among other reasons, because he could prove a long training period, was already 47 years old and had participated in the First World War.²¹⁹ Dr. Hempel "has been of great use for the reputation of the clinic by his ability and his kind manner", the later senior physician Dr. Max Diederich wrote about him in the Hospital's chronicle.²²⁰ Mrs. Hempel, being a so-called "quarter-Jew", was not bothered. To be precise, she was an "eighth-Jew", as a Jewish great-grandmother was involved.

Whoever dealt with Jews could not become a party member. On November 26 the NSDAP District Court declared. "NN, through his most recent contact with Jews has proven to be entirely ineligible to become a member of the NSDAP." It was also announced on November 23 that an application from another person had been denied. "His contact with Jews proves that in regard to the race issue he has not even once adopted the philosophy of the National Socialists."²²¹

On December 15, teacher **Gustav Kron** put his signature on a synagogue register for the last time. Until then, he had also given religious instruction and Hebrew in the Jewish school building. The building was likewise used for meetings of the remaining Jews in so far as these were permitted. Mr. Kron moved to Hamburg on Dec.29.

Upon inquiry, the mayor communicated on March 16, 1949: "The local Jewish school was used as an NSDAP office from 1933 through 1945. ... The school is in unchanged structural condition."²²² That the school was rented by the NSDAP since 1933 is not correct either in respect of time or of fact, as meetings of the Jewish community were held in it until 1937, which can be proven for August 1, 1933, and March 6, 1935. After the sale, a housekeeping school used the rooms, as attested by woman citizens of Fritzlar.

Emigrations, Moves and Sales 1937

a) Emigrations 1937

aa) Direct emigrations from Fritzlar

1) **Bertha Goldschmidt, née Katz** (30), Fraumünsterstr. 1, left for Runkel²²³ on April 14 and emigrated to the USA.

2) **Leon Katz**, whose ancestors had lived in Fritzlar since 1772, moved to Lüneburg as a young man and was the father of **Rudi Leon Katz**.²²⁴ Rudi emigrated to Palestine in 1937 where he met and married **Herta, née Löwenstein**, daughter of Josef Loewenstein, in 1939. She had emigrated from Fritzlar to Palestine in 1938.

²¹⁸ Dr. Kurt Hempel, the chief physician of the regional hospital in Fritzlar, died on 4.7.1948. In his obituary he was praised as "one of the best surgeons of the State District of Kassel." (HN 6.7.1948)

²¹⁹ Trosse 66

²²⁰ Diederich, Chronik II. Mrs Hempel died 1999

²²¹ HStA Marburg HStAM 327/6

²²² Archiv Fritzlar XIII, 4,2,2

²²³ Archiv Fritzlar XVIII 4,17,1-7

²²⁴ **Leon Katz**, born Nov.11, 1872 in Fritzlar, was the son of **Aaron Katz**, who for many years was the teacher at the Jewish school in Fritzlar. Leon Katz died February 17, 1939 in Hamburg.

They had two sons, Arie and Gabriel. Arie is married to Pamela and lives in the United States; they have three children and two grandchildren. Gabriel and his wife Shoshana live in Israel; they have two sons, Boaz and Daniel.

3) **Walter Kron**, aged 15, went to Frankfurt/Main on April 14²²⁵ to continue his schooling and to escape from constant teasing by his fellow pupils.²²⁶ In Fritzlar, he had attended the Jewish elementary school from 1928-1932 and from 1932-1937, he the municipal Rektorats-School, which went only up to the fifth year, so that for the intermediate and final maturity examinations, students had to go to a Gymnasium in Kassel. To go to the Wilhelms-Gymnasium in Kassel meant that the Fritzlar pupils had to go to school by train and tram every morning and afternoon. This provided plenty of time for the travelling pupils to annoy and bully fellow pupils. The Kron parents therefore decided that Walter was to go to the Jewish secondary school Philantropin in Frankfurt.²²⁷ which had an agreement with Cambridge University in England.

Walter Kron told the story: "Without protection by law and the police, daily life of the Fritzlar Jews was very trying; they were beaten and insulted, and their freedom of movement was restricted more and more. My father helped the Jewish families to fill in the forms required for departure so they could at least send their children to America or England to protect them.

Finally, conditions became more and more insufferable. I could not stand it any more. So I shouted at my father one day: 'You are helping everybody to fill in the forms, why don't you do it for me, too?' And my father began to prepare my departure. In Fritzlar, things were getting worse all the time, and when I had passed my intermediate exam, my parents sent me to a boarding school in Frankfurt so that I should pass my high school level at a Jewish school. The plan was that I should pass my maturity exam at this Jewish school and then go to England to study at Cambridge.

After having lived at the boarding school for two months, I was called to the headmaster's wife. 'We have a surprise for you. Your father has come!' I remember that day as if it had been yesterday. In typically German manner, my father and I went for a walk. He asked me how I was doing at school and if I would be happy to go to England after the maturity exam. And I said, 'Yes'. – 'Well', my father said, 'would you go to America just the same? For the papers arrived yesterday, and you could leave for the USA.' Quite excited, I confirmed: 'Let me go away from here to the USA as soon as possible.'

When I talked about it to my mother a few days later, she supported me. So my father wrote the appropriate application. I had to get my passport from the police headquarters at Frankfurt/Main. It was valid only for 6 months. The policeman asked what I wanted to do in America, and I said I wanted to go to school there for some months and then come back. This was the reply I had to make in order to get the passport. On May 20, I had to report to the competent American consulate in Stuttgart with my passport, and there the entry permit was stamped into my passport."

²²⁵ Noted in the Fritzlar Archives of April 12 XVIII 4,17,1-7

²²⁶ Lohmann, Schicksal 22

²²⁷ Classes in the Philantropin continued until June of 1942.



Walter Kron

On June 24, the father deregistered his son in Fritzlar. As destination of the trip, he stated: "USA, place still unknown."²²⁸ Walter went with a children's transport, and it was still unsettled which family would receive him. The ship was to leave on June 28. Walter continued: "So everything was prepared for departure. While this went on, I was not at all aware that maybe I would never see my parents again. I really intended to come back after six months, for I thought the difficulties with the Nazis would be over by then. I thought, I have to go away for a short time only and then – after a short time – I will be able to return to our home country.

Before I set out, I went to the mathematics teacher in Fritzlar who had taught me in the 7th form, to tell him that my parents had achieved that I could leave for the USA. The teacher reacted with deep alarm: 'I cannot tell you how ashamed I am that you have to leave your parents' house at the age of 15 and to go to America in order to live in peace. I am ashamed of being a German.' He was aware that, already in 1937, there was no future in Germany any more for a Jewish boy. The teacher knew, and also the other Fritzlar people, at least most of them.

I had both a German passport for six months and – just in case – a residence permit for the USA. "My father's farewell words at the ship sounded ironical: 'Learn to dance, enjoy yourself! I regret I never learned to dance and was always sorry for that. So learn to dance, Walter!' These were the last words my father said to me in this world, but I never learned to dance!"²²⁹

The ship reached New York on July 2. Walter was welcomed there by a member of the Council of Jewish Women who had organized and financed the children's transport. The woman took Walter to New Haven in the state of Connecticut, where he lived for the next six years with a family named Friedmann. From 1943-1946 he served in the US Army and belonged to the unit that liberated Fritzlar.²³⁰

4-5) **Julius Mannheimer, (II)** (28) and his brother **Siegmund** (26), Fraumünsterstr. 8, emigrated to the USA on April 3.²³¹

Moritz and Dina Joseph, paid a visit to their son **Alfred Alexander** (s. 1933) in Israel in 1937/38 on the occasion of the birth of their grandson **Hansi**. Regrettably, they returned to Germany and became victims of the **Shoah**.

ab) Indirect Emigration following change of location:

1) **Minna Jakob**, born September 5, 1919, was employed by M. Lissauer from September 8, 1936 until February 27, 1937 when she moved to Sachsenhausen/Waldung and then emigrated in November.²³²

2) **Hildegard Joseph**, wife of **Dr. Hans Joseph**, followed her husband from Karlsruhe to New York together with her son, **Herbert Helmut**. They still appeared in the Fritzlar census of June 16, 1933 but were no longer regarded as such in the 1937 census. Until 1933 **Moritz and Dina**, Hans Joseph's parents, were well off.

²²⁸ Archiv Fritzlar XVIII 4,17,1-7

²²⁹ Glickman

²³⁰ **Walter Kron** acquired his bachelor's degree in 1951 and a master's degree in 1957, obtained his doctorate in 1961 and became Assistant Attorney General, a senior administration officer, in the state of Michigan. He retired in 1997; unfortunately, he is almost blind. Mr. Kron is married, the couple have a daughter Lisa and a son David, born in May 1963, married to Shoshana, née Wertheim. This young couple has a son Benjamin Aaron, born in February 1997.

²³¹ Archiv Fritzlar XVIII 4,17,1-7

²³² Archiv Fritzlar XI 12,27

However, the young couple could not take anything with them when they left Germany. Losing their inheritance they lived very modestly in New York. Their daughter **Dina/Dorothy**, born 1945, wrote that no mention of any kind about Germany was tolerated at her parent's house since their memories were too painful. Moreover her parents rarely spoke German and she grew up to hate the Germans, a people responsible for the murder of her relatives. Her mother often reminded her that friendly neighbours could one day turn into enemies. (What a harrowing thought for a growing child! Thus the children as well as the emigrants themselves deeply suffered from the painful memories and losses.) Dina Dorothy married **Irving Cohen** and together they have four children: **Esther**, **Miriam**, a pediatrician, **Daniel and Aaron**, and three grandchildren.

3) **Walter Katzenstein** was an apprentice at Gottlieb Loewenstein from Dec.1,1932 until Sept. 1, 1935, then moved to Frankfurt/M and thereafter emigrated in March 1937.²³³

4-5) **Karl Schloss**, 45, and **Hilde**, nee Löwenstein, 43, owned a manufactured goods business. Their trading license was cancelled on March 4. They moved to Hanover on March 5²³⁴ sold their house and garden, Flehmengasse 1 (Begines House) on August 25 and emigrated to Argentina/South America in October.²³⁵ They maintained contact by correspondence with the new house owners after the war.

b) Moves within Germany 1937

1-3) Walter Kron's parents: **Gustav Kron** (59) and **Selma, née Blumenkrohn** (47), resided at Gießener Str. 39. On December 29, they moved to Hamburg with Gustav's mother **Johanna Kron, née Löwenstein** (89), who had lived in Fritzlar since January 25, 1926.²³⁶ – On November 10, 1938, G. Kron was arrested in Hamburg like many other Jewish men during the Reich pogrom night, deported to the KZ Oranienburg and released after two terrible weeks. In 1941, his wife and he were deported to Lodz and finally gassed at Chelmno in May 1942.²³⁷ Nothing is known about the fate of mother Johanna K.; she probably died in Hamburg.

In 1999, **Walter Kron** wrote, in memory of his parents: "I am looking back at these events and pondering whether I did enough to save my parents. No, I am aware I did not do enough, not enough! The Mexicans and Cubans were prepared to admit Jews against payment of bribes, and still in 1938, it was not too difficult for Jews to travel away from Germany, but there were only few countries admitting them legally. The Cubans demanded about 500 \$ per person for smuggling Jews into the country, but they were not really reliable. However, I was not even able to scratch together that sum, let alone the 5,000 \$, demanded by the Mexicans. I should have robbed a bank, stolen the money! Who would have been able to pronounce me guilty? It would have been fully justified from the moral point of view. This is how I could have saved their lives. But I was unable to commit a crime. I have had a middle-class education, now I have to live with that. Then the war broke out, and all saving attempts were in vain."²³⁸

²³³ Archiv Fritzlar XI 12,27

²³⁴ Archiv Fritzlar XVIII 4,17,1-7

²³⁵ The archives record four Jewish and two „Aryan“ emigration cancellations from Fritzlar to the USA and one to England. (Fritzlar Archive XVIII 4,17,1-7).

- Emigration from Germany in 1937 totalled 23.000 or 23.500 Jews, somewhat fewer than in 1936. (Kropat, Alltag 433; Lohmann, Schicksal 21)

²³⁶ Lohmann, Schicksal 22 u 44

²³⁷ Chelmno (NW of Lodz) was used as a gassing installation for mass killing from December 8, 1941.

²³⁸ Glickman; Letter of Kron's son to the author.



Moses Lissauer

4) **Frieda Lissauer**, aged 37, pupil at the Ursulinenschule from 1911 to 1918, owner of the furniture store run by **Moses Lissauer** at Giessener Str.18.²³⁹

In 1934 she accompanied a dentist's family to Jerusalem and worked for them as their housekeeper. She returned to Fritzlar on May 20, 1934.²⁴⁰ In December she moved to Hamburg²⁴¹ where she married **Elias Auerbach** in 1938. From Hamburg she emigrated to England in 1939 and some time later she moved on to her brother, **Gustav (II)** in the USA. She died around 1960 in New York.

5-8) On April 1, Moses Mannheimer's widow, **Frieda Mannheimer, née Marburger** (52) moved to, her birthplace Laasphe with three of her five children still alive: **Lilli** (27) and her sons **Theo** (18) and **Manfred** (10)., "for in Fritzlar things were worse than in Westphalia", as the daughter wrote²⁴². The family had lived in Fraumünsterstr. 8, Fritzlar. She was able to sell the house on February 17. In fact, her daughter was unwilling to leave Fritzlar. She had attended the Ursulinen School from 1919 - 1922 and was "in love with Fritzlar", as her sister wrote.

She had always said: "I won't go away, what should they want of me?" And her sister added: "After all, nobody thought it would turn out like that. Nobody! Nobody could imagine that. The Germans were cultivated people after all." Lilli married Mr. **Brill** at Laasphe. She and her husband were murdered in a KZ.²⁴³

Frieda Mannheimer emigrated to the USA via New York in 1941 with her son Manfred. Manfred married Ellen, née Schiff.



Manfred Mannheimer

9) **Max Mark**, (65), Marktplatz 13, shoemaker, moved to Berlin before 1938.

10) **Tony Rosenbach**, (49), was housekeeper to Aron Mansbach. She moved to Kassel on August 13 and later became a **Shoah** victim in Riga.²⁴⁴

c) Deaths 1937

1) **Clara Lissauer, née Heilbronn** (61), died on February 2. She had been deputy chair of the „Israelitischer Frauenverein (Jewish Women's association) Fritzlar“.²⁴⁵

2) **Henny Stern, née Gerson** (57) died on December 15. Her tombstone is the last that was put up in the Jewish cemetery before the war. The Hebrew inscription reads: "Here lies buried a virtuous woman: Hindle, daughter of Gerschon, deceased on December 15 and buried on 17.12.1937, for rendering of accounts. May her soul

²³⁹ Archiv Fritzlar XIX 4,11,11

²⁴⁰ Archiv Fritzlar XVIII 4,13,1-3

²⁴¹ Lohmann, Schicksal 22

²⁴² Archiv Fritzlar XI 12,32; XVIII 4,17,1-7

²⁴³ Letter to author; Lilli is not mentioned in the Memorial Book.

²⁴⁴ Archiv Fritzlar XVIII 4,17,1-7; Gedenkbuch

²⁴⁵ Archiv Fritzlar XIX 4,7,3

be preserved in the bundle of the living." Below, there is a German inscription: "Henny Stern, née Gerson, 9. 10. 1880 – 15. 12. 1937".²⁴⁶

This death is the last entry in the register of deaths of the synagogue community.

In the course of the year, the mother-in-law of the physician Hans Joseph died in Karlsruhe, and her daughter doubts that she had been given the necessary medical assistance.²⁴⁷

The **marriage register** of the synagogue community ends on November 15²⁴⁸, the **death register** on December 15.²⁴⁹

d) Shops and other places of work 1937

1) The butcher store owned by Mr. **Kleinberger** who fled Fritzlar in July 1936 officially ceased to be licensed in February 1937.

The following trade licenses expired:



Susman Speier

2) **Elias Lissauer**, deceased in 1929, i.e. for his sons **Gustav (II)** who emigrated in 1934 and **Max** who left for Bendorf-Sayn in 1936, the license for manufactured goods and furniture at Gießener Str. 18, next to the present Kaiserpfalz, expired on April 23. Elias Lissauer owned a very large plot of land, which had to be sold compulsorily to the German air force because barracks were being erected there.

3) For **Moses Lissauer**, Gießener Str. 8, the license for his ladies' wear and furniture business expired.

4) For **Karl Schloss** on March 3.

5) For **Hermann Speier**, Martinsgasse 18, the license of his cigar shop expired by October 8.

6) For **Susman Speier**, Steinweg 1, by March 1.

7) **Sally Stern's** cattle trade license at Gießener Str. 11 ended on January 25.²⁵⁰

The reason given was that he was unable to prove proper bookkeeping and had no cash.²⁵¹

e) Houses and real estate 1937

1) In January, a residential house and barn in Martinsgasse 2 was sold on behalf of **Max Gutheim** at a regular price, 1.000 RM above its fire insurance value. However, this did not prevent Mr. Gutheim and his friends from being suspected. The mayor wrote on October 28: "The Jewish merchant Max Gutheim, who emigrated to North America in September 1936, ... is at present having his property sold. Negotiation of the sale has been entrusted to the dealer **Jakob Sauerwald** in Fritzlar, Martinsgasse. In the past the Gutheim family has maintained very close relations with the family of the former district inspector G. B. in this town. B. is now employed as a government inspector in Aachen. It cannot be excluded that the latter is still in connection with the Gutheim family. Surveillance might be recommended,

²⁴⁶ This grave lies on the NW border. The year 1937 and the borderline position of the grave raise the question whether it was not a natural death. Suicides were often buried near the cemetery wall or hedge.

²⁴⁷ Letter from Dorothy to the author.

²⁴⁸ The marriage registry is in two volumes: 1827-1888 and 1872-1937.

²⁴⁹ The death registry is also in two volumes: 1824-1880 and 1872-1937

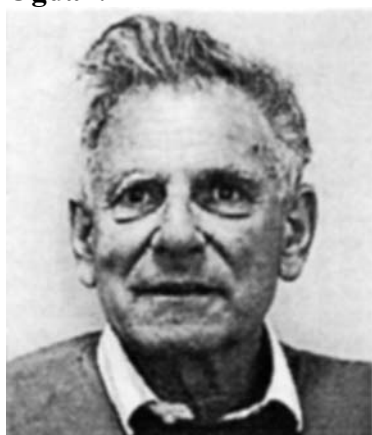
²⁵⁰ Archiv Fritzlar II 2,17,7

²⁵¹ Archiv Fritzlar XXIII 5Bd,36,8

in case Gutheim might try to get the proceeds of the sale transferred abroad via the B. family."

2) **Paula Gutheim** sold two acres of land in October and in November her house at Martingasse 2, prior to emigration..

3) **Max Lissauer**, who was living in Bendorf-Sayn since 1936, was forced to sell the very large properties on Hohlen Graben and at Blaumuehlenweg on May 25 to the Deutsche Luftwaffe for the construction of barracks.²⁵² The heir to these properties was his sister, **Siddi Blumenkron, née Lissauer**, the mother of **Jechiel Ogdan**.



Jechiel Ogdan



David Löwenstein

4) **David Löwenstein and Josef Löwenstein**, owners of a furniture and textile store at 22 Fraumuenster Street, sold their business to the Wenzel firm in Homberg. The transaction was scheduled for Feb, 1938 as reported on October 16 by the Mayor.²⁵³

5) **Josef (II) Löwenstein**, Fraumünsterstr. 22, sold a field on the Zennernweg on September 1 to the Department of Air Transport. The proceeds were deposited into a blocked account.²⁵⁴

6) **Frieda Mannheimer** of Fraumünsterstr.8 was able to sell her house on February 17.²⁵⁵

7) The **Schloss** couple sold their house and garden at 1 Flehmengasse on August 25, shortly before they emigrated. They remained in contact by mail with the new owners after the war.

8) **Susman Speier**, Steinweg1, had sold a plot of land to an employee at a favourable price in January. The price caused suspicions "because ... it appears almost impossible that one can buy a plot of land from a Jew and pay less than its actual value". In addition the purchaser, a waitress, came under suspicion of having violated the Nuremberg Laws. However, these suspicions proved to be unfounded.²⁵⁶

9) The municipality sold a plot of land, previously owned by Jews, to an interested party. Unfortunately, no details were given.²⁵⁷

Data 1937

58 Jews lived in Fritzlar on April 1, or 1.34 % of the population. On September 30, there were still **57**.²⁵⁸ Shortly before, on September 14, the chairman of the

²⁵² Letter from Mr. Ogdan to the author

²⁵³ Archiv Fritzlar XI 12,27

²⁵⁴ Archiv Fritzlar X 22,22; XIX 4,11,12

²⁵⁵ Archiv Fritzlar XIX 4,11,12; Lohmann, Schicksal 22

²⁵⁶ Archiv Fritzlar XVIII 1,3,13

²⁵⁷ Document from July 31,1948 in the Fritzlar Archive

²⁵⁸ HStA Marburg 180 Landratsamt Fritzlar 2748

Jewish community, **Leopold Löwenstein**, had submitted a list of the community members to the authorities showing only **51**.²⁵⁹

4,323 civilians and 401 military lived in Fritzlar on October 1, among them **52** Jews (22 m, 30 f), or only 1.2 % of the civilians.²⁶⁰ In town district A, no Jew was left; there were 11 in B (4 m, 7 f), 37 in C (16 m, 21 f) and 4 in D (2 m, 2 f).²⁶¹

²⁵⁹ FHA 9.11.1978

²⁶⁰ Statistics for 1937 indicate the following numbers of inhabitants for Fritzlar:

March 31 including military 5.072

July 1 “ “ 5.521

October 1 “ “ 5.477.

These numbers seem to also include nearby villages, the reason being that a different record from October 11, 1937, matches the data of 1936. After that 4,323 civilians and 401 military personnel resided in Fritzlar. (Fritzlar Archive II 2,17,2).

²⁶¹ The breakdown by religions: 2.400 Catholic, 1.825 Evangelical, 46 other belief, **52** Israelites (Jews). For the first time other beliefs were listed ahead of the Jews. The residents dwelled in 567 buildings comprised of 1,038 households. Arnsberg (216) recorded **51** Juden.

4th phase: Compulsion to give up business and emigrate under threat of death

The sixth NS year

A chronology of the year 1938

The Staff Health Insurance Federation, parent of 14 private health insurance institutions, has in the spirit of the Nuremberg Laws excluded ... all Jewish physicians from the private health sector as of **Jan. 1** of this year.“ This applied to about 3,000 of the total of 4.220 Jewish physicians. (KFH²⁶² 5.1.)

In the regular column the KFH editor wrote, “The Jewish question has become the core problem. ... It shows that all people are desperately locking their doors in order not to allow these unwanted strangers into the house.” (KFH 7.1.)

The Reich propaganda leaders organised an exhibition in Berlin called “Bolshevism without mask”, which showed “that Bolshevism and Jewry must be named in the same breath”. (KFH 11.1.)

Reichsleiter Amann made a gift of Hitler’s “Mein Kampf” in the languages of the world to Hermann Göring. (KFH 13.1.)

The Reich Gazette No. 2 dated **Jan. 8**, laid down that “applications by persons of German blood carrying Jewish names for changing these names should be granted. Which names are to be regarded as Jewish would be determined by public opinion . Applications by Jews and half-breeds for changing their name would not be granted in principle, because the origin of the bearer’s name would be concealed by the change.” (KFH 13.1.)

The shop window competition of the year 1938 was held under the motto “We herald German achievement”. A prerequisite for participation was “Aryan origin. Jewish businesses were excluded”. (KFH 24.1.)

Dr. Kurt Hempel of the German general practitioners’ association in Kassel was appointed as new senior consultant at the Fritzlar hospital.” (KFH 24.1. No mention was made then of his wife being of “Jewish origin”!)

“The Party Training Premises... show, in large letters, the core sentence from the Führer’s book: ‘The sin against blood and race is the hereditary sin of this world.’ The idea of race is fundamental for the National Socialist philosophy and for the world image of the future as a whole. Thus, the theory of blood and race is also central to all National Socialist training work. ... Major attention is paid to the racial purity and the fight against Jewry. ... Two statements clearly result from these considerations: 1) that the proportion of Jews in the Electoral Hesse village population by far exceeds the Reich average and 2) that in fact, since the takeover of power, the influence of the Jews has also diminished in terms of numbers.” (KFH 25.1.)

At the beginning of the year, a decree banned Jewish patients at Spa places from common reading rooms, swimming pools and social rooms; they were only allowed to stay in Jewish spa institutions and boarding houses.²⁶³

The political exhibition “The Eternal Jew” in Munich was highly successful. (KFH 4.2.)

The new “Reich Registering Order” according to which, one’s further whereabouts had to be stated when deregistering, entered into force on **Febr. 1**. It was no longer allowed to state “moved to unknown destination” or “deregistered for travel”. (KFH 4.2.)

“The Reich government has passed a bill for changing the income tax law Particular fundamental importance is attributed to its racial extension. Tax reductions or allowances for children will no longer apply to Jewish children in the sense of the Nuremberg laws, for both income tax and wage tax.” (KFH 7.2.)

“On **Febr. 13**, the leader of the district women’s association spoke to members about the world danger of Jewry. The speaker drew a clear picture of that hereditary enemy of all peoples in a stirring and concrete manner.” (KFH 16.2.)

“For cases of racial offences, the court will generally impose imprisonment.” (KFH 17.2.)

Reichsleiter Rosenberg, the Führer’s commissioner for mental and philosophical education of the NSDAP, , stated that the study of race was not a theory that cropped up all of a sudden, but the birth of a new, revolutionary science, even though it had been prepared for a

²⁶² Kreisblatt Fritzlar-Homberg

²⁶³ Kropat, Alltag 439

long time. ... Race study based on experience was already incorporated in scientific awareness.” (KFH 17.2.)

On **Febr. 17**, Soviet Russian Jews were expelled from Germany.

On **Febr. 20**, Adolf Hitler spoke to the world about the development of the last five years at a Reichstag convoked for this purpose. He referred to Jews only in connection with Bolshevism. (KFH 21.2.)

The exhibition “Entartete Kunst” (degenerate art) showed „degenerate showpieces of Jewish cultural Bolshevism”. (KFH 24.2.)

In a Munich speech Hitler declared: “We will soon proceed energetically against the Jewish agitators in Germany. We know them to be representatives of an International, and will treat them all accordingly.” (KFH 25.2.)

“An end to off-the-peg Jews! Elimination of the Jewish share in the garment business is in full progress” were the headlines in the KFH on March 4. Products of the consortium of German-Aryan manufacturers received a tag, as of April 1, marking them as “goods made by Aryan hands. ... the German garment industry wants to prove that the Jew is not only dispensable, but not even capable of creating appropriate garments for German people”. (KFH 4.3.)

On **March 12**, Austria joined the Reich. The regional paper headline read: “Austria goes National Socialist! A new government carried upwards by the confidence of the entire people. One people, one Reich, one Führer”. (KFH March 12) A free and secret plebiscite on this “Anschluss” was fixed for April 10.

Measures to prevent “political capital flight” from Austria were adopted at once. (KFH 15.5.)

On **March 18**, Adolf Hitler announced to the Reichstag that it had been dissolved and that the “Reichstag election of the Greater German Reich” would be held together with a plebiscite. (KFH 19.3.) The ballot paper read: “Do you agree to the re-unification of Austria with the German Reich performed on March 13, 1938, and do you vote for the list of our Führer Adolf Hitler? Yes – No”. Jewish half-breeds with only one fully Jewish grandparent were entitled to vote; restrictions applied to those having two fully Jewish grandparents; other Jews could not vote. (KFH 26.3.)

In March, the Gestapo took over control of emigration of the Jews.

On **March 26**, the Polish government decided to expatriate Poles who “have been living abroad for at least five years”. (KFH 26.3.) This concerned many Polish Jews in Germany.

By a law of **March 28**, the Jewish communities, until then corporations under public law, were put under state supervision as registered associations, which inter alia eliminated, their tax exemptions. “The rights of corporations under public law in no way represented the position of the Jews in the Third Reich.” (KFH 1.4.)

In the plebiscite on **April 10**, more than 99 % voted for Hitler.²⁶⁴ In Fritzlar, 2.765 persons were entitled to vote; all except one (!) voted for Hitler! (KFH 11.4.)²⁶⁵

On **April 26**, “an ordinance was passed on reporting Jewish assets, to the effect that all Jews were obliged to report their local and foreign assets if their total value exceeded 5,000 RM. The obligation also applied to the non-Jewish spouse of a Jew.” Sales and rentals, opening up businesses or branch offices in which a Jew was involved also required approval. (KFH 28.4.) This ordinance applied to bank balances, securities and capital insurances and was used as a basis for expropriating measures. According to the guidelines issued by the Führer and Minister of Economic Affairs, this meant that Jews were not to make any profits from “de-Judaisation” and that goodwill was not to be included in the price for Jewish businesses.²⁶⁶

²⁶⁴ In the former Reich, 49,493,028 were entitled to vote, in Austria 4,474,138
of which, YES votes 48,751,587 4,443,208
NO votes 452,170 11,807 (KFH Apr. 12)

²⁶⁵ There were more than 20,000 votes against in Weser-Ems, Westphalia-North, Dresden-Bautzen, Leipzig, Chemnitz-Zwickau, Baden, and Hamburg (KFH 12.4.)

²⁶⁶ Hangebruch 174

On **April 28**, Minister Göring, responsible for the Four Year Plan, demanded "final elimination" of Jews from the German economic system; execution of this measure commenced immediately.

On **May 5**, the Kurhessische Landeszeitung was able to report in banner headlines: "Gudensberg free of Jews", pointing out that the tenacious 5 year fight against the Jews had at last been crowned by success, and that the Jewish community of 124 members at the time of seizure of power no longer existed.

The Protestant clergy as bearers of a public office were obliged to swear an oath of faithfulness and obedience to the Führer Adolf Hitler, which expressly included a personal commitment to Hitler. The Protestant church commission of Electoral Hesse and Waldeck decided, on **May 2**, that ministers and church officials should declare, "I swear upon God, the Almighty and Omniscient, I will be faithful and obedient to the Führer of the German Reich and people, Adolf Hitler, abide by the law and fulfil the duties of my office conscientiously, so help me God." (KFH 7.5. The oath prevented the ministers from helping the Jews!)

As decided by the Austrian Protestant Synodal Commission the pastors in Austria made the following vow in lieu of an oath: "I will be faithful and obedient to the Führer of the German Reich and people, Adolf Hitler, abide by the law and conscientiously fulfill the duties of my office, so help me God". (KFH 4.5. In this way, the ministers undertook to fulfil the anti-Semitic laws! That is the reverse side of the Church status of corporation under public law!) The Nuremberg Acts were also adopted in Austria and thus e.g., prohibiting mixed marriages between Aryans and Jews. (KFH 5.5. and 25.5.)

In connection with the Reich music festival, an exhibition of "Degenerate Music" was held in Düsseldorf. This intended to "draw a final line under certain degenerate phenomena , in music too, which had caused horrendous destruction in Germany, above all under the influence of the Jews, but which had already been overcome long ago by National Socialism in other cultural and political areas, ...". (KFH 27.5.)

Since only few of the Soviet Russian Jews had obeyed the expatriation order , Reich SS leader and head of the German police Heydrich ordered, on **May 28**, that all Soviet Russian Jews who - in spite of two extensions of the six week deadline for emigration - had not yet left Reich territory should be imprisoned in a concentration camp for expatriation. An exemption was provided for adolescents, females, aged, decrepit and sick people. This expatriation imprisonment was to be revoked as soon as the Jews concerned had declared their intention to leave the Reich immediately; departure was to be surveyed.

When the new Dessau theatre was inaugurated, "Dr. Goebbels revealed, with merciless frankness, ... the sinister machinations of the Marxist-Jewish agitators". (KFH 30.5.)

On **June 3**, the Kreisblatt wrote, under the headline "Vienna's press has been cleaned": "Today, after two months, the cleaning procedure has been completed. ... An Augianstable of Jewish machinations has been converted into a German press. ... A Jewish throne has been overthrown." (KFH 3.6.)

By the 3rd Ordinance to the Reich Citizens Act, the term "Jewish business enterprise" was defined on **June 15**, and all Jewish trade enterprises had to be listed in a separate schedule. Such a definition was important, "because the prohibition to buy in Jewish shops applied to members of the National Socialist party and other components of the movement, as well as to civil servants. An enterprise would be considered as Jewish if one quarter of the capital was owned by Jews. ... Jewish businesses would be listed and these lists would be displayed openly for everyone's perusal, so that every national comrade would know whether a business was Jewish. ... Jewish businesses which refuse to be Aryanized would have to display a specific identification in the near future." (KFH 17.6.) Minister Göring demanded that Jews be expropriated. (The Reich pogrom is being foreshadowed here!)

The Kreisblatt interpreted as follows: "The integration of Austria provided the final stimulus for the definition of Jewish economic activities in Germany. ... In the entire Reich, stock exchanges have now been purified. Moreover, The Reich Minister of Economic Affairs has been empowered to carry out the identification of all Jewish businesses. This should be close at hand, the more so since additional measures regarding Jewish economic

activities have also been under preparation in the meantime.” (KFH 25.6. These by-laws can be found under the date of 21 July.)

According to the Reich Citizens’ Act, the Aryan clause was extended to include racine sports, i.e. trotters and horse owners . (KFH 17.6.) The Reich Minister of Economic Affairs ordered that Jews should no longer be admitted to attend stock exchanges, and the Reich Minister of Education ordered that the Reich Cultural Chamber Act, by which Jews were excluded, should also apply in Austria. (KFH 21.6.)

During the midsummer celebration, Dr. Goebbels made a statement on the Jewish question: “Thunderous applause set on when he declared: ‘We have not been fighting against international Jewry for seven years in Berlin to see it spreading in National Socialist Berlin today almost more widely than ever before. ... Is it not downright outrageous, ... that less than 3,000 Jews have moved to Berlin during the last few months?’ (Excited shouts of ‘Out!’) : ‘Let them go where they came from.’” ... Moreover, legal measures would ensure that Jewish influence would be smashed in the economic sphere, too, in the foreseeable future. (KFH 23.6. Again, the pogrom was being foreshadowed!)

In **June**, all Jews having a criminal record, including those who had committed foreign exchange offences, were taken to concentration camps.

Minister Goebbels and Gauleiter Streicher started a malicious campaign against the Jews.

Detailed by-laws were announced for implementation of the Nuremberg racial laws in Austria. (KFH 23.6.)

The intense efforts of National Socialist historic science to explore the Jewish question were shown by the creation of the largest European library on the Jewish question (KFH 6.7.)

On **6 July**, amended Trading Regulations validated the licenses for itinerant Jewish tradesmen only until September 30.²⁶⁷ The following activities were prohibited for Jews: security operations, inquiry agencies, real estate trade, brokerage and loans, matrimonial agencies – except among Jews – and tourist guides. (KFH 12.7.)

From **6 – 15 July**, representatives of 31 countries took part in the conference held at Evian-les-Bains on the French shore of Lake Geneva to deal with the admission of Jewish refugees. However, the only country which declared its readiness to loosen admission regulations was the Dominican Republic. Australia raised the quota to 15,000 within a three year period, and Great Britain offered admission to British Guinea.²⁶⁸ (The conference took place at a huge, beautiful hotel. It aggravated the situation of the Jews, as the Nazi government was able to rejoice that hardly any country was prepared to admit more Jews.)

On **July 18**, the Kreisblatt referred to an article by Alfred Rosenberg in the “Völkischer Beobachter” under the headline “Settling matters with the Jews”.

On **July 27**, Jewish representatives decided to establish a Reich Association of Jews as successor to the Reich Representation; however, this decision could only be implemented after the November pogrom .

At the **end of July**, the Reich Gazette published an ordinance on identity cards, which were introduced as the national identification document as from Oct. 1. This identity card was compulsory for Jews; it was clearly marked by a big “J”. (KFH 28.7. and 5.10.)

In **August**, “the political exhibition ‘The Eternal Jew’ showed what depravities and weaknesses had been provoked by Jewry and which had been overcome by National Socialism. The intention was to clarify what characteristics were Jewish and what unbridgeable contrasts existed between the Aryan and Jewish characters. ... The aim was to eliminate the Jewish essence in the body of the German people in every respect.” (KFH 4.8.)

At the **beginning of August**, the 4th ordinance on the Reich Citizen Act demanded the “elimination of the Jews from the medical profession.” As from 30th September, Jewish physicians were banned from treating people of German blood; their licenses were cancelled. “In this way, following the complete removal of all Jewish holders of a public office in the earlier ordinances, the solution of the Jewish question in Germany is being approached stepwise, but purposefully, by legal means.” (KFH 4.8.) Jewish physicians were no longer allowed to call themselves doctor and were excluded from medical professional

²⁶⁷ Hangebruch 422

²⁶⁸ The most important conference texts are to be found in Jewish Immigrants, vol. 4/2, pp. 324-369

and social organizations. (KFH 10.8.) They were only permitted to treat Jews and their family members. (KFH 12.10.)

On **August 24**, another decree went into force: “No more Jewish first names for children of German blood! After the Minister of the Interior had issued guidelines to ensure that Germans would no longer have to remain bearers of Jewish family names and that, on the other hand, it would be impossible for Jews to hide under German names”, the courts now ruled that the allocation of first names would be subject to public law. Despite their Hebrew origin, however, first names like Johannes, Hans, Peter, Maria, Elisabeth, Martha, Eva and Ruth were not felt to be Un-German. (KFH 8.8. The list of first names from A to Z may be found in the Fritzlar archives X 72, 13) Following the court decision, a 2nd decree regulated the details. “In so far as Jews currently bear first names not listed in the guidelines, they have to adopt an additional first name as from Jan. 1, 1939, i.e. Israel for male persons and Sara for females.” (KFH 24.8.) This was intended to “facilitate bureaucratic control measures and to continue the stigmatizing process for the alleged protection of the ‘Aryan’ environment.”²⁶⁹

Jews were excluded from trading with radios which served as political community media. (KFH 10.8.)

At a congress of expatriate Germans, the Reich commissioner defended himself against the accusation of a “pointless persecution wave against the Jews” and declared that the Jewish question would be “solved most thoroughly, as becomes a nation under the rule of law”. (KFH 1.9.)

Cases of Aryanisation must not result in price increases for consumers. (KFH 7.9.)

The 10th NSDAP Party congress was held at Nuremberg from **5-12 Sept.** as the first Greater German congress. Hitler said: “The National Socialist Party had to begin the fight against the biggest enemy who threatened to annihilate our people: the international Jewish world enemy. The party’s task was to clean our German national character, race and culture from it.” (KFH 7.9.)

Hitler’s book “Mein Kampf”²⁷⁰, on which the NS racial mania was based, exceeded four million copies. (KFH 21.9.)

A decree excluded Jews from the German adoption system. (KFH 30.9.)

On **29th September**, a treaty on incorporating the Sudeten-German territories into the Reich was signed by Germany, Great Britain, France, and Italy. (KFH 30.9.)

On **30th September**, the licenses of all the 360 Jewish cattle dealers in Electoral Hesse were withdrawn, based on an ordinance of 25 Jan 1937. “Cattle trade of Electoral Hesse free of Jews as from Sept. 30”, was the headline of the economic newspaper.²⁷¹ “Whilst in 1935 503 Jewish cattle traders, 130 Jewish butchers and 26 Jewish gut traders still existed in Electoral Hesse, none were left on 31.8.1938. ... It should be pointed out that ... in this area, the Jews had been eliminated before the public measures caused by the murder of party comrade vom Rath came into force”. (KFH 5.5.39) In addition all Jewish itinerant trade licenses lost their validity.

In a decree by the Minister of the Interior all passports of Jews were declared invalid New passports had to be marked with a “J”. (KFH 11.10.)

On **October 14**, a demand to solve the Jewish question immediately was raised in the Council of Ministers.

In a 5th ordinance on the Reich Citizens Law, it was laid down that Jews were to leave the legal profession as of **Nov. 10**. “There will be no more Jewish lawyers in the future,” commented the Kreisblatt. A restricted number of existing lawyers were admitted as consultants, to act for Jewish clients only. (KFH 17.10.) Their earnings were severely restricted. (KFH 22.10.)

The Kreisblatt reported: “In the garment industry, too, the process of de-Judaisation has progressed considerably.” (KFH 20.10.)

The president of the German Legal Academy declared: “In the race legislation, one of the most important aspects is the elimination of the Jewish element from all areas influencing the life of the community.” (KFH 22.10.)

²⁶⁹ Battenberg II 275

²⁷⁰ see Annex 5

²⁷¹ Schattner, Wabern 43

On Nov. 3 the Kreisblatt reviewed a book on Jewish self-testimonials. It showed "in a stark manner, the Jewish soul and tactics, the character of the Jewish race and, above all, Jewish subversion".

"In the course of Aryanizing the German economy, non-Aryan craft businesses were also dissolved. ... For de-Judaized crafts, the 'Jewish' period will not be counted for anniversaries." (KFH 4.11.)

The 6th Ordinance on the Reich Citizens Law ruled that Jewish patent attorneys also had to resign as per **Nov. 30**. (KFH 4.11.)

-----The Pogrom-----

On **October 27**, between 13,000 and 17,000 Jews with Polish passports²⁷² were deported from Germany to Poland "under terrible circumstances", because their Polish nationality had been suspended as per October 31 by the Polish government in a decision dated March 31. In an "express letter" dated October 26, the Gestapo ordered residence prohibitions covering the Reich territory, took all Jewish citizens having Polish passports into deportation arrest and transported them to the Polish border in collective transports. Poland thereupon closed its borders²⁷³. Jews talked of the "black Sabbath" and the "heart-rending, family-disrupting Polish action of October 28, 1938".²⁷⁴ About 10 % of the Jews in Hesse were Polish nationals, whose property was confiscated by the NS state and seized by the Trustee Ost.²⁷⁵

The misery of the Polish Jews, who were hindered from entering the country for several days by the Poles, induced the desperate 17-year-old Herschel Grynszpan, who had been trying in vain in Paris to obtain departure documents, to fire a pistol shot at the German embassy official Ernst vom Rath in Paris - who had nothing to do with the matter - on Monday, **7th November**, causing his death two days later.²⁷⁶ The "Deutsche Dienst" at once threatened: "This crime cannot remain without consequences for the Jews in Germany." (KFH 8.11.) In his Nov. 9 speech in Munich, Hitler did not mention the assassination. (KFH 9.11.) Vom Rath was appointed first-class embassy counsellor shortly before his death. (KFH 10.11.)

Vom Rath's murder in turn triggered the Reich pogrom, the "Jews' action", in Germany against German Jews who were equally uninvolved. It began immediately after the assassination became known, first in Kassel on **November 7**, then spreading to Northern Hesse on **November 8**.

On **November 8**, Goebbels ordered all still existent Jewish newspapers to be prohibited, so that the Jews, who had been compelled to give away their radios previously months, lost all possibilities of obtaining reasonably reliable information.²⁷⁷ However the "Aryan" population was also being informed in a biased manner by then.

On **November 9**, the Kreisblatt reported: "Demonstrations against the Jews. As an answer to the Paris provocation, the cowardly Jewish murder, there have been considerable spontaneous demonstrations of the population in Electoral Hesse. Just as in Germany generally the profoundest indignation has been shown at the new shameful political crime by a Jew." (KFH 9.11. No details were reported!)

On **November 9**, the Gestapo chief telexed all Gestapo agencies a short time at **23.55 h**: "1. Actions against Jews, in particular against their synagogues, will take place in a very short time. 2. Refers to archive material 3. Preparations will be made for arresting about 20,000 to 30,000 Jews in the Reich. Those to be selected are, primarily, wealthy Jews." (HP 23.6.1945)

Shortly after that, at **01.20 h** on **November 10**, Heydrich sent a secret flash to all Gestapo agencies "re actions against Jews during this night. The chief of the security police ordered

²⁷² Battenberg II 276; Rohrbacher 188

²⁷³ Benz 532; Kropat Alltag 433; Maurer, Trude: Abschiebung und Attentat; die Ausweisung der polnischen Juden und der Vorwand für die Kristallnacht, in: Pehle

²⁷⁴ Gilles-Carlebach 172

²⁷⁵ Legal 15

²⁷⁶ Lohmann, Schicksal 24

²⁷⁷ Battenberg II 278

that “particularly wealthy” Jews, but “in the first place, only healthy male Jews of not too advanced an age” were to be arrested.²⁷⁸

About 800 Jews were murdered, died from their injuries or ended their own lives. Over 1100 synagogues and prayer rooms were destroyed.²⁷⁹

Within the churches, few voices were raised against the outrageous wrong being done to the Jews. Among these few opposing voices was the sermon held by the Protestant priest Julius von Jan in Oberlenningen on the Day of Repentance.²⁸⁰ (This was the effect of the clergy’s oath in favour of Hitler!)

In the **afternoon**, Dr. Goebbels announced: “The justified and understandable indignation of the German people concerning the cowardly Jewish murder of a German diplomat in Paris was vented to a large extent last night. Actions of retaliation took place in numerous cities and locations of the Reich against Jewish buildings and businesses. Now a strict demand is being addressed to the entire population to refrain immediately from any further demonstrations and actions of any kind against Jews.. The final answer to the Jewish assassination in Paris will be given to the Jews by way of legislation.” (KFH 11.11.)

The Kreisblatt mentioned the Paris murder”, but without a syllable about the pogrom. Under the heading, “Mourning and bitter feelings in Germany. Peoples’ demonstrations against the Jews” it wrote: “After the decease of the German diplomat became known, rallies hostile to Jews developed spontaneously in the entire Reich. In the course of these demonstrations, the deep indignation of the German people was vented in strong anti-Jewish actions. For instance, the shop windows of Jewish businesses and display cases were broken. ... In no case has a single hair of a Jew’s head been harmed. ... In various instances, fires broke out in synagogues.” (KFH 11.11. A great many people had witnessed that this was not correct, and several men actively participated in the arrests; in spite of that, the newspaper wrote like this!! No word about the happenings in Fritzlar or the Fritzlar-Homberg district!)

The chief of the German police and the Minister of the Interior published the following ordinance on **Nov. 10**: “ Possession of any weapons is prohibited for persons considered as Jews in the sense of the Nuremberg laws. Offenders will be committed to concentration camps and subjected to 20 years’ protective custody.” (KFH 11.11.) Accordingly, Jews were banned from acquiring, possessing and carrying fire arms and ammunition as well as cutting or thrusting weapons. The maximum punishment was lowered to five years. (KFH 12.11.)

On **November 12**, Göring demanded, in the course of an inter-ministerial meeting, “to settle the Jewish question one way or another”.²⁸¹

Dr. Goebbels pointed out in the “Völkischer Beobachter” referring to the eruption of indignation in the night of 9/10 November, that the patience of the German people was now exhausted. After the death of Embassy Counsellor vom Rath, there were quite spontaneous retaliation actions against the Jews in Germany. The breakout of indignation that night is explained thereby and shows that the patience of the German people is now completely exhausted. ... One of the most prominent features of the actions against the Jews that took place during recent days is that although there was demolition, there was no pilfering. ... In our view the reaction of the German people to the cowardly treacherous murder in Paris must be explained by the dastardly meanness of this act. It was neither organized nor prepared, it broke out spontaneously in the nation. ... The German people is an anti-Semitic people. ... Calm and order will be ensured best in this problem by leading it to a solution which meets the desires and needs of the German people. ... In so far as foreign countries hostile towards Germany feel a need to stand up for the German Jews and to look after them, they will be at their disposal in any number.” The Kreisblatt commentator adds: “Now the German government has to speak, and it will not be long in giving a legal answer to the international

²⁷⁸ Stein in Kingreen 19 & seq.

²⁷⁹ Figures according to Brocke 27. Heydrich talked about 101 synagogues destroyed by fire and 76 demolished on Nov. 12; Goebbels mentioned 190 and destroyed synagogues. So the figures were reduced officially. Battenberg reported about 267 destroyed synagogues and 7500 devastated and pilfered Jewish shops and residential houses. According to general information, 30,000 were arrested during the pogrom; H. Stein more cautiously wrote about “over 26,000” (Stein 41).

²⁸⁰ Röhm & Thierfelder 125

²⁸¹ Benz 532

Jewish rabble. Laws and decrees will come that will express the feelings of the people and their indignation. The Jews will meet with the treatment they deserve!” (KFH 12.11. There was pilfering and worse, and the actions had been organized. But people were told lies!)

The Institute for Studies on the Jewish question published an instructive survey of the positions of European and overseas countries on their readiness to receive Jews: It is limited in Palestine, there is, no European country, and only individual immigrations are accepted overseas. “The main obstacle, however remains, the financial issue; for the experts estimate the cost of settling a single Jewish family at 1,000 RM. Under these circumstances, the London Refugees Commission instituted at the Evian conference believes to be able to relocate 100,000 Jews per year.” (KFH 12.11.)

The Kreisblatt repeated: “Even though Juda has shed German blood in Paris, no Jewish blood has been shed during the retaliation actions until now. In no case has a hair of a Jew’s head been harmed.” (loc. cit. This daring statement was made although, in many places, thousands had been participating actively or had been eye and ear witnesses of the arrest of Jewish men and the harassing of Jews!! This report revealed the press to the attentive reader as a press of lies!) Dr. Goebbels demanded that the foreign press should report “truthfully about the happenings of recent days” (loc. cit.; but he did not do so himself!)

On Nov. 12, Göring issued the three following decrees:

a) “The hostile attitude of Jewry against the German people and Reich, which does not refrain from cowardly acts of murder, requires determined defence and strong atonement. I therefore decide as follows: Payment of a contribution²⁸² of 1 billion RM to the German Reich will be imposed on the Jews of German nationality in their entirety.” (KFH 12.11.)

b): “All damage caused to Jewish businesses and homes due to the indignation of the people against the agitation of international Jewry against National Socialist Germany on Nov. 8. 9 and 10, 1938, shall be removed immediately by the Jewish owner or businessman. §2 The cost of restoring shall be borne by the owner of the Jewish business or home. Any insurance claims of Jews of German nationality will be seized in favour of the Reich.” (KFH 12.11. The Jews who had suffered damage were treated as if they had caused it to the German Reich!)

c): “1. Jews will be forbidden to operate retail shops, mail order businesses as well as craft trades as from January 1, 1939. They will also be forbidden, as of the same day, to offer goods or trade services at markets, fairs or exhibitions, to advertise them or to receive orders for them. Jewish businesses conducted in opposition to this prohibition shall be closed down by the police. 2. As from 1 Jan 1939 a Jew can no longer be an executive head of or in a business in the sense of the law regulating national work ... Where a Jew has a leading position in any economic enterprise, he may be dismissed with six weeks’ notice. Upon expiry of the period of notice, all claims of the office holder arising from the cancelled contract, including claims for pensionable emoluments and redundancy payments, will become void. . 3. A Jew cannot be member of a cooperative. Memberships of Jews in cooperatives will be terminated as per Dec. 31, 1938. No particular notice will be required.” (KFH 12.11. re paragraph 1 cf. KFH 22.11.)

Jews were forbidden to participate in cultural events of Germans: “Dr. Goebbels has forbidden with immediate effect in his quality as President of the Reich Culture Chamber, all theatre managers, organizers of concerts, lectures and dancing shows and managers of public exhibitions of a cultural nature, to allow Jewish persons to visit these. Any infringement will entail severe punishment for the organizers and particularly for the Jews. ... The attitude of the German people is anti-Semitic throughout ... They have finally forfeited the right to participate in the creation of German culture.”²⁸³ (loc. cit.)

On Nov.14, the Kreisblatt reported, under the headline “The Jewish question will be solved!” another Goebbels speech referring to the murder in Paris “and the corresponding actions of retaliation by the Reich government, which were strongly welcomed, as was the Minister’s justification given in the form of a new tough settlement, by repeated vehement applause as an expression of national intent. ... In this connection the minister strongly opposed the international Jewish press statement that the actions against Jewish businesses and synagogues had been provoked or organized by the government. “The German people

²⁸² Actually, a joint indemnification of a victor, a levy imposed on the defeated ones.

²⁸³ Benz 440

were' – and frenzied applause underlined this statement – 'filled with unprecedented indignation; turning, by the way, not against the persons but only against property.' (That lie again here about sparing the persons!)

Dr. Goebbels then described the radical measures which the National Socialist leaders had adopted on Saturday (12.11.). "...Repeated frenzied applause showed how well the measures explained in detail satisfy the unanimous will of the German people. ... it was just the German Jews who are to blame. ... the audience particularly thanked the Minister for the information that, as a result of these measures, Jewish businesses would be made to disappear from German economic life generally and transferred into Aryan ownership. The same cheering greeted the information on the order forbidding Jews to visit German theatres, cinemas and variety shows." By transferring "Jewish business life into German hands", these businesses and enterprises would become assets of the German people. He concluded: "The Jewish question will be subjected, within the shortest possible time, to a solution satisfying the feelings of the German people! The people want it, and we are only fulfilling their will.!" (KFH 14.11. So Goebbels did not refer to the will of the Führer, but to the will of the people!)

The Reich Minister of Education issued the following order: "1. Jews are not allowed to attend German schools, only Jewish schools. Unless already done, all Jewish pupils currently attending a German school have to be expelled immediately. 2. The question as to who is Jewish is defined by §5 of the first decree to the Reich Citizens Law dated 14.11.1935. 3. This regulation applies to all schools under my responsibility including obligatory schools." The Kreisblatt gave the following justification: "After the treacherous murder of Paris no German teacher can be expected to teach Jewish school children. It also goes without saying that it is unbearable for German pupils to sit in one classroom with Jews." (KFH 15.11.) Jewish pupils had to be taught in Jewish institutions only, financed by the Reich Association of Jews.

On **Nov. 15**, the tax exemption on property was reduced drastically from 50,000 RM to 5,000 RM as an "atonement" for the murder of Ernst vom Rath and property tax was increased from 20 to 25%. With this "Jewish property duty", the NS state earned 1.3 billion RM, of which 60.7 million RM in the Kassel fiscal area. The duty was also levied on emigrants who still had possessions in Germany.²⁸⁴ (The measures were addressed, at first, against the Soviet Jews, then against the Polish and finally against all German Jews, and they increased in brutality.) "In Berlin, 35,802 Jews had to register, i.e. they had assets of 5,000 Mark or more." (KFH 17.11.)

On **Nov. 15**, the editor of the Kreisblatt wrote as follows: The ordinances of Nov. 12 have achieved "the final solution of the Jewish question which has become a necessity for every State. As for the material solution, there are still some 700,000 Jews in National Socialist Greater Germany, or about 1.5 million including the half-breeds. Property still remaining in Jewish hands is estimated at 8 billion RM so that the atonement amounting to 1 billion RM makes up just a fraction of the total. Any increase of that property has, by the way, been made impossible for the future since the Jews are being removed from trade and industry and likewise from leading positions in the entire economic system." (KFH 15.11. It is here that I have encountered the term "final solution" for the first time. Until then, a solution of the Jewish question had been mentioned several times!)

Regarding emigration, the Kreisblatt wrote: "Emigrations since the year 1933 amounted to about 180,000 Jews from the territory of the former Reich." (KFH 15.11.) Dr. Goebbels stressed "that it was in Germany's for the Jews to leave the country. They were allowed to take along a certain percentage of their property subject to German foreign exchange holdings." (loc. cit.)

On **Nov.16**, the Pogrom was officially declared terminated by the Reich government.

-----end of Pogrom-----

On **Nov. 17**, the Kreisblatt under the headline "Anti-Jew measures all around the world. Nobody wants to have them". wrote: "It shows that no one wants to have these parasites and

²⁸⁴ Legal 14

that other states are commencing to eliminate these foreign bodies existing in the life of their people.” In another report, it is said, “Of the net Jewish property of around 7 billion RM ascertained by the reporting ordinance, an estimated 2 billion RM has been transferred to German holders in the meantime. The preparations made meanwhile will allow eliminating the Jews completely from German business life after some time and to transfer the Jewish possessions still existing into German hands against a settlement in fixed-interest securities.” (KFH 17.11.)

Next day the editor wrote: “The whole German people is in agreement today that the Jewish question in Germany has to find a final and comprehensive solution now. ... Where to put the Jews? This question has become urgent, since many countries are showing tendencies in the legislative area to get rid of the Jews more or less immediately.” (KFH 18.11., cf. 24.11.)

English Christians (Quakers) declared their readiness to receive 5,000 Jewish children and adolescents of up to 17 years. “The greatest achievement in rescuing children after the “Kristallnacht” was no doubt that of Great Britain, admitting 9,347 children within eight months. When the first reports on the November pogrom arrived, influential representatives of the Council for German Jewry, which had existed since 1933, went to the English Home Office in order to have the entry conditions eased. ... Now they saw a good chance to obtain entry permits at least for children. ... In fact, the rescue of children became a concern of a great part of the English population. ... The British Government gave its approval subject to the condition that the children were not to cost the State any money for their journey, accommodation, school or training. Only children under 17 years of age were to be admitted, whose stay was to be terminated at the age of 18. ... The number of entries depended on the availability of sufficient money or private guarantees. ... The Home Office permitted entry without visa and passports. ... The Netherlands made an unobstructed transit possible. The German government ... insisted on detailed lists of the objects taken along (!). It ordered the Reich Representation of Jews in Germany to carry out the transports. ... Two big transports arrived in England, as from July 1939 there was one per week.”²⁸⁵ “Many children are suffering because they were unable to save their parents.”²⁸⁶ After the beginning of the war, no more departures to England were possible. “About 10,000 registrations remained and could not be processed by the ‘Reich representation.’”²⁸⁷

On **Nov. 19** the Minister of the Interior ordered a rearrangement of public welfare for Jews. A Jew requiring assistance “generally has to remain dependent on the assistance of his race comrades, the Jewish Free Welfare Work. Only in so far as that organization cannot help, will public welfare step in. ... The ordinance mentions the promotion of emigration of the Jews by measures of public welfare.” (KFH 28.11.)

“The Reich student welfare organization cancelled all loans to Jews with immediate effect.” (loc. cit.)

The Nibelungen Verlag published the book “Der Jude als Verbrecher” (The Jew as a criminal). It stated inter alia: “The natural disposition of the Jew is perverted, his national convictions are anti-national, his nationalism is internationalist and his policy is crime. For us, the Jew is a foreign body, let us call him counter-human. ... There is no community between Jews and Europeans. The only thing that can be done is a clean divorce. That has been carried out by National Socialist Germany.” (KFH 19.11.)

“Now that the final border against Czechoslovakia has been determined, the Reich Government has pronounced, by a law dated Nov. 21, the unification of the Sudeten-German territories with the German Reich.” (KFH 25.11.)

On **Nov. 22**, the Minister of Finance issued an implementing ordinance on the atonement to be paid by Jews. “It determines that the contribution of one billion RM will be collected from the Jews of German nationality and from the stateless Jews. The levy will be calculated according to the total value of property as of November 12, 1938. ... The levy amounts to 20% of the property. ... Receipts from insurance claims are to be paid immediately to the relevant revenue office.” (KFH 24.11.)

²⁸⁵ Helga Krohn in Kingreen, Kristallnacht 106-109

²⁸⁶ loc. cit. 112

²⁸⁷ loc. cit. 114

On **Nov. 22**, the Kreisblatt reported about crime rate statistics: “Even though Jews in Germany make up just below 1% of the inhabitants, their numerical proportion of convicted criminals, goes to up to 73 per cent.” Highlighted were passport and foreign exchange offences, profiteering and receiving stolen goods, and racial offences”. As regards the latter, 73.12% per cent of the convicted were Jews. Next to this, the Kreisblatt quoted a citation from Martin Luther hostile to Jews.

The chief organizer of the NS Party used a two hour speech for a “passionate analysis of Jewry”. He said, “Our fight against Jewry will have to be performed in an uncompromising way until we reach the goal pointed out by the Führer. ... Unworldly pharisees should not tell us anything of brotherly love. My brother is the German comrade of blood and people. Our brotherly love is for him alone.” (KFH 23.11.)

Proposals were made for resettling the Jews: the former German East Africa, Madagascar, and South America. (loc. cit.; the Madagascar plan had been discussed since 1937.)

The first page of the Kreisblatt issue of Nov. 24, highlighted the following: “No purchasing of Jewish property. Gauleiter Weinrich has issued the following ordinance on the purchase and sale of Jewish property: ‘Since the murder of Embassy Counsellor PG vom Rath, unregulated purchases of Jewish property have started which are not compatible with the National Socialist attitude. Further purchases must not take place and purchases already made, even if legalized by a notary public, must be cancelled at once retroactively. Acquisition of Jewish property may only take place after the commissioner of the Four Year Plan will have issued pertinent regulations.’” Parties interested in taking over Jewish retail trade businesses should report to the chamber of commerce. (loc. cit.)

According to military legislation, Jewish half-breeds could not acquire senior rank in the German army. (KFH 24.11.)

The Reich Institute for the History of new Germany published the third volume of the research on the Jewish question. (loc. cit.)

The Ministers of Economic Affairs and of Justice issued a joint ordinance concerning elimination of the Jews from German economic life. It applied to retail trade and crafts. (KFH 26.11.)

The voting paper for the Sudeten-German plebiscite contained the following question: “Do you declare your support for our Führer Adolf Hitler, the liberator of the Sudetenland, and do you give your vote to the proposal of the NSDAP?” (KFH 26.11.)

On **Nov. 28**, the “police ordinance on the appearance of Jews in public” was published. Authorities could impose “restrictions of space and time” on the Jews. From then on, for instance, Jews were no longer allowed to enter certain districts in some towns. (KFH 5.12.)

On **Nov. 29**, an ordinance of the chief of the security police was published, forbidding Jews of German nationality and stateless Jews to enter streets and places on the day of national solidarity.” (Dec. 4) Jews were to stay in their homes between 12 and 20 h. (KFH 30.11., cf. 2.12.)

On **Nov. 30**, the Führer’s deputy made a speech to Sudeten Germans. “Particular excitement and enthusiastic approval was uttered for the explanations dedicated to the Jewish question.” He explained that the German race belonged to the best of the world, “the Jewish race, however, has features belonging to the worst of the world. ... One should not say that among these Jews so many are are innocent. ... At the end of this settlement with the Jews, he exclaimed, to enthusiastic approval: ‘We have now bolted the door and will not push the bolt open again.’” (KFH 1.12.)

The Kreisblatt wrote, under the headline “Politics of the closed door, 650,000 Jews ready to emigrate from Germany, but the USA don’t want them. ... Of the 130,000 Jews who emigrated from Germany until the end of 1937, just under 10,000 were admitted to the Unites States-“ (KFH 2.12.)

On **Dec. 3**, an ordinance regulated the “use of Jewish property”. It contained the legal basis for “total de-Judaisation of the German economy, land ownership and other important public assets”. (KFH 6.12.) Capital assets were seized and the sale of businesses, real estate, securities, jewelry and objects of art was enforced. Jews were compelled to “sell” their houses and real estate far below value. Moreover, the sales revenues were often paid to the

Jewish owners only in part or - later on - not at all, but deposited in frozen accounts.²⁸⁸ The Kreisblatt reported: "In general, Jewish businesses in Electoral Hesse are being dissolved and wound up. When winding up is carried out, the sale or auctioning of goods to final consumers must not take place." (KFH 5.12.)

Also on **December 3**, Jews were deprived of their driving licenses and their motor vehicle registration documents were seized, so that they were no longer allowed to drive a car or a motorcycle. "There is no place for the Jew in the National Socialist traffic community." (KFH 5.12.)

The Kreisblatt reported: "More and more often, German comrades require their landlords to remove a Jewish family living in the same house, but rental protection also applies to Jews. However, an amendment of the law is to be expected shortly." (KFH 3.12.)

On **Dec. 4** the Sudeten German plebiscite took place; 98.9% voted for Hitler.²⁸⁹

On **December 6**, all Jewish professors and students were expelled from the universities.

As from December 6, all libraries, reading halls, museums, sports grounds and swimming facilities were closed to Jews.

The last 76 Jewish publicity experts lost their professional license. (KFH 7.12.)

On **Dec. 10**, the Kreisblatt reviewed the book: "Martin Luther about the Jews: away with them!"

On **December 13**, the obligatory sale, called Aryanization, of Jewish businesses was ordered by law, which meant that all retail shops, crafts and travel agencies had to be in "Aryan" hands by January 1, 1939.²⁹⁰ It also specified: "Where the visible note 'Under Aryanizing procedure' is attached to a Jewish shop, sales will no longer be for the benefit of the former Jewish owner but of the Aryan trustee." Below this, a citation of Martin Luther about the Jews is printed in bold letters and highlighted. (KFH 13.12.)

The Minister of Economic Affairs issued a Greater German foreign exchange act entering into effect on Jan. 1, 1939. It provided measures against capital flight. Forwarding or taking along gifts or any goods by emigrants leaving for foreign countries was declared subject to approval. (KFH 14.12.)

On **December 15**, the regional governor and the district administrator ordered mayors to seize the synagogue registers by January 10, 1939.²⁹¹

Jews in the Fritzlar-Homberg district were no longer allowed to keep carrier pigeons. (KFH 17.12.)

On **December 19**, the Gestapo demanded that Jewish documents and cult objects should be searched out at scrap dealers.²⁹²

The conditions of existence of the German Jews were curtailed in a five-fold way:

1. by increasing isolation and concentration
2. by progressive impoverishment
3. by increased terror as well as further restriction of their rights and social position
4. by increased humiliation and degradation, and
5. by exploitation of their capacity for work.

²⁸⁸ Klein 13

²⁸⁹ Entitled to vote 2,532,863; Yes votes 2,464,681; No votes 27,427; invalid votes 5,496 (KFH 5.12. & 6.12.)

²⁹⁰ Kropat, Alltag 422, cp. 440

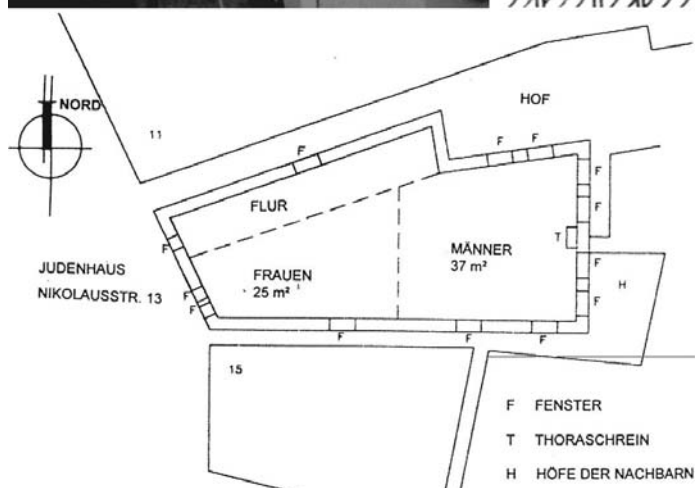
²⁹¹ Lohmann, Schicksal 94

²⁹² Lohmann, Schicksal 96

Fritzlar Jewish citizens 1938

Jewish children could no longer be taught in Fritzlar schools. For secondary school pupils, there was a possibility of attending lessons in Kassel. The Kassel Jewish community therefore requested guest school fees from the mayor of Fritzlar for two students from Fritzlar on March 22. They wrote: "According to the decree dated 29.9.1937, guest school fees should be paid by the home community for Jewish children of school age who temporarily attend a Jewish public school in another community, if there is no public school or private Jewish elementary school in that place itself." This application referred to **Kurt Baruch** (14) as from October 1, 1937, and for **Erna Stern** (11) as from January 1, 1938. The mayor refused payment on April 7, stating he did not know the decree mentioned.²⁹³

The first Synagogue in Fritzlar



Picture of the House Nikolaus Strasse 13
On the upper floor was the first Synagogue.

The house in the picture at Nikolaus Strasse 13, formerly Clobesgasse, was built as a synagogue in 1781 through the efforts of seven Jews. It had two stories. Below was an apartment and toilets. The upper part was a prayer hall. In 1868 the interior was renovated. A separation for men and women was created.

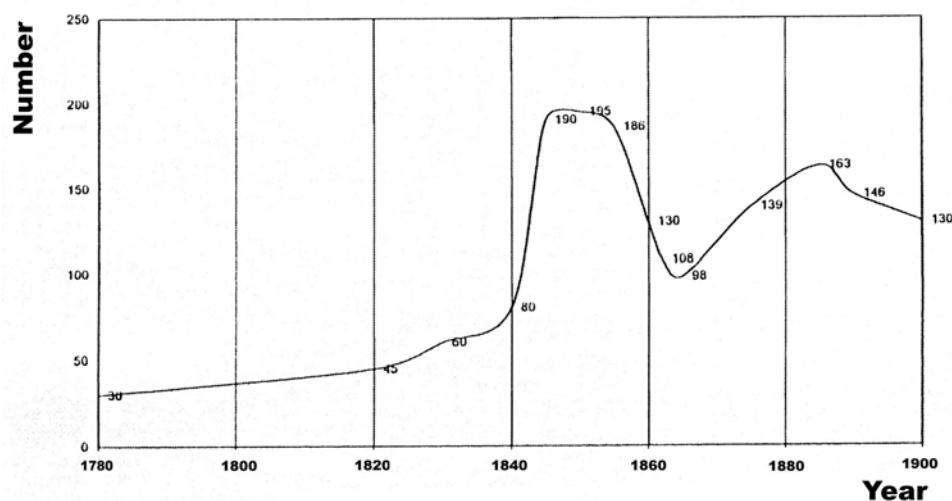
²⁹³ Fritzlar archives XIII 2, 8

The Mikve-Bath

In the documents there is no mention of a Mikve. There may have been one in the cellar, since these three things were mandatory for establishing a Jewish community: a Synagogue, a cemetery and a Mikve

The rapidly growing of the Jewish Community

In 1781, when the first synagogue was built, there were seven male heads of households²⁹⁴, perhaps 30 persons. 115 years later, there were 143 Jews in Fritzlar. Included in the synagogue community also were the nearby villages of Cappel, Obermöllrich, Rothelmshausen, Ungedanken and Wabern. In 1857 there were listed 223 persons as synagogue members. By 1871, only Obermöllrich and Wabern were included.



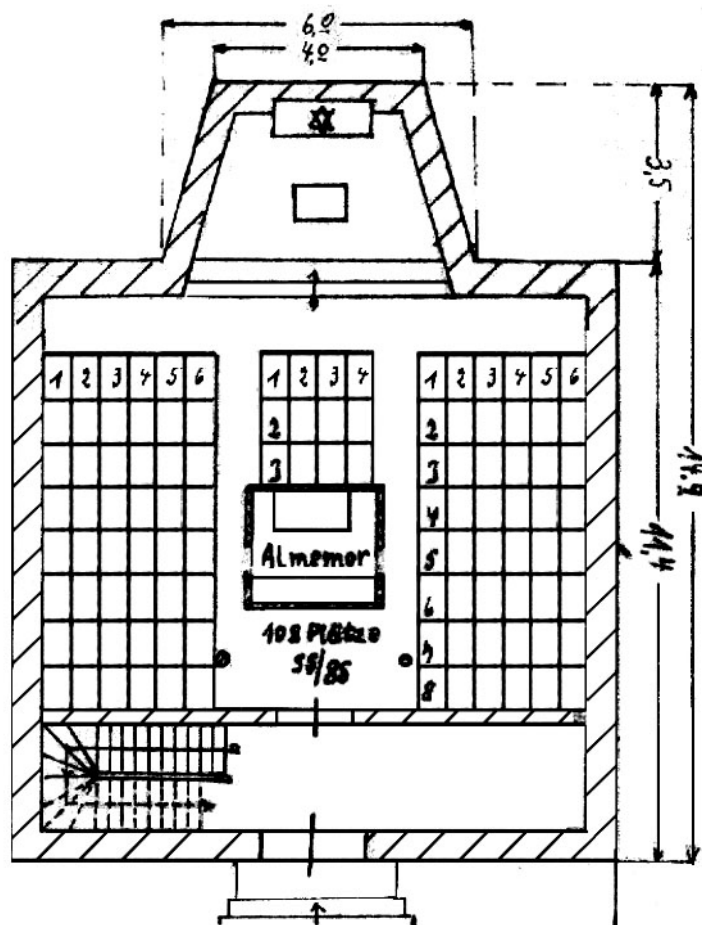
The New Synagogue

The 1781 synagogue was now too small. And in 1896 a new one was built. A beautiful edifice made of white sandstone in the Romanesque style. The choice of the Romanesque style was to show the integration of the Jewish Community into the Christian.

The entrance had left and right twin columns, a reminder of Jachin and Boas and a Temple in miniature. In the turret of the main façade, could be seen the tablets with the Ten Commandments; the attestation and covenant between God and the Jewish People. A reporter made the following comment, “The house of God in white sandstone made a beautiful and festive impression”.

In the new synagogue men were in the downstairs space, the women upstairs. Left and right in the area for the men were 48 desks. In the center, elevated, was the Almemor, or Bima from which the Torah was read. There was room for 140 members. Additionally there were desks for the Cantor and Rabbi, from which prayers and sermons were read. All desks had covers made of velvet and silk and had gold ornamentation. There were silver goblets for wine and Friday night – a silver Hawdalah set, an Ethrog container for Sukkoth, there were also a Chanukkah menorah, a seven arm candlestick, a Jahrzeit Candlestick, a perpetual light (Ner Tamid), there were two shofars for Rosh Hashannah and Yom Kippur. From the ceiling hung a beautiful chandelier. Mrs. **Frieda Mannheimer** wrote, “... it was the most beautiful synagogue in all of Hessen”.

²⁹⁴ Nachname, Vorname, in Fritzlar seit: **Herz**/Hertz, Manasses, 1780; **Herz**/Herzberg Manasse, 1748; **Joseph**, Mordechaus Markus, 1771; **Kayser**/Kaiser, Michael, 1751; **Kayser**/Kaiser, Ruben 1763; **Mark**, Joseph Moyses/Moses 1775; **Ruben**, Moyses/Moses 1771 (Lohmann, P: Hier waren wir zu Hause 88ff).



The consecration of the synagogue took place on June 30, 1897 with the attendance of many people of the town. The streets were adorned with garlands and evergreens and many homes of the gentiles were adorned with wreaths and flags. The mayor, the protestant pastor (Pfarrer Zimmermann), and the city council took part in the festivities attesting to the good relationship between the Jewish community and the city. One of the Jewish citizens, **David Meyerhof** was a member of the city council.

Unfortunately, in 1921 the big windows were vandalized, the same thing happened at the Jewish School. The police did not find the vandals, a bad omen for the coming destruction.

In 1930, the brothers **Livingston, formerly Lowenstein**, now residing in America provided generous funds for the restoration. Again, the mayor and city council were present during the festivities, but none of the church deputies.

The Pogrom of November 8/9, 1938, in Fritzlar

The pogrom, designated by the euphemism "Reichskristallnacht", took place at Fritzlar already during the **night of November 8/9** which was one day later than in Kassel and some places in Electoral Hesse, but a day earlier than in most other regions of the Reich.²⁹⁵ Apart from local SA people, a "commando of SS people from Arolsen" participated in the Fritzlar pogrom.

²⁹⁵ The books written by Kropat deal with the pogrom in great detail, but they mention Fritzlar only marginally: p. 61. On pages 63 and 245 he states that "a commando of SS people from Arolsen" participated in the Fritzlar pogrom; the Chief of the security police in Berlin reported to the chief of the administrative police on Nov. 9 that, among others, the interior furnishings of the Fritzlar Synagogue had been demolished (p. 208) and that the dwellings of the Jews and the shop windows of

In Fritzlar, the interior furnishings of the synagogue were destroyed.



The work of the night was continued during the next morning. Torah scrolls were rolled down the street, and youths cycled over them. The chandelier was used as a swing by 14-year-old boys and torn down as a result. One man remembers: "I was born in Fritzlar in 1932. We lived in the Steinweg. When my mother took me to the nursery school at the Domplatz (near the cathedral) in the morning, we always passed near the synagogue. One day, I saw that windows had been smashed there and repaired by paper or other material in a makeshift manner. This must have preoccupied me quite a bit. I often asked myself why I did not forget that event. Maybe because people were not ready to answer the questions a child wanted to ask about it, so that the occurrence has remained stuck in my memory for so long."²⁹⁶

A newspaper report of November 9, 1978, reads: "A picture of devastation, so Fritzlar people remember, was offered by the synagogue in Neustädterstraße. It had been a target for attack right at the beginning. Nothing remained undamaged in this Jewish prayer house. The furniture was thrown into the street and smashed. The chandeliers served as 'swings' until they fell down. The prayer scrolls were pulled along the streets. 'It was indescribable', those whom we asked said unanimously." In the compensation file, the furnishings and ritual objects were listed precisely and their total value indicated as 106,450 DM.

A few weeks later the synagogue was pulled down "because of dilapidation". A certificate by the mayor reads: "The Jewish synagogue C13 in Holzgasse here has been torn down and will not be re-built."²⁹⁷ **Walter Kron** remembers: "When the interior of the synagogue had been devastated and the synagogue was to be pulled down, some workers refused to do that. They declared, 'This is a house of God! We will not touch anything here!'"²⁹⁸

Another action during the night of November 8/9 consisted in smashing the furnishings of shops and houses, starting with the **Baruch** family, Zwischen den Krämen 2.²⁹⁹ The pillaging and ransacking continued in the morning of November 9; for instance, bales of fabric were rolled down the street, and bicycles were ridden over the material. Mrs. **Weitzenkorn**, who had emigrated in 1936, narrated from

Jewish business had been partly smashed. A thorough depiction of the events in Fritzlar has been presented by the couple Lohmann (Lohmann, Schicksal 24 & seq.).

²⁹⁶ Letter to the author dated 16.2.1997

²⁹⁷ Fritzlar archives XIII 2, 1, 11

²⁹⁸ Glickman

²⁹⁹ Lohmann, Schicksal 26 & seq.

hearsay: "They pillaged, actually everything was pillaged, everything was smashed and taken away what those people had. There was no police at all. Everyone could do as they liked. Nowadays, to be sure, nobody wants to know, one should not say 'everyone', but many are saying, 'We did not know that'. I asked people: 'Didn't you notice how they were pillaged?' 'Oh yes', they would say, 'that was in the Kristallnacht, and we did not bother about it.' People took away what they could get. They did not feel guilty."³⁰⁰

In a newspaper article Hans Heintel wrote in 1978: "There were also a few citizens who did not take part standing in house niches, corners and below windows, helplessly observing what was going on and becoming eye-witnesses of inhuman brutality. The worst ransacking was committed by the Nazis in **Moses Lissauer's** textile shop³⁰¹, Gießener Straße, where bales of fabric were rolled along the drive, furnishings were destroyed and many people – just as in other shops – 'stocked up' on garments and other items of daily needs.' ... No human lives were taken at Fritzlar, in spite of all the atrocities."³⁰² (Unfortunately, this is an error, if those detained in Buchenwald are included!)

Police sergeant Hagemeister's report to the mayor dated November 11, stated succinctly: "As I found out this morning around 8 o'clock during my patrol through the town, the shops and dwellings of the Jews have been demolished and ransacked. According to statements by the Jews, the destruction occurred at around midnight and was carried out by a large number of persons. The synagogue has also been broken into and the interior demolished. The perpetrators are unknown. The Jews have been asked to remove objects lying in the street, such as glass, pieces of timber etc. immediately."³⁰³ (So the police sergeant – according to his report – was informed only next morning about the excesses and atrocities that had happened "around the hour of midnight", by the complaints of the pillaged and mistreated Jewish citizens of the town. But he was not allowed to act during the night – as everywhere in the pogrom night – and only had to restore "order" afterwards, the next afternoon.)

In the pogrom days, tombstones were also removed, demolished and damaged.

However, material damage was not all; Jewish persons were beaten up, even threatened with murder. For instance, one brute threatened to throw baby **Bernd Löwenstein** (*26.7.), out of the window of the house at Gießener Str. 22 before the eyes of his parents.³⁰⁴ In an affidavit dated March 1947, the occurrence is described from the point of view of a woman neighbour: "During the Jews' action, my husband and I were awakened from sleep a short time after midnight by shop windows falling down and noise in the street. We went to the window and soon afterwards saw that the little child of **Siegmund Löwenstein's** son was about to be thrown out of the window of **David Löwenstein's** home by some man. My husband shouted at the man in indignation and, at the last moment, prevented the death of the child." The same Mrs. M.D. also stated that she and her husband had purchased goods from the said neighbour David Löwenstein "until the Jews of this town were dispatched" and stood on good terms with him.

Ruth (II) Stern reported that she found her parents had aged by years after the "Kristallnacht"³⁰⁵. So deep was the horror of the pogrom.

³⁰⁰ Report before a school class in 1982

³⁰¹ cp. Lohmann, Schicksal 27

³⁰² Newspaper archives

³⁰³ Fritzlar archives X 3,1,17, Lohmann, Schicksal 30

³⁰⁴ Bernd Löwenstein, born July 26, 1938. Lohmann, Schicksal 27; last entry in the register of births of the Jewish synagogue community (Arnsberg 126)

³⁰⁵ Nebel in Bridenthal, When biology

In Fritzlar, too, Jewish men were arrested. According to the April 26 ordinance the mayor had ordered a list of Jews who owned more than 5,000 RM in money, jewellery and objects of art to be drawn up; there were sixteen of them.³⁰⁶ The arrests of the pogrom night may have been based on that list. It was probably **Julius Baruch** who, when he was arrested in the night of November 8, put on his Iron Cross to point out his merits as a German soldier. This appears to have been respected, for he was not among the arrested persons known by name.

The arrested men were first locked up in the waiting room of the railway station.³⁰⁷ The arresting commando ripped out the stovepipe so that the prisoners should feel the cold of the November night thoroughly.³⁰⁸ According to general information, it may be assumed that the arrests were made in the night of November 8/9 and that the arrested men were then taken to Kassel. However, no intakes from Kassel were recorded at Buchenwald camp on November 9. Around that time, only two transports from Kassel arrived in there, one on November 11 with 258 Jews and another on the 12th, with 435 Jews. Based on the "protective custody prisoners", registration numbers the Fritzlar Jews were probably taken to Buchenwald as late as November 12. When they were registered, they did not line up behind each other, for they did not get consecutive numbers: **Liebmann Kugelman** was No. 25 436, **Siegmund Löwenstein** No. 25 496, **Siegfried Löwenstein** No. 25 497, and **David Löwenstein** No. 25 511.³⁰⁹

Starting with their arrival at the Weimar railway station, the "protectively arrested" were exposed to the roughest beatings and maltreatments. (The SS, allegedly being the elite of the "Germanic race", acted in the cruellest manner against the defenceless persons, in complete contrast to all "Germanic" virtues.) After their release, no word was allowed about it, and the sufferings remained "a life-long trauma for many".³¹⁰

Evidence exists on the arrest of the following seven Fritzlar Jews :

1. **Leonor Katz**, (34), whose shop at Fraumünsterstr. 1 had been pillaged and ravaged on November 8/9³¹¹, apparently tried to disappear in Frankfurt/Main. He was arrested there on November 12 and taken to Buchenwald. On December 1, the Kassel Gestapo informed the mayor: "The Jew's wife has requested to release him for the purpose of winding up the business and the sale of premises. The request has been granted. The prisoner's relatives should therefore be asked to cable the money

³⁰⁶ In alphabetic order, the list of July 4 included: **Frieda Auerbach**, née **Lissauer**; **Julius Baruch**, dealer; **Herman Bloch**, merchant; **Grete Katz**; **Leonor Katz**, merchant; **Josef Kugelman**, dealer; **Max Lissauer**, merchant (at Bendorf-Sayn since 1936); **Moses Lissauer**, merchant; **David Löwenstein**, merchant; **Leopold Löwenstein**, merchant; **Siegfried Löwenstein**, merchant; **Siegmund Löwenstein**, merchant; **Amalie Speyer**; **Josef Speyer** (emigrated in 1936); **Sophie Speyer**; **Sussmann Speyer**, dealer.

³⁰⁷ Newspaper report dated 9.11.1978

³⁰⁸ Lohmann, Schicksal 27

³⁰⁹ Buchenwald memorial site archives; NARA 7783 & 7784, book of entries Nov. 1938. 1,525 Jews arrived in Buchenwald on November 10, 3,915 came on the 11th and 3,360 were added on the 12th (Stein 41), so the November 10 and 11 new intakes totalled 5,440. The Buchenwald camp was by no means prepared to take in these masses. Lanes and roads were not yet solid, water piping, pumping stations and sewerage still under construction, the WCs could not be used due to lack of water. In the beginning, there was not even a roof over the heads of all. On October 4, 10,488 prisoners had already been admitted, for whom only 7,000 sleeping facilities were available. Moreover the camp could not "provide the Jews with bread and water. ... There was a severe lack of water, and only ½ liter per day was available for each SS man and only ¼ liter for each prisoner. Thus washing, body care and cleanliness ... were out of the question" says the report of the SS hygiene commission! (Stein 47)

³¹⁰ Stein 49. About conditions and tortures in the "special camp" of the Buchenwald concentration camp after the pogrom, see Harry Stein in Kingreen, *Kristallnacht* 19-54

³¹¹ Lohmann, Schicksal 26

for the return journey from Weimar to the Buchenwald concentration camp headquarters near Weimar." (The case is typical. The concentration camp was completely overcrowded. The aim of the arrest was to force the Jewish businessmen to give up their business and the travelling costs had to be paid by the wronged persons themselves.) The term "concentration camp" was not kept secret at all. On the letter, the local police officer noted, on December 31, "Katz already returned on Wednesday."³¹²

2.) **Josef Kugelmann** (61), grain trader, married, Fraumünsterstr. 19. He had participated actively in the 1200-year festivities in Fritzlar in 1925. At Buchenwald, he was harassed just like many others and put under pressure to emigrate, but he saw no possibility of doing that. The amount of 12 RM for his return journey arrived in Weimar on December 20,³¹³ so he was probably released shortly after that. Even though Kugelmann had been a front soldier in 1914-18, and their release was ordered on Nov. 18, he was not released until the end of December!

3) **Liebmann Kugelmann** (57), trader, single, Hintergasse 12. On December 13, Buchenwald headquarters informed the Gestapo that Liebmann Kugelmann was to be released "because of old age". At 57 years, he was not the oldest, but obviously least capable of enduring the tortures. The Fritzlar police noted on the message, on December 14, "Relatives have been informed today".³¹⁴ On December 15, the required 10 RM for his return journey was received in Weimar.³¹⁵ According to a district administrator note dated June 30, 1941, Liebmann Kugelmann "died" at the KZ Buchenwald on December 15, 1938³¹⁶; according to the Gestapo he "died" on December 16 at 8.50 a.m. of pneumonia on the right side.³¹⁷ On December 21, his glasses were still sent to Fritzlar.³¹⁸ **He was the first Fritzlar Jew to be killed by Nazi crimes.** According to the Buchenwald archives, his corpse was probably cremated in the Weimar crematorium and the urn with his ashes sent to Fritzlar and buried in the Jewish cemetery; however, no documentation about receipt of the urn in Fritzlar could be found.

4) **David Löwenstein**, (64), merchant, married, Gießener Str. 22, community accountant and senior warden, member of the district commercial association). The 12 RM fare required for his return was already recorded in the Weimar accounts on November 20³¹⁹, so it is probable that as the oldest of those arrested in Fritzlar, he was among the first to be released on November 26. This was contrary to an order by the chief of the security police dated Nov. 16, which ordered the release of all those older than 60 years, ill or disabled. Nevertheless, David Löwenstein, who was 64 years old, was released only on Nov. 26, and Josef Kugelmann, who was 61, was released as late as the end of December.

5) **Leopold Löwenstein**, (54), merchant, Gießener Str. 23, married, community senior, prisoner number 24 971. The 10 RM fare for his return was received in Weimar on December 2³²⁰, but he was only released on December 9.³²¹

6) **Siegfried-Susmann Löwenstein**, (54), married, merchant, Nikolausstr.6, whose shop had been pilfered during the night pogrom,³²² was prisoner number 25 497.³²³

³¹² Fritzlar archives XVIII 1,3,13; Lohmann, Schicksal 89; on his emigration, s. 1939.

³¹³ HStA Weimar, money register

³¹⁴ Fritzlar archives XVIII 1,3,13; Lohmann, Schicksal 90

³¹⁵ HStA Weimar, money register

³¹⁶ HStA Marburg, 180 Landratsamt Fritzlar 2741

³¹⁷ Fritzlar archive XVII 13, 10, 13; Buchenwald memorial site archive: NARA //(§; November 1938

³¹⁸ Fritzlar archive XVII 13, 10, 13

³¹⁹ HStA Weimar, money register

³²⁰ HStA Weimar, money register

³²¹ Buchenwald memorial site archives

³²² Lohmann, Schicksal 27

³²³ Buchenwald memorial site archives

His detention also achieved its aim to force him to give up his business, for on November 28 the following message reached the mayor via the Kassel Gestapo: "To Aryanize the business, the release of the above-mentioned person has been requested by camp headquarters. The relatives should therefore speedily cable the return fare from Weimar. to his residence to Buchenwald concentration camp headquarters near Weimar."³²⁴ (Like all other costs of the damage, the wrongfully arrested persons had to pay for these costs themselves.³²⁵) The required amount of 15 RM was recorded on November 30³²⁶, and he was released on the same day.³²⁷

7) **Löwenstein, Siegmund** (33), son of the above David L., merchant, married, Gießener Str. 22, prisoner number 25.496 was accommodated in Block 50, 5a-. In his case, too, the arrest achieved its aim. On November 30, his wife was able to communicate to the Kassel Gestapo that, on the one hand, an affidavit of guarantee for entering the USA had been received by the American consulate in Stuttgart and, on the other hand, a relative in England stood guarantee for an intermediate stay there. She requested release of her husband "to enable him to take the necessary steps for performing his emigration and to arrange his other affairs". However, the request was refused on the grounds that the entry permission for England would first have to be available.³²⁸ On December 15 and 16, his wife sent 10 RM each for his return fare to Fritzlar, and he was thereupon released on December 16.³²⁹

K.-L. Buchenwald
Löwenstein Siegmund *Fritzlar*
 (Vor- und Zuname) Gefängnis-Nr. 25496

geb. am 4.7.05 zu Fritzlar Fahrgeld

Datum	Zugang		Abgang		Bestand		
	RM	Stk	RM	Stk	RM	Stk	
15.12.38	10.	-			10.	-	Ant. Baumt. Hilf. L. Löwenstein Fritzlar
16.12.38	10.	-			20.	-	Hilf. L. Fritzlar Herkunft: 1.19
16.12.38			20.	-	-	-	Siegmund Löwenstein
	20.	-	20.	-	-	-	

As persons over 65 and under 18 were still spared at that time, it may be assumed that eleven persons were arrested, i.e. the seven listed above, two who had figured in the list of wealthy persons and two whose father was recorded in this list, but there may have been fourteen.³³⁰

³²⁴ Fritzlar archives XI 12, 27

³²⁵ Lohmann, Schicksal 91

³²⁶ HStA Weimar, money register

³²⁷ Buchenwald memorial site archive: NARA 7784

³²⁸ Fritzlar archives XI 12,28; Lohmann, Schicksal 92 & seq.

³²⁹ Buchenwald memorial site archive: NARA 7784; HStA Weimar, money register

³³⁰ In the Buchenwald archive, there are unfortunately no complete documents covering all those who were taken to the camp. The archive is at Bad Arolsen and not accessible in practice. Lohmann wrote about ten to fifteen detained persons (Lohmann Schicksal 28), this may be correct. The newspaper report of 9.11.1978 said, "The mob raged and drove 20 to 25 Jews to the railway station, where they had to stay in the waiting hall, with open windows and torn-out stove pipes, so heating was not possible" (newspaper archive).

On November 10, only the following 17 grown-up male Jews remained at Fritzlar, three of which were older than 65 years:

1. **Baruch, Julius I**, Zwischen den Krämen 2, born Aug. 2, 1884, 54, list of wealthy persons
2. **Bloch, Hermann**, Am Hochzeitshaus 17, born July 6, 1971, 67 years, list of wealthy persons
3. **Katz, Leonor**, Fraumünsterstr. 1, born Nov. 17, 1903, 34 years, list of wealthy persons, imprisoned

Mrs. **Weitzenkorn**, née Mannheimer, told a school class in 1982 the following from hearsay: A young Jewish man, almost 30 years old³³¹, was to be arrested in the pogrom night. His mother³³² was ill, and the doctor had been called at night. The daughter said: "My mother was ill, and we were afraid. And there was the doctor, such a good one, I will never forget his name. Dr. Ludwig stood there and said, 'No, you will not take the boy, or I will go with him, too.' And in fact, they left him at home. Then they got another, because there was another family of our name. They killed that one, and the tombstone is in the cemetery.³³³ The doctor did not allow my brother to be taken away. If he had been, he would not be here any more either. They simply came into the homes and took out the people. They were from Fritzlar; Fritzlar people did it and others as well. This Dr. Ludwig was the only one, I mean the only one to help our family. The youths were so bewitched. They actually said, 'Hitler is our God!' What he said was done. Yet after all, we were Germans. Our family tree in Germany goes back over 300 years.³³⁴ But people did not do anything against the rabble rousing propaganda, nothing at all. People were taken away; they were thrown into cars like cattle and were transported away. I asked people about it, and they said, 'Oh yes, that was the Kristallnacht, we did not care what happened to the people. We only saw that they were no longer there.' And those were all neighbours!"

She added: "The younger generation need not feel guilty. The only thing this generation can do is to take care that all men may live in peace, whether they are black or white and whatever generation they belong to. My only desire is that such a thing shall never happen again. It was not only Jews who lost their lives. From childhood on, children should be taught: You must not hate! Nobody has the right to

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4. **Kugelman, Josef**, Fraumünsterstr. 19, born May 13, 1877, 61 years, list of wealthy persons, imprisoned
 5. **Kugelman, Liebmman**, Hintergasse 12, born May 4, 1881, 57 years, imprisoned and killed
 6. **Lissauer, Gustav I**, son of Moses L., Gießener Str. 8, born April 27, 1901, 37 years
 7. **Lissauer, Julius**, son of Moses, Gießener Str. 8, born April 5, 1906, 32 years
 8. **Lissauer, Moses**, Gießener Str. 8, born Sept. 22, 1870, 68 years, list of wealthy persons
 9. **Löwenstein, David**, Gießener Str. 22, born Oct. 21, 1874, 64 years, list of wealthy persons, imprisoned
 10. **Löwenstein, Leopold**, Gießener Str. 23, born May 18, 1884, 54 years, list of wealthy persons, imprisoned
 11. **Löwenstein, Siegfried**, Fraumünsterstr. 22, born April 23, 1896, 42 years
 12. **Löwenstein, Siegfried Susmann**, Nikolausstr. 6, born May 10, 1884, 54 years, list of wealthy persons, imprisoned
 13. **Löwenstein, Siegmund**, Gießener Str. 22, born July 4, 1905, 33 years, list of wealthy persons, imprisoned
 14. **Speier, Hermann**, Martinsgasse 18, born December 1, 1880, 57 years
 15. **Speier, Susmann**, Fraumünsterstr. 2, born Nov. 19, 1970, 67 years, list of wealthy persons
 16. **Stern, Abraham**, Neustädterstr. 5, born May 31, 1877, 61 years
 17. **Stern, Sally**, Giessener Str. 11, born Dec. 31, 1874, 63 years

A striking fact is that, among the seven persons arrested according to the records, there was only one who had been a soldier in World War I: **Josef Kugelman**; the other former soldiers **Julius Baruch**, **Hermann Speier**, **Susmann Speier** and **Abraham Stern** may have been spared.

³³¹ None of the Mannheimers was arrested in Fritzlar. The age indicated would fit **Julius Lissauer** (32), who was not arrested, and **Leonor Katz** (34) and **Siegmund Löwenstein**, who were.

³³² This cannot relate to mother Mannheimer, she had moved away to Laasphe in the previous year. The reporting person herself had already emigrated to the USA two years earlier, and at the time none of her brothers was in Fritzlar. So the report relates to another family. The secretary may have given the report in error.

³³³ During the detention following the "Kristallnacht, **Liebmman Kugelman** lost his life; however he was 57 years old; there is no tombstone for him in the cemetery.

³³⁴ In Fritzlar specifically, one **Jakob Mannheimer**, born in 1799, is the first Mannheimer to be recorded..

take the life of another. Children should learn to honour every human being and to make no difference as long as they behave properly. I have one wish for every religion that exists, it should be free. And the youth in Germany should do everything, so that what happened under Hitler will never happen again."³³⁵

(The related report of the eyewitness confirms that the arrests were performed at night, and – at least in part – by people from Fritzlar who knew Dr. Ludwig and respected his authority.³³⁶ Among the Fritzlar gentiles, there were many old and young perpetrators, but also helpers.³³⁷)

The newspaper report of November 9, 1978, describes the behaviour of the population in these words: "While the demolishing and the terror were going on, the rest of the population kept a low profile, without being able to help their Jewish fellow citizens, for if they had interfered, this would have had consequences for them that can only be imagined by those who lived at that time. Nevertheless, as one hears, there were innumerable proofs of assistance to Jewish fellow citizens in Fritzlar too... In a small town, where everybody knows everybody, this was a great risk at the time. Not much is known about that."³³⁸

In a letter of discharge for the de-Nazification procedure, **Levi Gutheim**, a Jewish businessman from the neighbouring village of Ungedanken, recalled the help he got from the Fritzlar Christian businessman A.H. and his son. He wrote: "Mr. ... J.H. as well as his father A.H. and his family count among my best friends. We had maintained business connections before the First World War already. And also all my c-religionists in Fritzlar were customers of H.'s, where they were always treated kindly and decently, in particular during those days, when others no longer wanted to know us as Jews. In the hardest and most unfortunate days of my life, when the Nazi criminals harassed me and almost beat me to death, so that I had to resort to the hospital in Fritzlar, it was only the H.'s who met my desire and sold me a big box of chocolates³³⁹, which I gave to the Catholic sisters at the hospital for their good care. I will not forget that about my dear H., the more so as it was strictly forbidden to sell such items to Jews. Another time, the Nazis had taken the bakery and bread book from my brother, and Mr. H. had to justify himself to the police because of that, and was reproached because of his pro-Semitic attitude."³⁴⁰

(The minutes of the Protestant presbytery, which assembled on November 11, contains no hint of the pogrom. Elsewhere too, no indications regarding the synagogue community are to be found in the archives of the Protestant Church. Many Protestant and Catholic Church members looked on and remained silent, although only eight years previously, they had recognized the synagogue as a house of God and the Torah as Holy Scripture when they attended its inauguration. Regrettably, I was not allowed to take a look into the archives of the Catholic community covering that time, in spite of my promise to give only the names of the Jewish victims, not those of the perpetrators.)

Moritz Joseph was arrested at Gemünden in connection with the Reich pogrom on November 10, 1938. The couple was deported from Gemünden to the Theresienstadt KZ on September 8, 1942, and murdered at the extermination camp Maly Trostinec on September 29, 1942.³⁴¹

Emigrations, moves and sales 1938

a) Emigrations 1938

aa) Direct emigrations from Fritzlar

³³⁵ Copied from a tape record

³³⁶ Dr. Ludwig was discussed as a candidate for mayor after the war.

³³⁷ Lohmann, Schicksal 29

³³⁸ Newspaper archive

³³⁹ The sale of chocolate products to Jews was not allowed, and they did not have the corresponding stamps in their food ration cards.

³⁴⁰ Letter dated 11.12.1945 for the judgement procedure re Mr. H.

³⁴¹ The Memorial Book still states "disappeared Minsk". Maly Trostinec was 18 km away from Minsk. The victims were gassed there.

1-2) **Hermann Heinemann Bloch**, (67), Am Hochzeitshaus 17, was still in Fritzlar on July 4, but was no longer among those who applied for an identity card in December. He had emigrated to the USA with his wife **Bertha, née Katz** (56) in 1938.³⁴²

3) **Bertha Goldmann, née Löwenstein** (56), emigrated to Kfar Shmarjahu in Palestine (today Israel) in the summer.

4) **Paula Gutheim, née Stern** (67), had left Fritzlar by the end of February; she still sold two field areas on March 9 and emigrated to the USA via New York. Therefore the Gestapo stated on July 9, 1941, that Pauline Gutheim "(is) declared forfeit of affiliation to the Reich because she has damaged German interests by her behaviour, violating the obligation of loyalty against Reich and people".³⁴³ (The text of the law dated 14.7.1933 was used. It is incomprehensible that, as late as in 1941, "loyalty towards Reich and people" was demanded of the persecuted Jews!)

5) **Herta Katz, née Löwenstein** (30) had been enrolled in the Ursulinen School from 1917 through 1925 and emigrated to Kfar Shmarjahu in Palestine (today Israel). She was married to Leon Katz, who had emigrated in 1937 (s. above). They have two sons: **Arieh Katz**, born in 1941, who lives in the USA, and **Gabriel Katz**, born in 1944, married to Shoshana; they also have two sons and live in Israel.

6-7) **Aron Mansbach** (65), trader, married to **Emma (II), née Heiser** (63), Flehmengasse 13, then No. 4, emigrated to South Africa.

8) **Vernon Werner Mark**, (11), son of Fritzlar-born Otto MARK, left for Worthing, England, on Nov 10th to be cared for by a Christian lady Mrs. Collard.. His brother Eric had emigrated from Magdeburg to London as a 12 year old in 1935.

9) **Sally Stern**, (64), Gießener Str. 11, cattle dealer, widower, left Fritzlar in mid-December and emigrated to the USA.

Jechiel Ogdan, who emigrated from Spangenberg in September when he was 11 years old, relates: "One day, in the middle of the gymnastics lesson, the teacher, who was in the SS, told the classmates I would leave their school because I was emigrating. He asked each classmate to shake hands with me as a farewell. – On the same day, all objects in the house were packed in a big wooden crate and shipped to Palestine. We got on the train on September 10 and travelled to Munich because we had relatives there. ... On the next day, we went on by railway across the frontier. We were harassed a great deal still. We arrived in Trieste late in the evening. ... One has to be aware that my parents were over 40 years old then and had grown up in the German cultural environment. It is hard for everybody to pack one's bags to make a new life elsewhere in a foreign country."³⁴⁴

No police records for 1938 entries and departures could be found in the Fritzlar archives.

³⁴² **Willy Bloch** had emigrated to the USA already in 1927. He was officially deprived of his German nationality on November 9, 1941.

³⁴³ HStA Marburg 180, Fritzlar district administration 2741

³⁴⁴ Jechiel Ogdan, Nekrolog für seine Mutter. "Emigration remained as a possibility of self-assertion, for emigration was not an act of resistance and was in keeping with the policy of expulsion. Between 1934 and 1938 alone, 100,000 German Jews left the German Reich, fleeing from the National Socialists and their politicians and accepting the insecurity and misery of an uncertain and frequently hostile asylum." (**Jechiel Ogdan**, Necrolog for his mother) In 1938, between 34,000 and 40,000 Jews emigrated from Germany, almost twice as many as in the previous year. – "By November 1938, in spite of persecution and discrimination, only about one third of the German Jews, a total of about 170,000, had emigrated. The others had stayed in Germany without protection of their rights and without the possibility of exercising their vocation." (Herde 23)

ab) Indirect emigrations following change of location

1) **Auerbach, Elias**, emigrated from Hamburg to the USA.

2) **Blanka (I) Löwenstein** (35), Fraumünsterstr. 22, married to **Katz**, had moved to Jesberg in 1931 and from there to Fulda on August 1, 1933. The spouses emigrated to the USA via New York on September 29, 1938; they have a son named Kurt Katz, who was born on that same day.

2) **Theo/Theodor David Mannheimer**, (19), Fraumünsterstr. 8, moved away to Battenberg after completing elementary school on June 6, 1933, and from there to Meinbressen on January 18, 1934. He returned to Fritzlar for two months on February 4, 1937, moved away to Laasphe³⁴⁵ on April 19, 1937, and emigrated to the USA.

4) **Aaron Mansbach's daughter Fränzi** (35), later married to **Stern**, had moved to Eisenach already in 1924 and emigrated to Palestine (now Israel). She died there in 1994. The Sterns had a daughter **Olga Ruth**, later married to Segal; she lived in Israel and had two daughters and six grandchildren. Her son **Aron** was killed as a soldier in Israel in 1948.

5) **Gretel Nußbaum, née Friedberg** had moved to Berlin in 1934 and emigrated to Shanghai³⁴⁶ in December with her daughter, who had been born in Berlin in 1935.

6-7) **Stern, Emil and Hugo**, who had moved away from Fritzlar years earlier, emigrated to America with their father on December 20.³⁴⁷

b) Moves within Germany 1938

1) **Berta Kugelmann** (14) was denied enrolment in the Ursulinen School in 1934. She went to Marburg as a household help in 1938. She reported about that: "My best playmate, **Ferdinand Löwenstein**, had moved away and I began to feel isolated and lonely. I completed elementary school at the age of thirteen. I had been denied a change to secondary school because the quota of one Jewish child per one hundred gentile children must not be exceeded. What was I to do at the age of thirteen? I did not want to stay in my hometown Fritzlar any longer. A girlfriend suggested I should go to Marburg with her, where there was a large Jewish community with a lot of young people and also youths of my age. My friend knew a family whose two daughters had emigrated to Argentina and Holland and who wanted to have a household help. My parents agreed hesitatingly only, but a visit to Marburg comforted them. So I went to Marburg in April 1938. I liked the family very much, also the town, and I soon had many friends.

On November 9, my friend came to our door quite excited. She wanted to know if my parents had contacted me already. 'Why should they do so?' I asked. Then she told me that the synagogue in my hometown had been demolished and that all Jewish men had been arrested. The same terror soon began at Marburg. ...

After that dramatic change, my father also considered leaving the country although nobody had touched our house during the 'Kristallnacht'; however, he had been interned in the Buchenwald concentration camp for one week (actually more than one month). My sister and my brother, who had meanwhile become American citizens, began to prepare for obtaining visas for my parents in order to get them to

³⁴⁵ Fritzlar archives XVIII 4, 16, 4-9 and 17, 1-7

³⁴⁶ The Kirchliche Hilfsstelle für Evangelische Nichtarier (church assistant organisation for Protestant Non-Aryans) urgently warned against emigration to Shanghai on Jan. 2, 1939. „The misery into which emigrants will get in Shanghai is unimaginably horrendous in the opinion of official and private organisations.“ (Erhart 336)

³⁴⁷ Fritzlar archives XVIII 4, 11, 6

the USA on a parents' quota. Unfortunately, this possibility existed only for my parents and not for me. As my parents did not want to go without me, they declined.

"Also Mr. H. in Marburg, by whom I was employed, was arrested and the spouses attempted to emigrate to their daughter in Argentina. So I had to look for another place for myself. My sister **Hilde**, who is my elder by eight years, had just married and lived in Hamburg. An uncle of mine also lived there with his family; he was the headmaster of a Jewish orphanage for boys. My sister suggested I could come to her or to my uncle's. I decided to go to my uncle's because I would be together with a lot of young people, for many of the boys had meanwhile become students and attended boarding schools. So I came to Hamburg in 1939."³⁴⁸

From June 26 to August 11, 1939, Berta Kugelman once more came to Fritzlar on a visit.³⁴⁹ In June 1943, she was deported from Hamburg to Theresienstadt at the age of 19. She later went to Auschwitz and then to Lensing/Austria, to the external camp of the Mauthausen KZ, where she was liberated by the Americans on May 5, 1945.³⁵⁰

2-3) **Joseph Löwenstein**, (70) was a merchant and ran the business "Gottlieb Löwenstein & Söhne", Fraumünsterstr. 22, with his brother **David**³⁵¹. He was married to **Rickchen, née Stern** (66); they had seven children, who were all born in Fritzlar: **Siegfried** in 1896, **Erna** in 1897, **Gustav** in 1899 (he was killed in World War I), **Alfred** in 1902, **Blanka I** in 1903, **Arthur** in 1905 (he died in 1907), and **Herta** in 1908. The parents moved away to Fulda on Feb. 22, 1938, where their daughters Erna and Blanka (I) had already arrived in 1922 and 1933 respectively.



Abraham Stern

4-6) **Abraham Stern**, (61), Fraumünsterstr. 26, moved away to Frankfurt/Main at the end of **December** with his wife **Friederike, née Pfifferling** (52).³⁵² They had three daughters: **Ruth II, Hertha and Erna**. The parents were deported to the East and probably lost their lives at or near Auschwitz.³⁵³

Their daughter **Erna**, 11 years old, moved to Kassel³⁵⁴ on January 28, 1938, but returned to Fritzlar on December 15.

7) **Ruth (II) Stern** (19), daughter of Abraham and Friederike and sister of Erna, had moved from Fritzlar in 1935 (s. above), came back to Fritzlar on October 7 and moved away to Hamburg on November 1.³⁵⁵ She obtained permission to emigrate to Palestine.

The documents were ready, but the train prescribed for emigration did not come. Therefore Ruth had to apply for a new visa and stay in Germany. She found a helpful family in Hamburg and sent a parcel to her parents in Frankfurt/Main twice per week by railway. Unfortunately, her departure could not take place before the war began.

Walter Kron reported: "The situation of the Jewish community of Fritzlar was deteriorating visibly. By the end of 1938, most of the Jews had already left Fritzlar,

³⁴⁸ Kugelman, *Meine Geschichte*

³⁴⁹ Fritzlar archives XVIII 4, 18, 1-7 & 19, 1-7

³⁵⁰ Kugelman, *Meine Geschichte*

³⁵¹ There were three employees in the business: **Sophie Hecht, Ilse Honig, and Leo Lautmann**.

³⁵² Lohmann, *Schicksal* 37

³⁵³ Fritzlar archives XIC 4, 11, 6; Memorial book; Lohmann, *Schicksal* 23

³⁵⁴ Fritzlar archives XVIII 4, 18, 1-6

³⁵⁵ Lohmann, *Schicksal* 27 & 37

also my parents. The Jews left Fritzlar partially 'voluntarily', partially by compulsion."³⁵⁶

c) Deaths and birth 1938

1) **Liebmann Kugelman** (57) became the first Fritzlar victim of the **Shoah** (s. above) on December 15 or 16 at Buchenwald.

2) **Fanny II Löwenstein** (67), who had lived in Fritzlar, Nikolausstr. 6, since 1885, died in December.

3) **Philippine/Biene Mark, née Mark** (95) died; the date could not be found. She was married first to Selig Mark (1826-1908), Gießener Str. 1, and in a second marriage to Gottfried Mark, Martinsgasse 8.

The last entry in the **register of births** of the synagogue community was that of **Bernd Löwenstein** on **July 26**. The registers³⁵⁷ had to be surrendered by an order of the regional governor dated December 15. The register of births comprised entries from 11 Jan.1872 to 26 July.1938, the register of marriages from 13 Nov 1872 to 15 Nov 1937 and the register of deaths from 23 Feb.1872 to 15 Dec 1937.³⁵⁸

d) Shops and other places of work 1938

1) **Leonor Katz** de-registered his textiles and haberdasher's business on Dec. 31.

2) **Leopold Löwenstein** de-registered his trade as a manufactured goods merchant, Gießener Str. 23, as per Dec. 31.³⁵⁹

3) **Hermann Speier** de-registered the license for his shoe products business on Oct. 4 after having to give up his cigar business one year earlier.³⁶⁰ However, he kept his residence at Martinsgasse 18, with his sisters **Amalie and Sophie**.

On March 9, an exceptionally large business advertisement appeared in the Kreisblatt, size A4 with 23 lines, of which three in red. It announced the opening of the Aryanized manufactured goods business Münsterstr. 52 (today Fraumünsterstr. 22), which had belonged to **Joseph and Siegfried Löwenstein**.

The Fritzlar magistrate's court announced on March 31 that the following business had been officially taken off the register: The cigar merchant and tobacco trade at Nikolausstr. 2 of **Leopold Kaisers Witwe (widow)** who had died in 1906, and the manufactured goods business Nikolausstr. 6 of **D. Stern Witwe**, who had died in 1919. (KFH 31.3.)

e) Houses and real estate 1938

The **synagogue** did not contain a dwelling. Fritzlar was short of dwellings so that the municipality was greatly interested in Jewish premises. The mayor wrote to the chairmen of the Kassel Jewish community on February 7: "The number of inhabitants of the [Fritzlar] community has strongly increased in recent years. The completion of the air base will lead to a further considerable increase which will cause a great shortage of dwellings. It will not be possible to remedy this in the short time available by means of new buildings. Indeed the municipality has to fall back in addition on existing, untenanted buildings." The mayor therefore asked if the synagogue and the school could be bought.³⁶¹

³⁵⁶ Glickman. Registrations and de-registrations for 1938 are missing in the Fritzlar archive.

³⁵⁷ HHStA Wiesbaden Best. 365, 24, no. 202 & seq.

³⁵⁸ Fritzlar archives XIII 1, 1, 4

³⁵⁹ Fritzlar archives II 2, 17, 7

³⁶⁰ Fritzlar archives II 2, 17, 7

³⁶¹ Fritzlar archive XIII 2, 1, 11

In doing so, he added maliciously: "I take the liberty of pointing out that a synagogue also exists at near-by Gudensberg, which could be shared for by the local Jews for religious services." (The mayor would not have expected any Catholic or Protestant Christian to undertake the long walk to Gudensberg . A few weeks later, in May, there were no more Jews at Gudensberg and the local synagogue was sold.)

An undated list of Jewish property, but supposed in the archives to be of April 1938 , covered a built-up area of 3,449 sq.m., which included 15 houses, and an additional undeveloped area of 21,977 sq.m., i.e. gardens and fields.³⁶² The undeveloped area included the "burial place, the Jewish graveyard Am Hohlen Graben" of 4,792 sq.m. The surface area of the Fritzlar synagogue amounted to 173 sq.m.

Am Donnerstag, den 10. März 1938
eröffne ich in
Fritzlar, Münsterstr. 52
ein neuzeitlich eingerichtetes Geschäft für
Manufakturwaren
Fertigkleidung u. Modewaren

Mein reichhaltiges und gut sortiertes Lager bietet Damen, Herren und Kindern eine günstige Einkaufsquelle für
Bekleidungsgegenstände in allen Größen und Formen
Anzug- und Kleiderstoffe, Mantel- und Kostümstoffe
Befah-Artikel / Wollwaren / Baby-Ausstattungen / Gardinen
Herren-Hüte und Mützen / Handschuhe und Strümpfe

Berufs-Kleidung in besten Qualitäten
Bett-Inletts und Bettfedern, Schlafdecken, Bettbezüge, Kissenbezüge
Handtücher, Tischzeuge

Täglich Eingang von Neuheiten für das Frühjahr
in Badisch- und Damen-Mänteln, Kostümchen, Pulllover etc.
Frühjahrs-Kleiderstoffe in neuen Webarten und entzückenden Farben

Fritz Wenzel
Fritzlar, Fernruf Nr. 295

Mitglied der Einkaufsgenossenschaft „Handelszentrale Deutscher Kaufhäuser, Berlin, Chemnitz (Habeke)“. Große, über ganz Deutschland verbreitete Genossenschaft von über 400 Mitgliedern für gemeinsamen Wareneinkauf, daher größte Leistungsfähigkeit.

Business advertisement 1938

In comparison advertisement of the same shop 1925:

Gottlieb Löwenstein Söhne, Fritzlar
Münsterstraße 52, Tel. 95
Extra billige Preise

Enorme Auswahl
bringen ihr großes Lager in empfehlende Erinnerung!

Kleider, Blusen, Mäntel, Costume * Schürzen, Kasaks, Unterkleider, Waschungerröcke * Herren-Anzüge, Herren-Paletots, Summi-mäntel, Sommerjoppen * Sportjosen, Turnerhosen, Turnerhemden, Arbeiterbekleidung * Knaben-Anzüge, Wasch-Anzüge, Spielanzüge, Russentittel * Oberhemden, Einfaßhemden, Kragen, Schlipse
Kleiderstoffe * Museline * Boiles * Seidenstoffe * Elegante Herrenstoffe * Sämtliche Befäße und Kurzwaren * Möbel und Nähmaschinen.

Fahnenstoffe für die 1200-Jahrfeier.

16.5.1925

In the copy extracted from the "Fritzlar Jewish property estate register" dated May 28, the "synagogue with yard space" has been entered, next to the school premises, as a self-contained unencumbered plot. It also appears in the manual drawing made from the cadaster map "for the purpose of clarification" on June 20:

³⁶² Fritzlar archives XIX 4, 11, 12, cp. the estate register extract dated 28.5.1938 XIII 2, 1, 12

6) **Aron Mansbach** sold the house Flehmengasse 4 on June 10 and emigrated to South Africa.

7) **Hermann Speier** "sold" a garden on Dec. 15.³⁶⁹

8) **Josef Speyer** was still listed among the wealthy persons on July 4, although he had already emigrated to the USA in 1936.³⁷⁰

9) On Dec. 23, the "Aryan" citizen F.L. wrote to the mayor: "For submission at today's meeting of the municipal council, I hereby once more propose that the house Nikolausstr. 8 should be allocated to me."³⁷¹ I have been interested in it for quite a time, after having been denied the purchase of the **Jewish school** because of communal interest."³⁷²

Data 1938

42 Jews were living in Fritzlar on August 5, these represented 0.93 % of the population.³⁷³

4,520 civilians were counted at Fritzlar on October 10 – military personnel was typically no longer indicated. 33 of the civilians were Jews, as was the up-to-date designation, whereas formerly they had been called Israelites and their creed Mosaic, in statistics and elsewhere. Among these 33, 13 were male and 20 female. None lived in town district A, nine in B (3 m, 6 f), 22 in C (10 m, 12 f) and two (f) in D. In the statistics – and not only there – Jews were now recorded at the end. Their share in the population had decreased to 0.73 %.³⁷⁴

The Fritzlar town archive contains a list of "Jewish Fritzlar citizens who probably still lived in Fritzlar at the time of the pogrom". The list appears to have been compiled from memory after the war only, as it is incomplete and in part incorrect. It comprises only four families totalling 13 persons: Kugelmann, Liebmann, Frommet and Rebecka; Löwenstein, Jettchen, Fanny (II), Leopold, Paula, Siegfried (-Susmann), Ella; Mansbach, Aron and Emma (they emigrated before the pogrom night); Speier, Susmann and Rebecka.³⁷⁵

At the end of December, 39 Jewish persons applied for an identity card, 18 males and 21 females.³⁷⁶ Their age structure was as follows: one baby of 5 months, six children between 11 and 18, two young adults between 27 and 29, four between 32 and 36, three between 43 and 48, nine between 50 and 58, thirteen between 60 and 68 and one 71 year old. Of these 39 persons, 19 moved away before the end of the year.

³⁶⁹ Fritzlar archives XIII 4, 11,6

³⁷⁰ Fritzlar archives XIII 4, 11,6

³⁷¹ As far as I could find out, no Jew had lived at Nikolausstr. 8, but Luise Sauer had had a shop for cigars, mixed goods, meat and sausage products there

³⁷² Fritzlar archives XIII 2, 1, 11

³⁷³ HStA Marburg Landratsamt Fritzlar 2748

³⁷⁴ In 581 houses and 1,117 households. Out of these, 2,415 were Catholic, 2001 Protestant, 58 non-denominational, 13 free-religious, and 33 Jewish (Fritzlar archives II 2, 17, 2)

³⁷⁵ Fritzlar archives XVIII 1, 3, 13

³⁷⁶ see annex 6

The seventh NS year A chronology of the year 1939

On **1 Jan** the decree dated 17 Aug 1938 came into effect, compelling all Jews to bear the additional compulsory first name Israel or Sara.³⁷⁷

Other measures coming into effect on **1 Jan** included the following:

Jews were no longer permitted to work in retail, distribution, trading, craft, agricultural businesses or travel agencies.

“Voluntary Aryanization” became “compulsory Aryanization” and Jews had to transfer their businesses to “Aryans”.

The Reich chambers for literature, press, broadcasting, and theatre were obliged to exclude all Jews, effectively imposing a lockout from their profession.^{378 379}

Dr Goebbels wrote in a New Year foreword: “The position of Nazism towards Judaism is clearly defined and knows no compromise. This is a problem that we Germans in Germany will resolve in accordance with the wishes and good sense of the German people. We are convinced that for the power and strength of the nation it is unavoidably necessary to defend ourselves against the race of parasites.” (KFH 3 Jan)

The regional governor accelerated emigration by means of a letter dated 6 Jan, in which he declared the issuing of passports and certificates of good conduct to be a matter of urgency.

“Now that the Jews no longer practise law and Jewish “legal consultants” have been appointed, a decree of the Führer’s deputy has ensured the fundamental reorganization of the representation of Jews in legal matters.” (KFH 6 Jan)

“The constitution of the Nazi veterans association has been amended by a new version. Jews, or anyone married to a Jew, are in principle excluded from membership.” (KFH 9 Jan)

At Berlin University the Julius Streicher School was opened. The commissioner for research into Jewish issues stated: “The Jewish question will only be finally solved when it is also solved in the other countries, not only here.” (KFH 12 Jan)

The Reich Commissar reminded readers that “price increases due to Aryanization are forbidden.” (KFN 13 Jan. The prices permitted to be charged by Jewish shopkeepers were apparently so low that the new Aryan owners could not make a living!)

The editor of the Kreisblatt wrote: “We are happy about every Jew taken off our hands.” (KFH 18 Jan) Reichsleiter Rosenberg declared, “no matter how many protests there are, the Jews will be eradicated from Germany.” (loc. cit.)

On **20 Jan** the Kreisblatt announced under the headline “No more Jewish dentists or vets” that, “whilst the 4th Decree of the Reich Citizens Law had already cancelled the appointment of Jewish doctors effective 30 Sep 1938, the newly published 8th Decree withdrew the licences of Jewish dentists, vets and pharmacists as from 31 Jan 1939. In addition Jews may not work in the medical, dental care and veterinary professions. As regards health care assistants, Jews are only permitted to care for other Jews. With this decree the entire health system has been cleansed of Jews.” (KFH 20 Jan)

On **24 Jan** a “Reich Centre for Jewish Emigration” was established and Heydrich, chief of the security police, appointed as its head. The goals of the centre were “to take all measures to prepare the increased emigration of Jews, ...to determine appropriate destination countries for emigration, ...and to ensure the preferential emigration of less well-off Jews.”

On **24 January** a “Reich Centre for Jewish Emigration” was set up headed by the Chief of the Security Police Heydrich. Its tasks were “to take all measures for

³⁷⁷ “The defilement of the Jews reaches its climax when they are characterized by their Jewish-sounding name, even before it is known that they are Jews. Now the prey is cornered and one needs only to take aim for the final fatal blow. ...The Jewish name is a label that shows clearly the nature of its bearer; it is a stigma and nails down the Jew so that there is no escape.” (Deutsche jüdische Soldaten (German Jewish Soldiers 174).

³⁷⁸ Thamer 439

³⁷⁹ Archives Fritzlar XVIII 4, 33, 6

preparing increased emigration of the Jews, ... to ascertain suitable countries for such emigration,... and to give priority to the emigration of the poorer Jews”.

In his Reichstag speech on 30 Jan Hitler reminded listeners that he had wanted to bring “the Jewish problem to a solution” since the beginning of his political activities, and he threatened that, in case of war, “the Jewish race would be destroyed in Europe.” “Today we are only repaying what this people (the Jews) brought upon itself. ...I assure you we are completely impervious to all sentimentality. ...We are determined to expel this people. ...I believe that the sooner this problem is solved the better, because Europe will not be at peace until the Jewish question has been eliminated. ...If international Jewish finance within and outside Europe were to succeed in plunging the people into another world war, the result would not be the Bolshevization of the world and thus the victory of the Jews, but the destruction of the Jewish race in Europe.” (KFH 1 Feb)

At the New Year’s reception for the diplomatic corps Reichsleiter Rosenberg stressed that “for the Nazis the Jewish question in Germany would only be solved once the last Jew had left the German Reich. ...The measures taken by the German Reich to ensure the elimination of the Jews from all of German life have shattered any hopes there may still have been.” He then spoke of the countries that might admit the Jews: Palestine, Guyana, or Madagascar. (KFH 8 Feb)

On **17 Feb** the reorganization of Jewish representation at the Reich level under the state-imposed “Reich Association of Jews in Germany” was announced.

“According to calculations the stock of pure blood Jews and Jewish half-breeds in Greater Germany remains at almost one million. ...Therefore world Jewry and its allies can finance the emigration of the German Jews without major problems.” (KFH 20 Feb)

In an urgent letter dated **25 Feb** the Reich Minister of the Interior stressed that Jewish emigration from Germany was to be encouraged by all means, and that the emigration of poor Jews should be supported by a special tax on wealthy Jews.³⁸⁰

On **28 Feb** it was announced that, if war should break out, all male Jews between 18 and 55 would be required to do heavy forced labour in place of military service.

When the income tax was revised, Jews were automatically placed in the highest tax class. (KFH 28 Feb)

A second wealth tax was imposed on emigrating Jews from 1 March, the revenues from which were allocated to support the emigration of poorer Jews.

In March Jews were required to deliver all items of gold and silver to the Gestapo. This included the cups, candlesticks and other ritual utensils used on Jewish festivals.³⁸⁰

“According to the Armed Services Law of 21 May 1935 Jews were no longer allowed to perform active military service. ...Now a joint decree of the armed services command headquarters and the Reich Minister of the Interior has ordered that Jews are no longer to be considered for conscription. ...Effective immediately Jews will at their recruitment receive a certificate excluding them from military service.” (KFH 13 Mar)

According to an agreement with the Czechoslovak government dated 15 March, German troops marched into Bohemia and Moravia. (KFH 15 Mar) Thus Theresienstadt also became German. (KFH 16 Mar) Bohemia and Moravia became a German Protectorate. The Slovak state also placed itself under the Greater German Reich. The ethnic Germans of the Protectorate became German citizens of the Reich and subject to the laws governing the protection of German blood and honour. (KFH 17 Mar)

“The Reich escapees tax, imposed on all those leaving the Reich whose assets were greater than 50 000 Reichsmark or who earned more than 20 000 RM, brought in more than 233 million RM in the first ten months of the accounting year 1938, compared to 70 million RM in 1936 and 81 million in 1937.” (KFH 17 Mar)

In the ethnic-authoritarian state it is the duty of the police to guard “order amongst the masses”. Anyone who wrongly claims to be a civil servant or a representative of the police

³⁸⁰ E.g. Kiddush beakers, Shabbat candelabras, cutlery, silver baskets for Shabbat-Challah, watches, chains, etc; cf. decree dated 26 Apr 1938 (see above)

will no longer be imprisoned, but will “be taken into protective custody and placed in a concentration camp until further notice”. (KFH 18 Mar)

On **22 March** the Lithuanian government returned the Memel Region (now Klaipėda) to Germany. (KFH 22 Mar)

At a town meeting in Homberg the speaker from the Reich pointed out “with compelling logic to all” that “in judging the Jewish question muddleheaded emotions have no place. ...As parasites the Jews have always made capital out of the creative power of our people.” (KFH 25 Mar)

On **25 March** the compulsory membership of all “Aryan” youths in relevant organizations was decreed: 10-14 year old boys formed the Deutsches Jungvolk, 10-14 year old girls the Jungmädel, 14-18 year old boys the Hitlerjugend (HJ) and 14-21 year old girls the Bund Deutscher Mädel (BDM). Jews were excluded. “Following the introduction of compulsory labour and military service, the Führer has implemented two decrees which recognize service in the Hitler Jugend as a service of honour to the German people. In future all youths between the ages of 10 and 18 will be required to serve in the Hitler-Jugend. All boys and girls in the Hitler-Jugend are subject to the authority under public law as determined by the Führer. ...Induction will take place every year on 20 April. ...From early on youths will follow an educational route that requires them to live by the ideas of the National-Socialist movement and to serve its spirit.” (KFH 6 Apr)

The municipality of Buschhausen near Fritzlar announced that it was “free of Jews”. The Kreisblatt added, “that we will hopefully be able to announce the same for the entire Fritzlar-Homberg district soon.” (KFH 30 Mar)

On **31 March** Great Britain and France guaranteed the protection of Poland.

In a speech Adolf Hitler demanded that “those in the democratic camp free themselves from the cleverly spun Jewish-Bolshevik webs.” (KFH 3 Apr)

In the German Protestant Church Gazette the following notice was published: “The Christian faith represents the unbridgeable religious opposite to Judaism.” The authors announced their intention to establish an “Institute for the Research and Elimination of Jewish Influence on the Religious Life of the German People.” (KFH 12 Apr)

On **15 April** Heydrich demanded on behalf of the Reich Minister of the Interior that all Jewish archives and writings “seized during the Jewish operations” be delivered to the Gestapo.³⁸² (Note the euphemisms “operations” for pogrom and “seized” for stolen!)

On **17 April** an emigration tax of up to 60% of wealth was imposed. Restrictions on foreign exchange made emigration much harder. Transfers abroad could only be made through the Deutsche Golddiskontbank (Degeo). Losses on transfers rose from 60% at the start up to 90%. For new household effects and equipment bought for a new job high duties had to be paid to the Degeo, as much as double their cost.³⁸³

On the occasion of Adolf Hitler’s 50th birthday 20th April was declared a national holiday in Greater Germany. (KFH 18 Apr)

A training letter states “National-Socialism has totally solved the Jewish question on behalf of the German people, and thereby shown the rest of the world the way to a permanent settlement of the Jewish problem.” (KFH 24 Apr)

The Kreisblatt carried an article under the headline: “Crafts cleansed of Jews”: “The Reich Association of craft trades has announced that all Jews have left. Statistics show that in December 1938 there were still 5,822 Jewish craft businesses in the old Reich, and in the Ostmark 9,538 in March 1938. ...The 1935 census showed some 10,000 Jewish craft businesses.” (KFH 25 Apr)

On **28 April** in a speech to the assembled Reichstag Hitler terminated the German-Polish treaty of understanding of 1934 and the German-English naval treaty of 1935. In his speech Hitler said, “The Poles have unilaterally violated the treaty I signed with Marshal Pilsudski, and it is thus no longer valid. ...If the Polish government values a new contractual regulation of relations with Germany I would welcome that.” As for the Jews he merely said, “Jewish parasites are plundering the

³⁸² Lohmann, Schicksal (Fate) 97

³⁸³ Legal 14

nation ...The misery of our people is an end in itself for this race.” The Kreisblatt continued with a lengthy report on the memoranda to England and Poland. (KFH 29 Apr)

On **4 May** a “law governing Jewish tenancy” was passed. “There are two main aspects to the new law. Because households containing German national comrades and Jews are forbidden, it will now be possible to remove Jews against their will from German residences. On the other hand it is not justified that Jews should occupy more living accommodation relative to the size of their population. ...The law requires that Jews in future only rent accommodation from other Jews, and permits such rental agreements even without the agreement of the landlord if he is also Jewish. ...However the law does not apply if only the wife is Jewish, but the husband of German blood, or of mixed blood twice removed.” (KFH 5 May) Thus the protection of Jewish tenants’ rights was quashed, “Aryanization” of Jewish property became mandatory and Jews were forced to live together in special Jewish houses or quarters. Jews thrown out by landlords could be assigned to other Jewish apartments as sub-tenants by the local authorities. Thus the Jewish population was systematically isolated from the non-Jewish population.³⁸⁴

At the time of “sale” of real estate the following were meant to be considered: standard value, insurance value, market value, condition of the property, economic justification and, if applicable, a compensatory payment to the Reich. Often an official estimate had to be provided. The price could not be freely negotiated.

On **6 May** 11 regional Protestant churches met at the Wartburg near Eisenach and established an “Institute for the Research and Elimination of Jewish Influence on the Religious Life of the German People.” Its headquarters was the Protestant-Lutheran seminary at Eisenach. There were some 200 full-time and volunteer employees. The goal was to establish a new German Christianity based on Germanic race and religion.

On **15 May** the women’s concentration camp at Ravensbrück was opened.

The census of **17 May** included a “supplementary card for the provision of detailed statistics on the Jewish question. ...This time the statistical registration of Jews was to be undertaken according to descent. ...The question was: ‘Were or are any of the four grandparents racially completely Jewish?’” (KFH 15 May)

At the opening of the German Law Centre Reich Minister Frank said, “Now that all traces of any Jewish influence have been obliterated and the materialistic principles of French dogma overcome, we can at last structure and codify a set of real German laws.” (KFH 15 May)

Following the homecoming of the Ostmark (formerly Austria) the Jewish question had become the most urgent problem there. It was necessary to create a Centre for Jewish Emigration. ...After the upheaval there were about 180,000 Jews in the Ostmark, of whom 165,000 lived in Vienna. ...After 10 months’ work the Centre announced that it had assisted in the emigration of 99,672 Jews. ...Some 45,000 of them emigrated to European countries.” (KFH 16 May)

“Now that Jews have been removed from commercial enterprises, including pharmacies, there still remains the possibility that a Jew may have ownership rights over a pharmacy without actually practising. These rights will now also be transferred to German ownership. Contracts of sale are subject to authorization.” (KFH 25 May)

Reichsleiter A. Rosenberg said to students, “International Jewry has declared war on Germany. ...But just as we have declared previously that the Jewish question in Germany will only be solved once there are no more Jews on German soil, so we now uncompromisingly add that the Jewish question in Europe will only be solved once no single Jew remains on European soil.” (KFH 25 May)

In May Hitler ordered his personal doctor Brandt to establish a group of experts for the killing of mentally ill children. In July euthanasia of mentally ill adults was planned.

Reich Minister Dr Frank said, “Germans and Jews are incompatible. 80 million Germans cannot emigrate just because they don’t get along with 600,000 or 800,000 Jews, so the 600,000 or 800,000 will have to leave the German lebensraum to let the 80 million live on in

³⁸⁴ Kropat, Alltag 140

peace. The race laws of the Third Reich represent a proud contribution to Germanic history and are not limited to removing Jewish influence, but seek to promote valuable traditions by all means while eliminating all elements unworthy of reproduction.” (KFH 13 Jun)

On **4 July** §5 the 10th Decree of the Reich Citizens Law ordered that the Reich Representation of German Jews be renamed Reich Association of Jews in Germany, to which all Jews living in the Reich had to belong.³⁸⁵ (The choice of the words “...Jews in Germany” demonstrates the alien status of Jews.³⁸⁶ Jews were no longer Germans, even if they had lived in Germany for generations and considered themselves German.)

The Reich Association had to ensure the education of Jewish children in its own institutions. “Jews may only attend schools maintained by the Reich Association.”

The Reich Association also had to pay for welfare services. “As the authority responsible for Jewish free welfare the Reich Association must support needy Jews according to its means, and ensure that public welfare services are not required. It must also provide the institutions for those Jews requiring institutionalised treatment.” (KFH 8 Jul)

The decree aimed to encourage Jews to emigrate.

The British Mandate Government for Palestine published a White Book restricting the immigration of Jews to Palestine out of consideration for the Arabs living there. (In the following years this cost the lives of countless European Jews, as the English used armed force to prevent Jews entering Palestine.)

On **18 July** the Kreisblatt (local newspaper) quoted Hitler; “Whatever is not good racially in this world is chaff.”

In a report on the census: “Any emigration has been almost exclusively Jewish.” (KFH 28 Jul) Jews mainly settled in France.

On **24 August** a Non-Aggression Pact was concluded with the Soviet Union.

For some essential consumer goods identity cards were issued as ration coupons. (KFH 28 Aug. A preparation for war!)

On **1 September** the Second World War broke out with the German invasion of Poland. This had been preceded by a variety of provocations of ethnic Germans by Poland. The Kreisblatt carried the headline: “Danzig comes home to the Reich.” (KFH 1 Sept) The Reichstag convened at 10 a.m. to receive a declaration by the Reich government. Adolf Hitler explained his measures to free Danzig and the Polish Corridor. In case of his death he nominated Göring as his successor and Heß as Göring’s successor. Officially there was no mention of war, only of a counter attack.

There followed the resettlement and murder of Polish Jews and many Polish nationalists. But all Jews living in Germany were also considered “enemies of the Reich.” In Poland there were mass arrests, mass executions and deportation.

On **3 September** Great Britain and France declared war on Germany. Adolf Hitler issued an appeal to the Nazi Party that started as follows: “Our Jewish-Democratic world enemy has managed to incite the English to war against Germany.” (KFH 4 Sep)

According to a publication of the Institute for the Study of the Jewish Question, Poland represents “the energy reserve of world Jewry.” The institute reckoned there were 3,404,900 Jews in Poland and estimated that 27.2% of town dwellers and 3.2% of country dwellers were Jews. (KFH 5 Sep)

On **21 September** Heydrich announced the systematic deportation of Jews and Gypsies to the area east of Cracow.

In connection with the campaign against Poland a plan was conceived for a Jewish reservation east of the river Vistula around Lublin. There were two hurdles; the assimilation

³⁸⁵ Kropat, Alltag 427. “The umbrella organization of the Jewish communities founded in 1933, the Reich Representation of German Jews (Reichsvertretung der deutschen Juden), was dissolved by the Reich Ministry of the Interior in 1939. ...In reaction to this deprivation the board of the Reich Representation planned a reorganization, and the resulting Reich Association of Jews in Germany (Reichsvereinigung der Juden in Deutschland) was officially registered as an association at the start of 1939. A passage in the law governing associations provided the Reich Ministry of the Interior with control over the Reich Association, which was exercised by the local police and the Gestapo.” (C. Kugelmann in Kingreen 455 Note 1)

³⁸⁶ Battenberg II 283

of ethnic Germans from the eastern territories (the Baltics, Volynia, Bessarabia, etc) and the preparations for war on Russia.

On **23 September**, the Jewish Day of Atonement, Jews were required to surrender their radios. They were forbidden to have telephones, newspaper subscriptions, to gather in assemblies and to use benches in public parks.

On **27 September** the Reich Security Office (Reichssicherheitshauptamt) was established under Heydrich. One department was "Emigration and Evacuation", headed by Eichmann, which was responsible in Poland for organizing mass deportation to the extermination camps. Heydrich demanded the concentration of Polish Jews in ghettos "as a first step to the final solution."³⁸⁷

At the **end of September** The Reich Association of Jews in Germany was forbidden to contact the International Red Cross, and the IRC agreed not to interfere!

At the end of September euthanasia of the mentally ill started in Western Prussia with the execution of thousands.

On **6 October** Hitler addressed the specially convened Reichstag regarding the end of the war on Poland. He declared "a new order of ethnographic relations" as the most important mission; "that means resettling ethnic nationalities", as befits "an era of nationalist principles and race philosophy." He described this as "cleansing" and the goal as "the attempt to bring a new order and solution to the Jewish problem." (KFH 7 Oct)

In a report on the role of the German police in Poland: "this includes continuous surveillance of the restless masses of Polish Jewry ...an utterly repulsive human race." (KFH 7 Oct)

"By means of a decree dated **7 Oct** the Führer has appointed the Reichsführer of the SS to be responsible for bringing home to the Reich the returning ethnic and foreign resident Germans. In addition it is his job to implement any resettlement necessary to ensure new German residential development." (KFH 26 Oct)

On **12 October** the deportation of Jews from Austria started.

In **October** Hitler announced the eradication of "lives not worth living", i.e. euthanasia. At Fort VII of the Poznan concentration camp a gas chamber was built, and experiments on human beings were conducted using bottles filled with a mixture of carbon monoxide and an insecticide similar to Cyclon B. At the end of November similar gas chambers were built at Grafeneck and Brandenburg, for the eradication of "lives not worth living".

In October Jews were banned from being members of volunteer fire services.

On **15 October** the first Baltic Germans arrived in Danzig. The resettlement of the ethnic Germans pushed back the deportation of Polish Jews.

In order to reach the total "contribution" required of the Jews of 1 billion RM, the Jews' Wealth Tax was raised from 20% to 25%. (KFH 24 Oct)

On **1 November** Danzig-Western Prussia, Poznan and Upper Silesia were annexed to the Reich. The rest of Poland comprised the General Government to which the Jews were to be deported. A "Jewish state under German administration" was planned near Cracow, or further east near Nisko between the Vistula and Bug rivers.

The ghettoization of Warsaw's Jews started on **4 November**.

On **8 November** an attempt was made on Hitler's life at the Bürgerbräukeller.

On **14 November** the labelling of all Jews in Lodz was ordered, and on 23 November the General Government of occupied Poland ordered all Jews to wear the Star of David.

From **17 November** Jews were no longer provided with food stamps for chocolate products, and from December their food rations were reduced.

An instruction booklet issued by the military authorities entitled "The Jew in German history" stated that all traces of Jewish influence, particularly economic and cultural, were to be "eradicated", , and that "the struggle against world Jewry, which seeks to incite the peoples of the world against Germany" was to be continued.

³⁸⁷ Battenberg II 289

Jewish citizens of Fritzlar in 1939

On 26th June the Jewish Cultural Association proposed to the mayor that the town take over the **Lissauer** Foundation for 1,400 RM, as the Fritzlar synagogue association was being dissolved and the articles of association provided for such a transfer. The town council refused on 10th July. Reasons were not recorded.³⁸⁸ (The wishes of both the living and the dead were disregarded)

On 20th August **Moses Lissauer** and **Susmann Speier** filed a request, adding the name Israel and their identification numbers, to hold Jewish religious services around the Jewish New Year, specifically on 14th and 15th September for the New Year, on 23rd September for the Day of Atonement, 28th and 29th September for Tabernacles (Sukkoth) and 5th and 6th October for Shemini Atzeret and Simchat Torah. On the request there is a handwritten "Reject". The refusal addressed to Mr Moses Israel Lissauer was dated 9th August (should be 9th September) and included a handwritten remark "Police for information and supervision".³⁸⁹ (Jews were not even allowed to meet for religious services!)

Emigration, Moves and Sales 1939

a) Emigrations 1939

aa) Direct emigration from Fritzlar

1) **Lieselotte Kaufmann** left for England on 8th May, presumably by means of Kindertransport, as she was not yet 18.

2) **Leonor Katz** (35), Fraumünsterstr 1, left for the USA after his internment in a concentration camp.³⁹⁰ He was married to **Grete, née Wolf** (27), and had de-registered on 31st December 1938. The couple had still been counted in Fritzlar in the census on 17th May. It appears that Grete Katz did not emigrate, because according to the Memorial Book she was deported from Fritzlar and became a victim of the **Holocaust** at an unknown place.

3-6) **Siegfried Löwenstein** (43) ran the shop "Firma Josef Löwenstein & Sohn" with his father in Fraumünsterstr 22. At the time this was the largest textiles shop in Fritzlar. He was married to **Berta, née Repp** (40) and they had two children, both born in Fritzlar: **Ferdinand** (14), who had been at school in Fulda since 1935, and **Gerhard** (9). In January Siegfried left with his family for the USA.

7) **Fritz/Fred Rapp** emigrated to England on 26th July, probably by Kindertransport, as he was only 15 years old.

8) **Augusta** Luisa Elisabeth **Schasny**, (32), had converted to Catholicism and become an Ursuline novice. On 20th June she arrived at the Ursuline convent in Fritzlar from Plauen in the Vogt region and gave her profession as social worker. She did not bear the compulsory name Sara. She de-registered in Fritzlar on 15th December in order to leave for Lima in Peru. It is strange that she travelled alone, because nuns normally travelled in groups.³⁹¹ After the war she worked at the Antonius-Home in Wiesbaden. She died in late 1970.

ab) Indirect emigration following change of location

1) **Frieda Auerbach, née Lissauer** (38), emigrated from Hamburg to England in 1939 and thence to the USA.

³⁸⁸ Archives Fritzlar XVI 2, 2, 14

³⁸⁹ Archives Fritzlar XVIII 1, 3, 13; Lohmann, Schicksal (Fate) 83 & 84

³⁹⁰ Lohmann, Schicksal (Fate) 39

³⁹¹ Archives Fritzlar XVIII 4, 19, 1-7. On 13 September 1939 nine Ursuline nuns set off for Lima. (loc.cit. XVIII 4, 18, 1-7)

2-3) **Benno** (58) and **Johanna Friedberg** (51) emigrated from Berlin to Shanghai on 3rd January.

4) **Lieselotte Kaufmann**, aged 17, emigrated to England from Frankfurt am Main on 8th May.

5-6) **Josef Löwenstein**, born 22 June 1868, and his wife **Rickchen**, born 27 March 1872, had moved to Fulda and intended to emigrate to Ecuador³⁹² on 30 May 1939. However they did not succeed and became victims of the Holocaust.

7) **Karl Mansbach** (35), who had moved to Neuss in 1935, emigrated to the USA via Amsterdam.

8-9) **Moritz Speier**, (66), livestock dealer, Zwischen den Krämen 2-4, had moved to Merseburg, Weissenfelsestr 18 (later to Kleine Ritterstr 12), in 1929 with his wife and three children. Following the pogrom on 9 November 1938 he was arrested in Merseburg, bullied for some weeks in a concentration camp and urged to sell up and emigrate. A letter provides evidence that he was still in Merseburg on 20th February, but was counted in Fritzlar in the 17th May census. With his wife **Jeanette** they emigrated to London, where the mayor of Fritzlar erroneously assumed them to be in 1942. In September 1940 they left for Baltimore USA to join their children, who had already left Germany in 1936. Moritz arrived in America at the latest on 5 September 1940.³⁹³

b) Moves within Germany 1939

1) **Bessi/Bessy Löwenstein** (37), Gießener Str 22, had been a pupil at the Ursuline convent school in 1909 and had moved from Fritzlar to Frankfurt am Main.³⁹⁴ She was later deported to Riga with her father **David L.** (see below) and murdered.³⁹⁵

2) **Blanka (II) Löwenstein** (18), Nikolausstr 6, moved to Frankfurt am Main on 16th July.³⁹⁶ Her father **Siegfried-Susmann** had been arrested on the night of the pogrom.³⁹⁷ The parents remained in Fritzlar. Blanka, her mother **Ella** and father **Siegfried-Susmann** became victims of the Holocaust at an unknown place in the East. (The father was declared dead on 9 May 1945).³⁹⁸

3) **David Löwenstein** (65), Gießener Str 22, widower of **Pauline, née Reis**, who had died in Fritzlar in 1934, moved with his daughter **Bessy** (see above) to Frankfurt am Main.³⁹⁹ From there both were deported to Riga and murdered.⁴⁰⁰

4-5) **Leopold Löwenstein** (55), Gießener Str 23, merchant of manufactured goods, left Fritzlar on 15th May with his wife **Paula, née Scheuer** (44).⁴⁰¹ Despite

³⁹² Archives Fritzlar XI 12, 27

³⁹³ Archives Fritzlar XIX 4, 11, 6

Relative to 1938 the number of Jews leaving Germany in 1939 (68,000 or 78,000) had almost doubled (Kropat, Alltag 433). In light of the high number of emigrants in 1939 W. A. Kropat wrote: "Had the war started later or other countries' immigration laws been more generous, then almost all the Jews could have been saved through emigration." (Kropat, Alltag 435)

For the year 1939 in Fritzlar's archives – apart from the de-registration of the Ursulines and one other emigrant from Fritzlar - there are no records of any Jewish emigrants (Archives Fritzlar XVIII 4, 19, 1-7).

³⁹⁴ Archives Fritzlar XIX 4, 11, 6

³⁹⁵ Book of Remembrance

³⁹⁶ Archives Fritzlar XVIII 4, 18, 1-7

³⁹⁷ Lohmann, Schicksal (Fate) 27

³⁹⁸ Book of Remembrance; Lohmann, Schicksal (Fate) 23

³⁹⁹ Archives Fritzlar XIX 4, 11, 12; Lohmann, Schicksal (Fate) 39

⁴⁰⁰ According to the Book of Remembrance Bessi perished in Riga and Leopold somewhere in Poland.

⁴⁰¹ Archives Fritzlar XVIII 4, 18, 1-7

having de-registered he was still counted in Fritzlar at the census on 17th May. Both lost their lives in the Holocaust somewhere in Poland.³⁸¹

6) **Sara Pfifferling** (50) Fraumünsterstr 26, moved to Kassel on 13th May.³⁸² On 9 December 1941 she was deported from Kassel to Riga and became a victim of the Holocaust at an unknown place.³⁸³

7-8) **Hertha Stern** (18), who had in the meantime been in Marburg, moved with her sister **Erna** (12) (see 1938) to Kassel on 25th February, where she had registered on 22nd February. On 1 April 1940 the sisters moved on to Frankfurt am Main; they became victims of the Holocaust in or near Auschwitz.³⁸⁴

c) Deaths 1939

There are no recorded deaths of Jews in Fritzlar in 1939.

On 9th January the records of the synagogue community were confiscated by the state. On 21st February the regional governor reported that the seizure was complete.

d) Shops and other places of work 1939

There were **no more Jewish shops or businesses**. All firms had to be “Aryanized”, i.e. given up, by 31 December 1938.

e) Houses and real estate 1939



Emma Boley and Sophie Dornblatt, née Boley (Emma's sister)

1) **Emma Boley** (64) lived at Gießener Str 25 in the house that had belonged to her parents. Her father **Joel** was a livestock dealer and had died in 1912. **Malchen**, her mother had died in 1915. Following her parents' death the house was owned by **Josef Speyer**, who emigrated in 1936.

Emma Boley retained the right to live in the house. The mayor referred to this in a letter dated 25th January: “Concerning the house and plot Werkelstr B 27 of the Jewish livestock dealer Josef Speyer. The family moved to America some years ago. No immediate relatives live here any longer. ...The Jewess Emma Boley, whose parents built the house, continues to live there rent-free and she has the right of free abode”. He wrote this because somebody wanted to buy the plot and had turned to the regional governor.³⁸⁵ Emma Boley had to move to Geismarstr 19.

2) **Frieda Katz**, who moved away in 1929 and who lived at Wörthstr 141/2 in Kassel in 1939, “sold” the house at Neustädterstr 5 (today Kuyken) on 23rd January or 3rd February.³⁸⁶

³⁸¹ Book of Remembrance

³⁸² Archives Fritzlar XVIII 4,18,1-7

³⁸³ Archives Fritzlar XIX 4,11, 12; Book of Remembrance; Kleinert Prinz 224; Lohmann, Schicksal (Fate) 23

³⁸⁴ Book of Remembrance; Kleinert Prinz 236; Nebel in Bridenthal (Fog in Bridenthal), When biology 334f

³⁸⁵ Archives Fritzlar XIX 4, 11, 6

³⁸⁶ Archives Fritzlar XIX 4, 11, 6 & 4, 11, 12

3) **Leonor Katz** “sold” the house Fraumünsterstr 1 on 16th January and a barn in Hintergasse on 2nd February. These sales had already been initiated in the summer of 1938, i.e. before the pogrom and his arrest.³⁸⁷

4) On 14th February and 25th April attempts were made to buy the plots belonging to **Moses Lissauer** on Schladenweg.³⁸⁸

5) **Siegfried Löwenstein** “sold” his shop at Fraumünsterstr 22 after his imprisonment in a concentration camp in November and December 1938.³⁸⁹

6) **Siegfried-Susmann Löwenstein** “sold” the house at Nikolausstr 6 on 24th January. A plot was sold on 14th February and a small field am Spies only on 21 August 1941.³⁹⁰

7) Despite having moved **Moritz Speier** had kept his property and houses at Zwischen den Krämen 2-4. The mayor had written to Merseburg on the subject of the “sale” of both houses.

8) **Synagogue**. On 14th January the mayor confirmed: “The Jewish synagogue C 13 in Holzgasse has been pulled down and will not be rebuilt.” It is thus clear that the synagogue was pulled down immediately following the pogrom in November 1938. As a permanent reminder a reference to the Fritzlar synagogue was carved in the stone at the Valley of Destroyed Communities at Yad Vashem in Jerusalem. A bronze memorial plaque and a plaque with a picture on the wall opposite the plot on which the synagogue stood are also reminders of the synagogue.

Although the synagogue had already been destroyed in November 1938, the tax authorities addressed a claim “regarding the Jewish synagogue at Clobesgasse 12” to **Leopold Löwenstein** on 15th May.³⁹¹ However since the synagogue’s address was Holzgasse C 13, the address must have referred to the Jewish school, which had been owned by the town since 15 August 1938. In the summer the change in ownership of the synagogue plot was entered in the land registry: “In place of the Jews of Fritzlar, the Reich Association of Jews in Germany has become the owner in accordance with §5 of the 10th Decree of the Reich Citizens Law dated 4 July 1939”.

In response to an inquiry by Dr. Paul Arnsberg the mayor wrote on 22 October 1964 that the town had no documents concerning its former Jewish **citizens**. They only sent an extract from the land registry (item 606, page 1744) about the plot of the school, the synagogue and its garden, the cemetery and the Sehgärten.³⁹²

9) On 10th November a potential buyer contacted the mayor about the “garden of the former Jewish community” in the Gartengässchen.³⁹³ Thus it was already generally clear that there was no longer a Jewish community, particularly as there was no more synagogue.

Data 1939

The census of 17th May counted 4,626 residents.³⁹⁴ **29** “full Jews” and one “quarter Jewess” were counted.³⁹⁵ That was 0.65% of the population. At the next census on 10th October 4,888 civilian residents were counted.³⁹⁶

³⁸⁷ Archives Fritzlar II 2, 17, 7; XIX 4, 11, 6; Lohmann, Schicksal (Fate) 39

³⁸⁸ Archives Fritzlar X 22, 29

³⁸⁹ Archives Fritzlar II 2, 17, 7; XIX 4, 11, 6

³⁹⁰ Archives Fritzlar XIX 4, 11, 6 & 4, 11, 12

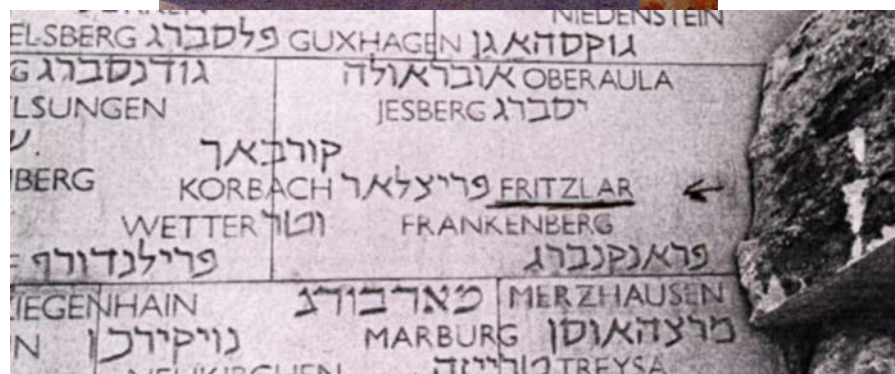
³⁹¹ Archives Fritzlar XIII 3, 1, 18

³⁹² Archives of the Jewish Museum, Frankfurt am Main, Arnsberg file

³⁹³ Archives Fritzlar XIX 4, 11, 6

³⁹⁴ 2,195 men, 2,431 women, 147 agricultural businesses, 248 other businesses (Archives Fritzlar II 2, 15, 16). Ide mentions 6,468 (Ide 122)

³⁹⁵ Federal Archives; Arnsberg 216; DSB IV 172; Ide 123; Küther 91. The usual mention of 30 is misleading, because Mrs Hempel, the so-called quarter Jewess, is not shown anywhere in the list of Jews. Dr. Curt Hempel, born on 8 November 1890, was “Aryan”, while his wife Mrs Ursula Hempel,



In 1966 the Fritzlar municipal authorities knew almost nothing of the history of its Jewish population. When Dr. Paul Arnsberg sent them a questionnaire on 16 October 1966 on behalf of the Association of Jewish Communities in Hessen, the response was: “The community probably existed until 1939; from what date is unknown.” The town council claimed it was not able to produce a list of its Jewish citizens, who had lived in Fritzlar during the Hitler era.³⁹⁷

née Freiin von Meltzel, born on 16 May 1915 in Neubrandenburg, had a Jewish great-grandmother. In 1939 238,823 Jews lived in the German Reich (within the borders of 1937), of whom 218,007 counted themselves as Jews. By 1945 over 160,000 of these had lost their lives as the result of Nazi crimes (Deutsche jüdische Soldaten).

³⁹⁶ 2,216 men, 2,672 women, 1,169 households (Archives Fritzlar II 2, 17, 2). The number is high when compared to 1940, so we may assume that the surrounding villages were included.

³⁹⁷ Archives of the Jewish Museum, Frankfurt am Main, Arnsberg file

The Eighth NS Year A Chronology of the year 1940

In his New Year address Hitler said: "The Jews and the reactionary warmongers of the capitalist democracies have been waiting for this moment for years. ... The Jewish-capitalist world will not survive the 20th century!" (KFH 2 Jan)

The Kreisblatt reported on the books "Jews run England" and "Jews in France". England is described as "the hegemony of world Judaism" that is behind the war. (KFH 6 Jan)

On **10 January** the decree covering the use of Jewish assets of 3 December 1938 was supplemented.

During January euthanasia – the killing of the mentally sick – was also started in Pomerania. On 8 and 12 January concentration camp prisoners were gassed in Poznan in airtight trucks. The gas truck was disguised as belonging to the Kaiser Coffee Store and was also used in the Warthegau region.

On **25 January** the Kreisblatt reported: "Hitler's 'Mein Kampf'³⁹⁸ has been published in an armed forces edition, raising the total number of copies published to 5.95 million."

The Kreisblatt reported on Hitler's speech in the "Sports Palace" under the headline: "The day of reckoning for western plutocrats". The word "Jew" was not mentioned in this speech. (KFH 1 Feb)

It also reported a speech by the district head of education about "racial policy among the English", which referred chiefly to the goals of the "English-Jewish plutocracy". (KFH 5 Feb) Shortly afterwards speeches illustrated by photographs were given on the topic of "the racial and social structure of England". (KFH 8 Feb) "Western plutocracy" is a concept that returns over and over, e.g. in Goebbels' speech of 13 February. (KFH 14 Feb)

On **8 February** a ghetto was established in Lodz and sealed off from its surroundings on 30 April.

On **10 February** the first German Jews from the former German Reich were deported to Poland.

On **26 February** the Kreisblatt carried a long article with the headline: "Why isn't it in the paper?" It concludes: "Asking tricky questions shows a lack of discipline. The order is for silence!" (Accordingly there is nothing about the Jews of Fritzlar or anywhere else in the Fritzlar-Homberg district!) The role of the press is described as follows: "News and comment are dedicated to the sole purpose of winning the war. ... The newspaper is to be structured so that the German reader may learn everything relevant in an appropriate format, ... that is the role of the press." (KFH 29 Feb)

Early March saw the publication of a People's New Testament, purged of all things Jewish and entitled "Die Botschaft Gottes" (God's Message). This Testament omitted all positive references to Judaism, but quoted polemic references in full.

In Kassel the Reich Head of Organization Dr. Ley said: "This is the struggle for the freedom of mankind from the Jews. The Jew is our enemy. There can never be any compromise between Jews and Germans. We must fight out this battle now. The Jew has rounded up his satellites, his plutocrats in London and Paris. Ultimately this is the struggle between two worlds." (KFH 4 Apr)

On **9 April** German troops occupied Denmark and Norway. German forces "assumed the armed protection of these neutral countries". (KFH 9 Apr)

Spring: in accordance with the law of 28 Feb 1939 the registration age for Jewish youths was lowered from 18 to 15. Thus all Jewish men between the ages of 18 and 55 and all Jewish women from 18 to 50 were required to register and be available for work.

In spring it was decreed that no Jewish concentration camp prisoners could be released for the duration of the war.

Lodz, the largest town in the Warthegau area, is renamed Litzmannstadt. (KFH 12 Apr)

On **15 April** the Reich Interior Ministry decreed the registration of the names of all Jewish patients in sanatoria and nursing homes.

³⁹⁸ See annex 5

In April emigration to Palestine was declared undesirable, because great importance was attached to Arab goodwill for military reasons.

On **20 April** all part-Jews and men with Jewish wives were dismissed from the armed forces, including Jochen Klepper.

On **9 May** a general curfew was imposed on Jews between 9 pm and 5 am (summer), and 8 pm and 6 am (winter).

On **10 May** German troops invaded the Netherlands and Belgium “in order to put their neutrality under German protection” (KFH 10 May), with terrible consequences for Jews who lived or had escaped there.

The Netherlands capitulated on 24 May, followed by Belgium on 28 May and France on 25 June.

Victory over France led to the development of a plan to resettle all Jews from France to Poland on Madagascar, a French territory. However, this plan for a final solution was abandoned, because England could not be defeated, and resources would have been needed for transport and security.

“The France of international Jewry no longer has any place in the vanguard of an awakening Europe.” (KFH 31 May)

“The representative for the four-year plan issued a decree on **10 June** concerning the re-examination of the ‘cleansing’ of Jewish commercial enterprises, which came into force on 22 June. (KFH 29 Jun)

From **19 July** Jews were no longer permitted a telephone connection.

Spring and summer brought the ghettoization of the other Jewish communities in the Warthegau (Lodz).

On **19 July** Hitler made a statement to the Reichstag, in which he spoke of the “blood-stained Jewish capitalist warmongers” and “international Jewish poisoning of people.” (KFH 20 July)

On **30 August** the Reichs minister of the interior ordered all Jewish inpatients to a single clinic in each province. Thus on **25 September** Jewish patients in Haina and Merxhausen were moved to Gießen, and the systematic extermination of the Jewish sick began.

On **13 October** Albert Forster, gauleiter and governor, reported: “Of the four eastern Districts, the Reichsgau Danzig-Western Prussia is alone in having no more Jews.” (KFH 14 Oct. No mention was made of what happened to the Jews.)

On **27 October** Dr Goebbels blamed the outbreak of war on the fact that “London had been advised by German Jewish emigrants. Through their totally false portrayal these emigrants got the former Poland ... to heap brazen provocations upon Germany. ... London and its emigrants were incorrigible. In the end the bare facts had simply wiped out the Jewish spectre”. (KFH 28 Oct)

“By **31 October** all Jewish shops in Paris had to be marked “Jewish shop” by means of a yellow sign. ... The French are now starting to understand the Jewish influence on their political and economic life.” (KFH 7 Nov)

Dr Goebbels declared: “Germany and Fascist Italy together are the standard bearers of an ideology in this war. Thus the conflict with England does not only have the character of a people’s war carried by national passion, but rather of a struggle against the Jewish British plutocracy.” (KFH 6 Nov)

In his speech of **9 November** Adolf Hitler said: “It was a hard fight, particularly against the people who seem to be all-powerful in our country, against the Jews. ... It was a fight against a satanic power that had taken hold of our entire nation. ... The all-powerful Jews had declared war on us. ... So I have always held the belief that the time would come for us to rid our nation of this people.” He described Germany as an “authoritarian state”. (KFH 11 Nov)

On **15 November** the Warsaw Ghetto was sealed off.

Reichsleiter Rosenberg said in Paris: “We have fought at the front against liberalism, Marxism, Judaism and Freemasonry.” (KFH 29 Nov)

The producers of the documentary film “Der ewige Jude” (The Eternal Jew) described the film as “a most significant contribution to the vital issue of culture” and added, “Even the most cultivated Jew is an alien body. ... Therefore, how could such different people have

anything in common? The Führer's conclusion was to introduce the Nürnberg Laws of 1935 and move the Jewish question in Germany towards a **Final Solution**. ...In their very being and conduct the Jews represent a complete contradiction to people of Aryan blood." (KFH 30 Nov)

Under the headline "Two worlds in a decisive battle" the Kreisblatt quoted from Hitler's speech to armaments workers: "Even the complete support of the Jews will not help them (the English). I have predicted that for many years." (KFH 11 Nov. Hardly any more polemics against Jews!)

From **12 December**, in accordance with a decree of the Reichs Ministry of the Interior, all mentally ill Jews were to be admitted only to Bendorf-Sayn.

In December, German Jews, as Polish Jews previously, had to pay a "social adjustment tax" to the Nazi social service and welfare associations.

On the twentieth anniversary of the Nazi Party's publishing operations management announced that: "The first and most important foundation of the publisher was 'Mein Kampf'³⁹⁹, published on 18 June 1925, which has now reached a print run of 7 million copies". (KFN 18 Dec)

Fritzlar Jewish citizens 1940 Emigrations, Moves and Sales 1940

a) Emigrations 1940: None

b) Moves within Germany and Fritzlar 1940

1-5) The married couple **Julius Baruch** (aged 56) and **Emily, née Katz** (50), Zwischen den Krämen 2, moved with their daughter **Ruth** (14) to Frankfurt am Main on 15 Nov.⁴⁰⁰ Their son **Josef** (17) had moved to Hamburg on 4 Aug, and son **Kurt** (16) to Berlin on 19 Aug. In the previous census of 17 May 1939 they were registered in Fritzlar and were still counted as citizens of Fritzlar. Their son **Julius (II)** (18) had moved to Fulda in 1939. The parents and Kurt were deported and died at Auschwitz. It is not known where Joseph and Ruth died⁴⁰¹, and Julius (II)'s Death could not be traced.

6) On 7 Feb **Emma Boley** had to move for a second time. The mayor described this as follows: "On 7 Feb 1940 the Jewess Emma Boley was allocated an apartment in the house of the Jew **Susmann Israel Speier** at Fraumünsterstr 2 in place of Werkelstr B 27, where she had had permanent right of residence."⁴⁰²

7-8) On 12 Apr **Frommet Kugelman** (73) and **Rebekka Kugelman** (57) were in Treysa⁴⁰³, where they had moved. They perished in Theresienstadt in March and April 1943 respectively.⁴⁰⁴

9-10) **Moses Lissauer** (70), widower of **Clara, née Heilbronn**, had a manufactured goods shop at Gießener Str 8. From 1924 to 1928 he had been the senior member of the Jewish community. In 1939 he became Chief Warden of the synagogue association. The couple had four children, all born in Fritzlar: **Gustav** in 1901, **Siegfried** born 1902 and died 1903, **Julius** 1906 and **Susanne** 1909. On 1 Aug Moses Lissauer moved with his son Julius (34) to Kassel⁴⁰⁵. Moses died there on 6 Dec 1941.⁴⁰⁶

³⁹⁹ see annex 5

⁴⁰⁰ Archiv Fritzlar XIX 4,11,12; Lohmann, Schicksal 23

⁴⁰¹ Gedenkbuch; Lohmann, Schicksal 23

⁴⁰² Archiv Fritzlar XIX 4,11,6

⁴⁰³ Archiv Fritzlar XIX 4,11,6

⁴⁰⁴ Gedenkbuch

⁴⁰⁵ Archiv Fritzlar XVIII 4,21,1-5

⁴⁰⁶ **Moses Lissauer** is not found in Gedenkbuch or in Kleinert u Prinz.

11-12) **Siegfried-Susmann Löwenstein** (56) had “sold” his house at Nikolausstr 6 on 24 Jan 1939, but had remained living there with his wife **Ella, née Heilbronn**. The mayor informed the district administrator on 9 Feb that the buyer had agreed that the seller could live there rent-free until 1 Mar 1941. However the couple requested permission to move to their daughter **Blanka**, who had lived in Frankfurt am Main for a year and a half.⁴⁰⁷ They moved to Frankfurt on 21 Nov.⁴⁰⁸ Siegfried-Susmann and Ella L. perished as victims of the Holocaust at an unknown place. Siegfried-Susmann was declared dead on 9 May 1945. Ella is marked in the Memorial Book as “disappeared”.⁴⁰⁹

13-15) **Siegmund Löwenstein** (35), Gießener Str 22, married to **Elli, née Wallach** (31), and their son **Bernd** (1½) had to move into the house of **Josef** and **Betti Kugelman** at Fraumünsterstr 19. Bernd was the infant that a violent criminal had wanted to throw from a window on the pogrom night. The number of Löwensteins remained constant, but there was change in the Kugelman family. Their daughter **Bertel** was in Hamburg and son **Max** in the USA. Shortly afterwards the Löwensteins moved to Frankfurt/Main on 23 Sep⁴¹⁰, from where they were deported to Riga and then killed.⁴¹¹

16) **Sara (I) Sauer, née Gutheim** (69), Gießener Str 17, had lived in Fritzlar since 1897, but no longer had immediate family there. On 22 Nov she requested permission to move to her daughter, **Paula Kaufmann**, in Frankfurt/Main⁴¹², from where both were deported to Theresienstadt⁴¹³, where Sara died on 23 Feb 1943. Where Paula K died is unknown⁴¹⁴.

c) Deaths 1940

Lisette Katz, née Gluck, who moved to Stuttgart in 1933, died there on 25 Apr aged 88.

e) Houses and real estate 1940

1) The house belonging to **Frommet** and **Rebekka Kugelman** was sold on 21 March.⁴¹⁵

2) On behalf of **Max (II) Lissauer**, formerly of Gießener Str 18, a field located at Kleiner Spieß was sold on 28 Mar or 12 Apr, as was the house on 28 Jun.⁴¹⁶ On 22 Jul the mayor wrote: “The seller Lissauer is a mentally ill patient in a home. Emigration is not an option.”⁴¹⁷

3) On 16 Apr or 4 May **Moses Lissauer** “sold” his house and land at Gießener Str 8.⁴¹⁸

4) The house of **Josef Speier**, Gießener Str 25, was confiscated by the German Reich on 20 Feb.⁴¹⁹ He had emigrated to the USA in 1936, but Emma Boley still had the right to live there.

⁴⁰⁷ Archiv Fritzlar XIX 4,11,12

⁴⁰⁸ Archiv Fritzlar XVIII 4,21,1-5

⁴⁰⁹ Gedenkbuch

⁴¹⁰ Archiv Fritzlar XVIII 4,21,1-5; XIX 4,11,12; Lohmann, Schicksal 39

⁴¹¹ Gedenkbuch

⁴¹² Archiv Fritzlar XIX 4,11,6 u 4,11,12

⁴¹³ Lohmann, Schicksal 39

⁴¹⁴ Gedenkbuch

⁴¹⁵ Archiv Fritzlar II 2,17,2

⁴¹⁶ Archiv Fritzlar XIX 4,11,12

⁴¹⁷ Archiv Fritzlar XIX 4,11,6

⁴¹⁸ Archiv Fritzlar XIX 4,11,6

⁴¹⁹ Archiv Fritzlar Akte Gutheim

5) On 1 Apr the house of **Moritz Speier**, Zwischen den Krämen 2, was “sold”.⁴²⁰ His plot, Zwischen den Krämen 4, was “sold” on 10 Feb 1940, and was registered in the name of the new owner on 11 Jun 1941.

6) A “contract for sale” was completed on 28 October for “the garden of the former Jewish community” in Gartengässchen.⁴²¹

g) Imprisonment and Deportation 1940

1-6) The married couple **Ludwig** and **Herta Mansbach**, who had fled to the Netherlands with their three children in 1935, were arrested in May when Holland was occupied, as was **Klara Baumann, née Mark**.

Data 1940

At the census on 10 Oct 4,433 civilians were counted, of which **21** were Jews (9 men, 12 women). In quarter A there were no Jews, in quarter B 3 (1 man, 2 women), in C there were 16 (7 men, 9 women) and in D 2 (1 man, 1 woman)⁴²². The 21 Jews comprised 0.47% of the population.

⁴²⁰ Archiv Fritzlar XIX 4,11,12

⁴²¹ Archiv Fritzlar XIX 4,11,6 u 4,11,12

⁴²² 2,346 Catholics, 1,984 Protestants, 75 believing in God, 7 Godless (a new category!), 588 houses, 1147 households (Archiv Fritzlar II 2,17,2)

5 th phase: Deportation, forced labour and mass murder

The ninth NS year

A chronology of the year 1941

Surprisingly the word „Jew“ was not to be found in Hitler's declaration for the New Year.

On **Jan. 4**, the regional paper printed the following movie-ad: „The eternal Jew. If you want to win this war you have to defeat the Jew. The secret of all past wars as well as the present one now lies open before us: it is the Jew...who is also responsible for this very war“.

On **10 January** an expanded trade agreement between Germany and Russia was signed „in the spirit of mutual trust and understanding“; there was also a German- Russian resettlement agreement and a treaty on the German- Russian border. (KFH 11.1)

On **January 15**, the report of a court hearing contains an astonishing sentence, considering the standards of the time: two Jewish brothers were sentenced for hoarding money and currency offences: „The criminal procedure took into account that the accused had so far had no police record and were of good reputation“. (KFH)

On **January 21**, this poem appeared in the regional paper: „Dormant in the bosom of every Jew is the vulture, as everybody knows. He hits his prey where he can and creeps around insidiously. He has slashed many a victim before our Führer put an end to it. He has torn their chains to pieces and thus steered the nation's vessel clear ...My prayer is: Please, God, free the world from the slavery and tyranny by the Jews“.

The same edition presented the „Encyclopedia of Jews in Music“.

On **January 29**, the regional paper reported on a 66 year-old Jew, who in a business letter had forgotten to add the name of "Israel" as prescribed by law. He was sentenced to a month in prison.

Hitler's speech in the „Sportpalast“ on the 8th anniversary of his seizure of power on **January 30**, was broadcast by 667 radio stations in 26 different languages. He said :“ What this clique of Jews and their financiers and dealers over there hate most is our social Germany“. He repeated his Sept. 1, 1939 statement that if the world was going to be plunged into war by the Jews, the Jews would lose their role in Europe.“ (thunderous applause). Hitler talked about „the front of Aryan mankind against international Jewish exploitation and the ruin of the nations.“ (KFH 1.2)

To implement the „De-Judaisation“ arrangements dictated by the 4-Year-Plan the Minister of Economy, in agreement with Hitler's deputy, issued a decree on **February 24**. (KFH)

On the 21st anniversary of the foundation of the Nazi party, Hitler stated on **February 26**: “The moment I found that warmongering clique in England, incited by the Jewish instigators, I made all the necessary preparations.“ (KFH)

On **March 4**, the Forced Labour Order was intensified.

On **March 6**, the Director of the Leipzig Fair stated: “Law is what is of use to the nation. There is no other law“. (KFH)

On **March 8**, the regional paper wrote: “The complete registration of all labour reserves is especially important during wartime. Therefore an increasing number of Jewish workers have been integrated into the war effort. In principle they are being used in closed groups, separated from German workers.“

On **March 15**, the paper comments on the sentence of a Jewish egg-hoarder: “It is inexplicable that today there should still be fellow Germans indulging in such business“ i.e. selling to Jews.

On **March 16**, Hitler stated on the 'Heroes Remembrance Day': “England and France wanted the war; however, it was not so much the peoples, but small groups of political - and finance leaders, instigated by international Jewry with its conspiracies, its democracy and the Freemasons“. (KFH 17.3)

On **March 23**, the paper announced: „Reichsleiter Alfred Rosenberg will inaugurate the 'Institute for Research on the Jewish Question' in Frankfurt /Main. On **March 26** a big public rally, with him speaking about the Jewish question as a worldwide problem, will close the meeting“.

On **March 26** it reported under the headline: "Great German achievement in the spiritual battle": „Our great fate bestows upon us the duty to take care of the biological laws and spiritual commandments of peoples and races“. Rosenberg quoted Richard Wagner: „The Jew is the concrete demon of mankind's decay“. The paper continued: "Through instinct and insight our generation has exterminated this demon of decay in Germany...We have empirically proved the poisonous nature of Jewish blood and drawn the consequences to preserve the blood of our species“.

Rosenberg further talked about „The Jewish Question as a Worldwide Problem“ on radio: „The war not only overcomes the mentality of the French revolution, but also removes those blood contaminating germs, which originate from the Jews. . The Jewish question will now find a solution through the National Socialist revolution not only in Germany, but in all of Europe“. He discussed the resettlement of Jews into a reservation, where they could do useful work under police control. „The Jewish question will only be solved when the last Jew will have left the European continent“ he concluded.(KFH 29.3) On **March 31** the paper had a report on the first session of this Institute, on the subject of the final European solution of the Jewish question.

On **March 25**, the paper stated: „The Jewish parasites are finished in the new Europe once and for all...The victory of the Axis Powers will provide for a final solution of the Jewish question, preventing any further exploitation and decomposition of the European peoples by these parasites“.

In March, ghettos were built at Cracow, Lublin and Radom.

On **April 3**, the Ministers of Justice and Trade adopted an order concerning the „De-Judaisation“ of business enterprises, laying down that Jewish names were to be eliminated from the names of enterprises. (KFH 3.4)

On **April 6**, the campaign against Greece and Yugoslavia was started.

On **May 4**, the Reichstag was assembled for the fourth time during the war to hear the Government announce the Balkan victory. Hitler took the opportunity to state: "The German people knows that this war is entirely the result of the greed of certain international warmongers and the hatred of the Jewish democrats behind it...In the age of the Jewish capitalist gold, status and class mania the National Socialist state stands like a monument of steel for social justice and clear reason“. (KFH 5.5)

In **June** a „Jew - free“ hymnbook was presented at the Wartburg Chapel.

On **June 16**, the Nürnberg racial laws were introduced in Poland and the annexed Eastern regions. (KFH 16.6.)

On **June 22**, the war against Russia started, accompanied by terrible murder actions against Jews among others. A few days ahead of the invasion, the special task forces (Einsatzgruppen) were ordered to murder all Soviet Jews.

A comment on the Russian campaign in the regional paper said:“ Even the final struggle against the Bolsheviks is really the fight against international Judaism“.

In connection with the Russian campaign, the plan was developed to set up a reservation for Jews in the East for all Jews living under German rule. The plan failed because the war against Russia turned out to be more and more difficult and finally ended in terrible defeat. Nevertheless, the plan of compulsory resettlement of the European Jews still remained generally valid.

On **July 1**, all Jews were placed under police law and were thereby completely deprived of all rights.

On **July 9**, the regional paper quoted Hitler's „Mein Kampf“⁴²³: „The Bolshevisation of Germany under the yoke of world Jewish finance is but one example of the worldwide Jewish tendency to world conquest...In case our country and state should be the victim of these Jewish tyrants, greedy for blood and money, all the earth will be strangled by these polyps; if Germany steers free of this strangulation, all of the world will be saved from this most terrible danger to mankind“.

On **July 10**, Hitler boasted that he had discovered in Judaism the „germ of all social decomposition“, and that this was as much pioneering in politics as had been the discovery

⁴²³ See annex 5

of disease causing germs by Robert Koch in medicine. (This victory euphoria resulted in the decision to murder the Jewish men, women and children of Europe en masse.)

There was a further commentary with the conclusion: "Jews and Bolsheviks, these are Churchill's allies". And again: "The people of the Soviet Union is being ruled by a small clique, strongly interspersed by Jewish terrorists...They combine killing and torturing of all kinds, which can only be designed by a sick Jewish- Asiatic brain."

The following day a long article under the headline: „Jews in the Soviet Union. All power in their hands“ said: "Jews function as commissioners with the troops. Eleven Jews were made generals last year“.

On **July 12**, the again quoted „Mein Kampf“, under the headline „The tyranny of the Blood Jews“: : "While the Jew acquires political power, the democratic civil Jew becomes the Blood Jew and the tyrant of nations.....The end, however, will also be the end of these parasites of nations. After the victim will have died the vampire will also expire, sooner or later“.

On **July 31**, H. Göring commissioned the head of the security police and the SD, R. Heydrich, to make all preparations for an „overall solution of the Jews` issue“ and to submit an overall draft for the „intended final solution of the Jewish question “, by emigration or deportation.⁴²⁴

On **August 6**, the paper reported a Nazi party rally in Fritzlar. The speaker scolded „with caustic words the deeds of international Judaism, always agitating towards war and also responsible for the current events...Bolshevism and Judaism have to disappear from Europe“.

On **August 14**, Himmler issued, with reference to a Hitler directive , the order for the „overall liquidation of the Jews in the East“. From now on children were also included in the mass executions.

On **August 15**, obligatory identification for Jews was discussed at Minister level .

On **August 19**, Hitler and Goebbels discussed the Jewish question in detail and Hitler agreed to the identification decree.

On **August 22**, the Sunday edition of the paper printed for the first time two cartoons. The first caricatured an ugly Jew as the true „wirepuller“ of England and the Soviet Union, the other showed these two states and the USA as puppets of the devilish Jew.

On **August 24**, the euthanasia programme, against which bishops of both churches had protested, e.g. Bishop von Gahlen in Münster in a sermon on August 3, was officially called off. (Euthanasia, which was secretly continued, anticipated the Final Solution as far as concept, technology and administration are concerned.)

At the end of August, Heydrich was authorized by Göring „to make all the required preparations for an overall solution of the Jewish question in the territory of German influence in Europe“.

In **September**, a de-judaised catechism was presented to the public as a religious book titled „Deutsche mit Gott“ (Germans with God). It also included a new creed text and new commandments, the eleventh being: „Honour the Führer and Master“.

From September on, the gas known as Zyclon B was tested in Auschwitz, and „test gassings“ were carried out in Minsk. (Gassing was far more suitable for the execution squads than mass shootings. With the gassing technology of the euthanasia program, a far more efficient and impersonal method of killing than shooting became available .It was applied in Auschwitz from September 3 on, in Birkenau by the end of October, in Majdanek, Belzec and Sobibor (Lublin district) by the end of November, and in Chelmno, 55 km north west of Lodz, from December 8 on.)

On **September 12**, the Slovak government applied the Nürnberg racial laws. A decree of 300 paragraphs laid down the legal position of the Jews; i.a. Jews were to wear the star of David on their clothes. (KFH 12.9 This was only a few days before the „Star decree“, which may be considered as preparation for the Final Solution).

Also on **September 12**, Hitler appealed for the third wartime winter relief . He wrote: "Today the hostile world of Jewish and Bolshevik capitalism has united to destroy the

⁴²⁴ Battenberg II 298; Herde 24; Lohmann, Schicksal 41

„National Socialist German Reich, the fortress of Europe, and – most important -to extinguish its people.“ (KFH 13.9)

Already on **September 13** the paper announced in fat print: “Identification of Jews. In the Reich Gazette a police decree is being published, that Jews have to wear the yellow star of David in public. It is to be visibly worn on the left side of the outer garment. and applies from September 19.“ Below that was printed:“ The German soldier has experienced the Jew in his full repulsiveness and cruelty during the Eastern campaign. He has seen the consequences of the brutality of the Secret Police in Russia and the poverty of the masses: to the work of the Jews. This experience has led German soldiers and the German people to demand that Jews at home should not have the possibility of camouflage and thereby bypass the regulations; the decree will thus save the Germans from contact with Jews.“

A meeting between Hitler and Himmler on **September 16 and 17** agreed the deportation of the „Reich Jews“ to Lodz, Riga, Kowno and Minsk.

On **September 17**, the paper recalled a similar decree in the county of Hanau in 1725, on the identification of Jews. At the time they had to wear yellow circles on their shoulders (with the difference that this did not lead to deportation).

From **September 18** on Jews were no longer allowed to use public transport.

From **September 19** all Jews of 6 or older had to wear the star of David visibly in public. Size and colour were prescribed. They had to pay 3 RM for each star. Jews were supposed to be discernible from far away. (“The star of David constituted, no doubt, the most cruel discrimination. It ensured that Jews hardly dared leave their homes anymore“.⁴²⁵) Moreover, they were not allowed to enter air raid shelters. They had to deliver all their medals, orders and other honorary decorations. Traveling permissions were also restricted. The reaction of the churches was extremely feeble. In Breslau, the vicar Ms. Staritz appealed to show solidarity at least with the fellow Jewish Christians, although German citizens were forbidden contact with Jews.

On **September 22**, the paper published an article on the origin of the swastika in the northern countries: “ This very old Aryan –Germanic symbol“ became the symbol of National Socialism „in the fight of Aryan mankind against the encroachment of alien, Jewish modes of life“. Next day one could read: “Under the emblem of the swastika we fight against the dark and subterranean powers of the earth, who are striving to rule by chaos through Jewish Bolshevism.“

On **September 26**, the headline in fat print read :“The star of David is sinking“. „Ever since September 19, every Jewish man and woman must openly wear the political emblem of their race, the star of David. This measure takes care of necessary political and racial purity.“ Until now international Jewry, origin and wirepuller of the misery of peoples, had been able to hide in the background. „The star of David on the outer garments gives a warning to every German male or female citizen against bargaining or socialising with persons wearing this identifying symbol. The Jew is of inferior value as far as race, character and moral are concerned. Jews had attained world control through brutality, cunning and sinister machinations aiming at world power under the star of David....The star of David, being the symbol of their ambitions for ruling the world, identifies the Jews as a danger to the world that must be removed .“

In the column „News from home“, it went on in the same manner, explaining the star of David to be the symbol of the Jewish hatred against the civilizations of the earth. (It is to be kept in mind that all Jews were thus insulted, including those living in Fritzlar, who were supposed to be avoided by the citizens.)

On **September 30**, the headline in fat print was: “It is the Jew’s fault: a clarification“. It went on: “The Jew is the eternal enemy of the German people“. Finally he is to be identified externally. “Thus segregation can take place wherever Jews and Germans living side by side cannot be avoided. The attacks on Europe have their origin in the Jew. All parasites look for rotting darkness and abhor transparency and truth, because these endanger their destructive existence....So in the third year of the war the German people again has to face the world enemy....It is the Jew’s fault. He backs up Stalin, determines Roosevelt’s actions and has tied

⁴²⁵ Hangebruch 234

Churchill's politics to his own intentions. It is the Jew who brought this war on the world.“ (It should be noticed how intensively the identification of „the Jew“ is accompanied by propaganda!)

On **October 1**, the deportation of the Jews from the German Reich into concentration camps in Poland began, referred to as „settling abroad“. As they crossed the border, the assets of the Jews by law fell to the German Reich.

Also on **October 1** emigration was forbidden to Jews. Up to that time about 270 000 Jews had left the German Reich.⁴²⁶

In October, a practical system was available for deportation into poison gas installations for mass killing. The various plans for emigration and evacuation had not been successful. (The decree of identification of Jews and their deportation into camps of extermination marks a new phase of the Final Solution of the Jewish question.)

On **October 2**, the paper wrote: „The world's whip: The solution of the Jewish question has taken care of a danger (note the past participle!) that had lead the Reich to the brim of abyss, considering that Germany after 1918 had no longer been in the hands of Germans. The Jews had alienated everything and had openly or secretly made the Germans their slaves via interest rates....It is only through the complete elimination of the Jews that Germany could live alienist own life and that Europe was saved from decay.“

On **October 3**, a law was passed stating that the „general Law on Employment“ did not apply to Jews, instead they were said to have an „employment relationship of their own kind“.

On **October 5**, Hitler stated again: „It was the conspiracy of democrats, Jews and Freemasons that plunged Europe into war two years ago“, (KFH 6.10) and on October 21: In extinguishing the Jews, „that plague, we accomplish a deed for mankind“.

From **October 23** Jews were no longer allowed to emigrate. Until then 270 000 of them had left the German Reich. More than 200 000 German Jews had not emigrated, in spite of all restrictions and terror actions. On the one hand, because the conditions for emigration were very hard, even when their departure was desirable to the Nazi state, on the other hand, because many Jewish citizens hoped up to the end, that in spite of everything they would be able to remain living in Germany, which was - after all - their home country.

<p>The first aim of the NS racial ideology had been emigration or evacuation of the Jews. In the course of compulsory measures, death of these pressurized people was generally approved, which resulted in thousand-fold homicide. The prohibition of emigration marks a change in aim and method.</p>

<p>The ultimate goal of NS racial ideology is now officially the extinction of all Jews, indirectly through starvation and forced labour („Work makes free“), directly through mass executions by shooting and gassing; this resulted in million-fold mass murder. However, it was still pretended during the transports that evacuation was intended.</p>
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The first deportation trains to Lodz left Berlin on October 18, Frankfurt /Main on October 19, Cologne on October 21, Hamburg on October 25 and Düsseldorf on October 26,..The deportation victims had to sign a paper confessing to Communist machinations. Many had bought appropriate tools for the pretended „new start in the East“.

The first transports to Minsk Berlin left Hamburg on November 8, Düsseldorf and Frankfurt /Main and Berlin on November 14,

To Kowno, from Berlin on November 17, and from Frankfurt / Main on November 22;

To Riga, from Berlin on November 27, Hamburg on December 6, Cologne on December 7, Kassel on December 9, and Düsseldorf on December 11.. Prior to the Riga transports several persons took poison.

⁴²⁶ Lohmann, Schicksal 39

It was precisely specified what each persons to be deported was allowed to take: 100 Reichsmark, 50 kg of luggage in one or two suitcases, one watch, one wedding ring, but no other objects of value; bedding and mattresses, plates, bowls and spoons, but neither knives nor forks; provisions for a fortnight plus three day rations for the journey. Tools were permitted to pretend settling.

(The German population – including the churches – uttered little displeasure about the public deportations, nor did they even show signs of interest. The deportations did not in any way impair the popularity of the regime. A shocking indifference in regard to the fate of the Jews; only the introduction of the star of David had briefly aroused some sympathy with them)

On **October 24**, the deportation order from Germany, Austria and „Böhmen –Mähren“ was issued. The same day it was laid down that persons of German blood showing friendly relationships with Jews were to be taken into „protective custody“. (The regional paper did not comment on this law against friendly relations with Jews, but there were several references to the ghettos of Romanian Jews on the following days.)

On **October 27**, the headline read: “Judas’ deeds of hatred....It is proved beyond any doubt that the Jews are guilty of causing the war...With cunning and hatred Jewry has prepared for this war in cooperation with Freemasons, plutocrats and Bolshevists.“ It quoted Hitler’s speech of Jan. 30, 1939, that the result of the war would be the extinction of the Jewish race in Europe.

The next day it said. “Shortly there will be nothing left of Judaism but a sad memory as a warning for all those, who exaggerate so-called humanity and thereby harm the life of their own countrymen“.

On **November 9**, Hitler again referred to „the Jews being incendiaries of the world,“ and called them the eternal enemy of all peoples“. (KFH 10.11)

On **November 16**, an inflammatory article by Goebbels appeared under the headline „It is the Jews’ fault“, whilst on **November 18**, Rosenberg reported to the German press that:“ The Jewish question can only be solved by the biological extinction of the entire Jewry in Europe....That is the task that fate has set for us“.

On **November 25**, the 11th decree of the Reich Citizen Law was passed., specifying that all German Jews emigrating or already abroad would lose their German citizenship; individual cases would not be considered. They would be expatriated and their belongings confiscated; this rule also applied to deportees.⁴²⁷

On **November 28**, the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem was received in Berlin. Hitler declared that as soon as Germany would have defeated Russia and entered the Near East via the Caucasus, he would support the liberation of the Arabs. He would not be interested in territorial gains, but in the extinction of the Jews.

The same day the regional paper reported: „Dishonoured because of three cigarettes: a farmer from Exdorf was taken into custody because he traded a loaf of bread for three cigarettes with the Jew Grünbaum. The Jew was also taken into custody.“ (Humanitarian help and gratitude was not allowed)

At the end of November, Heydrich sent invitations for a discussion on coordinating the plans for the **final solution**. After some delay this took place on January 20, 1942.

From December on the use of public telephones was prohibited to Jews.

On **December 2**, Goebbels stated: „There should not be any sentimentality on the Jewish question, in fact Judaism’s historical guilt must be clearly acknowledged “. He referred to Hitler’s speech of January 30, 1939, concerning the extinction of the Jewish race throughout Europe and added: “At the moment we are witnessing this prophecy become a reality“. “He answered the sentimental arguments of some retarded friends of Jews’: Just as the predomination of Judaism used to be a characteristic of the disease of post-war Europe, its ending will be a characteristic of future Europe’s recovery . We do not want to shy back from this fight, which will be complete to its final effect.“ (KFH 2.12)

A cartoon with a rhyme referred to a November Goebbels initiative , dealing with incorrect behaviour and gossip with the title: “Mrs. Knöterich and Mr.Bramsig. “ These names were possibly deduced from a dialect word meaning „to grumble“. On December 18,

⁴²⁷ Legal 14

On **December 8**, killings through exhaust gases started at Chelmno near Lodz.

On **December 10**, a court case reported under the headline: “Jews are parasites. Cheating by a worthy representative of the ‘chosen people’.”

On **December 11**, the Minister of Foreign Affairs declared Germany and Italy to be at war with the USA. The Reichstag, assembled for the fifth time during the war, received a live broadcast declaration by the Government.. In his speech Hitler „did some radical reckoning with the Jew- President of the USA , representative of the clique of big capital and Jews, who had systematically set the world on fire again. It was the Jew in all his satanic perfidy who gathered around Mr. Roosevelt“. Hitler announced a treaty with Italy and Japan to fight the war together, up to its victorious end. (KFH 12.12)

On **December 17**, the Gestapo decreed that „ considering the fact that the Jews have begun shifting their property on a large scale since mid-October, due to deportation to the East ...the regulations on movable property would also apply to sales, donations, and safe-keeping of, e.g. furniture, household and similar items “⁴²⁸

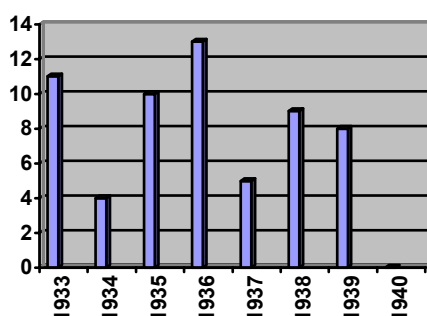
In May, **Amalie Speier** became very ill; as a Jewess, however, she was not allowed treatment at the Fritzlar hospital and was referred to the Jewish hospital in Frankfurt / Main for treatment on May 23. As it was hardly possible for her to travel by herself, her sister **Sophie** wanted to accompany her. However, this was not permitted!

On November 25, the mayor wrote that the sisters **Amalie Sara and Sophie Sara Speier** were still in Fritzlar, at Martinsgasse 18 and living on rental income⁴²⁹.

a) Emigrations 1941: none

aa) Direct emigrations from Fritzlar, 1933 –1940:

1933:	11	1937:	5
1934:	4	1938:	9
1935:	10	1939:	8
1936:	13	1940:	0



1-2) **Manfred Mannheimer** (14) and his mother **Frieda, née Marburger** (56), who had moved to Laasphe in 1937, had to flee at night to save themselves. They came to the USA on what was probably the last ship. Their house and property in Fritzlar had to be left behind. Manfred M. is married to Ellen and lives in Hollywood/USA.

⁴²⁸ HStA Marburg 180 Landratsamt Fritzlar 2741

429 Archiv Fritzlar XIX 4,11,7

b) Moves within Fritzlar 1941

Emma Boley already had to move a second time when Mr. **Susman Speier**, in whose house she had been living, was jailed in Kassel. The mayor wrote on November 23: "The Jewess Anna Sara Boley was re-housed in October 1941 to Martinsgasse B 43 (owned by the siblings **Speier**)".⁴³⁰ She now lived with **Amalie and Sophie Speier** at Martinsgasse 18.

c) Deaths 1941, including Shoah victims

1) **Moses Lissauer** died on December 6, in Kassel, three days before he would have been deported.

2) **Jettchen Löwenstein** (66) died in the Jewish sanatorium/nursing home in Bendorf-Sayn on November 19.

Victims of the Shoah⁴³¹ (as far as known from records).

At Kowno, located between Tilsit and Vilnius, five members of the **Löwenstein** family were murdered on November 25: **Bernd** (3), **Bessi** (39), **David** (67), **Elli** (32) and **Siegmund** 36 years old.

e) Houses, real estate, synagogue and cemetery 1941

1) On behalf of **Hermann Bloch**, who had left Fritzlar as early as 1938, some farmland situated behind the „Sehregärten“ was „sold“.⁴³²

On May 22, the mayor wrote to the revenue office „regarding the expatriation of **Herz Israel (called Hermann Bloch)** and the sale of the building Geismarstr. D 38/39⁴³³, i.e. Am Hochzeitshaus 17. We have no information on any purchase plans”.

2) **Emma Boley** „sold“ farmland am Spieß and a garden lot in the Bienengärten on June 16.⁴³⁴

3) **Betty and Josef Kugelman**, in Breitnau prison since May 9, prepared a contract about the „sale“ of their house and garden Freimünsterstr. 19 and a piece of farmland am Spieß on July 25.⁴³⁵ This contract was still unsigned on August 30 and was referred to as „application“ on October 28. The property was administered by the city, as the revenue office was told by the mayor on November 11.⁴³⁶ The rental income from this property went to the city.⁴³⁷

4) **Leopold Löwenstein's** house and yard at Gießener Str.23 and some farmland am Spieß were only sold on July 7.⁴³⁸

5) **Siegfried-Susmann Löwenstein** „sold“ a property am Spieß on August 21.

⁴³⁰ Archiv Fritzlar XIX 4,11,6

⁴³¹ The Hebrew word of „Shoa“ signifies in the Old Testament „mischief, thunderstorm“, in modern Hebrew: „catastrophe, decline“. „The Shoa“ is the term used by Jewish people to describe the mass extinction of the Jews during the Nazi dictatorship and that is why I use it. The English word „Holocaust“ has its origin in the Greek translation of the Old Testament, the Septuaginta, where it stands for the Hebrew „olah“, meaning to ascend, the burnt sacrifice, the smoke of which ascends to God. The link to the extermination of the Jews is that many corpses were burned. Yet, because these murdered persons were not sacrificed I avoid the use of this expression.

⁴³² Archiv Fritzlar XIX 4,11,12

⁴³³ Archiv Fritzlar XIX,4,11,6

⁴³⁴ Archiv Fritzlar XIX 4,11,6 u 4,11,12

⁴³⁵ Archiv Fritzlar XIX,4,11,12 u. 4,11,7

⁴³⁶ Archiv Fritzlar XIX 4,11,7

⁴³⁷ Archiv Fritzlar XIX 4,11,14

⁴³⁸ Archiv Fritzlar II,2,17,7

6) The siblings **Amalie, Hermann and Sophie Speier** „sold“ farm and barn in Martinsgasse 18, a garden lot at Hellenweg and farmland am Spieß on June 16 and 17⁴³⁹, but this property, too, was still under city administration on November 11.⁴⁴⁰

7) The negotiations about the property of **Moritz Speier**, who had moved to Merseburg in 1929, and in 1939 emigrated to London, took from May to September. They pertained to the house Zwischen den Krämen 2-4 and the garden lot in Gartengäßchen. Because Mr. Speier was supposed to be in London at the time his property was labelled „enemy property“.⁴⁴¹ The residential house Zwischen den Krämen 2, which **Moritz Speier** had purchased on 30 September, 1911, was - by permission of the Reichskommissar- transferred to a new owner on December 15.⁴⁴²

8) **Susmann Speier** „sold“ his house in Freimünsterstr.2 and some farmland am Spieß⁴⁴³. This property, too, was still under city administration on November 25.⁴⁴⁴ but was confiscated on that day by the Reich, as Mr. Speier was being deported from Kassel to Sachsenhausen.⁴⁴⁵

9) On October 31, the garden Am Hellenweg was „sold“ in behalf of **Emil Stern**, who had already emigrated to the USA in 1938.

10) **Moritz Stern's** garden Am Hellenweg was „sold“ on August 18.⁴⁴⁶
(What we see here is a large scale sale of Jewish property, due partly to the fact that Jews could not earn any money and did not receive any financial support from the State.)

11) The purchase of the **synagogue** premises by the city administration was initiated on February 24. However, bureaucracy took its time. As late as on September 19, the district administrator wrote to the mayor that „the transfer (of these Jewish premises) into Aryan hands“ lay within his competence.

12) As regards the **cemetery**, the district administrator took the initiative on February 25, writing to the mayor: „As far as at all possible, this plot should be restored to the German economy“. He demanded the „Aryanization of the graveyard“, on the grounds that „because of the strong migration of the Jews a single cemetery“.⁴⁴⁷ (Note: migration as a disguising term for deportation!) The city then initiated the purchase on March 4. The mayor replied to the district administrator: „As only a few Jews live in Fritzlar by now, I think it will be expedient to close the cemetery. The city will appreciate acquiring the plot“. (This means the mayor did not expect, in 1941, any one of the Jews then still residing in Fritzlar might die or be buried there nor that deported Jews might come back!) On September 19, the district administrator declared his responsibility for the transfer- referred to as the „burial place, into Aryan hands and approved the purchase, which was decided by the city on March 12, 1942. The price offered was 3800 Mark. The Reich Association of the Jews in Germany had an estimate of the property done, and the appraiser considered 6500 Mark as adequate, plus 200 – 400 Mark for the tombstones.

13) In March a front-line officer tried to buy the **school building** from the City, but the mayor wrote in April that a sale was not intended for the time being. During the war, a sale was out of the question. The inquiry and the reply suggest that the building was not used properly.

⁴³⁹ Archiv Fritzlar XIX 4,11,6

⁴⁴⁰ Archiv Fritzlar XIX 4,11,7 and XIX 4,11,12

⁴⁴¹ Archiv Fritzlar XIX,4,11,6 and 4,11,12

⁴⁴² Archiv Fritzlar, XIX 4,11,6

⁴⁴³ Archiv Fritzlar XIX 4,11,6

⁴⁴⁴ Archiv Fritzlar XIX,4,11,7

⁴⁴⁵ Archiv Fritzlar file Gutheim

⁴⁴⁶ Archiv Fritzlar XIX,4,11,12

⁴⁴⁷ Archiv Fritzlar XIII 2,1,11

14) On May 5, the district administrator wrote to the mayor: „According to a statement made....by the Regional Governor in Kassel, the Jewish plots listed have not yet been transferred into Aryan hands. In order to expedite Aryanization, I request proposals by return of mail as to who might be eligible for acquiring the individual items, at the same time indicating the economically justified price “.

The following were listed:

- Trader **Hermann Bloch**⁴⁴⁸: field behind the Sehrengärten
- Trader **Joel Boley** and wife **Malchen, née Krone**⁴⁴⁹: garden in the Bienengärten and field Am Spieß
- Dealer **Josef Kugelman**⁴⁵⁰: house garden by the residential house and field Am Spieß
- Merchant **Leopold Löwenstein**⁴⁵¹: field
- **Siegfried Löwenstein**⁴⁵²: field am Spieß
- **Hermann Speier, Sophie Speier**⁴⁵³: garden at the Gartengäßchen and field Am Spieß
- Trader **Josef Speier**⁴⁵⁴: house garden
- **Moritz Speier, Merseburg**⁴⁵⁵: garden at the Gartengäßchen
- Trader **Susmann Speier**⁴⁵⁶: field Am Spieß
- Merchant **Emil Stern, Hugo Stern, widow Minna Stern, née Kaiser**⁴⁵⁷: garden at the Hellenweg
- Fritzlar **Jewry** : three gardens and a graveyard, i.e. the gardens called „Sehrengärten“ as well as backyard and house garden of the demolished synagogue, and the burial place. This schedule dealt only with the sites, not the houses.
- In his reply dated May 16, the mayor specified the individual pieces of property, adding, “The city attaches importance to acquiring the site of the Synagogue for itself, it also wants the burial place.”⁴⁵⁸ The mayor wrote to the district administrator on May 17: “ A few days ago, the Jews **Josef Kugelman** and **Susman Speier**, and their wives, were transferred to Breitenau. The following premises are therefore ownerless :
- „**Josef Kugelman**, Münsterstr. C 60 : built- up backyard and house garden,
- „**Susman Speier**, Münsterstr. C 72 house, backyard, barn, stables. The city wishes to acquire the site of Susman Speiers house, which will be pulled down after the war to provide better access to the Party House.”⁴⁵⁹
- „Furthermore, the Jew **Hermann Speier** has been taken to Breitenau. Although, his two sisters, with whom he shared a household, are still living here, they will also depart shortly Then the following premises will be empty: Hermann Speier, Martinsgasse B 43, built-up backyard and building site“.. (Notice „departure“ as euphemism for „deportation“! For the mayor, those imprisoned were as good as dead.)

⁴⁴⁸ He had moved away and emigrated 1938

⁴⁴⁹ Joel B. had died in 1912 and Malchen B. in 1915. Emma Boley was their daughter

⁴⁵⁰ J. Kugelman was imprisoned in Breitenau at that time

⁴⁵¹ He had moved away in 1939

⁴⁵² He had emigrated in 1939

⁴⁵³ Hermann Speier was imprisoned in Breitenau at that time, Sophie S. lived in Fritzlar

⁴⁵⁴ He had emigrated in 1936

⁴⁵⁵ He had moved to Merseburg in 1929 and emigrated in 1939

⁴⁵⁶ Susman Speier was imprisoned in Breitenau. Amalie, Hermann, Rosa, Sophie and Susmann were siblings. Rosa married Mr. Baruch

⁴⁵⁷ Emil and Hugo Stern had emigrated in 1938, Minna Stern had already died in 1919.

⁴⁵⁸ Archiv Fritzlar XIX 4,11,7

⁴⁵⁹ Like vultures grabbing the premises, although the owners were still alive!

- The Regional Governor obviously found the tone of this letter too brash. He commented: "...that implementing compulsory de-Judaisation is not possible having regard to the circular dated July 6, 1940. Moreover there is no need for this because the Jews can be contacted at any time and may authorize other persons to represent them".⁴⁶⁰

g) Imprisonment and deportation 1941

Seven Jews of both sexes were taken to the work camp Breitenau⁴⁶¹, named „Regional Work and Welfare Institute“. The Jewish prisoners were euphemistically referred to as „prisoners in protective custody“. ⁴⁶² A justification for arrest is on record for **six of the seven**. The district administrator wrote to the Breitenau Institute on May 9: „The police found out that the Jews listed below hoarded foodstuffs of all kinds during the war“, naming: Dealer **Josef Kugelmann**, and wife **Betti**, cattle dealer **Hermann Speier**, **Jettchen Löwenstein**, **Sophie Bacharach** and **Susman Speier**. Finally, it is stated: „The transfer of these Jews has been authorised by the Gestapo in Kassel. Due to lack of space, the transfer had to be performed at once.“⁴⁶³ No mention was made of **Rebecka Speier**, wife of Susman Speier. (Regarding the charge of hoarding, one needs to know that the Jews received far lower food allotments than the other Germans, that they were only allowed to shop at specified shops and at particular times, and that there were only a few Germans who had the courage to slip something to Jews. The accusation appears to be false, the more so as it was made against all seven in the same way.)

The mayor's letter of 17 May to the District reveals that the mayor regarded the imprisonment as a „final solution“, a departure without return.

The arrested persons were:

Sofie Bacharach (67), occupied as household help, imprisoned from May 9 until December 21. On 29 September the Gestapo ordered her to be examined as to her fitness for detention and camp which the resident physician did on 10 October.

On December 20, a fine tooth comb, hair pins and sewing utensils, which Hans Oppenheim, the authorized agent of the Jews in Kassel had sent at the request of her sister were handed over to her.



Sofie Bacharach

Actually, Jewish prisoners were no longer allowed to receive any parcels since 1941, but exceptions appear to have been made.⁴⁶⁴ She was released back to Fritzlar on December 21, but deported from Kassel to Majdanek/Lublin on June 1, 1942. She was on the deportation train from Kassel to Lublin/Majdanek and on to at Sobibor, where she became a Shoah victim, probably in June.⁴⁶⁵

2) **Betty Kugelmann, née Plaut**, (57), stayed at Breitenau from May 9, at first until January 5, 1942. Her children **Max and Irene** were in New York, her daughters **Hilde and Berta** in Hamburg at the time. On October 7, she too was examined by the resident physician, as to fitness for detention and camp, as ordered

⁴⁶⁰ Archiv Fritzlar XIX, 4,11,7

⁴⁶¹ according to a newspaper report of November 9, 1978 in „Fritzlar-Homberger Allgemeinen

⁴⁶² Archiv Breitenau, file of protective custody LWV

⁴⁶³ HStA Marburg 180 Landratsamt Fritzlar 2741. –Illustrating the situation in the „Arbeitsanstalt“ Breitenau: see Doerry 162 ff. In the „Arbeitsanstalt“ Breitenau Dr.Lilli Jahn had been imprisoned since Sept. 3, 1943. Half of the Jewish prisoners, numbering at least 145, were deported from Breitenau to a KZ and killed there.

⁴⁶⁴ Doerry 182

⁴⁶⁵ Archiv Breitenau LWV 4849, memory book

by the Gestapo on September 29. She was supposed to be transferred to Ravensbrück, by order of the Gestapo dated October 22 and December 13 .

However, as the KZ there was overcrowded, she returned from Hannover to Breitenau on 9 January 1942. After a new order on January 22, she was transferred once more to Ravensbrück on 9 February, where she became a Shoah victim on October 11, 1942.⁴⁶⁶

Bezeichnung der Transportbehörde		1) Fesselung — auch im Gefang.-E.-Wagen wird angeordnet.	
		Unterschrift	
Transportzettel²⁾ für die Gefangenen-Beförderung			
Personalbeschreibung:		Die nebengenannte Gefangene Untersuchungs- —	
1. Familienname: K u g e l m a n n		Schuhhaft-Gefangene — Mischlinge — soll auf	
2. Vorname: Betty Sara		Erfuchen der Staatspolizeistelle	
3. Stand oder Gewerbe: ohne		Kassel vom 22.1.42	
4. Geburtstag: 31.5.34		Gef.-Nr. -II D-2805/41 von hier nach	
5. Geburtsort: Willingshausen		R a v e n s b r ü c k	
6. Größe: cm		befördert und in das	
7. Haare:		Polizeigefängnis Jugendgefängnis — Konzen-	
8. Augen:		trationslager — Strafgefängnis Arbeitshaus	
9. Bart:		in R a v e n s b r ü c k eingeliefert —	
10. Zähne:		der Grenzpolizeibehörde in	
11. Besondere Kennzeichen:		zur Überführung über die Reichsgrenze nach	
		übergeben werden.	
12. Bekleidung:		Er — Sie — ist wegen	
		in Untersuchungshaft — Sicherungsverwahrung —	
		Nachhaft — mit Jahr Monat Tag	
13. Gepäck:		Zuchthaus — Gefängnis — bestraft.	
Bei Ausländern, die auf Grund eines für das Reichsgebiet erlassenen Aufenthaltsverbotes abzuziehen sind, ist ferner anzugeben: 4)		Termin am:	
		Die Transportkosten sind mitzuteilen 3)	

3) **Josef Kugelmann**, (64), soldier in 1914 –1918, married to Betty (s. above), was imprisoned in Breitenau from May 9 (four days prior to his 64th birthda) to September 26 and – after a „submission hearing“ in Kassel – again from 30 September to January 13, 1942.⁴⁶⁷ His daughter **Irene Jeanette** born on December 16, 1913, and married to **Baruch**, had emigrated to the USA on 1 November 1929, and his son **Max** on December 15, 1933.

Three of Mr.Kugelmann`s sisters were in the USA and one brother was in Mönchen-Gladbach. When he was delivered to the camp, he had on him – just like all the others – only the garments he was wearing, and a pocket watch. These objects were taken away against a receipt and returned to him on 26 September. There was an inquiry about the sale of real estate on June 20, which, however, is not further recorded. The mayor knew what this imprisonment meant, for he wrote on October 25: “Kugelmann and wife have also been in the Breitenau Institution for months.It is not to be expected that they will return to this place“.⁴⁶⁸ However, Mr Kugelmann still had hope as long as the negotiations on the sale of the house were under way. On August 30, he wrote from Breitenau, “...I am informing you that I shall proceed to the sale of the house as soon as emigration will be finally ensured“. His tenacity resulted in the „submission hearing“ at the foreign exchange office of the Regional Finance Head in Kassel on September 29,.

⁴⁶⁶ Archiv Breitenau LWV 6054, memory book

⁴⁶⁷ Archiv Fritzlar, file card; letter of the Oberfinanzpräsident of Kassel/Devisenstelle of Sept. 8 and 23, 1941. Letter of the Memorial Breitenau of March 5, 1991

⁴⁶⁸ Archiv Fritzlar XIX 4,11,7

**Der Oberfinanzpräsident Kassel
(Devisenfelle)**

Mkte: Va/Ba/Se.	
Kugelman, Josef Isr.,	
Fritzlar	
Geschäftsnummer: Den.	B 31/41

Die Angabe des vollständigen Geschäftszweiges bei weiteren Schreiben
ist nachfolgend erforderlich

Sprechstunden: 9—12 Uhr

Abschrift.

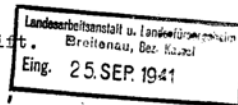
Kassel, 8. September 1941
Eingangsprotokoll 31
Fernsprecher: 31961/2

An
den Herrn Direktor
der Landesarbeitsanstalt
Breitenau b/Guxhagen

Betrifft: Josef Israel Kugelman, Wohnort: Fritzlar, zzt. Breitenau.

Nach Rücksprache mit der Geheimen Staatspolizei, Staatspolizei-
stelle Kassel, Kassel, bitte ich, Kugelman mit einem Sammel-
transport an das hiesige Polizeigefängnis zu überweisen, damit
der Obengenannte mir durch die Geheime Staatspolizei zwecks
Durchführung einer Unterwerfungsverhandlung am 22. September 1941
vormittags 10 Uhr vorgeführt werden kann.

Im Auftrag
gez. Unterschrift.



Kassel, 23. September 1941

Auf das obige Schreiben bin ich bisher ohne Antwort ge-
blieben. Ich nehme daher an, dass das Schreiben verloren gegan-
gen ist und bitte nochmals, Kugelman mit einem Sammeltransport an
das hiesige Polizeigefängnis zu überweisen, damit der Obengenannte
mir durch die Geheime Staatspolizei zwecks Durchführung einer
Unterwerfungsverhandlung am 29. Sept. 1941 vormittags um 10 Uhr
vorgeführt werden kann.

An
den Herrn Direktor
der Landesarbeitsanstalt
Breitenau b/ Guxhagen

Einschreiben.



Negotiation of Submission

As ordered by the Gestapo, he was examined on fitness for detention and camp on October 7. On December 16, the Kassel Gestapo ordered him to be transported to Dachau. Apparently he was allowed to go home for a short time, for the Gestapo wrote to the district administrator on December 22: „re Jew Josef Kugelman“, that he was „to be transferred, as arranged by the Gestapo Kassel, on December 12,....to the Dachau concentration camp by the next collective transport, and that the district administrator was to take further steps. Instead of being able to emigrate, Mr. Kugelman became a victim of the Shoah in Dachau on June 16, 1942.⁴⁶⁹

Bertel, Betty and Josef Kugelman's daughter, who lived in Hamburg together with her sister at that time, recalled: “I wrote letters home to my parents weekly, and suddenly all my letters were returned with the mention ‘moved to an unknown place’. I realised at once that they had been taken to a concentration camp. I called my sister, and she started at once on an 8 hour journey by train in order to find out what had happened and where my parents had been deported. She was told that my parents had been separated and that my father was in Dachau and my mother

⁴⁶⁹ Archiv Breitenau LWV 6053, Memorial Book

in Ravensbrück, both of them concentration camps known to everyone. My sister found our house pillaged, and the welfare association had housed a family of strangers there. My sister came back distraught. We never saw our parents again... In 1942, I learned that my father had died in Dachau, but I did not hear anything about my mother.“

4) **Jettchen Löwenstein**, (66) was imprisoned at Breitenau from 9 May to 20 October. On October 7, she was examined – like the others from Fritzlar –as to her fitness for imprisonment and camp the attestation mentioned ‘nothing in particular’ . As ordered by the Gestapo she should have been transferred to Ravensbrück like Betty Kugelman , but appeared to have developed a nervous disease at Breitenau, for the resident physician, Dr. Oswald, ordered her to be transferred to the Merxhausen sanatorium on October, 20: „The Jewess Jettchen Löwenstein must be transferred to the Merxheim sanatorium owing to mental illness, connected with great restlessness.“ But obviously Jews were no longer admitted to Merxhausen⁴⁷⁰ and Mrs.Löwenstein was therefore taken to the Kassel Jewish Association on October 21: “To the Gestapo, Kassel,... reference today’s phone agreement ...the Jewess Löwenstein was released from this institution on October 21, and committed to an official of the Kassel Jewish Association. Leaving Löwenstein at this institution was no longer possible due to her great restlessness; the relevant medical expertise is attached.“ This correspondence shows that the Welfare Dept of the Frankfurt / Main Jewish community was responsible. Through its mediation, on October 30 she was admitted to the sanatorium and nursing home at Sayn, run by the Reich Association of Jews in Germany;,, **Max Lissauer** was also staying there. She died there on 19 November, with the cause of death: “states of agitation due to arteriosclerosis, inflammation of cellular tissue, sepsis, weakness of heart and blood circulation”.⁴⁷¹ Although there is no tombstone to remember her by, her grave is indicated in the cemetery layout at Bendorf – Sayn.⁴⁷²

5) **Hermann Speier** (61), soldier in World War I from 1915 to 1918, was imprisoned in Breitenau from May 9 to October 31. He had five siblings, of whom **Moritz** lived in the USA, **Rosa, married to Baruch** in Breslau, **Amalie and Sophie** at Fritzlar, **Susman** also in Breitenau. The mayor wrote on October 25, playing down the situation:„Herman Israel Speier (has been) at the Breitenau institution for months“.⁴⁷³ On October 7 he too was examined by the resident physician. On October 22 the Gestapo ordered him to be transferred to the Sachsenhausen KZ, which was done on October 31. The following items he had brought with him when he arrived at Breitenau were returned to him for the transport; 1 hat, 1 coat, 1 suit, 1 knitted cardigan, 1 shirt, 1 pair.underpants, 1 p. socks, 1 p. shoes, 3 handkerchiefs, 1 collar, 1 tie and a pocket-knife.⁴⁷⁴ He was murdered at Sachsenhausen KZ on February 11, 1942.⁴⁷⁵

6) **Rebecka Ruth Speier, née Grünebaum**, (53), married to Susman Speier, was imprisoned at Breitenau first from May 9 to January 5, 1942., She too was examined as to fitness for imprisonment and camp on October 7. Like **Betti Kugelman**, she should have been transferred to Ravensbrück, which was attempted

⁴⁷⁰ It had been ordered on September 25, 1940, to transfer the Jewish patients from Haina and Merxhausen to Gießen; on December 12, 1940, instructions were given that all Jews with mental and nervous diseases were to be admitted to Bendorf – Sayn only

⁴⁷¹ Documented by Dr. K.Laufer; Archiv Breitenau LWV 6177; Archiv Fritzlar file cards; XIX 4,11,6; memory book; memorials 652 f

⁴⁷² D. Schabow, letter

⁴⁷³ Archiv Fritzlar XIX 4,11,6

⁴⁷⁴ Archiv Breitenau, LWV 7100

⁴⁷⁵ He is twice mentioned in the memory book

on January 5. She was transported back, however, as the KZ was overcrowded. So she returned to Breitenau from January 9 to February 9, 1942. On January 22 Ravensbrück was ready for admission again. She obviously went to Auschwitz via Ravensbrück, for she became a Shoah victim at Auschwitz on October 13, 1942.⁴⁷⁶ The communication from the Kassel Gestapo, dated October 20,, stated: The Jewess Ruth S. Speier, née Grünebaum “died at the camp at 10:30 a.m. of acute stomach trouble and enteritis”.⁴⁷⁷

7) **Susman Speier** (71), soldier in 1914 –1916, married to **Rebekka Ruth S.**, brother of **Hermann**, was imprisoned at Breitenau from 9th May to 8th August⁴⁷⁸ On June 20 there was an inquiry regarding the sale of real estate, of which there is no further record. To prepare his release, he had to sign a „warning protocol“ on 8th August when he was released to Fritzlar

Geheime Staatspolizei
Staatspolizeistelle Kassel
 B.Nr. – II B 4 – 2405/41(PA)
 Bitte in der Antwort vorliegendes Gefäß mitgelassen und Datum
 angegeben.

Kassel, den 4. August 1941.
 Wilhelmshöher Allee 32
 Fernsprecher: Nr. 38675 – 38677

An den
 Herrn Direktor der Landesarbeits-
 anstalt
 Breitenau, Bez. Kassel
 Eing. - 6.AUG.1941
 in Brei

Betrifft: Entlassung von Juden aus der Schutzhaft.

Anlagen: 2 Warnungsprotokolle gegen Rückgabe.

Ich bitte, die Juden Sussmann Israel S p e i e r, geb.19.11. 1870 in Züschen, und Israel G u t h e i m, geb.26.5.1865 in Ungedanker nach Unterzeichnung der Warnungsprotokolle am 8.8.1941 aus der dortigen Anstalt zu entlassen. Von dem Veranlaßten bitte ich um Nachricht.



Im Auftrage:
 Gez. Wilimzig.

Beglaubigt:
 [Signature]
 Angestellte.

K/0736 3
 W.B.

Order of the Gestapo

without, however, an „individual food ration card“. Susman Speier was still in Fritzlar on August 23 „and met his fiscal obligations“.⁴⁷⁹ But he was imprisoned again in October, this time in Kassel to begin with. The mayor stated on November 25, “Speier has been accommodated at the Breitenau institution for some time and is now imprisoned in Kassel. Speier, too, will probably not return here “.⁴⁸⁰ (Imprisonment in Breitenau was called „accommodation“ by the mayor!)

Even the Kassel regional office of the Reich Association of Jews in Germany adopted the official belittling expressions. They wrote on August 1, “Mr Susman Speyer (was) taken into protective custody“, using, in this context, the term „emigration transport“. Mr S. Speier was deported to Sachsenhausen and became a Shoah victim there on January 22, 1942.⁴⁸¹

⁴⁷⁶ Archiv Breitenau, LWV 7102; memory book

⁴⁷⁷ HStA Marburg 180, Landratsamt Fritzlar 2741

⁴⁷⁸ Archiv Fritzlar XIX 4,11,6, and 4,11,7

⁴⁷⁹ Archiv Fritzlar XIX 4,11,6 Additional proof that Susman Speier was not in Breitenau anymore is provided by the fact, that on Sept. 29 the six above mentioned persons were supposed to be diagnosed as to their fitness for imprisonment and camp, but that Mr. Speier is missing from this list. (Archiv Breitenau)

⁴⁸⁰ Archiv Fritzlar XIX,4,11,6 and 4,11,7

⁴⁸¹ Archiv Breitenau LWV 7103; memory book

On 9th December a mass deportation from Kassel to Riga took place, of about 1000 Jews. The r Gestapo officer in charge of the „Jews department“ in Kassel took care that as many Jews as possible were collected from the surrounding area, in order to make full use of the transport capacity provided by the Reichsbahn. The Jewish regional office in Kassel reported „an unusually heavy amount of work, ordered by the authorities in connection with the emigration transports in December“.⁴⁸² The Fritzlar Jews **Moses Lissauer**, **Sara Pfifferling** and **Tony Rosenbach** were also part of this transport

In 1941 the following Fritzlar citizens were **deported**:

1) **Brunhilde Helfer, née Kugelmann** from Hamburg to Lodz on October 25

2 + 3) **Gustav and Selma Kron** from Hamburg to Lodz on October 25. In 1941, four years after his arrival in the USA, **Walter Kron** received a letter from the International Red Cross, stating that his parents **Gustav and Selma Kron** had been deported to the Lodz Ghetto in, Poland. After the war he learned that his parents had been transported from there to Auschwitz in 1942, and years later that they had been gassed in Chelmno in May 1942. Walter Kron added: “During the war I had no idea of these death camps, because most of them were situated in Poland. Now, of course, we know about them.

But then nobody would have imagined a thing like that. The Holocaust is unique and not comparable to anything known. It was industrially processed mass murder. They murdered without sentiments and feelings, without empathy. Nobody before had been able to imagine that something like this could be done by human beings. Though it was known during the war that many people died in the concentration camps, but it was only a few who knew that they were killed systematically.”⁴⁸³

4) **Josef Kugelmann** from Breitenau to Dachau on 16th December.

5) **David Löwenstein** together with 4 members of his family from Frankfurt/Main to Kowno on 22nd November..

6) **Erna Löwenstein** (41) from Fulda to Riga on 9th December. She had been a pupil at the Ursulinenschule from 1907 to 1911, moved to Fulda on 8th February 1922 and married Mr.Rapp. From there she was deported together with her children Günther and Marga on 8th December 1941 to Kassel, from Kassel to Riga on December 9th and killed in 1942.⁴⁸⁴ Her son Fritz succeeded in emigrating to England.

7-10) **Joseph Löwenstein** and his wife **Rickchen, Sara Pfifferling** and **Tony Rosenbach** from Kassel to Riga. Joseph and Rickchen Löwenstein were – like their daughter Erna –deported from Fulda to Kassel und from there to Riga on December 9, 1941 and killed there.⁴⁸⁵

11) **Hermann Speier** from Breitenau to Sachsenhausen on October, 31.



Brunhilde und Benno Helfer

⁴⁸² Archiv Fritzlar XIII,2,1,11

⁴⁸³ Glickmann

⁴⁸⁴ Memorial Book

⁴⁸⁵ Memorial Book; Lohmann, Schicksal, 23

12) **Ruth Stern** from Hamburg to Riga on December 12. **Ruth**, then 22 years old and living in Hamburg, reported: "I wanted to go out and have fun, but at 8 pm it was curfew and we were supposed to wear the yellow star with the word „Jew“ on the left side. I spent the best years of my life in bad times. Every day there would be people disappearing, it was heart rending". Shortly afterwards she was deported, on December 12. „Most of the SS personel were shouting orders and swearing. They used words I had never heard of before“. After three days in a collecting camp, where they had to live on food they had brought with them, it took them a week in a freight train to get to Riga. "There was no food and no toilets. We were treated like cattle. Each day some of our group jumped out of the moving train. Only the young and the strong survived. When we arrived there it was very cold with deep snow. We had neither coats nor sweaters".⁴⁸⁶

Ruth Stern was deported to the camp Jungfernhof in Riga, where she was given the number 1064. There she remained for four years.

Data 1941

In the October 10 census, no Jews were officially mentioned among the 4760 inhabitants. Fritzlar, however, was „Jewfree“ only statistically.⁴⁸⁷ Prior to the imprisonments of 8th May 11 Jews had still lived in Fritzlar, who made up 0,23 % of the population,⁴⁸⁸ whilst on October 7 the mayor reported **four** more, constituting 0,08 %. These were:

Emma Boley (66), Martinsgasse 18

Amalie Speier (68), Martinsgasse 18

Sophie Speier (63), Martinsgasse 18

Susman Speier (71), Fraumünsterstr. 2⁴⁸⁹. He only stayed in Fritzlar from October 8 until the end of the month.

Sofie Bacharach (67) came to Fritzlar for a couple of months on December 21, so there were four female Jews again.

⁴⁸⁶ Nebel in Bridenthal, When biology

⁴⁸⁷ 2459 were Catholics, 2208 Protestants, 78 unitarians and 15 various others. No questions were asked about Jews. (Archiv Fritzlar II,2,17,2)

⁴⁸⁸ Benz 533. In the autumn of 1941 there were about 164 000 Jews still living in Germany. Lohmann states that up to 1 October 1941 about 270 000 Jews had already left Germany and 200 000 had stayed. (Lohmann, Schicksal 39)

⁴⁸⁹ HStA Marburg 180 Landratsamt Fritzlar 2741

The tenth NS year A chronology of the year 1942

Adolf Hitler, his attention focused on Germany's enemies, made it clear in his New Year's proclamation that: "the driving force behind everything is the Jewish Ahasverus⁴⁹⁰, who for thousands of years has been the eternal adversary against every order of humanity and true social justice. ...the Jewish-Anglo-Saxon financial conspiracy is not fighting for just any democracy." The hope of the Americans is, "that the alliance between Jewish capitalism and Jewish Bolshevism will lead to the extermination of other races. ...the driving force behind such ideas is the Jew, who ...promises himself the Jewish dictatorship of the world". He went on to say: Marxism was "financed by the Jewish financial aristocracy. Therefore we have been fighting the Jewish alliance between financial interests and Marxism for decades. (We are in the middle of) "a fight against the Jewish-capitalist-bolshevist world conspiracy. ...The Jews will not wipe out the European races, but will be the victim of their own attempted assassination. ...whoever attempts to destroy other races in this war with their Jewish hatred, will be brought down!"

In his orders of the day for the soldiers Hitler said: We will fight the enemy," until the Jewish-Capitalist-Bolshevist desire for destruction is extinguished". (KFH2.1)

Deportations to Riga went from Berlin on January 13, 19, and 25; likewise from Dortmund on January 25.

On **January 20**, at a conference held in the Berlin on the shore of Wannsee, called together - as he was ordered - by R. Heydrich, to review the "final solution of the Jewish question", i.e. it was discussed how the extermination of the European Jews which had begun should be coordinated and brought to a final conclusion. This was to be primarily achieved by "forced labour". Heydrich referred to three main phases in the Jewish policy:

- I emigration policy until autumn 1941;
 - II evacuation to the East, to Lodz, Minsk and Riga;
 - III the final solution for 11 million Jews from throughout Europe.⁴⁹¹
- Deportations to Theresienstadt began on January 28.

⁴⁹⁰ A legendary man said to have been condemned by Christ to wander the Earth until the Second Advent. Hitler here uses a legend from the Church of the Middle Ages.

⁴⁹¹ Battenberg II 300f; Lohmann, Schicksal 41

Quotation from the Minutes of the Wannsee conference on 20 January 1942

"... a brief review of the battle thus far against these enemies. The most important events consist of

- a) Pushing the Jews out of specific German residential areas
- b) Pushing the Jews out of German "Lebensraum"

In order to realize these endeavours, the only temporary solution - speeding up Jewish emigration from the Reich - was to be tackled with additional vigour. ...

The goal was to cleanse German Lebensraum of Jews by legal means. ...

In the period following, work on emigration was not only a German problem, but became one that also had to be addressed by the authorities of the countries to which Jews emigrated. Various problems made the attempts at emigration more difficult: these included increasing the sums of money required on arrival by destination countries, a lack of spaces on board ships, continuously more restrictive immigration rules and bans. Despite these problems, between seizing power and 31 October 1941 a total of around 537,000 Jews had been persuaded to emigrate. ...

The Jews themselves or Jewish political organizations financed the emigration. To prevent a Jewish proletariat remaining the principle that wealthier Jews financed the emigration of poorer Jews was applied: according to their fortune they had to pay an emigration tax, which was used to meet the financial obligations of emigrating Jews without means.

In addition to Reichsmark amounts, foreign currency is required upon arrival in foreign countries. To protect German currency reserves, foreign Jewish financial institutions were urged by domestic Jewish organizations to collect sufficient foreign currency. In this way, by 31 October 1941 foreign Jews had donated a total of \$ 9 500 000.

Since then the Reichsführer SS...has forbidden Jewish emigration.

Instead of emigration another solution has arisen ... the evacuation of the Jews to the East. ...

In the course of this final solution to the European Jewish problem there are some 11 million Jews to be considered..."

On **January 30**, at a mass rally in the Berlin Sports Palace Hitler said:” The Wandering Jew caused Germany’s downfall in 1918. ...this war will not end as the Jews think, but this time they will be utterly exterminated. (A storm of applause rose and continued when Hitler assured them that the hour would come when the most evil enemy of the world will be destroyed, at least for a thousand years”. (The applause showed how the general public had accepted hatred of the Jews.)

On **February 13**, the Kreisblatt published an article with the title:” Such are the Jews”. Based on Hitler’s book, “Mein Kampf”⁴⁹² it states: “There is no way around the Jewish question; you can’t put it to one side. Whoever does not want to be subjugated by the Jews, has to be their enemy, and this war is, at the same time, the final decisive battle against World Jewry. ...National Socialism is responsible for rescuing the German people from the talons of international Jewry. There can be no conciliation between Jews and Germans, there is only a fight to the death, and it is high time that every German citizen, down to the very last, learns to really hate the Jews. ...Jewry will be utterly destroyed”. (KFH 13.2)

Another article in the same edition finished: “Our soldiers are fighting twice as hard against the enemy, now that they know that every blow against England, the plutocracy and bolshevism is also a blow against the Jews”.

On **February 14** and **March 6**, Goebbels noted in his diary:” The Fuehrer once again voiced his opinion that he is determined to ruthlessly do away with the Jews. There is no room for sentimentality. ...we must speed up this process with absolute ruthlessness”.⁴⁹³

On **February 27**, there was an article in the local paper about the “Jewish plutocracy and Jewish bolshevism”, which announced the “extermination of Jews”. (KFH)

On **March 13**, in an article with the headline, “The war dogs with the hooked nose”, the following could be read:” Because the Jews have, as is generally known, no “Fatherland”, they feel at home everywhere, wherever they can carry out their illegal business. Once they boasted in Germany, Poland, the Czech Republic, in Vienna, in the Balkans, in France and, last but not least, in the now liberated regions in the east. The same Jews, who drained these peoples’ energy, then settled on a larger scale in England, and above all in North America and in Palestine”. (KFH)

On **March 15**, the heroes’ remembrance day Hitler said:” That providence has allowed us to defeat the coalition of Jewish-Marxism and Jewish capitalism on all the battlefields, makes us thank the one being without whose shield and protection all human effort, strength and courage would be futile”. (KFH By providence Hitler meant God, whom he thereby thanked, for the destruction of his [God’s] own people.)

On **March 28**, the first transports reached Auschwitz.

At the **end of March**, Jews were banned from using public transport, buses, trams, and trains, unless they had a special police permit.

In spring the death camp in Maly Trostinec near Minsk was set up.

From **April 1942**, Jews had to fix a Star of David, printed in black on white paper, next to their name on the doors of their homes. (Harassment reached its peak: it was so manifold that it was advisable not to leave home any more. Among other things, no books were allowed to be bought, no means of public transport or public telephone to be used, no hairdresser visited, no pets kept, and it was forbidden the leave home after 21.00 h in summer and after 20.00 h in winter; radio sets had to be handed in; Jews were deprived of certain parts of their ration books (e.g. smoker and egg ration cards).⁴⁹⁴

On **April 26**, Parliament met for the sixth time during the war to receive a statement from the German government. Adolf Hitler’s speech was dedicated above all to the defeat of England, but it was also about the Jews again: “The Jew Lord D. Israeli once expressed his opinion that “race question” was the key to world history. We, the national socialists, have grown up with this knowledge”. He turned his attention to the “day of reckoning with Jewish bolshevism” and explained: “The time has come where, in the conflict between Jewish

⁴⁹² S. annex 5

⁴⁹³ Battenberg II 302

⁴⁹⁴ Hangebruch 234 „Jews wearing a David’s star got neither meat nor eggs, no flour, milk, tobacco or clothing ration cards” (C. Kugelman in Kingreen 443)

internationalism and Nazi idealism, the sound (Aryan) nature has made its breakthrough. ...as Mommsen says, young, growing Europe has declared war on this process, which was used by the Jews to break down nations and states". At the end Hitler spoke about the judicial system and announced that the law must serve the state, "irrelevant of how much of a contradiction that is to the conventional understanding of justice. From now on I will intervene and judges, who apparently don't recognise the dictates of the moment, will be relieved of their office. ...we are all simply obedient servants of the interests of our nation".

After the speech the government passed the motion: "that there can be no doubt that the Fuehrer ...must have the legal power, without being bound by existing statutory provisions, to force every German citizen ...to fulfil his duties ...without taking so-called existing rights into consideration". The members of Parliament confirmed this without a discussion and, in fact, without taking a vote, simply by getting up from their seats. (KFH)

On **June 6**, Vicar Katharina Staritz was taken into the concentration camp at Ravensbrück, because she had asked people not to break contact with converted Protestant Jews.⁴⁹⁵ In this concentration camp, which had begun as a women's camp with 867 prisoners on 15 May 1939, there were 7,500 women and men at this time. The SS doctors began sterilisations and experimental operations here in July. In October, 808 female Jews were deported from Ravensbrück to Auschwitz.⁴⁹⁶

On **June 23**, the gas chambers came into operation in Auschwitz.

On **June 27**, you could read in the newspaper: "World Jewry has always been the carrier of bolshevist subversion. ...the world can only recover again by the extermination of Bolshevism and its accomplices". (KFH)

By **July 1**, all Jewish schools still existing in the German Reich were closed. This meant that any schooling for Jewish children, by paid or unpaid staff, was prohibited; it also applied to tuition in the private school sector. (So both compulsory education and the entitlement to education were abolished.)

On **August 20**, Adolf Hitler appointed the incumbent president of the People's Court as Reich Minister for Justice by the following decree: "To fulfil the tasks of the Greater German Reich a strong system of justice is required. Therefore I commission and authorize the Reich Minister for Justice to build up a National Socialist system of justice, according to my guidelines and instructions....He can deviate from existing laws". Dr. Freisler was appointed President of the People's Court in place of the former President. (KFH 25.8)

Shortly afterwards the new President of the People's Court spoke about "the reform of the judicial system": He considered a strong National Socialist system of justice to be the basic aim and object of his task....These aims must be achieved according to National Socialist guidelines. Therefore it is necessary that all laws ...should make way for a new way of thinking and new procedural law". (KFH 10.9 After the abolition of Parliament, the independent judicial system had now also been abolished.)

On **August 27/28**, Kassel suffered a heavy bombardment from the RAF.

On **September 1** Hitler proclaimed: We are "at the beginning of the fourth year of a war, waged by the German people for life or death, for the present and the future....Our soldiers are preventing the country from being enslaved by bolshevist barbarity or Jewish-Anglo-Saxon capitalist exploitation. ...World Jewry is the driving force for Bolshevism and Plutocracy....The bolshevist Jew is the final driving force in both camps". (KFH 1.9)

The following text also appeared in the Kreisblatt: "On the occasion of the celebration of Jewish New Year the Chief Rabbi in England, Dr. Hirz, sent a message to the Jews, in which he rejected any compromise with the legions of satanic tyrants....This Talmudic cry of revenge does not touch us. We know that this war is, after all, the work of the Jews....Total Jewish hate is aimed solely at the evil National Socialism, which has freed the German nation from the Jewish parasites and evicted the Jewish rabble from Europe....The Jews have had to vacate their territory in Europe". (Indirectly we learn that the author knew that Jews had been driven out of Europe and deported to the concentration camps and ghettos in the east.)

On **October 1**, in the Berlin Sports Palace, at the opening of the winter relief campaign, Hitler reminded the people of his promise:" If the Jews start a world war to exterminate the

⁴⁹⁵ More information at the end of the chronology

⁴⁹⁶ Schmid 135 and 141

Aryan nations in Europe, then the Aryan people will not be killed off, but the Jews. (Thunderous applause) Every State involved in this war will emerge as an anti-Semitic one. The Jews will soon be laughing on the other side of their faces, everywhere". (KFH 2.10.)

Field Marshal Goering said at Thanksgiving: "This war is the great racial war. ...The Jews with their never-ending hatred are behind these thoughts of destruction, and if the German Nation loses this war, then your next leader will be a Jew. ...Whether the Teuton and Aryan survive or whether the Jews rule the world; that is what it is all about at the end of the day (prolonged applause). The Jews are behind everything, and they are responsible for the fight to death and ruin....what is pure, Germanic, German, they want to destroy". (KFH 6.10)

In 1942, 28000 mixed marriages existed in Germany. Strong pressure was exerted on the "Aryan" partners to get divorced from the Jewish partner. As a rule the custody of the children was granted to the mother, even when she was Jewish, but that only gave her limited protection against deportation. The "half-breed children" remained unmolested in many cases, particularly if they were of the Catholic or Protestant faith.

On **October 15**, you could read:" No Jewish "half-breeds" in secondary schools! In an appendix to the July decree and to clear up any doubts the Minister of Education has laid down that the admission of Jewish "half-breeds" of the first generation into a secondary school or a higher education school is forbidden as from the beginning of the 1942/43 school year....The pupils are to be sent back to the "Volksschule"(basic primary school)....The Minister emphasized there were to be no exceptions to the rule". (KFH)

On **October 19**, the Minister of Justice announced that a judge "is not the supervisor of the State leadership, but rather its direct assistant....The State leadership dictates to the judge the general line of thought he has to follow". (KFH In a "Rechtsstaat", a state based on law, the judicial system is regarded as the third pillar of society above Government and Parliament; that had now been removed.)

In his speech on **November 11** Hitler said: "Behind our opponents we find the permanent driving-force: The international Jew....Starting with the "half-Jew" Roosevelt, and his Jewish brains-trust and finishing with Jewry as the pure culture of Marxist-Bolshevist Russia....We wanted to do away with this conspiracy of Jews, Capitalists and Bolsheviks, and we have indeed finally achieved that....It is the main reason for all that unhappiness; international Jewry....Many of those who were laughing at that time are not laughing any more, and those who are still laughing will perhaps soon be laughing on the other side of their face. (Applause)". (KFH)

On **November 11**, the remaining free part of France was occupied, with the result that the persecution of the Jews was intensified there, too.

On **November 19**, Alfred Rosenberg, Reich minister for the occupied areas, announced amid thunderous applause:" The "Jewish problem" will only be solved when not one single Jew is left in Germany and on the whole continent of Europe. The solution to the "Jewish problem" is also an act of humanity, because it will make the nations of our continent healthy again". (KFH)

On **December 7**, according to a letter from the "Reich Commissioner for the Treatment of Enemy Property", all the property of Jews who had emigrated was also declared property of the Reich.

Karl Barth, an influential Protestant theologian who had been expelled from Germany and lived and taught in Switzerland, brought out, within the context of his 'Ecclesiastical Dogmatics', a volume entitled "Israel und die Gemeinde" (Israel and the Community). In this book, he mentioned nothing about the persecution of the Jews and also rejected any solidarity with the persecuted Jews.

In his Christmas message, Pope Pius XII spoke about the "hundreds of thousands who, personally innocent, sometimes only because of their affiliation to a people or of their origin, were doomed to death or exposed to progressive impoverishment".⁴⁹⁷ However he did not

⁴⁹⁷ Groß 41. The silence of the churches about the persecution and murder of the Jews is still up to the present day a great obstacle. In a report from Jerusalem from September 2001 we read: "I have talked about the NT with many, also religious, people, especially in discussion groups in the Internet. The objections most often made were:" The silence from the Christian churches during the Holocaust" or

call for an end of the Shoah. (The silence of both churches about the persecution and murder of the Jews constitutes a very grave guilt and, to this day, a great obstacle in talking with Jews.)

Fritzlar Jewish Citizens 1942 **Emigrations, moves and sales 1942**

a) Emigrations: none

b) Moves within Germany 1942: none

c) Deaths 1942

Ascher Mansbach died at Bendorf-Sayn on April 12 at the age of 77 years.

Victims of the Shoah in 1942 (as far as the dates are known):

on January 22, **Susmann Speier** (77 years) in the KZ at Sachsenhausen near Berlin,

on February 11, **Hermann Speier** (62 years) at Sachsenhausen,

in March, **Sara Pfifferling** and probably also **Toni Rosenbach** in Riga,

in May, **Gustav and Selma Kron** in Chelmno/Kulmhof (in the Warthegau between Posen/Poznan and Warsaw),

on June 3, **Sofie Bacharach** (68 years) in Sobibor (north east of Lublin),

on June 15, **Max Lissauer** during transport to Izbica,

on June 15, **Max Mark** (70 years) in Lodz/Litzmannstadt.⁴⁹⁸ He was the son of Isaac (III) M. and Gita, named Hannchen, neé Rosenbaum. On January 4, 1939 the additional Christian name, Israel, had been entered for him into the register of births in Fritzlar,

on June 16, **Josef Kugelmann** (65 years) in Dachau,

on August 5, **Julius Lissauer** in Majdanek/Lublin. He was deported from Kassel to Majdanek on June 6 and murdered on August 5.⁴⁹⁹ Because of the date, we assume that Julius Lissauer was one of the men who helped to build the KZ Majdanek; these men mostly only survived for two or three months.

on September 29, **Moritz and Dina Joseph** in Maly Trostinec (near Minsk),

on September 29, **Emma Boley** at Treblinka (east of Warsaw),

on October 11, **Betti Kugelmann** (58 years) at Auschwitz,

on October 13, **Rebecka Ruth Speier** (54 years) at Auschwitz.

Therefore, of the seven people imprisoned in 1941 in Breitenau, one of them died in 1941 and six became victims of the Shoah in 1942, each one at a different place!

d) Shops and other places of work 1942

1) During the night of February 21/22, Fritzlar suffered a bombing raid. Most of the bombs fell on the Jewish cemetery and the property in the near vicinity of it.

2) Months after issuing the purchase order for the synagogue site,⁵⁰⁰ the council decided to buy it on March 12. (The idea that Jewish community might rise up again one day didn't occur to anyone!)

3) On August 17, 1944 the mayor informed **Emma Boley's** sister that their father's house would be managed by the Ministry of Finances in Homberg.⁵⁰¹

4) On April 9, the regional administrator wrote: "I have just been informed by the Kassel State Police that the Reich Minister for Internal Affairs has, by decree from

"Persecution of the Jews by Christians". When I make them aware of the difference between Jesus' behaviour and that of the church..., I meet with a wall of silence or a lack of understanding. And yet the difference is so evident".

⁴⁹⁸ Gedenkbuch; Kleinert und Prinz 216

⁴⁹⁹ Gedenkbuch

⁵⁰⁰ Councillors' order of court 276 Fritzlar Archives XIII 2,1,11

⁵⁰¹ Archives Fritzlar XIX 4,11,8

November 7, 1941, declared that the aims of the Jew, **Josef I. Kugelman**,...to be hostile to the people and the state. Thereupon, the authorities have confiscated Kugelman's assets". Mr Kugelman had attempted to emigrate and to secure his property; that alone was proof enough to brand him an "enemy of the people and the state".

5) According to the judgement mentioned above, the property and belongings of **Moritz Speier** fell to the German Reich December 7.⁵⁰²

6) The house belonging to the **Speier** siblings, Martinsgasse 18, was confiscated to the "advantage of the German Reich" on August 27.⁵⁰³ The order of events is very revealing: **Hermann** was arrested on May 9, 1941 and murdered on February 11, **Amalie and Sofie** were deported to Theresienstadt, via Kassel, on September 7, but had already been dispossessed on August 27. According to a letter of October 29, the town council demanded an amount of money for the former dwelling of Sophie Speier, Martinsgasse B43 (18) "in order to make the vacant dwelling habitable for other tenants, after the departure of the Jewish Speier siblings".⁵⁰⁴ ("Departure" meaning here the deportation to a concentration camp).

7) According to the premium invoices for building insurance, **Susmann Speier** was still officially the owner of the house on March 4, although he had died weeks earlier.⁵⁰⁵

f) Stock sales and auctions 1942

1) On January 10, the Gestapo carried out "an action, in the course of a collection for the east front, to register the woollen and fur garments still owned by the Jews". The three Jewish women still living in Fritzlar found themselves compelled to hand over the following items: "2 pairs of stockings, 3 cardigans and pullovers, 12 vests, 5 underpants, 1 truss, 1 head protection, 8 wrist and knee bands, 3 woollen blankets, 7 shawls, 9 furs, 3 fur trimmings, 1 muff, 2 fur blankets, 2 plush scarves, 1 woollen scarf, 2 coats without fur, 2 tapestries, 1 flannel sheet, 3 shawl trimmings".⁵⁰⁶

2) On January 22, the Gestapo demanded the "registration" of typewriters, bicycles, cameras and binoculars of the "Jews moved to the east (deported)", as was the belittling expression.⁵⁰⁷

3) **Josef Kugelman's** assets also included eight hens, which were given to the Walter Flex School in Zennern by the NSV district headquarters.⁵⁰⁸ The inventory and linen items belonging to Josef Kugelman and his wife were "taken care of" by the NSV. The furniture, household items, bedclothes, table linen and underwear were auctioned on June 3, although the couple were still alive at the time. The estimated value of the objects was given as RM 711.35, the sum received was RM 748.35.⁵⁰⁹ Obviously a number of the items had been delivered to Breitenau before, because the head of the Homberg revenue office wrote to the "Director of the Labour Institution in Breitenau, concerning the "management and realization of the confiscated belongings of enemies of the Reich, in this case of the Jew Joseph Israel Kugelman, former resident of Fritzlar: Of the unused linen goods kept by the Kassel State Police

⁵⁰² Archives Fritzlar XIX 4,11,6

⁵⁰³ Archives Fritzlar Gutheim File

⁵⁰⁴ Archives Fritzlar XIX 4,11,8

⁵⁰⁵ Archives Fritzlar XIX 4,11,6

⁵⁰⁶ HStA Marburg 180 Landratsamt Fritzlar 2741

⁵⁰⁷ HStA Marburg 180 Landratsamt Fritzlar 2741

⁵⁰⁸ HStA Marburg 180 Landratsamt Fritzlar 2741

⁵⁰⁹ Inventory Lohmann, Schicksal 100f

in the local police office in Fritzlar, one part has been sent to the NSV district office ..., one part given to your institution for a fee".⁵¹⁰

4) On August 10, three fur collars were later given in by the **Speier sisters**. Although it was known that these last three Jews would also be transported to the east, they had to hand over all woollen and fur items.

5) Likewise, the belongings of **Jettchen Löwenstein**, who died on November 19, 1941, were auctioned. The value of the 24 listed items was estimated at RM 456, the proceeds from sale RM 505.⁵¹¹

6) The belongings of **Susmann Speier**, killed on January 22, 1942, were also auctioned on June 3. The estimated value of the 76 items was a total of RM 1,393, the auction fetched RM 1505.⁵¹² On August 28, the district council reported, concerning the "sale of furniture belonging to the Jews **Josef Kugelman**, **Löwenstein** and **Susmann Speier**", that proceeds amounted to RM 1,184.55 on June 8, and on July 1 to RM 82.80.⁵¹³

The fact of the public auctions is proof enough for **Jechiel Ogdan**, that the citizens of Fritzlar cannot maintain that they had known nothing at all.⁵¹⁴

g) Imprisonment and Deportations 1942⁵¹⁵

On June 6, a transport with about 500 people went from Kassel to Majdanek and Sobibor near Lublin. **Frieda and Sofie Bacharach** were included in this transport, as well as **Julius Lissauer**, who died on August 5 in Majdanek.

On September 7, a transport with about 1000 people left Kassel for Theresienstadt. The Jews were first assembled in Kassel in the school in the Schillerstr., at the corner of Wörthstraße. The action went by the euphemistic expression "evacuation of Jews to Theresienstadt" or "deportation". At the notification of a change of address, the name Theresienstadt was not to be entered as the new destination, but: "address unknown" or "emigrated".⁵¹⁶ (What a cynicism!) The last three Jewish women from Fritzlar were among the deportees:

Emma Boley (67 years): her train left on September 6 at 7.56a.m from Fritzlar to Kassel. On September 6, in spite of the curfew, Emma Boley secretly said goodbye to a Christian friend at 4a.m, at the same time giving her a small purse with some coins. She said: "These are for your children. Take them, I don't need them any more!"

Levi Gutheim also reported about a secret farewell: "During the last few days before I was taken to the KZ, I said goodbye to my best friend H., a Christian

⁵¹⁰ Archives Breitenau

⁵¹¹ Lohmann, Schicksal 104

⁵¹² Archives Fritzlar XIX 4,11,13

⁵¹³ HStA Marburg 180 Landratsamt Fritzlar 2741

⁵¹⁴ Letter of 22.5.1999 to the author

⁵¹⁵ Extract from the notes taken at the Wannsee Conference on 20 January 1942: „.....a brief résumé of the struggle waged against this enemy "so far" (pay attention to the expression "enemy"!). The essential steps are a) the expulsion of the Jews from various areas of the life of the German people b) the expulsion of the Jews from the living space of the German people. For the enforcement of these efforts, the single, interim measure for the "final solution", to evacuate the Jews faster from German territory, was implemented and intensified as planned.The ultimate aim was to legally purge the German Reich of Jews.despite all difficulties, altogether about 537,000 Jews were brought to emigrate from the time of Hitler's rise to power and the deadline on 31 October 1941.by 31 October 1941 by means of "donations" from foreign Jews 9,500,000\$ were collected.in the meantime, the head of the SS has prohibited the emigration of Jews. Instead of emigration there is a further, possible solutionthe evacuation of the Jews to the East. this **final solution** to the Jewish problem concerns some eleven million Jews throughout Europe."

⁵¹⁶ Richter 256, for more details

merchant in Fritzlar, and gave him the remainder of my flour account, so it wouldn't fall into the hands of the Nazis.When I returned from the KZ with my wife, my first visit in Fritzlar was to the H. family, where we were received in the old, honest, friendly way..."⁵¹⁷

On August 17, 1944 the mayor informed the younger sister **Olga Boley**, who had been living in the USA since about 1923,"your sister S. Emma Boley, born 21. 1. 1875, Fritzlar, Werkelstr. B27, arrived in Theresienstadt with a mass transport on 6. 9. 1942. The residential house is being managed by the Homberg revenue office"⁵¹⁸. (The mayor mentioned the former address, which had been changed several times since 1939 due to compulsory moving. The address given here was incorrect. At the time of her deportation, Mrs Boley had been housed with the **Speier** sisters, Martinsgasse 18). Emma Boley was a victim of the Shoah at Minsk⁵¹⁹ or Treblinka.

On September 6, **Amalie Speier** (69 years) and **Sophie Speier**, whose 64th birthday was on that day, also had to leave for Kassel, from where they were deported the following day by mass transport to Theresienstadt.⁵²⁰ (The town council used the misleading expression, "moved away".⁵²¹ The sisters survived.

Just three days after their deportation, on September 10, 1942, the property lists of the deported persons were forwarded to the Homberg revenue office, and according to the official version, one spoke about the "Jews, relocated on September 7, 1942"⁵²²

Aron Neuhaus, a former teacher in Fritzlar⁵²³, was also part of this transport and his sister **Rosalie Neuhaus**. Aron Neuhaus became a victim of the Shoah⁵²⁴ in Theresienstadt on February 7, 1943, Rosalie survived.

Moritz and Dina Joseph, née Höxter, were further deported to Treblinka on September 29 and killed in Maly Trostinec.

Moses Katz was also transported from Kassel to Theresienstadt and then on to Treblinka and was there murdered.

Ida Güta Sauer, née Löwenstein, also went from Kassel to Theresienstadt, was able to remain there and was liberated there on May 8, 1945.

In 1942, more former citizens of Fritzlar were deported:

from Berlin

on August 3, the sisters-in-law **Frommet and Rebekka Kugelman** to Theresienstadt;

on December 9, **Kurt Baruch** to Auschwitz, where he died;

from Breitenau

on February 9, **Betti Kugelman** to Ravensbrück and from there to Auschwitz, where she was murdered on October 11;

on October 5, **Ruth Speier** to Auschwitz, where she died on October 13;

from Frankfurt am Main

⁵¹⁷ Letter of 11.12.1945 for the court proceedings of Mr H.

⁵¹⁸ Archives Fritzlar XIX 4,11,8.

⁵¹⁹ Gedenkbuch

⁵²⁰ Lohmann, Schicksal 46

⁵²¹ Archives Fritzlar XIX 4,11,8

⁵²² Archives Breitenau

⁵²³ **Aron Neuhaus** had been a teacher at the Israeli School in Fritzlar. The district newspaper wrote on 6. 9. 1924:"Without a doubt a capable teacher, who for twenty years has educated the pupils of his community with great success. ... There is only one opinion about his intellectual, rousing sermons in the house of God or at the grave. Way beyond the borders of the district he has earned the esteem of many". (Archives Fritzlar XIII 2,19)

⁵²⁴ Gedenkbuch

between May and June , the married couple **Siegfried and Paula Kaufmann** to the Lublin area, where they were murdered;

also between May and June, the married couple **Siegfried-Susmann and Ella Löwenstein with their daughter Blanka II** to the area of Lublin;

at the same time, May/June, the married couple **Abraham and Friederike Stern with their daughter Herta** to the same area near Lublin;

on August 8, the married couple **Julius and Helene Joseph** to Theresienstadt and from there to Treblinka, the place of their death;

on September 15, the married couple **Julius and Emilie Baruch** and **Sara Sauer** to Theresienstadt;

from Westerbork/Holland

on February 3, **Ludwig and Herta Mansbach with three children** to the east;
from Bad Nauheim

on September 15, **Leopold Löwenstein** to Theresienstadt, he died on September 30 in Treblinka.

Data 1942

The June quarterly report states, "six Jews moved away from Fritzlar in the last quarter, one Jew died, and **four** are still there".⁵²⁵ The report is enigmatic. The last six Jews who "moved away", i.e. were deported, were **Hermann Speier** on October 31, 1941 to Sachsenhausen, and **Susmann Speier** in November 1941 to Sachsenhausen, **Josef Kugelman** on December 16, 1941 to Dachau. On October 5, **Rebecka Speier** was sent to Auschwitz, on February 9 **Betti Kugelman** to Ravensbrück and on June 1 **Sofie Bacharach** to Sobibor. The one who had "died"-i.e. become a Shoah victim on January 22- was **Susmann Speier**. The four who "were still there", the last Jews to live in Fritzlar, were Susmann Speier until October 1941 as well as **Emma Boley**, **Amalie and Sophie Speier** until September 6, 1942. Frau Hempel, a "quarter Jew", was obviously counted as number four, along with the last three.

(The Jewish community was brutally liquidated. In 1934 the pressure was slightly reduced, but from 1941 there was little chance of emigrating or escaping.)

⁵²⁵ HStA Marburg 180 Landratsamt Fritzlar 2741

The final NS years 1943 – 1945

A chronology of the year 1943

Transports from Theresienstadt to Auschwitz started on **26 January**.

On **31st January** and **1st February** the remainder of the 6th army capitulated in Stalingrad.

On **18th February** Goebbels proclaimed his doctrine of total war in the Berlin sports arena.

The Jews in the Warsaw Ghetto revolted form.

On **30 April**: Jews were generally deprived of German citizenship and all their remaining property fell into the hands of the German Reich.

In **June**: The Jewish Association of Germany was dissolved because officially there were no more Jews in Germany.

On **9 October** by special decree of the German Security Headquarters, the assets of the Jewish Association were confiscated for the benefit of the Reich.

The pastoral letter of the Catholic bishops on **12 September** came much too late: "Killing per se is bad, even if carried out in the pretence that it is in the interest of the common good, such as the killing of: the innocent and defenceless mentally ill or deficient, the incurably ill and mortally wounded, the genetically impaired, new-born babies "unfit" for life, innocent hostages, disarmed prisoners of war and convicts, people of foreign race or extraction. Public authorities themselves may administer the death penalty only to criminals found deserving of said penalty."⁵²⁶ (The word "Jew" was not used in this context.)

In October, but again much too late, a Protestant religious synod in Breslau finally decides to issue a Statement against the Annihilation of Unworthy Life and Non-Aryans.

Fritzlar Jewish citizens 1943

c) Victims of the Shoah 1943 (insofar as the dates are available)

7 February: **Aron Neuhaus** in Theresienstadt

23 February: **Sara Sauer, née Gutheim**, in Theresienstadt

In February: **Otto Mark**, born in Fritzlar 1880, moved to Magdeburg 1898. probably in Majdanek

26 March: **Klara Baumann, née Mark**, in Sobibor

End of March: **Erna Mark, née Cosman**, wife of **Otto Mark**, probably in Majdanek

15 April: **Frommet Kugelmann** in Theresienstadt

28 April: **Rebekka Kugelmann** in Theresienstadt

3 May: **Robert Mark**, born in Fritzlar 1877 ,older brother of **Otto**, moved to Allenstein and then Königsberg, in Theresienstadt

28 June: **Johanna Fried, née Mark**, in Theresienstadt

e) Houses and real estate 1943

1) **The Jewish cemetery**: On January 20, the regional governor declared the cemetery closed by police order. This meant that any further burials were prohibited. On June 30, the governor annulled "the Jewish cemetery rights".⁵²⁷ Contrary to Jewish burial rites, the right to use of the grave was limited to 30 years. As the cemetery had been "aryanized", the laws on municipal cemeteries were then in force. On August 27, the governor's order was extended to include the vacant area of the cemetery. The occupied and vacant areas were to be separated by a fence or a hedge.⁵²⁸

⁵²⁶ Groß 41

⁵²⁷ Archiv Fritzlar XIII 2,1,11

⁵²⁸ Archiv Fritzlar XIII 2,1,11

During a bomb attack on Fritzlar on February 21 and 22, 1942, most of the bombs struck the Jewish cemetery and the surrounding areas. Some details about the damage can be gathered from a report by Mr. Hans Oppenheim, the Jewish intermediary of the Jewish Association of Germany in Kassel. On May 17, 1943, he drew up a list of all those who were buried in the Jewish cemetery in "Schladenweg", supplying first names, surnames, dates of birth and death, i.e. as far as the inscriptions were still legible. After having inspected the cemetery, he wrote: "The cemetery suffered considerable devastation. Numerous tombstones were knocked over and shattered and fires had been raised. The hedge facing the street was partially doused with acid, causing the trees of life to die."⁵²⁹ Oppenheim did not mention whether the damage had been caused during the night of the pogrom in 1938 or the air raid in 1942.



On January 27, the mayor wrote: "Actual graves take up about 1/3 of the cemetery. This area will not be eligible for development for the next 25 or 30 years. As it will cause expenses during this time, no value can be attributed to it in any way. It must be taken into consideration that this particular part is bordered by the street. Further development of the remaining property would be very difficult and expensive because parts of it would have to be levelled first, which would be extremely costly. Many years will pass before this area can be developed. In addition, the selling price of 1.50 RM per square meter is much too expensive. The town will therefore not consider purchasing this property at the moment. However, I wish to state that, as the town is still a prospective buyer, it cannot be sold to private investors..."⁵³⁰ On June 30, the regional governor annulled the Jewish cemetery rights. Correspondence took place with the Jewish Association in Germany (Saxony-Thuringia district) concerning the price per square meter.

2) **Synagogue property:** On March 10, the town signed a contract for the purchase of the synagogue plot. The purchase price of 845 RM was transferred to a special account ("property returns") of the Jewish Association in Germany.⁵³¹ Six months later, on September 9, the German Security Office decreed the confiscation of the assets of the Jewish Association for the benefit of the Reich.

3) **Houses:** On March 25, **Susmann Speier**, who had been killed in Sachsenhausen on January 22, 1942, was still regarded as the house owner by the

⁵²⁹ HHStA Wiesbaden Best. 365-25 Nr. 202ff. For a list of all gravestone inscriptions and names see P: Lohmann, Hier waren wir zu Hause see 355-398

⁵³⁰ Archiv Fritzlar XIII 2,1,11

⁵³¹ Archiv Fritzlar XIII 2,1,11

insurance company. On July 15, the list of tenants for the house on Fraumünster Street 2 was drawn up with the harmless sounding remark: "After the owner Susmann Israel Speier moved away".⁵³² On March 25, **Hans Hermann and Sophie Speier** were still regarded as the owners of the house at Martinsgasse 18, even though Hermann had been killed in Sachsenhausen on February 11, 1942, and Sophie had been deported to Theresienstadt on September 7, 1942. On July 15, it was harmlessly noted that the proprietor had "moved away".

The town listed the repair costs of Jewish houses from 1941 to 1943 for the houses belonging to **Kugelman, the Speier sisters and Susmann Speier**.⁵³³ On January 4, the Jewish assets department of the Homberg tax office received the following registered letter: "re: the Jew, **Josef Israel Kugelman**, formerly of Fritzlar.: After the Jewish married couple, Josef Israel Kugelman and his wife (**Betty Sara, née Plaut**), died and, according to the Homberg-Fritzlar district savings bank in Fritzlar their domestic assets were seized at the instigation of the bank....."⁵³⁴ (Such harmless words were used to write about murder and dispossession.) On May 6, Josef Kugelman's house, yard and garden at Fraumünster Str.19 were handed over to the town, - a gratuitous acquisition!⁵³⁵

g) Deportations 1943

The last citizens of Fritzlar to be deported were:

March.2: **Klara Baumann, née Mark**, from Westerbork to Sobibor

March.4: **Leopold Nussbaum**, from Berlin to Auschwitz

March 4: **Max Tugendreich**, from Berlin to Auschwitz

June 25: **Berta Kugelman**, from Hamburg to Theresienstadt

Data 1943

5,094 inhabitants were counted in the census of October 10.⁵³⁶ There were no more Jews in Fritzlar.

Number of Jews in Fritzlar / 1933 – 1942

Statistics-Jan.31,1933	119		
census-June 16, 1933	113	Aug.5,1938	42
census-Oct.10,1933	106	Census-Oct.10,1938	33
List-July 28,1934	95	Registered-end of Dec.1938	39
census-Oct.10,1934	86	Census-May 17,1939	29
List-June 3, 1935	89	Census-Oct.10,1940	21
census-Oct.10,1935	85	May 8,1941	11
Statistical analysis for 1936	58	Oct.7,1941	4
census-Oct.10,1936	62	Census-Oct.10,1941	0
March 1, 1937	58	Actual number	3
Oct.1,1937	52	June 1942	3(4)
List-Sept.14,1937	51	1943	0(1)

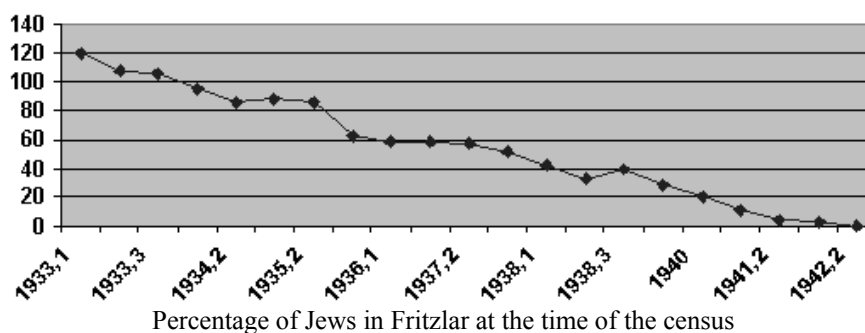
⁵³² Lohmann, Schicksal 46

⁵³³ Archiv Fritzlar XIX 4,11,8

⁵³⁴ Archiv Breitenau

⁵³⁵ Archiv Fritzlar XIX 4,11,15

⁵³⁶ Archiv Fritzlar II 2,17,2. No denominational listings



A chronology of the year 1944

June 6: The allied forces land in Normandy

July 20: Attempt made on Hitler's life

Fritzlar Jewish citizens 1944

c) Victims of the Shoah 1944 (as far as dates are available)

January 6: **Adele Mark** born in Fritzlar, who had moved to Magdeburg, died in Theresienstadt from unreported causes

Those possibly killed in Auschwitz on March 30: **Ludwig and Herta Mansbach** with their children **Günther, Hans-Jürgen** and **Otilie**

in December: **Ernst Günther Mansbach** in Stutthof

e) Houses and real estate 1944

On March 1 and July 7 sources still wrote about the "Jewish house" in Fraumünster Street 2 (formerly belonging to **Susmann Speier**) and the "Jewish house" in Martinsgasse 18 (formerly belonging to the **Speier siblings**).⁵³⁷

On March 1, the tax revenue office stated: "The **tombstones** still belong to the Jews, inasmuch as their assets have not been seized or forfeited. However, no claims by the owners can be expected. As regards the tombstones, I insist that the community must free the Reich from any claims made by the owners. Transference and registration will be withheld until the assets of the Jewish Association in Germany have been passed on to the Reich.." (Nota bene: "No claims by the owners can be expected.") Shortly thereafter, on June 22, the Reichsbauamt (the building control department) declared that the existing tombstones (in the oldest part of the cemetery) were isolated and partially demolished. The rest could be used as foundations for new houses or as an enclosure. ... The newer tombstones are also heavily damaged. They can be removed." The number of tombstones which could be sold for 5 RM each was approximately 30.⁵³⁸ (How can one expect respect for the dead when there was no respect for the living!)

g) Deportations 1944

Julius and Emilie Baruch were deported from Theresienstadt to Auschwitz on May 15.

On August 9, **Fritz and Ernst-Günther Mansbach** were taken from Riga to Stutthof. Ernst-Günther died there. Fritz was moved to Buchenwald on August 16.

On October 9, **Herta Mark, née Blitzstein**, was taken from Theresienstadt to Auschwitz and died there.

A chronology of the NS year 1945

Auschwitz was liberated on **January 27**.

⁵³⁷ Lohmann, Schicksal 46

⁵³⁸ Archiv Fritzlar XIII 2,1,11

On **April 22**, shortly before he committed suicide, Adolf Hitler made his political last will and testament. Theo Sommer wrote: "It was bursting with tirades against the Jews and their helpers. ...In his final sentence he demanded that the nation's leaders and their followers enforce the racial laws meticulously and that they fight mercilessly against the poisoners of all the peoples of the world, - international Jewry!"⁵³⁹

On **May 5**, Dachau, Bergen-Belsen, Buchenwald and Ravensbrück were liberated.

At 2:41 a.m. on **May 7**, Germany's unconditional capitulation was signed and came into effect the following day (May 8) at midnight.

Fritzlar Jewish citizens 1945

c) Victims of the Shoah 1945 (as far as dates are available)

On January 5, **Fritz Mansbach** died in Buchenwald.

e) Houses and real estate 1945

On January 11, the town concluded a contract for the purchase of the cemetery. Negotiations had begun on March 4, 1941. The purchasing price was 5,000 RM, - a compromise between the offer of 3,800 RM⁵⁴⁰ and the asking price of 6,900 RM. The property was leased for gardening purposes.(No one in the town council expected the Jews to return.)

The area with gravestones is still a Jewish cemetery. Today, the rest is a public playground

g) The death marches 1945

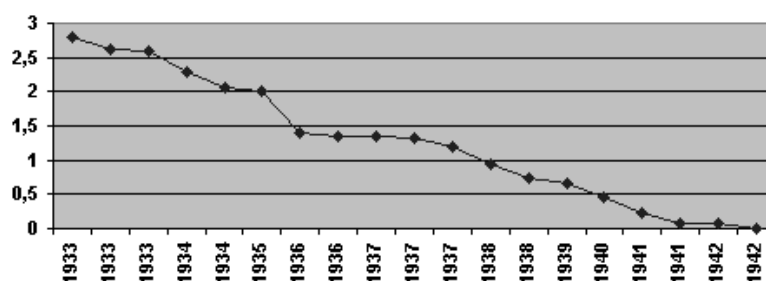
Ruth Stern and others were driven from Riga to Stutthof and from there to Thorn, often without food and water. She came down with typhus and wanted to put an end to her misery. She crawled to an electrified fence but was stopped by one of her fellow inmates. She was freed by the Soviets in April. She survived and married **Mr. Nebel**.⁵⁴¹

Sidonie Bachmann, née Mansbach, most likely underwent the same ordeal. She probably died in Stutthof.

Data

Percentage of the Fritzlar Jews relative to the total population:

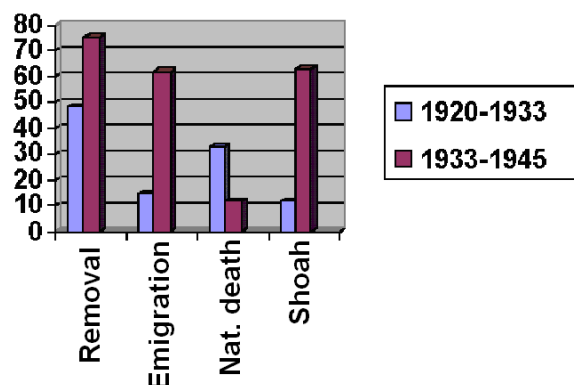
1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943
2.8	2,28		1.4	1.34	0.93	0.65	0.47	0.23	0.07	0
2.62	2.06	2.0	1.35	1.31	0.73			0.08	0	
2.6				1.2						



⁵³⁹ Sommer 74

⁵⁴⁰ On October 8, 1943 and on March 17, 1944, the town had made an offer of a mere 1,000 RM. (Archiv Fritzlar XIII 2,1,11)

⁵⁴¹ Nebel in Bridenthal, When biology 334f. Here she describes her terrible experiences in the concentration camps.



The graph explains how brutally the Jewish community was exterminated. In 1934, the pressure was reduced temporarily, and as from 1941, the possibilities of moving away or escaping became fewer and fewer..

survey of Jewish persons mentioned until now

year	Emi-grated	Age without children	Moved away	Age without children	Natural death	Depor- ted	Victims of Shoah	leavers
1933	11	20-48	11	30-67, 80	2	-	-	24
1934	4	18-31	8	20-63, 87	2	-	-	14
1935	10	28-41	7	32- 70	2	-	-	19
1936	13	42-56	2	27-29	2	-	-	17
1937	5	26-30	10	27- 89	2	-	-	17
1938	9	30- 67	7	19- 70	2	-	1	19
1939	8	32-43	8	18-65	-	-	-	16
1940	0	-	16	31- 73	-	-	-	16
1941	0	-	0	-	1	7	-	8
1942	0	-	0	-	1	4	(7)	5
Total	60		69		14	11	1 (7)	155

Please note the age of emigrants and movers.

Between 1933 and 1942, **167** Jews known by name lived in Fritzlar for a shorter or longer period of time. According to existing documents, **15** of them died of natural causes, one woman who was $\frac{1}{4}$ Jewish remained undisturbed, **70** were able to emigrate, five of whom became Shoah victims at a later time. A total of **68** became Shoah victims, 6 of whom survived. In the case of **13** others it is still uncertain as to where and how their lives ended. In the previous time period from September 1920 to January 1933, 33 died of natural causes, 12 later became victims of the Shoah, 57 moved away from Fritzlar and 15 emigrated.⁵⁴² The differences are quite apparent and tell of oppression, destruction and extermination. Only very few of those who were unable to emigrate or flee from Germany survived. Unfortunately, there were many perpetrators, even more passive spectators and very few helpers. May we never again experience such contempt for human beings or their extermination.

Time period	Permanent emigration	Natural death	Shoah
Sept. 1920-Jan.1933 ⁵⁴³	15	33	(12) Nazi period
Feb. 1933-May 1945	61	15	68

⁵⁴² Archiv Fritzlar II 2,17,2

⁵⁴³ The evidence for the time before 1933 can be found in the book: Lohmann, P: Hier waren wir zu Hause

It is striking to note that of the 69 emigrants, 36 emigrated directly from Fritzlar and 33 after a temporary stopover. In contrast, only 3 were deported directly from Fritzlar whilst 65 others were temporarily detained elsewhere.

Jan. 31,1933-1944	directly from Fritzlar	after moving away	total
Shoah victims	3	65	68
Emigrated	37, permanently	33	70
Natural death	10	5	15
Survived	2	3	(5 out of 68)
Unsolved	-	13	13
Spared	1	-	1

total:

167

The years of transition: 1945 – 1949

The returnees 1945

1) On May 5, the Americans liberated 21 year old **Berta Kugelmann** from a concentration camp in Lensing, Austria, an external camp of Mauthausen. She had been interned in the camp from June 25, 1943 to May 5, 1945. She reported, "Speechless and disbelieving, we watched our SS guards flee. We were free. The American soldiers distributed food and medicine, but we were warned not to eat too much because it would be unbearable for our emaciated and famished bodies. I ran out into the sunlight and picked alpine flowers for our hospital ward. I then contacted the Americans and asked them to have the Red Cross send a message to my sister and brother in America, informing them that I was still alive. I worked as a volunteer in the clinic until the camp was dissolved."⁵⁴⁴

Bertel Kugelmann went to Fritzlar with a co-inmate to search for her mother, without knowing at the time that her mother had been murdered. (Her mother had been killed four months after her father.) She recounted, "Travelling was extremely arduous due to the exceptional conditions in the initial post-war period. In addition, we had no money. We climbed onto freight trains and reached my hometown after several days. Many people recognized me as we slowly made our way from the train station, across the Eder bridge and into the town. We went to the mayor, who gave me a letter for the bank where we still had some money. I received some of our money there. The mayor offered to help me if I decided to stay in the town, but I didn't want to. I had been deprived of my parents, my youth and even of my humanity. How could I remain there, waiting until I was able to leave all these frightful memories behind me. Instead, I took steps to sell our house and a plot of land.



Then I went to our friends in our old neighbourhood. First they gazed at me in total amazement. Then Ms. V., the neighbour, exclaimed, "Jesus and Maria, Kugelmann's little Berta is here! Children, come and see a miracle!" They embraced me and urged me to tell them what had happened. They told me how my parents had been picked up and taken away. They also informed me that only a few days before my brother **Max**, who was a soldier in Eisenhower's liberation forces, had come to their house with a rifle hanging across his chest and asked everyone how they could have allowed my parents to be taken away."

Ms. Kugelmann learned of the death of her mother in a letter from her uncle, **Dr. Max Plaut**, who wrote her on August 26 from Tel Aviv, "Your dear mother lost her life in Auschwitz. I knew that before you were deported to Theresienstadt, but I didn't have the heart to tell you. I do not wish to leave you in uncertainty about her fate any longer, and I want to save you from seeking and making further inquiries in vain. Now the time has come to begin a new and happier future with courage and with confidence, and I sincerely wish to help you and care for you as in earlier times."

Ms. Kugelmann attended religious services in Bad Wildungen, where they were held by Chaplain Abramowitz in the house of the Hammerschlags, her relatives. There she met **Gerda Rosenthal**, who worked as a secretary for the United States commander in Fritzlar and then became her best friend. Gerda Rosenthal originated from Gdansk and was initially in the Warsaw Ghetto with her parents and sister.

⁵⁴⁴ Kugelmann, Wochenspiegel: Steven Spielberg produced a video of Ms. Kugelmann's survival report (Survivors of the Shoah, visual history foundation, Los Angeles) in 1997.

From there she was deported to various other concentration camps before she was finally liberated near Fritzlar.

Ms. Kugelman recalled, "During all those years of severe trial, I had kept the addresses of my brother and sister in New York in my memory. Although both had moved and married in the meantime, the Red Cross found their current addresses. When they learned that I had survived, they immediately began to take care of the immigration formalities for me. It took another full year before I was able to leave."

Ms. Kugelman took charge of the renovation of her **parental home**. She managed her parents' house from November 1945 to June 18, 1946. Thereafter, **Levi Gutheim** took over the duties.⁵⁴⁵

Ms. Kugelman and Ms. Rosenthal often went to Jewish services in Bad Wildungen. Both are mentioned in a list of inhabitants from June 19, 1946.⁵⁴⁶ The emigration papers had been completed after approximately one year, and both were on the same ship bound for the United States. Ms. Kugelman reported, "In June of 1946, I left Hamburg on one of the many ships carrying refugees and survivors. On June 18, we reached the harbour in New York. When I saw the Statue of Liberty, tears came to my eyes. My new life had begun."⁵⁴⁷

In the U.S.A., Ms. Kugelman first lived in New York with her sister **Irene Baruch**. From there, she continued with the renovation of her **house** in Fraumünster Street. On May 8, 1947, the mayor informed her, "My decision to have the municipal treasury bear the resulting costs has been rejected by the town financial commission. The matter has been referred to the district administrator for further negotiation."⁵⁴⁸ On December 16, 1949, the house, yard and garden (Fraumünsterstr.19), which the town had acquired gratuitously on May 6, 1943, were returned to the possession of Bertha Kugelman, her sister **Irene Baruch, née Kugelman** and her brother **Max Kugelman**; all residing in the U.S.A.⁵⁴⁹

Once in the U.S.A., Ms. Kugelman developed her talents through persistent determination. She pursued her studies and became the head of a nurse training program. In 1956, she married **Melvin Borowsky**, bore two sons, **Dr. Claude** and **Dr. Mark**, and was widowed in 1996 after 40 years of marriage.

In 1947, Ms. Rosenthal married **Dr. Ernst Kraft**, a radiologist in New York. **Edith**, their daughter, was born in 1948 and is a music professor in New York today. Ms. Kugelman still remains in contact with her.

2) **Rosalia Neuhaus** survived the concentration camp in Theresienstadt and was liberated on May 5. The author has no knowledge of her whereabouts.

3 and 4) After their liberation in Theresienstadt, the sisters **Amalie** and **Sophie Speier** moved into a Jewish home for senior citizens (Gagern Street 36) in Frankfurt am Main.⁵⁵⁰ According to a letter from the local welfare department, they were

⁵⁴⁵ Archiv Fritzlar XIX 4,11,14

⁵⁴⁶ Archiv Fritzlar II 2,15,3,4; Archiv Arolsen

⁵⁴⁷ Kugelman, Wochenspiegel

⁵⁴⁸ Archiv Fritzlar XIX 4,11,14

⁵⁴⁹ Archiv Fritzlar XIX 4,11,15

⁵⁵⁰ "The return of the prisoners from Theresienstadt was delayed for lack of means of transportation." "The permission to fetch the 362 survivors wasn't given until July." "There were no apartments available for the detainees returning from the camps to Frankfurt. Emergency accommodations were provided for those returning from Theresienstadt on the grounds of the former Jewish hospital in Gagern Street." The former Jewish hospital on Gagern Street 36 had only been partially destroyed. In addition to the emergency accommodations, a home for the aged and infirm for 50 persons was erected. (C.Kugelman in Kingreen 445 – 47)

expected to return to Fritzlar on October 2, 1945, but they did not want to go back.⁵⁵¹ On May 25, 1946, a letter from Frankfurt stated, "They were brought here (to Frankfurt) collectively from Theresienstadt. Due to old age and illness, it was necessary to admit them to a home for the aged."⁵⁵²

Levi Gutheim, who was managing their house, wrote to the mayor on November 25, 1946, "Amalie and Sophie Speier, presently in a home for senior citizens in Frankfurt, request that the welfare department bear all present costs", - the rental income from their house in Martinsgasse was still being transferred to a frozen account at that time.⁵⁵³ Initially, the town had assumed management of the houses of **Sophie Speier** (Martinsgasse 18), **Josef Speier** (Gießener Str. 25), **Susmann Speier** (Fraumünsterstr. 2) and of **Moritz Speier's** garden (Gartengässchen).⁵⁵⁴ Thereafter, Levi Gutmann assumed responsibility. On March 4, 1948, he approved the demolition of Speiers' barn and the restoration of Josef Speier's house.⁵⁵⁵

5) **Ruth Stern, Abraham and Friederike Stern's** daughter, was liberated at Stutthof in April of 1945 by the Soviets, as reported above in the 1945 chronology. She fled the camp because the Russian soldiers were planning to rape the women. After the war was over, she adventurously made her way back to Fritzlar. She looked to find her parents and siblings, but no one in Fritzlar knew what had become of them. Distressed, she wept bitterly and moved on to Eschwege with a female survivor from that city. There, the American soldiers took good care of them.

Ruth Stern fell in love with **Hans Nebel**, a German Jew who had survived Auschwitz because he had worked as a tailor for the SS. Ms. Stern regained her joy of living, and her nightmares gradually faded. She married Hans Nebel on June 30, 1946. No relatives were there to attend the wedding. She learned that her parents and her sisters, **Hertha** and **Erna**, had died in Auschwitz. The Nebels emigrated to the United States. When she saw the Statue of Liberty, she thought, "She has been waiting for us! Her torch is burning especially for us! For those who had to live in utter darkness for so long! "At first, the couple lived in Newark, New Jersey. They intentionally did not have children. She said, "I saw children being torn away from their parents. I saw how they were beaten, tortured and gassed. I could never live through anything like that again. The memories do not fade. I still suffer and am filled with anger because my family was taken away from me. But I did not allow the Holocaust and my dreadful past experience to embitter me so much that I could not love again. I love deeply, and I love life. Those of us who suffered through the Holocaust can testify to the importance and preciousness of life. May no one ever have to endure what we endured. Never again!"⁵⁵⁶ Ms. Nebel does not wish to speak or hear any German. She can neither forgive nor forget.

Citizenship

In April 1948, a law passed by the Federal Council of States (Länderrat) confirmed the validity of the Nazi penal expatriation acts! Although the statutes of the "Basic Law" of the Federal Republic of Germany, dated May 8, 1949, gave those who had been forcibly deprived of their citizenship the right to have their citizenship reinstated, it wasn't until February 14, 1968 that the 2nd Senate of the German Federal Constitutional Court invalidated the Nazi expatriations.

⁵⁵¹ Archiv Fritzlar XI 12,8

⁵⁵² Archiv Fritzlar XVIII 1,3,20

⁵⁵³ Archiv Fritzlar XVIII 1,3,20

⁵⁵⁴ Archiv Fritzlar XIX 4,11,14

⁵⁵⁵ Archiv Fritzlar XIX 4,11,14

⁵⁵⁶ Nebel in Bridenthal 334f; a letter of hers in Gilles-Carlebach 325f; Portraits of Survival: Life Journeys During the Holocaust and Beyond, Jewish Federation of Greater Santa Barbara

Jewish property and return moves 1945 -1949

When **Bertha Goldmann** emigrated to Palestine in 1938 (see above), the town acquired her house and yard (Nikolaus Street 10) on June 2, 1938. The town council released the house on September 20, 1949.⁵⁵⁷

Norbert Lichtenstein of New York laid claim to the house of **Frieda Katz**, who had received the house next to the synagogue from her aunt **Blumenfeld**.⁵⁵⁸

Josef Speier, who used to live on Gießener Street 25 and had emigrated to the U.S.A. in 1936, sent a letter inquiring about his house on January 25, 1947. He was informed that the tax and revenue office in Homberg had collected the rent for the four-family house from October 1938 to May 1, 1946 and that the finance department of the American Military Government along with Levi Gutheim as trustee had taken on responsibility thereafter.⁵⁵⁹

In 1946, at the age of 83, **Levi Gutheim** had assumed the responsibility of holding the once Jewish properties in Fritzlar-Homberg County in escrow.

Levi Gutheim ran an artificial fertilizer and grain business, which he had to close in 1933, in Ungedanken, where he resided and had been born on September 29, 1863. After that he became the proprietor of a general store and an inn. He was first married to Karoline, née Hony, with whom he had two children, Hermann and Minna. Minna was later married to Rosenthal and became a victim of the Shoah along with her husband and children.

SA henchmen often attacked and beat Levi Gutheim. His son, Hermann, was killed during such an attack on February 24, 1937. The death certificate states, "He was found dead at 7:30 p.m." He was registered in the Jewish death register of Fritzlar on February 26, 1937.

In September, 1942, Levi Gutheim was deported to Theresienstadt where he spent 32 months in the ghetto before being liberated on May 8, 1945. On June 30, 1945, the newspaper "Hessische Post", reported that Levi Gutheim and Olga Kallmann-Gutheim, both of Ungedanken, had been liberated in Theresienstadt. They were released on July 24, 1945. The "Hessische Post" reported on August 25, "Levi Gutheim and his wife, both of Ungedanken, are back."

Levi Gutheim's second wife was **Olga Kallmann-Gutheim, née Ehrenhaft**, a widow, born in Troppau on April 8, 1874. She had been deported to Theresienstadt in April of 1942. After 37 months of incarceration, she was liberated and then released on July 17, 1945.

On June 30, 1945, the "Hessische Post" published a list of those who had been liberated in Theresienstadt, among them were **Levi Gutheim** and **Olga Kallmann-Gutheim** of Ungedanken. The **Speier sisters** were not on the list. On August 25, the newspaper reported about the reception of the Gutheims.⁵⁶⁰

Levi Gutheim returned to Ungedanken and was the only returnee in Fritzlar – Homberg County who lived in his former house after the war.

Only 13 businesses were included on a list of all the former Jewish enterprises in the community of Fritzlar that had been "aryanized".⁵⁶¹ On this list dated February 9, 1946, there is a note referring to the manufactured goods business on Fraumünster

⁵⁵⁷ Archiv Fritzlar XIX 4,11,15

⁵⁵⁸ Archiv Fritzlar XIX 4,11,15

⁵⁵⁹ Archiv Fritzlar XI 12,27

⁵⁶⁰ Hessische Post June 30, 1945

⁵⁶¹ The alleged ignorance of the municipal authorities regarding the Jewish citizens of Fritzlar is shameful. On February 9, 1946, 13 businesses were listed as having been "aryanized". 18 were named on February 27 and on March 6, 1947. In reality, there had been 28. (see appendix 7; Archiv Fritzlar XIII 3,1,19 and XIX 4,11,11)

Street 22, which had formerly belonged to **Joseph Löwenstein**, "present owner Jew **Mojzesz Lehmann**." He was from Lublin and had been born on May 18, 1896. Up to that time, he was the first and only Jew, except for Bertel Kugelmann, who had settled in Fritzlar after the war. He was on the list of inhabitants in 1945.⁵⁶²

In addition to Ms. **Kugelmann** and the **Lehmans**, **Berthold Bonem** and his wife **Nelly** moved into the area no later than 1946. On June 30, 1946, the five of them were on the electoral list.⁵⁶³ Mr. **Sauber** arrived somewhat later.⁵⁶⁴

On October 1, 1947, **nine** Jews were listed in a chart for the county of Fritzlar-Homberg, - "Germans of Jewish extraction in the State of Hesse."⁵⁶⁵ The DP (displaced persons) camp of the UNRRA in Fritzlar was not mentioned in the list and was not even taken into consideration, probably because those Jews were not considered to be inhabitants of the town of Fritzlar.⁵⁶⁶ In December of 1949, the census counted **seven** persons of the Jewish faith.

Landed property of the Jewish community

In addition to the houses of the **Kugelmann** and **Speier** families (see above), the town managed the **Jewish cemetery**, the lot on which the demolished **synagogue** was located and the former **Jewish school** in accordance with a compilation dated February 5, 1946.⁵⁶⁷

1) **Jewish cemetery**: The initial restoration of the cemetery began on November 29, 1945, and 50 gravestones, 22 of which had received new foundations, were re-erected on April 24, 1946.⁵⁶⁸ On February 27, 1946, the mayor informed the district administrator that the graves and the cemetery complex had been restored. However, this does not appear to be correct, as evidenced by a letter dated May 8, 1947. The mayor wrote to **Ms. B. Kugelmann**, "You will be interested in hearing that we are engaged in a thorough renovation of the Israelite cemetery. In particular, a new enclosure, and a new gate as well as a memorial to those murdered are to be erected. Moreover, all the graves and pathways will be restored. The gravestones will be completed and provided with new inscriptions. In this way, we hope to make a small contribution to restoring them to their original condition."

The enclosure was completely repaired in June and July of 1947.⁵⁶⁹ After the war, **Berthold Bonem**, a Jewish newcomer, had the key to the cemetery, which suggests

⁵⁶² Archiv Fritzlar II 2,15,4. According to the list, Fritzlar had 5,600 inhabitants on April 5 1945; 5,325 in 1946;

6,381 on June 18, 1946 (3,345 were entitled to vote).

According to the census on October 29, 1946, there were 6,678 inhabitants;

6,630 on November 13, 1946 (3,657 were entitled to vote). It is obvious how quickly the population was growing. (Archiv Fritzlar I 3,1-3; II 2,12,5; 2,15,4; 2,15,17). In the HNA (local newspaper) we find the following figures:

Jan. 1, 1946: 6,272;

Jan. 1, 1947: 6,652 (HN Jan. 4, 1947)

⁵⁶³ Archiv Fritzlar I 3,2

⁵⁶⁴ None of them were on the list of businesses and companies in Fritzlar on May 10, 1945. (Archiv Fritzlar XXIII 5 B a,22,3)

⁵⁶⁵ Kropat 449

⁵⁶⁶ Kropat 461. The numbers for the following years in Fritzlar-Homberg County are:

1948: 83;

1949: 26;

1950: 22;

later: 0

⁵⁶⁷ Archiv Fritzlar XIX 4,11,14

⁵⁶⁸ Archiv Fritzlar XIII 2,28

⁵⁶⁹ Archiv Fritzlar XIII 2,28

that the cemetery was properly fenced in and could be locked at that time. On August 25, 1948, the mayor wrote to the district administrator, "The Jewish cemetery was demolished during Nazi rule. It was restored to decent conditions in agreement with the Jewish Committee⁵⁷⁰ in 1946 and 1947." The town had invested 5,000 RM.⁵⁷¹

2) **Synagogue property:** In 1948 it was originally intended to turn the premises of the former synagogue into a green area. On August 25, 1948, the mayor wrote to the district administrator, "In agreement with the Jewish committee, the town decided to sow grass in the remaining area after having cleaned it up."⁵⁷² In the end, however, the property was sold and a house was erected.

3) **The former Jewish school:** Refugees were accommodated in the school after the war. The health inspector reported on June 28, 1948, "Using wooden partitions, five rooms were erected in the former assembly hall to serve as living quarters. They are being occupied by two families. In general, the entire dwelling is very damp and unhealthy. ... The lavatory needs urgent repair."⁵⁷³

On March 31, 1949, the Jewish Restitution offered to sell the schoolhouse and the synagogue property to the town.⁵⁷⁴ Based on the release dated September 16, 1949 and in accordance with file 2135, the former school property, including the building, was transferred to the name of F.B. in Z. After 1945, A. Tschiharsch's woollen goods store was located in at least part of the building. (There is a photograph of it dating back to approximately 1950.)⁵⁷⁵

The Indemnification Law was passed on November 10, 1947. (KZ November 12, 1947) It was valid for all those who had suffered under the Nazis, not just for Jews. (HN January 10, 1948) On June 19, 1948, the currency reform took effect.

⁵⁷⁰ The Jewish Committee was part of the DP camp in the "Watterkaserne" (Watter Barracks)

⁵⁷¹ Archiv Fritzlar XIII 2,1,13

⁵⁷² Archiv Fritzlar XIII 2,1,13

⁵⁷³ Archiv Fritzlar XIII 4,2,2

⁵⁷⁴ Archiv Fritzlar XIII 2,1,13

⁵⁷⁵ Burchart 76

Displaced persons (DPs) 1945 -1949

There were two Jewish refugee camps in Fritzlar; others lived in private homes. The "Hessische Post"⁵⁷⁶ wrote in its first issue on April 28, 1945, "The care of the foreign workers is the responsibility of the German people. The liberated workers must be fed, clothed and appropriately housed until the Allied Forces are able to return them to their native countries. From now on, the German people are expected to treat all displaced persons as allies of the American troops. All displaced persons may contact the mayor of the nearest town in order to be provided with food and adequate lodging." On August 11, 1945, the "Hessische Post" wrote, "Presently, there are still 2,174,000 displaced persons in Germany who are waiting to be returned to their countries and who need to be provided with food from German food supplies."

a) The DP camp at the airport

During the final years of the war, an airplane factory was located in a man-made cave in the hills of Fritzlar where forced labourers slaved away. Newspaper witnesses testify that there were no Jews among the forced labourers during the war.

On June 19, 1945, the "Hessische Post" reported, "Liberated prisoners have arrived from the camp in Buchenwald."

Leaving Germany for other countries was made very difficult due to the immigration quotas and conditions of the various countries. "After having inspected the camps in the American occupation zone, Earl G. Harrison delivered a shocking report on the conditions in the camps for DPs on August 24, 1945 Great Britain did not accept Harrison's proposals and continued to adhere to the specified immigration quotas of 1,500 Jews per month as prescribed in the White Paper."⁵⁷⁷

The camp at the airport was still in existence for at least one year after the war. On April 2, 1946, there were 151 persons, **30** of whom were Jews. On April 15, 1946, there were still 30 Jews there. The total number, however, had dropped down slightly to 146.⁵⁷⁸

b) Private houses

On May 19, 1945, the "Hessische Post" wrote, "In Fritzlar, there are more than 4,000 persons who had been displaced by the Nazis, among them are 1,200 Hungarian Jewish women. On the initiative of some Fritzlar citizens, among them a school inspector and a school teacher, a relief organization was established with the consent of the military government. This organization, with representatives in 113 towns and villages in Fritzlar-Homberg County, collects food and clothing for these displaced girls and ensures that they have decent accommodation in German families."

The "Hessische Post" reported on May 26, 1945, "Fritzlar heals wounds. A noteworthy act! Hundreds of bedcovers, shirts and tablecloths have been collected." Kleinenglis was the seat of the relief organization, which included all the towns and villages in the county of Fritzlar-Homberg, - a total of 113 communities. "A German man set up the organization with the support of the military government in Fritzlar within 3 days. Today, the women are living in pleasant houses in Kleinenglis and in other communities in the county of Fritzlar-Homberg. The board members include a woman of Jewish faith, 2 German women and two German men.

⁵⁷⁶ Hessische Post, publisher: the American Army, April 28 to September 22, 1945

⁵⁷⁷ C.Kugelman in Kingreen 456 Anm. 10

⁵⁷⁸ Arolsen, Internationaler Suchdienst (missing persons tracing service) ISD-file DP-Camp under April 15, 1946

...Costs which cannot be covered by private contributions are shared voluntarily by the county's communities after the expenses have been carefully calculated. ... The organization's goal is to place the women in suitable homes within the entire county, with no more than 15 per house, so that they can recuperate from the difficult times they were forced to endure".⁵⁷⁹ The Hungarian Jewish women had been subjected to forced labour in Allendorf. According to statistics from 1946, it was apparently possible to either accommodate them in private homes or return them to Hungary.

c) The DP camp in Watter Barracks

The statistics provided by the International Tracing Service commence with the date of April 2, 1946. At that time, 1,439 people were lodged in the "Watterkaserne" (Watter Barracks). There were no Jews among them until June 1, 1946, at which time there were only **18** Jews among the 1,368 occupants. A few months later, i.e. on February 8, 1947, there were **1,050** Jews among the 1,069 occupants, which means that the camp was almost entirely Jewish.

Newspaper items elucidate the background of this development, "Responsible sources point to the fact that there is a well organized plan behind the influx of East European Jews into the American zone and that it is being conducted by an unknown secret organization." (HN August 10, 1946) "At the UNRRA convention in Geneva, it was made known that 1,500 Jews from Poland alone are fleeing, mainly to the American zone in Germany, on a daily basis. They are cared for by UNRRA." (HN August 15, 1946) "Growing anti-Semitism and an unforeseeable future are causing East European Jews to leave their countries." (HN August 17, 1946) Two pogroms made the threat to the Jews in Poland evident: in Kielce/Poland with 41 victims (HN July 6, 1946) and near Lublin/Poland with 10 victims. (HN July 30, 1946)

The following list shows the disproportionate distribution of the deported persons:

American zone and Austria:	156,000	
British zone:	50,000	
Italy:	22,000	(HN September 14, 1946)

On August 15, 1947, Kassel's newspaper reported, "154 Jewish deportees have left the American zone for Palestine since the beginning of the year." In a lengthier article about displaced persons the newspaper wrote, "The presence of **these people** is an extreme financial burden for us Germans." (The article made no mention of "these people's" problems or the question of Germany's guilt and responsibility!) On May 18, 1948, three days after Israel was founded, the "HN" headlines read, "The Jewish DP camps are emptying." (HN May 18, 1948) Shortly thereafter it was announced, "Over 85% of the 16,000 Jews living in DP camps in Northern Hesse have applied for immediate emigration to Israel." (HN May 22, 1948) In June of 1948, the United States Senate approved the immigration of 200,000 DPs into the U.S.A. (HN June 5, 1948)

On January 6, 1948, the HN reported, "The DP camp in Fritzlar will be moved to another area," but this never happened. On December 17, 1948, the HN mentioned the DP camp in Watter Barracks because of its high consumption of electricity. The DPs are not listed in the town statistics of December 24, 1948.⁵⁸⁰ On January 25, 1949, the HN reported a robbery in a DP guardhouse. The "Watter" camp was not completely vacated until the end of January 1949. The "Heimat-Echo" (Hometown Echo) of the HN announced tersely and without any commentary, "The residents of the DP camp left Watter Barracks on January 30 and 31." (HN Feb. 1, 1949)

⁵⁷⁹ Hessische Post May 19 and May 26, 1945

⁵⁸⁰ The official count in Fritzlar was: 5,264 local residents – 608 evacuated persons – 1,042 refugees – 130 foreigners (HN Jan. 5, '49)

The local residents remember the camp in Watter Barracks as a centre for black market trade. Black marketing was severely punished.⁵⁸¹ The HN reported from Fritzlar, "As the black market is flourishing again in our town, it is necessary to call to mind that black marketing and bartering, including such trade with foreigners, will be severely punished." (HN November 5, 1946) The situation was no different one year later: "The black market is still flourishing at the gates of the DP camp." (KZ November 26, 1947) A major article entitled "A Guide through the Black Market" appeared in the HN on February 10, 1948.

A report made by the police in Kassel for the American Military Government in January 1948⁵⁸² was also applicable to Fritzlar. The report describes the unfavourable situation regarding food and supplies and continues as follows, "Under present conditions, the population does not understand that, while they themselves live in want, foreign refugees being accommodated in Germany, predominantly Polish Jews who have never before been residents of Germany, are living like parasites, receiving food rations from German provisions that are far higher than the German ration. Their activity is one of the primary sources of black market trade. Their bad example and their behaviour give rise to anti-Semitism, which is still smouldering beneath the surface in wide circles." (The report smacks of anti-Semitism and racial pride but fails to mention the desperate situation which had brought the DPs there.)

Information about particular persons can only hint at the sorrowful life stories of the DPs.⁵⁸³

Jisrael Schmucl Zwi, son of Mordechaj, born in Tomaszov, Poland on June 1 or July 14, 1933, was buried in the local Jewish cemetery on October 23, 1947. He bears the name of **Szmul Uncyk** in the death certificate issued by the registry office in Fritzlar (143/47). He died from injuries suffered in an accident in the "Hospital zum Heiligen Geist" (Hospital of the Holy Spirit) at 4:30 a.m. on that day.. According to Red Cross Tracing Service documents, his father was named Mordechaj or Mordka or Mutka and was born in Krasnobrod/Lublin on September 8, 1905. His mother, Freida, née Panzer, was born in Tomaszow on January 1 or August 1, 1907. His sister, Hinda Riwa, was born in Sorokin/Russia on March 2, 1941. The family came to Hessisch Lichtenau on September 9, 1946 and to Fritzlar on October 28, 1946. They emigrated to Israel on 8, 17 or 27 January 1949.

Sara Wischniska, the daughter of Szmuel Nathan Wischinski and born on July 18, 1946, was buried in the local Jewish cemetery on January 30, 1948. Red Cross Tracing Service documents state that she was born in Pocking/Germany.

Her father Szmuel was born in Warsaw on June 7, 1921, spent 1940 – 1943 in the Warsaw Ghetto, was hiding in the forest 1943 – 1944 and liberated near Rembartow in August 1944. Her mother, Eldia Wiszynska, née Pelc, was born in Łódź on September 10, 1920 and was taken to the Warsaw Ghetto in November 1940. She was in the labour camp in Skarzysko in March 1943, in the labour camp Reichenbach of concentration camp "Birkenau" in August 1944, liberated May 1945. In 1945 she married in Katowice and from April 23, 1946 was in a DP camp in Pocking and from December 3, 1946 in Fritzlar. In February 7, 1949 she left Fritzlar for Israel.

It appears that the following woman Etil Wishinski, née Pelc may be Eldia's younger sister: She was born in Warsaw on September 10, 1926, fled to Russia in 1941, travelled to Pocking via Lwow in 1945 and emigrated to Israel in 1948.

⁵⁸¹ Archiv Fritzlar XXIII 1,4,8 and 1,4,9; C. Kugelmann in Kingreen 453

⁵⁸² Stadtarchiv Kassel, Best. A1.0119

⁵⁸³ IRK (International Red Cross) Tracing Service, Bad Arolsen, personal files

Mendel Wolkowicz, born in Fritzlar on September 9, 1947, was buried in the local Jewish cemetery on October 30, 1947. Documents⁵⁸⁴ state that he died in Kassel (Karlshafen Street 22) on October 30, 1947.

Mendel has a brother named **Chaskel**. According to the birth certificate (255/48) in the Fritzlar registry office, Chaskel Wolkowicz was born in the "Hospital zum Heiligen Geist" (Hospital of the Holy Spirit) in Fritzlar on November 22, 1948. Today he goes by the name of **Yecheskel Volkovich**. His father, Feiwei Wolkowicz, was a saddler (upholsterer), but at that time worked as a policeman and lived together with his wife, **Esthera, née Grinszpan**, in the army barracks in Fritzlar.



His parents lived in Łódź from 1935 to 1939 and in Balhas in Russia, where they had fled, from 1939 to 1946. They returned to Jawor in Poland in 1946, fled from there to the DC camp in Landshut on February 21, 1946, from there to the DC camp in Pocking and Lived in Watter Barracks (Watterkaserne) as from September 25, 1947. At first, they considered emigrating to the United States, where they had relatives, but then decided to go to Israel. On January 31, 1949, they travelled to the DP camp, "Camp Boelke" in Ulm. From there they took the train to Italy and then to Israel. Their son, Jecheskel, who is living in Israel with his wife Mical and has three children, reported that his parents seldom spoke about the suffering they had endured during the war. There were DP camps in which former foreign workers or prisoners of war waited to be repatriated, but there were also separate camps for the Jewish DPs which had been set up by the occupation forces and which were managed by an autonomous Jewish committee. They established their own camp administration, the "Jewish Committee", schools, kindergartens and a police force, of which Feiwei was a member.

In addition to the above-mentioned, the following persons were buried in the Jewish cemetery during the DP days:

July 7, 1946. **Brandel Zettenberg**
 May 7, 1947: **Ascher, son of Isaak Tratnauer ?**
 April 18, 1948: **Leah Keren**, daughter of Rabbi Mordechai Jechiel
 October 24, 1948: **Friedel Feldstein**, daughter of Selig Ascher⁵⁸⁵

For the Jews, the Watter Barracks camp was a "transitional camp for Jewish pioneers". They called themselves pioneers, i.e. people who wanted to emigrate to Palestine and build up the country. They described themselves as such on the memorial they erected in the Jewish cemetery in 1947. The Hebrew inscription reads as follows, "A memorial to the 6,000,000 martyred souls of Israel who were murdered in Europe at the hands of the Nazis between 5701 and 5705. Donated in

⁵⁸⁴ Document: DP registration - September 18, 1947- Int. Red Cross Tracing Service / Bad Arolsen

⁵⁸⁵ The Red Cross Tracing Service had no available information about her

everlasting memory by the Jewish pioneers of the transitional camp in Fritzlar in 5707. " The German inscription on the plinth reads, "In memory of the 6,000,000 Jews killed by Nazi murderers." The Jewish year 5707 corresponds to our year 1947. The memorial is a small granite obelisk, with the Star of David is chiselled into the stone above the inscriptions.

The town was probably involved in the erection of the memorial because the mayor wrote to Ms. Kugelman on May 8, 1947, "We are in the process of erecting a memorial to the murdered victims."

Jews in refugee camps in Fritzlar⁵⁸⁶

a) in the camp near the airport

Date	Number of Jewish DPs	Total number of camp inhabitants
April 2, 1946	30	151
April 15, 1946	30	146

b) in Watter Barracks

April 2, 1946	0	1,439
?	?	1,979
April 15, 1946	0	1,481
June 1, 1946	18	1,368
July 1, 1946	18	1,413
February 8, 1947	1,050	1,069
March 22, 1947	979	995
June 28, 1947	979	992
August 23, 1947	964	976
September 6, 1947	957	969
September 20	958	968
October 3, 1947	949	959
October 17, 1947	927	937
October 31, 1947	931	941
December 5, 1947	931	941
January 2, 1948	931	939
January 30, 1948	911	918
March 5, 1948	923	930
April 9, 1948	860	867
May 20, 1948	868	871
July 7, 1948	847	850
July 26, 1948	847	850
October 18, 1948	839	842
November 22, 1948	822	825
January 17, 1949	468	472

The Nuremberg trials, the verdicts of which were pronounced on October 1, 1946, revealed the incomprehensible crimes of the Nazi leaders to the worldwide public and documented them. These terrible atrocities contributed to the decision of the UN General Assembly on November 29, 1947 to partition Palestine in order to enable the founding of the State of Israel on a part of this territory. The declaration of independence of the State of Israel was proclaimed on May 14, 1948, the last day of the British mandate over Palestine. It states, " The State of Israel is open to Jewish immigration and to the multitude of Jews living in exile." It thus became possible for

⁵⁸⁶ Arolsen: International Tracing Service – ISD file, DP camp. See below for the exact statistics

the survivors and the Jewish DPs to immigrate to Israel. The above statistics show how quickly this opportunity was seized and implemented.

After its first issue on January 1, 1946, the "Hessische Nachrichten" (Hessian News) continued to report on the developments in former Palestine. One demand was to allow an additional 100,000 Jewish immigrants into Palestine. With regard to the resolutions of the Anglo-American Committee on May 3, 1946, the HN commented, "Palestine alone cannot accommodate all the Jewish victims of fascist persecution. The whole world is responsible for them. The committee proposes that, if possible, 100,000 Jewish victims of fascist persecution be allowed to immigrate to Palestine this year. ... The commission has come to the conclusion that the establishment of an independent Palestinian state would most certainly lead to a civil war due to the hostilities between Arabs and Jews. For this reason, it is recommended that Palestine be kept under a mandate until hostilities have ceased and the United Nations have reached agreement on the trusteeship for the territory." (HN: May 4 and August 8, 1946) A speaker of the Arab High Committee commented, "Giving 100,000 Jews permission to enter Palestine is a reason for the Arabs to no longer participate in further discussions pertaining to this matter." (HN: May 25 and October 8, 1946)

Another proposal was to divide Palestine into Arab and Jewish sectors. The bomb attack in the King David Hotel in Jerusalem on July 22, 1946 prompted the British government to propose a "Federal State of Palestine". The Arabs, however, rejected partitioning. (HN: July 23; July 30; August 3; August 8, 1946) The proposal for division provided for a state composed of three parts: a Jewish zone (15% of the country), an Arab zone (40% of the country), the southern territory (45% of the country), plus Jerusalem and Bethlehem under a central administration. At that time, there were 600,000 Jews living in Palestine. The Arabs were opposed to the plan, but the HN commentator came to the following conclusion, "This and only this is the solution to the Jewish problem, which was whipped up to a fundamental racial question by the Third Reich." (HN: August 17, 1946: This the only occasion on which the HN mentions Germany's guilt in connection with Palestine!). The "federal partitioning of Palestine" was discussed in detail at the London Palestine Conference. (HN: September 11 and September 13, 1946; January 4 and January 28, 1947) Finally the main HN headline on February 15, 1947 announced, "England offers to relinquish UN Palestine Mandate." The Arab delegation had declared that "any recommendations providing for a partition of Palestine or Jewish immigration into Palestine could not be taken into consideration as a basis for discussion on their part." For that reason, the British ended the mandate. (HN: February 15, 1947)

In order to reduce the flow of illegal immigrants into Palestine the British Government set up a camp on the island of Cyprus (HN: August 10, 1946) and often deported such illegals there. (HN: August 15 and August 20, 1946). The British navy forcibly shipped about 1,400 Jewish illegals there from Hamburg too. (KZ: September 10, 1947)

The Zionists were opposed to terror and force, which had become widespread on both Arab and Jewish sides: "The Zionist Council published a resolution outlawing acts of terror and blood shedding as instruments of political struggle." They demanded a Jewish state, (HN: November 1, 1946) whereas the Jewish underground movement, Irgun Zvai Leumi, declared open war on the Palestinian government. Just as militant was the so-called "Stern Gang". The underground organization Haganah accepted responsibility for the illegal immigration of European Jews to Palestine. (HN: March 4, 1947) Irgun Zvai Leumi called upon Jews in the entire world to wage "total war on Great Britain" and to boycott British goods. (KZ: August 27, 1947: In this

context, the Jews used words like total war and boycott, - words which are extremely onerous and burdensome for us!)

UN negotiations on Palestine began on April 28, 1947. It was said, "The Palestine question is in all probability the most difficult question which the UN has had to deal with up to the present day." (HN: April 29, 1947) Seven months later, the "**Kasseler Zeitung**" (KZ = Kassel city newspaper) reported, "The UN General Assembly accepted the proposal for the partition of Palestine by a vote of 23 to 13." The Arab states were opposed to the resolution and denied that the UN had the right to partition Palestine. (KZ: December 12, 1947) The British government had decided to end the mandate between May 1 and May 15, 1948 and to transfer all responsibility to the UN committee. (KZ: December 11, 1947) On March 25, 1948, the representative of the Jewish Agency informed the UN Security Council that a Jewish government would start work on May 16, 1948, directly after the end of the mandate. (HN: March 25, 1948) At the same time, the "Palestinian Arabs" informed the UN that they would proclaim an independent State of Palestine on May 15, 1948. (HN: April 27, 1948). King Abdullah sought a cease fire with the Jews, "which would give them the same rights and duties as the Arab citizens of Palestine. Where the Jews were in the absolute majority, they would be granted autonomy, decentralized within the Arab state." (HN: May 4, 1948) As previously announced, the State of Israel was proclaimed in Tel Aviv on **May 14, 1948**. (HN: May 15, 1948) That state was immediately recognized by the United States and the Soviet Union. In spite of heavy fighting, a mass influx of Jewish immigrants began instantly. (HN: May 18, 1948) The UN mediator, Count Bernadotte, endeavoured "to create an autonomous Jewish zone in Palestine, whereas Arab Palestine was to become part of Transjordan." (HN: June 22, 1948) Count Bernadotte was assassinated in Jerusalem on September 18, 1948, probably by the "Stern Gang". (HN: September 18, 1948) The "gang" was thereupon dissolved by the Israeli government and integrated into the Jewish army. (HN: September 20, 1948) Irgun Zvai Leumi was also disbanded. (HN: September 22, 1948) On September 24, 1948, the HN reported that a new Arab government with its own "Palestine liberation forces" (PLO) had been established in Palestine and had been accepted as the eighth member of the Arab League. (HN: September 24 and November 1, 1948) King Abdullah of Jordan was declared King of Palestine. (HN: December 9, 1948). On January 25, 1949, the HN was able to report that France and Great Britain had recognized the State of Israel.

Towards lasting memory Jewish sites in Fritzlar

Documents and sculptures remind us of the Jews of Fritzlar and the Holocaust:

Medieval stone tablets of the Passion, so called “mercy portrayals“, show Jesus with instruments of torture and may be found in the cathedral and in the Protestant Stadtkirche on Gießener Strasse. Judas is shown on these stone tablets wearing the Jews’ hat that all Jews in Fritzlar had to wear from 1259 until 1460. From 1313 on Jews in Fritzlar bore names. This portrait says: Judas is the Jewish neighbour who betrayed Jesus. This sculpture no longer represents current theology.

(13. cent.; photo L.Buddrus)



The Jewish cemetery on Schladenweg dates from 1733 at the latest. It is easily visible from the street. 150 gravestones bear witness to written and physical Jewish culture.

(1904; photo J. Grötecke)

In 1735 a Nepomuk altar was erected in the Minoriten church, today’s Protestant Stadtkirche. At the time the Jewish community was becoming established and bought its own cemetery. Perhaps as a reaction the artist crowned the Nepomuk altar with an “apocalyptic Madonna”, a portrayal of a young, pregnant woman with a garland of 12 stars. The sculptor shows Israel’s progenitrix and follows the description in Revelations 12, 1 & 2. The sculpture represents confession: salvation comes from the Jews, and through Mary, the mother of Jesus, the Christian and Jewish communities are united.

(1735; photo L. Buddrus)



When Fritzlar's first synagogue was constructed in 1781, the building was not allowed to be recognisable as a synagogue from the outside. Thus Nikolaustrasse 13 was built in the local half-timbered style. From time to time the ground floor housed the Jewish school, while the upper floor had separate men's and women's prayer rooms. Today the building is residential and there is no reminder on the exterior of its history.

(1781; photo P.Lohmann)



The Jewish year 5547 (1787 in the Christian era) in the lintel of the house at Gießener Strasse 25 is evidence of the Jewish calendar, still in use today.

(1787; photo H. Richberg)

In 1947 uprooted Jews from the displaced persons camp Watterkaserene erected an obelisk at the Jewish cemetery in memory of the six million victims of the Holocaust (inscription see above). Most of the displaced persons emigrated to Israel in 1948 and 1949. Every year on 9th November Nazi racism and its victims are commemorated at this memorial.

(1947; photo J. Grötecke)



In 1981 Dr. M. Diederich and vicar Althaus of the Protestant community initiated the mounting of a bronze plaque on Nikolausstrasse, where once the new synagogue had stood. The plaque carries the following text:

*On this street stood in the Middle Ages a religious court and, from 1896 to 1939,
The Synagogue of the Jewish Community
which the Nazi demon desecrated and destroyed*



(1981; photo HNA)

Also in 1981 vicar Althaus suggested an annual silent march on 9th November to commemorate the victims of the Holocaust. Since then the route has led from the former new synagogue to the memorial at the Jewish cemetery. Alternating representatives of both Christian churches hold short speeches at the start and the finish, and warn that the Holocaust must never be repeated. It is made clear that racial hatred and pride lead to contempt for humanity and murder.

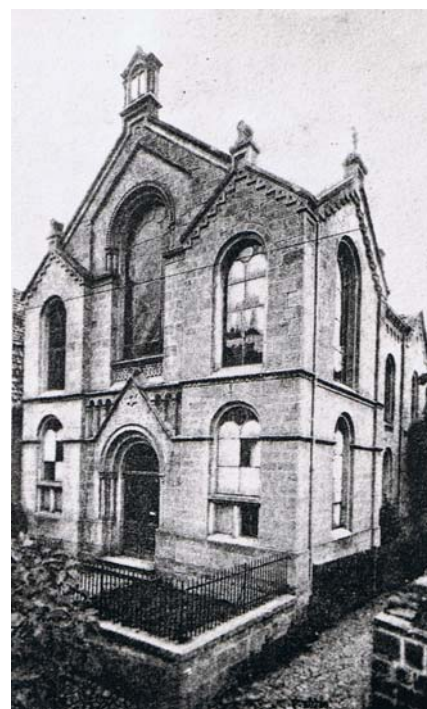
Mr C. Lohmann ensured that the small connecting street between Neustädter Strasse and Nikolausstrasse, which borders the plot on which the former new synagogue stood, was named Judengasse (Jews Lane). The lane had not previously had a name. And since the previous Judengasse (known as such since the Middle Ages) had been renamed Martinsgasse in 1933, this was intended as a form of compensation.

In 1988 retired vicar P. Lohmann had another commemorative plaque made.

The synagogue, the Jewish house of prayer, once stood in the front garden on the other side of the street. It was built and consecrated in 1896/97, desecrated and destroyed on 8th and 9th November 1938, and torn down in December 1938, but not forgotten!

On 28 April 1998 the State Bureau for the Conservation of Historic Monuments authorized the tablet to be mounted on the wall belonging to the local council opposite the former synagogue plot. Later, the bronze plaque commemorating the synagogue lower down on the same wall was moved alongside. Every year the silent march on 9th November starts from this spot on a public street and leads to the Jewish memorial in the Jewish cemetery, whose key is kept at the police station on Schladenweg.

(1897; photo HNA)





Between 2005 and 2007 the Cologne artist Günter Demnig created 72 Stolpersteine (literally, stumbling blocks), or special cobblestones, each with the name and personal details of a victim of the Holocaust. They were placed in the pavement or street outside the house where the person had lived. Some stumbling blocks were not authorized by the current property owners and are stored in the town archives.

(2005; photo W. Hrycak)

In addition to real historical witnesses and those in sculpture, brochures and books have been written and published:

1988: Dagmar and Clemens Lohmann: *Das Schicksal der jüdischen Gemeinde Fritzlar 1933-1945 (The Fate of the Jewish Community in Fritzlar 1933-1945)*, 104 pages, publisher - Geschichtsverein Fritzlar (*Historical Society Fritzlar*)

1999: Paulgerhard Lohmann and Jechiel Ogdan: *Jüdische Kultur in Fritzlar (Jewish Culture in Fritzlar)*, 48 pages, publisher - Geschichtsverein Fritzlar

2002: Paulgerhard Lohmann: *Hier waren wir zu Hause, Sonderdruck NS-Zeit (This Was Our Home, Nazi era special publication)*, 84 pages, Books on Demand

2002: Paulgerhard Lohmann: *Hier waren wir zu Hause, die Geschichte der Juden von Fritzlar 1096-2000 (This Was Our Home, The History of the Jews in Fritzlar 1096-2000)*, 532 pages, Books on Demand

2002: Paulgerhard Lohmann: *Hier waren wir zu Hause (This Was Our Home)*, 536 pages, Books on Demand, ISBN 3-8311-4579-2

2006: Paulgerhard Lohmann: *Jüdische Mitbürger in Fritzlar 1933-1949 (The Jews of Fritzlar)*, 116 pages, Books on Demand, ISBN 3-8334-4417-7

2006: Paulgerhard Lohmann: *Jewish Fellow Citizens at Fritzlar 1933-1949*, 135 pages, Books on Demand, ISBN 3-8334-4418-5

2008: The two most recent publications above are now published in revised and amended editions.

Houses may be torn down, signs destroyed and stones removed, but books are carefully preserved in archives. May this book serve as a long-term reminder.

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1. Elections 1933

Results of the **elections to the Reichstag**, votes in thousands and seats (selection):

	4.5.1924	7.12.1924	20.5.1928	14.9.1930	31.7.1932	6.11.1932	5.3.1933
NSDAP	1.918.300 32	907.300 14	810.100 12	6.409.600 107	13.745.800 230	11.737.000 196	17.265.800 288
SPD	6.008.900 100	7.881.000 131	9.153.000 153	8.577.700 143	7.959.700 133	7.247.900 121	7.176.505 125
KPD	3.693.300 62	2.709.100 45	3.264.800 54	4.559.100 77	5.282.600 89	5.980.100 100	4.845.379 81
Zentrum	3.914.400 65	4.118.900 69	3.712.200 62	4.127.900 68	4.589.300 75	4.230.600 70	4.423.161 73

NSDAP = National Socialists; SPD = Social Democrats; KPD = Communists ; Zentrum = Catholics On March 15th. the Homberger Kreisblatt wrote in advance that the Communist members of parliament would not be sent their parliamentary identity papers and that they would not be assigned rooms.

Results of the **elections to the Reichstag (Fritzlar)**

	1928	1929	1930	Apr. 1932	Juli 1932	März 1933
Zentrum	895	826	937	941	1016	1020
SPD	403	454	565	312	305	250
NSDAP	10	25	196	617	555	756

Population of Fritzlar

1933 1934 1941
 4.116 (**115 Jews**); 4.581 (2.473 Cath. 1.993 Prot. **86 Jews**, 29 other); 4.760 (2.208 Prot. **3 Jews**)

Elections to the **Prussian Landtag** (State Parliament) on 5.3.1933

Party	Votes	Seats
NSDAP	10.310.186	210
SPD	3.960.716	79
KPD	3.135.851	63
Zentrum	3.367.696	68

Local elections on 12.3.1933

NSDAP in Fritzlar	736 votes.....	23 MPs
SPD	237.....	9
KPD	146.....	3
Zentrum	1.011.....	5

Kampffront Schwarz-weiss-rot (German National People's Party)3
Number of eligible voters living in Fritzlar: 2.681⁵⁸⁷

Elections to the **Fritzlar-Homberg Kreis (district) assembly** on 12.3.1933
 The candidates for Fritzlar were elected
NSDAP: two one of 15
 SPD: two. one of 7
 KPD: none
 Zentrum: five one of 1
 Kampfront Schwarz-weiß-rot one of 1

Elections to the Fritzlar town parliament on 12.3.1933			
Party	Votes	Seats	
	NSDAP	399	3
SPD	?	-	
KPD	62	0	
Zentrum	991	8	
Employees	188	1	
Citizens	139	1	
Protestant List	309	2	⁵⁸⁸

Reichstag Elections 12.11.1933

Turnout 95.20%
 Eligible 45 176 713,
 Votes 43 053 616;
NSDAP 39 655 212 = **92.2%**; invalid 3 398 404
 Fritzlar district: 19 364 (on 5.3.: 10.104) NSDAP; eligible: 19.687; invalid 44

Referendum

Votes 43 491.575, turnout 96,3%
Yes 40 632 628 = **95.1%**; **No** 2 101 191; invalid 757 756.
 Fritzlar district: 19.388 **Yes**; 11 **No**

Jews in Hessen and Germany

17.888 Jews were living in **Hessen** in 1933 or **1.29%** of the population.
 In June 1933, **503.000** Jews lived in **Germany**; i.e **0.76 %** of the population.

2. Act of Enabling, March 1933

On **March 21st, 1933** the Reich cabinet passed a "Law to eliminate the hardship suffered by the Reich and the People" as a bill to be submitted to the German Reichstag. Article 1 stated "Laws of the Reich can... also be passed by the government". Article 2 stated "the Laws of the Reich passed by the government may differ from the constitution of the Reich...." Hence, "all legislation passes into the hands of the Government, primarily into the hands of the Reich Chancellor."

On **March 24th, 1933** the bill was presented to the Reichstag by the NSDAP and the German National People's Party. Hitler declared, "In November 1918 Marxist organisations seized the executive power by means of a revolution. Based on the Liberalism of the previous century as a pacesetter for social democracy, this development of destruction will, as a matter of course, end in Communist chaos. The elimination of Communism in Germany is a purely internal German issue. The national government considers the two Christian religions to be important factors in preserving our national character and traditions.... The rights of the Church will not be curtailed; their position in respect to the State will not be changed. The central focus of the Law is not the individual, but the

⁵⁸⁷ Fritzlar archives I 2,20

⁵⁸⁸ FKA 13.3.1933

People. Treason, and especially high treason will in future be suppressed with barbaric ruthlessness.”

A two-third majority was necessary to pass this law. Votes in favour:

NSDAP	288 (en bloc)
Zentrum	73 (en bloc „out of a sense of national responsibility“)
German national People’s Party	52 (en bloc)
Bavarian People’s Party	19 (en bloc)
German People’s and Farmers’ Party	8 (en bloc)
Others	1

In total: **441**; the two-thirds majority of 647 MPs was 432!

SPD voted against with (only) 94 votes (“because of the recent persecutions”; it seems that 31 SPD MPs stayed away).

The 81 Communist MPs had been arrested and were not permitted to take part in the vote.

The Reichsrat voted unanimously in favour.

3. Boycott of Jewish businesses and practices, March/April 1933

As early as **March 17th** 1933, the Lord Mayor, the Mayor and the NSDAP MPs Weinrich and Dr. Freisler made the following appeal to the citizens of Kassel: “House owners: give jobs to the German craftsmen in Kassel! German housewives: do your shopping at German shops!” (Up until then it was not stated that German Jews were not considered to be Germans.)

For the first time on **March 25th**, the Homberger Kreisblatt reported that the foreign press “rambled on about Jewish pogroms and the barbaric treatment of political prisoners.”

On **March 26th** Göring appealed to the foreign press: “The government would never tolerate that someone suffers persecution merely because he is a Jew. Jewish civil servants were only dismissed because they were Social Democrats..... Not only unsuccessful Marxism, but the Jews themselves were to blame for the slander campaign (by the. foreign press) against Germany.” The minister referred to the rogation services and protest marches which took place in America and stated that “Social Democrats and Jews in other countries certainly did their comrades a great disservice with their slander campaign against a State which protected the Jews.” (what hypocrisy!)

The (Reichs-) Association of Jewish Veterans addressed a letter to the American embassy in Berlin stating the following: “In our opinion it is high time that the unjustifiable agitation against Germany by so-called Jewish intellectuals abroad should be stopped.”

On **March 27th** the Homberger Kreisblatt headlined: “Defensive action against the Hate Campaign” On the front page the word “Boycott” appeared for the first time, but was not explained.⁵⁸⁹ The American Chamber of Commerce in Cologne telegraphed to the U.S Chamber of Commerce “that the boycott movement violates fundamental American interests”.

On Tuesday, **March 28th** the following headline appeared in the Kreisblatt: “ Aggressive defence measures to be taken against international Jewish agitation propaganda” and wrote about the “defensive struggle against the international Jewish atrocity and boycott propaganda”. “It is reported that already today orders will be issued to organise a massive movement to form boycott committees against Jewish shops in Germany as a reply to boycott threats by international Jewry . At the same time, there is to be an enormous flood of propaganda expressly demanding that the numerus clausus (i.e. a restricted number) should be applied to the participation of Jews in particular academic professions and public institutions. More than eight million Germans are unemployed and our own intelligentsia-proletariat numbers several hundreds of thousands. In spite of this, the German people has allowed hundreds of thousands of Jewish intellectuals to pursue these academic professions. It is mainly these Jewish academics who, in gratitude for this, today disparage Germany in the eyes of the world in a really shameful campaign of lies. In order to stop these

⁵⁸⁹ The word Boycott goes back to an incident in Ireland in 1880 and designates an appeal not to buy certain goods. In this case it refers to trade with Germany.

machinations it must be ensured that Jews are only allowed to hold positions at universities and as lawyers and doctors in Germany corresponding to their percentage of the population. ... One of the means to achieve this aim is, for example, to propagate the boycott of Jewish businesses. Thus the intention is to hit the intellectual originators and beneficiaries of this traitorous agitation, mainly conducted by Jews living formerly lived in Germany and are now abroad.” (Most noticeable here is the link between boycotting shops and the *numerus clausus*. (i.e. a restricted number). One should note that this correlation shows that Jews were not regarded as Germans.)

On **March 29th** the *Kreisblatt* printed an appeal from the NSDAP party leadership . It stated: “In abject cowardice the Jewish-Marxist bigwigs have abandoned their positions of power.” And it speaks of “the Communist and Marxist criminals and their Jewish-intellectual instigators.” It goes on, “It is the Jews among us who are responsible for the lies and slander. They are the cause of this campaign of hate and lies against Germany.” (One should note: THE Jews, which means ALL Jews in Germany!)

Then came the following “directives:

1. In every local group and organisation of the NSDAP action committees are to be formed immediately in order to carry out the systematic boycott of Jewish shops, Jewish goods, Jewish doctors and Jewish lawyers. ...
- 2.... The boycott is a purely defensive measure imposed on us and directly exclusively at German Jews.
- 3..... No German is to buy any goods from Jews or allow goods to be offered by Jews or their agents.
5. The action committees are to keep an extremely strict eye on the newspapers....
No German person and no German business is to advertise in such newspapers. ...
7. The action committees are to be established even in the smallest villages, with the aim of harming Jewish tradesmen, especially in the country.
8. ...From the moment the boycott is enforced, SA and SS are to position sentries to warn the population against entering Jewish shops. ...The boycott is to come into force **promptly at 10 o'clock on Saturday, April 1st**. ...
9. In tens of thousands of mass meetings to be held even in the smallest villages, the action committees are to organise the demand for a restriction be introduced in the number of Jews in all professions corresponding to their percentage of the German population.” This is “first of all” ! “to be restricted to the attendance of secondary schools (G.: Mittelschule) and universities, to the medical and legal professions.”. ...
11. Not a hair on a Jew's head is to be harmed.”

The directives end with the following: “National Socialists! Bang on 10 o'clock on Saturday the Jews will realize whom they have challenged”. (Note again: according to the above, no Jew is a German!)

On **March 31st** the “Directives of the Central Committee” appeared in the press concerning the boycott on April 1st. A list of Jewish businesses and lawyers' offices was to be drawn up. “This list is, of course, to contain those businesses which are in the hands of members of the Jewish race. Religion plays no role. Jewish businessmen who have become baptised Catholics or Protestants or racially Jewish dissidents are also to be considered Jews in accordance with this directive.

... If the husband of a non-Jewish proprietor of a business is Jewish, the business is to be considered Jewish. ... The same is the case if the female proprietor is Jewish, but the spouse is not. ... It is the sentries' duty to inform the public that the business (or shop) that they are guarding is Jewish. The use of force is forbidden, as is the closure of the shop. Jewish businesses should be identified as such using posters or signs with a yellow mark on a black background to be fixed on their front entrance.” The head of the action committee was Julius Streicher, Roland Freisler (Kassel) was also a member of the board. (One should note that in this case one speaks of the Jewish race, that religion plays no role and that one Jewish spouse, be it husband or wife, also causes the couple to be considered Jewish. Here regulations that became important for the Shoah are anticipated.)

On **March 31st** the following text appeared above the advertisements in the *Kreisblatt* : “Appeal to the town and country German population ! Jews abroad have imposed a boycott

on everything German, this causes the whole German economy to suffer, furthermore there are the abominable atrocity stories, which, from A to Z, are based on lies! Our answer is: Not a single penny from decent Germans into the hands of Jewish businessmen, doctors and lawyers!! Don't be sentimental and say in particular cases: They are not guilty! The measures undertaken by Jews abroad affect us all. Hence our battle is aimed at every Jew! We will keep a sharp eye on those who do not support us in our fight! Signed: the Homberg NSDAP Kreisleiter and the Ortsgruppenleiter (loosely: district leaders of the NSDAP; the Kreisleiter was under the Gauleiter in the hierarchy, and the Ortsgruppenleiter under him)". (One should note that: no difference ought to be made between guilty or innocent Jews and everyone purchasing goods at Jewish shops would be watched.)

On Saturday, **April 1st**, the Kreisblatt printed a poster sent to all Gauleiters by the Central Committee for the Defence against the Jewish boycott and campaign of atrocity stories: "The superb struggle for freedom by the German people fills Jews all over the world with hatred and wrath. They realize that they can no longer now turn Germany into a colony of Soviet criminals. ... In accordance with a large-scale plan, the Jew has recently stirred up public opinion all over the world against Germany, ... furthermore he has called for a boycott of German products. The aim of this is to increase the misery and unemployment in Germany even more, he wants to wreck German exports.

German national comrades! The guilty ones in these mad crimes are the Jews in Germany. They have called upon their racial comrades abroad to fight against the German people. ... Don't do your shopping in Jewish shops and department stores, don't consult Jewish lawyers, avoid Jewish doctors. ... Whoever acts contrary to these directives proves that he sides with Germany's enemies. ... "

4. Re-establishment of the national Civil Service, 1933

On **April 10th** 1933 the Kreisblatt wrote: "Reestablishment of the national bureaucracy. Civil servants who are party members and those who are politically unreliable will be dismissed ; Non-Aryan civil servants with the exception of ex-servicemen will be pensioned off. ". "§3 of the law says that Germany shall in future be led and governed only by German civil servants Non-Aryan civil servants are to be pensioned off which applies especially to Jewish civil servants. ... The term "Aryan" is to be interpreted to include family members back to the generation of the grandparents. If one grandparent was Jewish, these provisions come into effect. Exceptions will be made for those civil servants who were already civil servants on August 1st, 1914 and for those who fought for the German Reich and its allies in World War 1, or also for those whose fathers and sons lost their lives in World War 1. ... Non-Aryan civil servants who have been pensioned off or are considered to be politically unreliable will not receive a pension. ... This law applies mutatis mutandis to workers and employees of the Reich, the states and local governments." (One should note that non-Aryans are not Germans, irrespective of whether they feel themselves to be German or not.)

5. Hitler's "Mein Kampf", 1924-27

According to Adolf Hitler, "something like anti-Semitism began slowly to take root" in the winter of **1918/1919**. Before that, according to him, "there was no question of methodical anti-Semitism"⁵⁹⁰.

In **January 1919** the "Deutsche Arbeiter-Partei (German Workers' Party)" was founded in Munich, of which Adolf Hitler became member no. 7.⁵⁹¹

In 1919 a German translation of the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion" appeared. They were based on an anonymous dialogue which appeared in Brussels in 1864, on a novel which was published in 1868 and on the alleged "protocols" compiled by the Tsarist Secret Police in Paris which dealt with the alleged intended world supremacy of the Jews.⁵⁹²

On **February 20th, 1920**, Hitler reorganized the Deutsche Arbeiter-Partei in accordance with the leadership principles into the National Sozialistische Deutsche Arbeiter Partei (NSDAP). As Head of Propaganda (MK 649) he carried out the first large mass meeting on February 24th 1920 (MK 401 et seq.). For that purpose he drew up a party programme of 25

⁵⁹⁰ "Mein Kampf" (abbreviation MK) 628 (page)

⁵⁹¹ MK 244 – according to Hitler's own words. According to Rees, Hitler became a member on January 1st, 1920 (Rees 26).

⁵⁹² Battenberg II 234 et seq.

principles as a “political credo” (MK 511). No.2 called for the exclusion of Jews from German citizenship, especially from official positions and the press. In December 1920 the party acquired the “Völkischer Beobachter” and made it their press medium (MK 664).

On **August 1st 1921**, Adolf Hitler became leader of the NSDAP. (MK 659)

In **1923** Alfred Rosenberg published the “Protocols of the Elders of Zion) with the significant addition “and world politics”.

In 1923 the “Alldeutsche Verband” (All German Association) contributed to the draft of an emergency constitution to come into force if Hitler’s coup d’état were to succeed. The draft stipulated that Jews be sent to concentration camps and their possessions confiscated.⁵⁹³

On **November 9th 1923** Hitler’s attempt to overthrow the Reich government and the Bavarian government failed. As a consequence, the NSDAP was banned and Adolf Hitler was condemned to prison (without penal labour). Hitler’s prison sentence in Landsberg am Lech started on April 1st, 1924.

In **1924**, in only six and a half months, Hitler wrote the first volume of his programmatic book “**Mein Kampf**” with the subtitle “**Eine Abrechnung**” (a Reckoning). This fundamentally racist political book, dedicated to his sixteen comrades shot on November 11th 1923 in front of the Feldherrnhalle, was published in 1925 by Eher, Munich. The book dealt, among other things, with the “Aryan race” and, with repeated savage digs, with the Jews who, in his opinion, were behind the November revolution of 1918 and the dictatorship of the workers’ and soldiers’ councils, behind Marxism and Social Democracy, the Trade Unions and the Freemasons, Liberalism and Parliamentarianism, the Stock Exchanges and the Press and aspired to global dominance. Hitler had become a hater of Jews through the influence of Dr. Karl Lueger and the Christian-Social party in Vienna⁵⁹⁴, and, to a lesser extent, through Georg von Schönerer and the All Germans (MK 104,107 et seq.). To Hitler, the Jews were not Germans of a specific confession, but “a separate people” (MK 60, 66, 335), “a race” (MK 253), that is, the race which is” in the most violent contrast to the Aryan race” (MK 329). To him every form of assimilation was a form of deception. His thesis was that a Jew will always remain a Jew (MK 342, 357). He considered himself a fanatic “anti-Semite” (MK 69) and was of the opinion that he acted in accordance with the wishes of the Creator: “By opposing the Jews, I am fighting for the works of God” (MK 70). The following quotation illustrates how closely, to him, hostility to the Jews and politics were related: “It is not possible to come to any agreement with Jews, it is only a definite either/or. I, however, decided to become a politician” (MK 225). His main goal was the nationalisation of the masses (MK 369). In his opinion this could not be achieved by half measures, “by gently emphasizing a so-called objective viewpoint”, but only by a “ruthless and fanatic one-sided attitude towards the goal to be achieved” (MK 370 et seq.). The enemy is to be “destroyed” (MK 371) and “exterminated” (MK 372). In his opinion, the German nation could not rise again without “recognizing the race problem and in connection with that, the question of the Jews”. He propagated the kind of fanaticism which, “intolerant of everything else and fanatically convinced that it is right, will prevail” (MK 385). Religious and humane points of view should be excluded “completely” against whatever benefits the German people (MK 687).

In **December 1924**, after he was released from prison, Hitler sought power by democratic means.

On **February 27th 1925** Hitler refounded the **NSDAP**, which had been banned in 1923 (MK 620). He declared that, when he came into power, the “extermination of the Jews” would be his primary and most important task.

In **1925** the number of Jews living in the German Reich reached the same level as in 1885, i.e. 564 000. By 1933 the number had decreased to 525 000⁵⁹⁵.

In **July 1925** the first volume of Hitler’s “Mein Kampf” appeared and in **January 1927** the **second volume** with the subtitle “**The National Socialistic Movement**”. In them he proclaimed that the purpose of the State was “the preservation of the racial existence of the

⁵⁹³ Legal 48

⁵⁹⁴ Mein Kampf 58 et seq., Battenberg II 231

⁵⁹⁵ Battenberg II 239

people” (MK 421), indeed, “ the preservation and enhancement of race” (MK 430). This is why he differentiated between citizenship and nationality, a third category was to apply to foreigners with a different citizenship (MK 490 et seq.). Jews were not to be allowed to become citizens, but, as nationals, be completely “without rights” (MK 675). He objected strongly to the opinion that all men are equal; instead of this, every man should be judged according to which race he belongs to (MK 429 et seq.). The value of a race and the importance of the Aryans were the foundations of his Weltanschauung (ideology) (MK 500). This resulted in his demanding that “public life should be completely reorganised” (MK 506). As a former soldier who had been badly injured by poison gas, he wanted Jews to perish by gas (MK 772). The symbol of the Hitler movement was the Swastika, which was meant to be both Aryan and anti-Semite at the same time (MK 557).

In **July 1926** Adolf Hitler summoned the 1st party conference of the NSDAP.

6. Identity cards for Jews in Fritzlar, December 1938 and February 1939

Name	Street	Born on /age 1938	Born in	in Fritzlar since	Identity card issued
Bacharach, Sophie	Marktplatz 11	12. 8. 1874 64	Fritzlar	Birth	15. 12. 38
Baruch, Emilie Nee Katz	Zwischen den Krämen 2	17. 9. 1890 48	Flieden	1. 5. 1937	30. 12. 38
Baruch, Joseph	“	7. 5. 1923 15	Bergheim	21. 11. 1938	30. 12. 38
Baruch, Julius	“	14. 11. 1922 16	Bergheim	21. 11. 1938	30. 12. 38
Baruch, Julius, tradesman	“	2. 8. 1884 54	Bergheim	1. 5. 1937	15. 2. 39
Baruch, Kurt	“	30. 7. 1924 14	Bergheim	1. 10. 1937	15. 2. 39
Baruch, Ruth Rosa	“	16. 11. 1926 12	Bergheim	21. 11. 1938	30. 12. 38
Boley, Emma	Gießener Str.25 1939: Geismar- weg 19	21. 1. 1875 63	Fritzlar	Birth	15. 12. 38
Katz, Leonor, businessman	Fraumünsterstr.1	17. 11. 1903 35	Guxhagen	Dez. 1932	27. 12. 38
Katz, Grete, nee Wolff	“	8. 8. 1911 27	Frielendorf	15. 11. 1932	20. 12. 38
Kugelman, Betty, nee Plaut	Fraumünsterstr. 19	31. 5. 1884 54	Willingshausen	28. 2. 1911	15. 12. 38
Kugelman, Frommet	Hintergasse 12	22. 11. 1867 71	Kleinenglis	15. 8. 1932	29. 12. 38
Kugelman, Josef, tradesman	Fraumünsterstr. 19	13. 5. 1877 61	Fritzlar	Birth	14. 12. 38
Kugelman, Rebekka	Hintergasse 12	30. 6. 1883 55	Felsberg	15. 8. 1932	29. 12. 38
Lissauer, Julius	Gießener Str. 8	5. 4. 1906 32	Fritzlar	Birth	15. 12. 38
Lissauer, Moses, businessman	Gießener Str. 8	22. 9. 1870 68	Ungedanken	1887	26. 12. 38
Lissauer, Gustav	Gießener Str. 18	1. 3. 1903 37			⁵⁹⁶
Lissauer, Max	Gießener Str. 18	14. 4. 1907 31			⁵⁹⁷
Löwenstein, Bernd	Gießener Str. 22	26. 7. 1938 1	Fritzlar	Birth	20. 2. 39

⁵⁹⁶ G. Lissauer emigrated to the USA in June 1934

⁵⁹⁷ Max Lissauer was counted as living in Fritzlar, although he had been in a sanatorium since 1936.

Löwenstein, Bessy	Gießener Str. 22	5. 12. 1902 36	Fritzlar	Birth	28. 12. 38
Löwenstein, Blanka (II)	Nikolausstr. 6	30. 11. 1921 17	Fritzlar	Birth	25. 12. 38
Löwenstein, Da- vid, Private person	Gießener Str. 22	21. 10. 1874 64	Fritzlar	Birth	15. 12. 38
Löwenstein, Ella Nee Heilbronn	Nikolausstr. 6	28. 4. 1893 45	Wolfenbüttel	1920	19. 12. 38
Löwenstein, Elli Nee Wallach	Gießener Str. 22	1. 1. 1909 29	Flieden/Fulda	11.10. 1936	28. 12. 38
Löwenstein, Fanny (II)	Nikolausstr. 6	19. 6. 1871 67 # Dez.38	Obermöllrich	1885	19. 12. 38
Löwenstein, Jettchen	Marktplatz 1	5. 7. 1875 63	Fritzlar	Birth	15. 12. 38
Löwenstein, Leo- pold, businessman	Gießener Str. 23	18. 5. 1884 54	Fritzlar	Birth	15. 12. 38
Löwenstein, Paula Nee Scheuer	Gießener Str. 23	19. 5. 1895 43	Ostheim/Fried- berg	Febr. 1920	14. 12. 38
Löwenstein, Sieg- fried Susmann	Nikolausstr. 6	10. 5. 1884 54	Obermöllrich	1889	19. 12. 38
Löwenstein, Siegmond	Gießener Str. 22	4. 7. 1905 33	Fritzlar	Birth	28. 12. 38
Mark, Philippine	Martinsgasse 8	ca. 1843 95			⁵⁹⁸
Pfifferling, Sara	Fraumünsterstr. 26	30. 6. 1888 50	Datterode/ Eschwege	Febr. 1919	15. 12. 38
Sauer, Sara Nee Gutheim	Gießener Str. 17	29. 3. 1871 67	Lohne	1897	15. 12. 38
Speier, Amalie	Martinsgasse 18	11. 4. 1873 65	Züsch	1875	22. 12. 38
Speier, Hermann Businessman	“	1. 12. 1880 58	Fritzlar	Birth	22. 12. 38
Speier, Rebecca, nee Grünebaum widowed Strauss	Fraumünsterstr. 2	6. 6. 1888 50	Großkarben/ Friedberg	4. 4. 1935	14. 12. 38
Speier, Sophie	Martinsgasse 18	6. 9. 1878 60	Fritzlar	Birth	19. 12. 38
Speier, Susmann Cattle dealer	Fraumünsterstr. 2	19. 11. 1870 68	Züsch	Mai 1875	15. 12. 38
Speier, Moritz	Zwischen den Krämen 2 u 4				⁵⁹⁹
Stern, Abraham	Fraumünsterstr. 26	31. 5. 1877 61	Densberg	1915	15. 12. 38
Stern, Erna	“	20. 7. 1927 11	Fritzlar	Birth	15. 12. 38
Stern, Friederike, geb. Pfifferling	“	11. 3. 1886 52	Datterode/ Eschwege	6. 7. 1916	15. 12. 38
Stern, Sally Cattle dealer	Gießener Str. 11	31. 12. 1874 64	Rothelmshau- sen	Febr. 1909	13. 12. 38
Wallach, Bella	Gießener Str. 11	3. 8. 1915	Flieden		⁶⁰⁰

Altogether 44 people, 39 of which received an identity card in Fritzlar in December 1938 or February 1939.⁶⁰¹

⁵⁹⁸ Philippine Mark is presumed to have died in 1938 shortly before she filed her application

⁵⁹⁹ Moritz Speier lived in Merseburg since 1929.

⁶⁰⁰ Bella Wallach appears to have moved before December 1938.

⁶⁰¹ HSB contained only 30

7. Register of Jewish Property by Trustee Levi Gutheim

Former owner	item	Street	size	Rateable value	Number
Auerbach, Frieda	Residential house	Gießener Str. 18	333 qm	12.000 RM	303 pension authorities
Bacharach, brothers and sisters	Field	Am Spieß	1.120 qm	400 RM	VG 3119-441
Bloch, Hermann	Farmhouse Cattle shed field	Am Hochzeitshaus 17 Hinter Sehrgärten	310 qm 812 qm	850 RM	301/VG 3118-131 register of taxes 298 VG 2187-130
Bloch, Paul u Theo	Residential house	Marktplatz 34 A24	639 qm	294 RM	VG 3119-595
Boley, Emma	Garden	Schladenweg Wabernweg 175	409 qm	613,50 RM	296 VG 3119-185
Friedberg, Benno u Johanna	Residential house and shop	Kasseler Str. 14	105 qm		304
Goldmann, Berta	Residential house	Nikolausstr. 10			VG 3119-186
Gutheim, Max	Warehouse, cattle shed Garden	Jordan 6 Gartengässchen	238 qm 902 qm	7.000 RM	305 275
Gutheim, Paula Nee Stern	2 fields residential, warehouse	Am Spieß Martinsgasse 2 Martinsgasse 4 Kasseler Str. 6 Jordan (?) 6	330 +285q 158qm 127 qm 158 qm	120 RM 6.900 RM 5.000 RM 6.000 RM	VG 3119-547 302/VG 3119-418 276/VG 3119-225 157/VG 3119-419 VG 2187-152 VG 3119-547 VG 3119-582
Hirsch, Emil u Mansbach	Residential house, barn, yard	Flehmengasse 1 Flehmengasse 13	547 qm	6.600 RM	VG 3119-228 VG 3119-474
Association of Jews	Cemetery Garden School building	Synagoge Nikolausstr. 10	4.792 qm 338 qm 216 qm	5.000 RM 600 RM 6.600 RM	11 German Reich 38 German Reich 288 reg. of taxes VG 2187-116 Town
Katz, Frieda	Residential house	Neustädterstr. 5	143 qm	6.900 RM	300/VG 3119-226
Katz, Leonor	Residential house, barn	Fraumünsterstr. 1	148 qm 99 qm	10.000 RM	285/VG 3119-158 reg. of taxes
Kleinberger, Adolf	Slaughter house, cattle shed, 2 residential houses	Lierloch V-Hund-Gasse 16 V-Hund-Gasse 17	147 qm	2.000 RM 6.500 RM	273/VG 3119-460 reg. of taxes 290/VG 3119-440 291 reg. of taxes
Kugelmann, Berta		C 171			VG 3119-576
Kugelmann, Josef (heirss Berta)	Residential house	Fraumünsterstr. 19	482 qm	6.300 RM	283/VG 3118-37 reg. of taxes town
Kugelmann, Liebmann	Residential house	Hintergasse 12	870 qm	2.800 RM	292/VG 3119-227 reg. of taxes
Lissauer, Gustav	Field Garden	Der kleine Spieß Am hohlen Graben	1.350 qm 1.014 qm	400 RM 1.521 RM	VG 3119-476 VG 3119-477

	Garden Field	Am hohlen Graben und Blaumühlenweg 214-221	2.000 qm 5.015 qm 165 qm	2.000 RM 12.342 RM	VG 3119-478 VG 3119-479
Lissauer, Julius	Garden	Sehrengärten	676 qm		270
Lissauer, Max	Field Residential house Field 2 Garden	Der kleine Spieß Gießener Str. 8 Am Hellenweg Am hohlen Graben	1.350 qm 3.045 qm 1.200 qm 350 qm	600 RM 7.400 RM 1.800 RM 700 RM	280 Postal authorities VG 3119-456 VG 3119-458
Lissauer, Moses	2 Residential houses, Garden, store	Gießener Str. 18 Gießener Str. 8 Gießener Str. 14	362 qm 779 qm	7.000 RM	268/VG 3119-203 299 reg. of taxes VG 3119-173
Löwenstein, Gottlieb		Fraumünsterstr.			
Löwenstein, Josef	Field Residential house Barn	Zennernweg Fraumünsterstr. 2 Fraumünsterstr. 22	648 qm 587 qm 400 qm	3.242 RM 20.900 RM 120 RM	VG 3119-548 308 293/VG 3118-9 reg. of taxes
Löwenstein, Leopold	Residential house Field	Gießener Str. 25 Gießener Str. 23 Plänchen am Spieß Steinweg 7	100qm 250 qm		271/VG 3119-184 VG 2187-105 277 reg. of taxes
Löwenstein, Siegfried	Field Residential house	Plänchen am Spieß Fraumünsterstr. 5 Nikolausstr. 6	300 qm 221 qm	6.700 RM	278 282 VG 3119-186 VG 2187-150 Reg. of taxes
Mannheimer, Moses	Residential house, barn, garden	Fraumünsterstr. 8	465qm	9.200 RM	287/VG 3119-515 reg. of taxes
Mansbach, Aron	Residential houses	Flehmengasse 13 Flehmengasse 1	590 qm 900 qm	6.600 RM 5.500 RM	307 286
Mansbach, Ascher	Residential house, barn	Am Hochzeitshaus 23	600qm		281
Schloss, Karl	Residential house, shop, Garden	Flehmengasse 1	260 qm	8.500 RM	289/3119-439 reg. of taxes
Speier, siblings Amalie, Hermann, Sofie	Field Residential house, barn, cattle shed , Garden	Am Spieß Martinsgasse 18 Hellenweg C 104	3.001m 90 qm 284 qm 1.022 qm	3.090 RM	269 306/VG 2187-114 reg. of taxes 7 German Reich 279 VG 2187-156 VG 3119-578
Speier, Josef	Residential house	Gießener Str. 25 B9	260 qm	8.400 RM	8/ VG 2187-113 reg. of taxes German Reich VG 3119-577
Speier, Julius					
Speier, Moritz	Garden Garden	Hinter der Allee Gartengässchen Zwischen den Krämen 2	1.704 qm 1.704 qm 100 qm	1.200 RM 15.000 RM	272+274 10 German Reich 297/VG 2187-54 reg. of taxes 295/VG 2187-55 reg. of taxes VG 2187-56 German Reich
°°Speier, Jeanette	Residential house, cattle shed Residential house	Krämen 4	284 qm		
Speier,	Residential	Fraumünsterstr. 2	320 qm	16.000 RM	9/ VG 2187-115

Susmann	house, yard, cattle shed				reg. of taxes German Reich
Speier, Theodor		B58			VG 3119-615 VG 3119-616
Stern, Emil	Garden	Am Hellenweg	543 qm	733,05 RM	VG 3119-334

Explanations on Column 6:

The German Reich: properties confiscated for the benefit of the State, in Fritzlar, (7)

The pension authorities: ditto (1)

The postal authorities: ditto (1)

The town: confiscated for the benefit of Fritzlar (2)

The **tax** register of the town treasury in April 1949 (**18 Jewish properties**)

VG:Trustee Levi Gutheim's audit of **assets (36 Jewish property owners** in Fritzlar)

8. Immigration receiving countries 1933-1942 (70)

Argentina (3)

England (3)

Holland temporarily

Palestine (Israel) (11)

Peru (1)

Shanghai (3)

South Africa (9)

USA (37)

Unknown country (3)

Unfortunately, only few countries were willing to accept Jews.

9. Murder Victims of the Shoah 1938-1945 (63), Survivors (5) and "Stolpersteine" (Plaques in pavements) (68)

Name	Date of birth	Fritzlar	Stopover at	Deported from	End	Plaque
Bacharach, Sophie/Sofie	12.8. 1874	Marktplatz 11 Von-Hund-G 17	Breitenau 1941	Kassel 1.6. 1942	Sobibor 3.6.1942	1
Baruch, Emilie Nee Katz	17.9. 1890	Zwischen den Krämen 2	Frankfurt/M 15. 11. 1940	Frankfurt/M 15. 9. 1942	Auschwitz	2
Baruch, Joseph/Josef	7. 7. 1923	Zwischen den Krämen 2	Hamburg 4. 8. 1940		Unknown	3

Baruch, Julius, sen.	2. 8. 1884	Zwischen den Krämen 2	Frankfurt/M 15. 11. 1940	Frankfurt/M 15. 9. 1942	Auschwitz	4
Baruch, Julius, jun.	14.11. 1922	Zwischen den Krämen 2	Fulda 1939		Unknown	5
Baruch, Kurt	30. 7. 1924	Zwischen den Krämen 2	Berlin 19. 8. 1940	Berlin 9.12.1942	Auschwitz ?	6
Baruch, Ruth Rosa	16.11. 1926	Zwischen den Krämen 2	Frankfurt/M 15. 11. 1940	Frankfurt/M Mai 1942	Region Lublin	7
Boley, Emma	21. 1. 1875	Gießener Str. 25	Direktly from Fritzlar	Kassel 7. 9. 1942	Treblinka 29. 9. 1942	8
Brill, Lilli Nee Mannheimer	24. 4. 1910	Fraumünsterstr. 8 (Gießener Str.13)	Laasphe 1. 4. 1937		Unknown	9
Goldwein, Betty	22.12. 1894	Gießener Str. 22	Frankfurt/M	Frankfurt/M 24.9.1942	Kaleva-Liivi/ Estland	10
Joseph, Dina Nee Höxter	21.10. 1876	Am Hochzeits- haus 10	Gemünden/Wohra 2. 6. 1933	Kassel 7. 9. 1942	Maly Trostinec	11
Joseph, Helene Nee Willmannsdoerfer	2. 6. 1872	Am Hochzeits- haus 3	Frankfurt/M 7. 7. 1933	Frankfurt/M 18. 8. 1942	Treblinka	12
Joseph, Julius	6. 2. 1866	Am Hochzeits- haus 3 + 5	Frankfurt/M 7. 7. 1933	Frankfurt/M 18. 8. 1942	Treblinka	13

Joseph, Moritz	29.10.1870	Am Hochzeits- haus 10	Gemünden/Wohra 2. 6. 1933	Kassel 7. 9. 1942	Maly Trostinec 14
Katz, Grete Nee Wolff	8. 8. 1911	Fraumünsterstr. 1			Unknown 15
Kaufmann, Paula Nee Sauer	3. 8. 1893	Gießener Str. 17	Borken 1933 Frankfurt/M 1940	Frankfurt/M Mai/Juni 1942	Region Lublin 16
Kaufmann, Siegfried	30. 9. 1882	Gießener Str. 17	Borken 1933 Frankfurt/M 1940	Frankfurt/M Mai/Juni 1942	Region Lublin 17
Kron, Gustav	23. 4. 1878	Gießener Str. 39	Hamburg 29. 12. 1937	Hamburg 25.10.1941	Chelmno 18 May 1942
Kron, Selma Nee Blumenkrohn	6. 4. 1890	Gießener Str. 39	Hamburg 29. 12. 1937	Hamburg 25.10.1941	Chelmno 19 May 1942
Kugelman, Berta	8. 3. 1924	Fraumünsterstr. 19	Marburg 1938 Hamburg 1939	Hamburg 25.6.1943	Mauthausen 20 liberated
Kugelman, Betty/Betti, nee Plaut	31. 5. 1884	Fraumünsterstr. 19	Breitenau 1941	Breitenau 9. 2. 1942	Auschwitz 21 11. 10. 1942
Kugelman, Frommet	22.11.1867	Hintergasse 12	Treysa April 1940 Berlin	Berlin 3.8.1942	Theresienstadt 22 15.4. 1943
Kugelman, Joseph	13. 5. 1877	Fraumünsterstr. 19	Breitenau 1941	Breitenau 16. 12. 1941	Dachau 23 16. 6. 1942
Kugelman, Liebmann	4. 5. 1881	Hintergasse 12	Kassel 9.11.1938	Buchenwad 12.11. 1938	Buchenwald 24 16. 12. 1938
Kugelman, Rebekka	30. 6. 1883	Hintergasse 12	Treysa April 1940 Berlin	Berlin 3.8.1942	Theresienstadt 25 28.4. 1943
Lissauer, Julius	5. 4. 1906	Gießener Str. 8	Kassel 1. 8. 1940	Kassel 1. 6. 1942	Majdanek 26 5. 8. 1942
Lissauer, Max	14. 4. 1907	Gießener Str. 18	Bendorf-Sayn 1936	Bendorf-Sa 15.6.1942	Izbica 27 15. 6. 1942
Löwenstein, Bernd	26. 7. 1938	Gießener Str. 22	Frankfurt/M 23. 9. 1940	Frankfurt/M 22.11. 1941	Kowno 28 25. 11. 1941
Löwenstein, Bessi /Bessy	5. 12. 1902	Gießener Str. 22	Frankfurt/M 19. 5. 1939	Frankfurt 22.11.1941	Kowno 29 25. 11. 1941
Löwenstein, Blanka	30.11.1921	Nikolausstr. 6	Frankfurt/M 16. 7. 1939	Frankfurt/M Mai/Juni 42	Region Lublin 30 Unknown
Löwenstein, David	21.10.1874	Gießener Str. 22	Frankfurt/M 19. 5. 1939	Frankfurt/M 22.11. 1941	Kowno 31 25. 11. 1941
Löwenstein, Ella Nee Heilbron	28. 4. 1893	Nikolausstr. 6	Frankfurt/M 21. 11. 1940	Frankfurt/M Mai/Juni 42	Izbica ? 32
Löwenstein, Elli Lina Nee Wallach	1. 1. 1909	Gießener Str. 22	Frankfurt/M 23. 9. 1940	Frankfurt/M 22.11. 1941	Kowno 33 25. 11. 1941
Löwenstein, Joseph	22. 6. 1868	Fraumünsterstr. 22	Fulda 22.2.1938	Kassel 9.12.1941	Riga 34
Löwenstein, Leopold	18. 5. 1884	Gießener Str. 23	Bad Nauheim 15. 5. 1939	B. Nauheim 15.9.1942	Treblinka 35 30.9.1942
Löwenstein, Paula Rosa Nee Scheuer	19. 5. 1895	Gießener Str. 23	Bad Nauheim 15. 5. 1939	B. Nauheim 15.9.1942	Treblinka 36 30.9.1942
Löwenstein, Rickchen Karoline nee Stern	27. 3. 1872	Fraumünsterstr. 22	Fulda 22. 2. 1938	Kassel 9.12.1941	Riga 37
Löwenstein, Siegfried- Susmann	10. 5. 1884	Nikolausstr. 6	Frankfurt/M 21. 11. 1940	Frankfurt/M Mai/Juni 42	Izbica: declared dead 9.5.1945 38
Löwenstein, Siegmund	4. 7. 1905	Gießener Str. 22	Frankfurt/M 23. 9. 1940	Frankfurt/M 22.11. 1941	Kowno 39 25. 11. 1941
Luss, Susanne Nee Lissauer	19.10.1909	Gießener Str. 8	Krefeld 22.6.1934	Düsseldorf 22.4.1942	Izbica ? 40
Mansbach, Arthur	24. 6. 1898	Am Hochzeits- haus 23	Neuß 1935	Düsseldorf 11.12. 1941	Riga 41
Mansbach, Anna	1. 8.	Am Hochzeits-	Neuß 1935	Bendorf-Sa	Izbica 42

Nee Marx	1865	haus 23	Düsseldorf 1941 Bendorf-Sayn 42	15.6.1942		
Mansbach, Ernst Günther	2. 12. 1927	Am Hochzeits- haus 23	Neuß 1935	Düsseldorf 11.12.1941	Stutthof Dez. 1944	43
Mansbach, Fritz	5. 10. 1926	Am Hochzeits- haus 23	Neuß 1935	Düsseldorf 11.12.1941	Buchenwald 5. 1. 1945	44
Mansbach, Günther	6. 4. 1932	Gießener Str. 14	Niederlande 1935	Westerbork 3.9.1942	Auschwitz	45
Mansbach, Hans- Jürgen/Jörg	4. 1. 1931	Gießener Str. 14	Niederlande 1935	Westerbork 3.9.1942	Auschwitz	46
Mansbach, Herta/Gerda, nee Levi	8. 10. 1907	Gießener Str. 14	Niederlande 1935	Westerbork 3.9.1942	Auschwitz	47
Mansbach, Johanna Nee Hirtz	23. 9. 1890	Am Hochzeits- haus 23	Neuß 1935	Düsseldorf 11.12.1941	Riga	48
Mansbach, Ludwig	27. 8. 1896	Gießener Str. 14	Niederlande 1935	Westerbork 3.9.1942	Auschwitz 30.3.1944 ?	49
Mansbach, Ottilie	9. 6. 1929	Gießener Str. 14	Niederlande 1935	Westerbork, 3.9.1942	Auschwitz	50
Mark, Max	19.12. 1872	Marktplatz 13	Berlin-Schöne- berg vor 1938	Berlin 18.10.1941	Lodz 15. 6. 1942	51
Neuhaus, Aron	23. 2. 1873	Gießener Str. 13	Kassel 26.3.1934	Kassel 7. 9. 1942	Theresienstadt 7. 2. 1943	52
Neuhaus Rosalie	26. 4. 1871	Fraumünsterstr. 8	Kassel 26.3.1934	Kassel 7. 9. 1942	Theresienstadt liberated	53
Nussbaum, Leopold	6. 9. 1901	Kasseler Str. 14	Berlin 1.5.1934	Berlin 4.3.1943	Auschwitz	54
Pfifferling, Sara	30. 6. 1888	Fraumünsterstr. 26	Kassel 19.5. 1939	Kassel 9. 12. 1941	Riga März 1942	55
Rapp, Erna, nee Löwenstein	20.8. 1897	Fraumünsterstr. 22	Fulda 8.2.1922	Fulda,Kasse 9.12.1941	Riga März 1942	56
Rosenbach, Tony/Toni Dorette	25. 5. 1889	Flehmengasse 4	Kassel 13. 8. 1937	Kassel 9. 12. 1941	Riga März 1942	57
Sauer, Sara Nee Gutheim	29. 3. 1871	Gießener Str. 17	Frankfurt/M 2.11.1940	Frankfurt/M 15. 9. 1942	Theresienstadt 23. 2. 1943	58
Speier, Amalie	11. 4. 1873	Martinsgasse 18	Direktly from Fritzlar	Kassel 7. 9. 1942	Theresienstadt liberated	59
Speier, Hermann	1. 12. 1880	Martinsgasse 18	Breitenau 9.5.1941	Breitenau 31.10. 1941	Sachsenhausen 11. 2. 1942	60
Speier, Ruth Rebekka Nee Grünebaum	6. 6. 1888	Fraumünsterstr. 2	Breitenau 9.5.1941	Breitenau 5.10. 1942	Auschwitz 13. 10. 1942	61
Speier, Sophie	6. 9. 1878	Martinsgasse 18	Direktly from Fritzlar	Kassel 7. 9. 1942	Theresienstadt liberated	62
Speier, Susmann	19.11 . 1870	Fraumünsterstr. 2	Breitenau 9.5.1941	Kassel Nov. 1941	Sachsenhausen 22. 1. 1942	63
Stern, Abraham	31. 5. 1877	Fraumünsterstr. 26	Kassel 19.4.1939 Frankfurt 15.5.39	Frankfurt/M Mai/Juni 42	Region Lublin Unknown	64
Stern, Erna	20. 7. 1927	Fraumünsterstr. 26	Kassel 25.2.1939 Frankfurt 1.4.40	Marburg 5.12.1941	Auschwitz	65
Stern, Friederike Frieda, nee Pfifferling	11. 3. 1886	Fraumünsterstr. 26	Kassel 25.2.1939 Frankfurt 1.4.40	Frankfurt Mai/Juni 42	Region Lublin Unknown	66
Stern, Herta	6. 6. 1921	Fraumünsterstr. 26	Kassel 25.2 1939 Frankfurt 1.4.40	Frankfurt/M Mai/Juni 42	Region Lublin Unknown	67
Stern, Ruth	24. 2. 1919	Fraumünsterstr. 26	Würzburg 1935 Hamburg 1.11.1938	Hamburg 6. 12. 1941	Stutthof liberated	68

Most of the victims of the Shoah were killed in Auschwitz (12), followed by the Lublin region, Riga and Theresienstadt (7 each), then Izbica, Kowno, Treblinka (5 each),

Buchenwald, Chelmno, Maly Trostinec and Sachsenhausen (2 each) and Dachau, Kaleva-Liivi, Kaiserwald, Lodz, Majdanek, Mauthausen, Sobibor, and Stutthof with one victim each.

The place of 4 victims is unknown.

This is a horrible testimony of the way in which the Jewish population of one town was separated and deported to more than 19 different places to die.

In addition the following plaques were laid in 2005

<u>Kleinberger, Ernst</u>	3.4. 1923	Von-Hund-Gasse 17		Flight to SouthAfrika July 1936	⁶⁰² 69
<u>Helfer, Brunhilde</u> , nee Kugelmann	22. 1. 1916	Fraumünsterstr. 19	Spangenberg 1930, Hamburg 1934	Hamburg 25.10.1941	⁶⁰³ Izbica 70
Lissauer, Gustav	27. 4. 1901	Gießener Str. 8 (18)	Kassel?	Emigrated to USA 1938	⁶⁰⁴ Instead of Goldwein
Neugarten, Siegfried	27.11. 1898	Kasseler Str. 14	Essen, emigrated to Belgium in Feb. 1939, interned 1940	Flight 1942, hidden in Brussels for 2 years	⁶⁰⁵ liberated 71
Speier, Herta	11.11. 1913	Gießener Str. 25	Bochum 1928 Essen 1933	Belgien	⁶⁰⁶ Auschwitz liberated 72

Hempel, Ursula, née Freiin von Meltzehr, *1915 **was spared**, being only a “quarter Jewish”.

10. The deceased 1933-1945 (15)

Katz, Lisette, née Gluck, *13. 7.1852, #25.4.1940

Kron, Johanna, née Lohenstein, *30.1.1848, #in Hamburg

Kugelmann, Gitel,,*24.7.1875, #12.12.1933 in Fritzlar

Lissauer, Clara, née Heilbronn, *20.6.1876, #2.2.1937 in Fritzlar

Lissauer, Moses, *22.9.1870, # probably on 6.12.1941 in Kassel

Löwenstein, Fanny, née Moses, *22.3.1844, #18.5.1936 in Fritzlar

Löwenstein, Fanny, *19.6.1871, #Dez. 1938 Fritzlar

Löwenstein, Hermann, *11.12.1869, #3.9.1936 in Fritzlar

Löwenstein, Jettchen, *5.7.1875, #19.11.1941 in Bendorf-Sayn

Löwenstein, Pauline, née Reis, *3.6.1875, #12.7.1934 in Fritzlar

Mansbach, Ascher, *5.10.1865, #12.4.1942 Bendorf-Sayn

Mark, Philippine, *8.6.1843, #1938

Speier, Rickchen, née Hammerschlag, *22.3.1873, #4.4.1933 in Fritzlar

Speier, Simon, *6.10.1852, #6.12.1935 in Fritzlar

Stern, Henny, née Gerson, *9.10.1880, #15.12.1937 in Fritzlar

11. Unsolved fates (13)

Honig, Ilse, *19.4.1912, moved 1.6.1933 Ungedanken

Kann, Gretchen, *3.2.1915, moved 1939 Kassel

Lautmann, Leo, 1938 in Fritzlar

Plaut, Jettchen, nee Stiefel, *19.8.1880, moved 3.8.1937 Sontra

Rosenzweig, Anneliese Bertha, *10.4.1928, moved 1935

Sauer, Sara, *5.9.1880, moved after 1939

⁶⁰² At the request of his wife

⁶⁰³ Not living in Fritzlar between 1933 and 1945

⁶⁰⁴ Plaque laid by mistake, his emigration only became known later

⁶⁰⁵ Not living in Fritzlar between 1933 and 1945

⁶⁰⁶ Not living in Fritzlar between 1933 and 1945

Sauerwald, Jakob, *?, moved before Dez. 1938
 Selig, Else, *29.8.1916, moved after 1935
 Speier, Theodor, *18.10.1884, son of Simon Speier
 Stern, Gerda, *1935 in Fritzlar, moved after 1935
 Stern, Moritz, *8.2.1907
 Strauß, Rebecka, *6.6.1888, moved after 1935
Wallach, Bella, *3.8.1915 in Flieden, moved 1938

12. Overall view

In these lists 167 persons are shown who lived for a short or longer time in Fritzlar between 1933 and 1942 and also Moritz Speier as he had a large amount of property in Fritzlar at that time. The following is what happened to the 167 Jewish residents of Fritzlar:

70 were able to emigrate,

63 were murdered, of which only 3 were deported directly from Fritzlar,

5 were liberated,

1 was spared, being only "one quarter Jewish",

15 died a natural death during this time, 2 of these in nursing homes, and the fate of 13 is still unknown.

13) List of names with biographical dates

Abbreviation: * : Born on	KK: identity card in December 1938 and February 1939
°° : married to	s.d.: see there
# : Died	s.o.: see above
D: Germany	S: Page
Dep.: Deported to	St: 73 memorial plaques
DP: displaced person	Ver: moved to
e: 67 forced emigration	vw: Widowed
F: Fritzlar	VZ33: census on 16.6. 1933
née: maiden name	Underlined: correspondent 2008

167 Jews were counted, who lived in Fritzlar between 30.1.1933 and 7.9.1942 for a shorter or longer period, or had property there.

The **68** former Fritzlarers are emphasized in **bold letters**, victims of the **Shoah** or Liberated

Those Jews who did not live in Fritzlar between 1933 and 1945 are printed in small letters

The names are arranged by family.

A

1) Frieda Auerbach, née Lissauer, daughter of Elias L., * 9.7.1901 **F**, Gießener St. 18, (Werkelstr. C 121), Ursulinenschule, 1924 Breslau, 1933 Interlaken, 1934 visit to Palestine as domestic servant, furniture business, VZ33, sale of gardens 1934, property owners, standard value fixed 1.1.1935, moved to Hamburg in 1937, °° Elias 1938, e1939 England, then e 1939 USA, Trusteeship 1946, # 1960 in New York,

eNr.1

°° Elias Auerbach, ver Hamburg 1937, e USA 1938

B

Frieda Bacharach, * 24.4.1880 **F**, maid, ver 1917, land sales 1935 & 1938, 1939 in Kassel, Giessbergstr. 5, dep. 1.6.1942 from Kassel to Sobibor, # Sobibor 3.6.1942

2) **Sophie / Sofie Bacharach**, * 12.8.1874 **F**, Von-Hundgasse 17, Marktplatz 11 + 15, shop assistant, VZ33, field owners, land sales in 1935, KK38, 9.5.-21.12.1941 imprisoned in Breitenau, dep. via Kassel on 1.6.1942 to Sobibor, # ca 3.6.1942 Sobibor, Trusteeship 1946 **St. 1**

Sidonie Bachmann, née Mansbach, * 23.9.1899 **F**, Am Hochzeitshaus 23, ver 1932 Fürstenau / LK Höxter, dep. from Fürstenau on 13.12.1941 to Riga, from there last sign of life on 24.8.1943, (# Stutthof?)

Clare Baer, s. Speier

Irene Baruch, , née Kugelmann, e USA 1929

3) **Julius (I) Baruch**, * 2.8.1884 in Bergheim, **F** since 1.5.1937, Zwischen den Krämen 2, dealer, 1914-1918 soldier, wealthy, shop and apartment were devastated 8./9.11.1938, VZ39, ver 15.11.1940 Frankfurt / M, Schwanenstr. 22, dep. 15.9.1942 from Frankfurt / M to Theresienstadt, to Auschwitz 15.5.1944, # Auschwitz, **St. 2**

4) °°**Emilie Baruch, née Katz**, * 17.9.1890 in Flieden, in **F** since 1.5.1937, KK38, VZ39, ver 15.11.1940 Frankfurt / M, Schwanenstr. 22, DEP. 15.9.1942 from Frankfurt / M to Theresienstadt, to Auschwitz 15.5.1944, # Auschwitz, **St. 3**

5) - (son) **Josef Baruch**, * 7.7.1923 in Bergheim, **F** since 21.11.1938, KK38, VZ39, ver 4.8.1940 Hamburg, ver Bergheim, dep. to unknown place, **St. 4**

6) - (son) **Julius (II) Baruch**, * 14.11.1922 Bergheim, in **F** since 21.11.1938, KK38, VZ39, ver 1939 Fulda, #?, **St. 5**

7) - (son) **Kurt Baruch**, * 30.7.1924 Bergheim, in **F** since 1.10.1937, Jewish school Kassel from 1.10.1937, KK38, VZ39, ver 19.8.1940 Berlin, Bereitschaftsheim Berlin 25.8.1942, dep. 9.12.1942 from Berlin, # Auschwitz?, **St. 6**

8) - (daughter) **Ruth Rosa Baruch**, * 16.11.1926 Bergheim, in **F** since 21.11.1938, KK38,

VZ39, ver 15.11.1940 Frankfurt / M, Schwanenstr. 22, presumably dep. 8 or 24.5.1942 to Lublin # Lublin region,
St. 7

Klara Baumann, née Mark, *10.10.1869 F, ver before 1933, residence '39, unknown escape to Holland, arrested in May 1940, dep. from Westerbork 2.3.1943, # Sobibor 26.3.1943

Bittiner, Ida, née Katz, * 8.5.1885 F, ° Michael Max 1910, Fraumünsterstr. 1, Fashion shop (hats), ver 1927/28 Erfurt, widowed 25.7.1928, 30.8.1932 closure of the shop, e 5.1.1933 Palestine, VZ33, # Tel Aviv,

°°	Michael	Max	1910
- (daughter)	Johanna/ Hanna Bittiner,	* 24.7.1912,	Ursulinenschule, ver 1927/28 Erfurt,
	e	5.1.1933	Palestine
- (daughter)	Klara Cläre Bittiner,	* 20.11.1914,	Ursulinenschule, ver 1927/28 Erfurt, e 5.1.1933 Palestine, later USA

9) Hermann Heinemann Herz Bloch, * 6.7.1871 Rothelmshausen, in F Hochzeitshaus 17/ Geismarstr. D 30, VZ33, house, farm + garden owner, household dissolved 18.7.1933, livestock trade deregistered August 1933, house sale 1.1.1935, eDez USA in 1938, loss of German nationality 9.11.1940, forced sale of farmland 17.9.1941, trusteeship 1946,

eNr.2

10) °°Bertha Bloch, née Katz, * 10.6.1882 Großen-Busek/Gießen, °°Hermann, VZ33, eDez. USA 1938, loss of German nationality 9.11.1940,

eNr.3

- (daughter) Martha Bloch, * 4.3.1905 F, Ursulinenschule, °° Blum, e 1932, loss of German nationality 9.11.1940

- (son), Siegmund Siegfried Bloch, * 27.3.1907 F, e 1927?, Loss of German nationality 9.11.1941

- (son), Willy Bloch * 26.3.1909 F, e USA 1927, loss of German nationality 9.11.1941

Sally Solomon Bloch, * 22.9.1864, Marktplatz 34 u 34a, e 1930, # 22.2.1931, °° Adelheid

- (son) Paul Bloch, * 5.11.1896, house owner, ver Oschersleben 1927, e 1932, Trusteeship 1946

- (son) Theo Bloch, * 28.1.1898 F, property owner, °° Hanna, née Nußbaum, e 1932

- (daughter) Margaret Bloch, 27.5.1902 F, Ursulinenschule, e 1932, °° Wallach

- (daughter) Meta Bloch, * 22.5.1895 F, Ursulinenschule, e USA 1932, °° Hochster

Sara Sidonie / Siddy Blumenkrohn, née Lissauer, mother of Jechiel Ogdan, ver Erfurt, take over of Gustav (II) Lissauer's business 1934, heiress of Gustav & Max Lissauer, e 1938 Palestine

Paula Boldes, née Neugarten, * 7.5.1887 F, ver before 1933 Recklinghausen, where resident 17.5.1939, dep. from Gelsenkirchen- Dortmund 27.1.1942 to Riga, #?

Boley, Joel, * 1832, in F Gießener St. 25, °° Malchen, livestock dealer, # 18.11.1912

°° Boley, Malchen, née Krone, * 1837, # 20.10.1915, house sold to Joseph Speyer

11) – (daughter) Emma Boley (* 21.1.1875 F, right of free abode Gießener St. 25, garden owner, VZ33, KK38, forced relocation 1939 Geismarstr. 19, forced relocation 1940 Fraumünsterstr. 2, "sale" of a garden and farmland 16.6.1941, forced relocation Oct. 1941 Martinsgasse 18, dep. Kassel on 7.9.1942 to Theresienstadt, # Treblinka 29.9.1942, household management by FA Homberg 17.8.1944, trusteeship 1946,

St. 8

- (daughter) Sophie Boley, eUSA, °°Dornblatt,

-- grandchild Harriet Levine

- (son) Siegfried Boley

-- grandchildren Dina Ellwood and Silvia Hennessy

Bonem, Berthold, * 1.6.1886, Kaufmann, F 1946, apartment A249

°° Nelly, * 9.4.1893

Borowsky, Melvin, °° Berta, née Kugelmann, s.d., Borowsky sons, Dr. Claude + Dr. Mark

12) Brill, Lila, née Mannheimer, * 24.4.1910 F, Fraumünsterstr. 8, Ursulinenschule, VZ33, ver 1.4.1937 Laasphe, **Shoah** unknown missing, St. Moved to Gießener St. 13

St. 9**E**

13) Ludwig Erlanger, Dr., dentist, * 9.6.1898 Marburg, in F since 5.5.1929 Allee 2, 1.4.1933 escape via Basel, Johannesburg to Palestine, 26.5.1939 Paläst. citizenship, thus loss of the German citizenship,

eNr.4

14) °Hanna Erlanger, , née Burland, * 12.4.1902, °Ludwig, e 1.4.1933 Palestine

eNr.5

15) -(daughter) Eva Erlanger, * 8.2.1929, e 1.4.1933

Palestine, and later °Caplan, **eNr.6**

16) -(daughter) Ruth Erlanger, * 13.7.1932 F, e 1.4.1933 Palestine,

eNr.7

Epstein, s. Mannheimer, Bernhardine

Hermann Ernst, , * 29.1.1873 F, ver before 1933, 1939 Berlin-Grunewald

F

Auguste Feldheim, , née Rothschild, * 11.9.1888 Waltersbrück, ver Fulda, Heinrichstr. 48, dep. 9.12.1941 from Fulda via Kassel to Riga, #?

Friedel Feldstein, daughter of Ash Selig, DP, # F 24.10.1948

Johanna, Fried, née Mark, * 15.8.1867 F, ver before 1933 in Cologne, 17.5.1939 residence unknown, dep. Cologne to Theresienstadt 15.6.1942, # 28.6.1943 Theresienstadt

17) Benno Friedberg, * 5.10.1881, in F Kasselerstr. 14 /Haddamar B83, textile merchant, grocer ° 1910, property owner, VZ33, house sold 21.3.1934, business dissolved 30.4.1934, 23.4.1934 ver Berlin, e 3.1.1939 Shanghai, USA 1947, # 11.11.1955, Trusteeship 1946

eNr.8

18) °Johanna Friedberg, née Neugarten, * 1.6.1888, ° Benno 1910, VZ33, ver 23.4.1934 Berlin, e 3.1.1939 Shanghai, 1947 USA

eNr.9 19) -(daughter) Gretel Margaret Friedberg, * 14.4.1914, engaged 1933, ° Leo Nussbaum, s.129

G

20) Bertha Goldmann, , née Löwenstein, * 5.12.1882, in F Nikolausstr. 10, property owner, ° Willy, house sale 2.6.1938, e 1938 Palestine, return of the house, Trusteeship 1946, **eNr.10**

21) Berta Goldschmidt, née Katz, * 26.12.1906, F Fraumünsterstr. 1, ver. 14.4.1937 Runkel, e 1937 USA

eNr.11

22) Betty Goldwein, 22.12.1894 * Meimbressen, F 1934 housekeeper to Dr. Löwenstein Gießener St. 22, ver Frankfurt / M Röderbergweg 87 (children's home), dep. 24.9.1942 to Raasiku / Estonia, presumably shot in the Kaleva-Liivi, Memorial plaque installed for Gustav(I) Lissauer, by mistake

St. 10

Gutheim, Jacob (II), * 4.11.1868 F, ver before 1933, 1939 Hanover, **Shoah?**

Gutheim, Jakob (I), * 15.4.1864, F Martinsgasse 2-4, grain dealer, synagogue warden, # 11.6.1932 23) °Paula / Pauline Gutheim, , née Stern, * 20.2.1871 Nieder-Wöllstadt/Friedberg, °°Jakob (I), house and field property, VZ33, home sale Martinsgasse 2 on 13.11.1937, Martinsgasse 4 on 19.2.1938, house + barn Kasseler Str. 6 on 31.1.1938, ver Feb. 1938, e USA 1938, loss of German nationality 5.5.1941, Trusteeship 1946

eNr.12

- (daughter) Clara Gutheim, * 2.10.1898 F, Ursulinenschule, Martinsgasse 4, ver 1921, e USA, °° Tannenbaum

- (son) Hermann Gutheim, , * 2.10.1893, shop assistant, ver 1921, e USA 1938

- (son) **Ludwig Gutheim**, * 18.2.1907 F, ver before 1933 Gudensberg, residence unknown on 17.5.1939, # 1944 Kowno

24) - son Max Gutheim, 30.10.1894 * F, Martinsgasse 2-4/B53 + 53 1 / 2, Jordan 6/Martinsgasse B 63, soldier 1914-1917, VZ33, house + garden owner, leasing of property in 1936, suffered from business boycott, grain + animal-food business closed 25.3.1936, e

1.9.1936 USA, Jan. 1937 sale of a house, loss of German nationality 16.4.1941, trusteeship 1946, **eNr.13**

25) °°Franciska Gutheim, née Sauer, * 13.9.1902 F, Ursulinenschule, VZ33, °°Max e 1.9.1936 USA, loss of nationality 16.4.1941,

eNr.14

26) --grandchild Heinz Gutheim, , 21.10.1929 * F, VZ33, e 1.9.1936 USA, loss of nationality 16.4.1941

eNr.15

27) --grandchild Lothar Gutheim, , 26.10.1926 * F, VZ33, e 1.9. 1936 USA, loss of nationality 16.4.1941,

eNr.16

Gutheim, Levi, * 25.9.1863 Ungedanken, dep. Ungedanken via Kassel to Theresienstadt on 7.9.1942, liberated in Theresienstadt 8.5.1945,

°° Gutheim, Olga, née Kallmann, * 8.4.1874 Proppau, dep. Ungedanken via Kassel to Theresienstadt on 7.9.1942, liberated in Theresienstadt 8.5.1945

H

28) Hecht, Sophie, * 1.10.1904, F 1924 employee at Gottlieb Löwenstein, Gießener Str. 20, ver. 1935 Frankfurt/M, ver. 1.11.1935 Brückenau, e 1935? to Palestine, °°Resnik s.d.

Helfer, Benno Benjamin, * 10.3.1910, Hamburg, Kaufmann, dep. Hamburg 25.10.1941 to Lodz

°° **Helfer, Brunhilde, née Kugelman**, * 22.1.1916 F, Fraumünsterstr. 19, ver. 1930

Spangenberg, ver. 1934 Hamburg, °°25.8.1938 Benno Helfer, dep. 25.10.1941 Hamburg to Lodz, # Izbica? Addition

St. 11

29) Hempel, Ursula, née Freiin von Meltzehr *1915, so called “quarter Jew”, # 1999

°° Dr. Kurt,

Chana Hedwig Herze, née Herzberg, * F 10.12.1891, ver before 1933 to Bad Münden a. Deister, dep. 1942, # missing in Poland

30) Hirsch, Emil, * 14.8.1897, in F since 1928 Flehmengasse 13, from 1934 Flehmengasse 4, house owner, shoe maker, °° 1928, VZ33, ver.10.10.1936, e 3.12.1936 Johannesburg, South Africa, Trusteeship 1946,

eNr.17

31) °°Ida Hirsch, née Mansbach, * 23.8.1901, °° Emil, VZ33, e 3.12.1936 Johannesburg, South Afrika

eNr.18

32) - (daughter) Hannelore Hirsch, * 14.1.1929 F, VZ33, e 3.12.1936 Johannesburg, South Africa, °° Lever,

eNr.19

33) - (son) Walter Hirsch, * 7.5.1932 F, VZ33, e 3.12.1936 Johannesburg, South Africa, later to the USA,

eNr.20

34) Ilse Honig, , * 19.4.1912, in F employee of Gottlieb Löwenstein, Gießener Str. 20, ver. 1.6.1933 Ungedanken

J

35) Minna Jacob, * 5.9.1919, domestic staff at Lissauer 1936-37, Gießener Str. 8, ver 27.2.1937 Sachsenhausen, e November 1937 Argentina

eNr.21

36) Joseph, Julius, * 6.2.1866 Züschen, F Am Hochzeitshaus 3+5, Geismarstr. 33+34, grain merchant, "the great Baron", °° Helene 1893, domestic and farm owner, bankruptcy 31.3.1933, protective custody, VZ33 bankrupt salesman, ver 7.7.1933 Frankfurt / M-Niederrad, finally at Ruchartstr. 53, land sales 20.7.1933, dep. 18.8.1942 from Frankfurt / M to Theresienstadt, # 26.9.1942 in Treblinka,

St. 12

37) °°Helene Joseph, , née Willmannsdörfer, * 2.6.1872 Karlsruhe, °° Julius 1893, VZ33, ver 7.7.1933 Frankfurt / M-Niederrad, dep. 18.8.1942 from Frankfurt / M to

Theresienstadt, # 26.9.1942 in Treblinka,

St. 13

- (son) Ernst Josef, * 3.8.1894 F, died as soldier in WW I 13.3.1918

38) - (son) Fritz / Fred Joseph, * 8.2.1897 F, VZ33, ver 7.7.1933 Frankfurt /M, e USA,

eNr.22

39) - (son) Julius Moritz Joseph, * ca 1894 F, 1935 e Palestine,

eNr.23

- (daughter) Tessy Josef, * 23.9.1898 F, Ursulinenschule, ver 1928, ver 27.1.1931 Frankfurt / M Niederrat, residence unknown 17.5.1939, e USA

40) Moritz Joseph, * 29.10.1870 Züschen, called "Little Baron," in F Am Hochzeitshaus 10, ° 1901, fruit dealer, VZ33, ver 2.6.1933 Gemünden /Wohra, Adolf Hitler Str 35, 1937/38 visit to Palestine, 10.11.1938 imprisoned, 7.9.1942 dep. Gemünden via Kassel on to Theresienstadt, 29.9.1942 in Treblinka, # Maly Trostinec,

St. 14

41) °Dina Joseph, née Höxter, * 21.10.1876 in Gemünden / Wohra, ° Moritz 1901, VZ33, ver 2.6.1933 Gemünden / Wohra, 1937/38 visit to Palestine, 7.9.1942 dep. Gemünden v ia Kassel on to Theresienstadt, 29.9.1942 in Treblinka, # Maly Trostinec,

St. 15

42) - (son) Alfred Alexander/Fredy Joseph, * 6.11.1904 F, ver 13.2.1933 Berlin-Charlottenburg, VZ33, e June 1933 Palestine, # 12.12.1993,

eNr.24

° Miriam, née Krewet, 1933 in Palestine

-- grandson Dan/Dany Joseph, * 1940 Palestine, fish breeding expert, Kibbutz Maabarot, ° Ora

-- grandson Johanan/Hansi Joseph, * 1937 Palestine, officer in navy, export merchant, head of fire brigade region Hasharon, ° Marina, Correspondent Bernhard Krewett

43) - (son), Hans Fritz Joseph, * 19.2.1902 F, doctor, 3.3.1920 Baccalaureat Wilhelm Gymnasium Kassel, stud. Med 1923 Würzburg, Freiburg, registered Marburg 28.7.1926, VZ33 unlicensed doctor, ver 1933 Karlsruhe, ° 11.7.1933 in Palestine, June 1933 & 1935 visit to Palestine, Jan. 1936 as ship's doctor to USA, repeated exams, settled, e USA 1936, # 20.8.1982,

eNr.25

44) ° Hildegard, née Katzenstein, * 18.7.1913 Karlsruhe, VZ33, ° Hans Fritz 11.7.1933, June 1933 + 1935 trip to Palestine, e 18.3.1937 USA, # 30.5.2003

eNr.26

--grandson Herbert Helmut Joseph, * 28.12.1934 Karlsruhe, Orthopaedist, VZ33, e USA 1937

--granddaughter Dina Dorothy Joseph, * 16.6.1945, ° Irving Cohen, * 1930

---four great-grandchildren Cohen: Aaron, Daniel, Esther (° Mike, children Fiona & Adin),

Miriam

K

45) Gretchen Kann, * 3.2.1915, 1933 in F, saleswoman, ver 1939 Kassel

?

Aron Katz, , * 15.9.1835, teacher in 1863-1904 F, ver Lüneburg, # 25.3.1916

° Gitel, Katz née Speyer, * 1843, # 15.2.1901

- daughter Jachet Johanna Katz, , * 21.9.1870 F, ver before 1921, registry office F 1939

- son Liebmann Leon Katz, , 11.11.1872 * F, ver before 1921, registry office F 1939, # 2.17 1939

-- grandson Joseph Rudolph / Rudi Katz,, * 1907 Lüneburg, e Palestine 1937, # 1991

46) °Herta Katz, , née Löwenstein, 30.12.1908 * F, Fraumünsterstr. 22, Ursulinenschule, VZ33, ° Leon, e Palestine 1938, # 1991,

eNr.27

-- grandson Arie Katz, , * 1941, e USA, °Pamela

--- great grandson Gabriel Katz, * 1944, Israel, ° Shoshana

----great great grandsons Boaz and Daniel Katz

Jacob Katz, , in F Fraumünsterstr. 1, saddler, ° Frieda

° **Frieda Katz, , widowed Perlstein**, * 3.6.1879 Niederurff, F Neustädterstr. 5, house owner, ver

1929 Guxhagen, Arnstädt, Kassel, Frankfurt / M, house "sale" 23.1.1939, dep. Frankfurt / M probably in May or June 1942 to the region of Lublin, # missing in the east, Trusteeship 1946, Heir Norbert Lichtenstein USA

Moses Katz, * 2.8.1873 Jesberg, ver Fulda, Rhönstr. 1, dep. Fulda on 7.9.1942 via Kassel to Theresienstadt, # Treblinka 29.9.1942

47) - son Leonor Katz, , * 17.11.1903 Guxhagen, **F Fraumünsterstr. 1/Münsterstr. C70**, house owner, VZ33, inventory sale 30.1.1934, KK38, textiles and haberdashery until 31.12.1938, F since Dec. 1932, business devastated 8./9.11.1938, arrested on 12.11.38 in Frankfurt / M, "Sale" of house and barn Jan./Febr.1939, e 1939 USA

eNr.28

48) °° **Grete Katz, née Wolff**, * 8.8.1911 Frielendorf, F since 15.11.1932, VZ33, KK38, wealthy, dep. to an unknown place

St. 16

- son Siegfried, Katz, * 25.6.1902 F, ver 1931 Jesberg, e 29.9.1938 USA

°° Blanka (I) Katz, née Löwenstein, 23.10.1903 * F, ver 1931 Jesberg, 1.3.1933 Fulda, e 29.9.1938 USA

-- grandchild Kurt Katz, * 29.9.1938, e USA

49) Lisette Katz, née Gluck, * 13.7.1852 (8.2.1853), mother-in-law of Hermann Bloch, in F Am Hochzeitshaus 17, after 13.11.1932 F, VZ33, ver Stuttgart 6.7.1933, # 25.4.1940

50) Walter Katzenstein, , * 27.4.1916, apprentice salesman 1.12.1932-1.9.1935 at Gottlieb Löwenstein, ver 2.9.1935 Hattenhof, then Frankfurt / M, e March 1937

eNr.29

51) **Siegfried Kaufmann**, * 30.9.1882 Borken, 1940 in F Gießener St. 17, VZ33, livestock dealer, ver Borken 2.11.1933, ver Frankfurt / M Geringshof 1940, dep. Frankfurt / M probably in May or June 1942 to Lublin region, # unknown place

St.17

52) **Paula Kaufmann, née Sauer**, * 3.8.1893 F, Ursulinenschule, VZ33, °° Siegfried ver 2.11.1933 Borken, ver 1940 Frankfurt / M Geringshof, dep. Frankfurt / M probably in May or June 1942 in Lublin region, # unknown place

St. 18

53) - daughter Lieselotte / Lisbeth Kaufmann, , * 7.9.1921 F, Ursulinenschule until 1933, VZ33, ver 2.11.1933 Borken, 1938 ver Frankfurt / M, e 8.5.1939 Britain, 29.4.1941 °° Mills, # 28.6.1997,

eNr.30

-- grandson Paul Michel Mills, *1944, England

-- grandson Peter Antony Mills, *1946, Canada

Keren, Leah, daughter of Rabbi Mordechai Jechiel, DP, # 18.4.1948

54) Adolf Kleinberger, * 29.12.1889, **F Von-Hund-Gasse 16+17/A 16**, Lierloch A177, house owner, butcher, VZ33, sells farmland 1.10.1935, e fled to South Africa in July 1936, sells slaughterhouse 5.11.1936, sold private house 3.12.1936, deregistered inspectorate 1937,

eNr.31

55) °° Louise Kleinberger, née Bacharach, * 18.8.1885 F, °° Adolf VZ33, e fled to South Africa in July 1936,

eNr.32

56) - son Ernst Kleinberger, * 3.4.1923 F, VZ33, e fled to South Africa in July 1936,

eNr.33

9.6.1994, on special request additional private memorial plaque,

St.19

°° Sadie Kleinberger,

--grandchild Marlene Kleinberger

---great grandchild Nadine Shenker

57) **Kron, Gustav**, * 23.4.1878 Wolfhagen, son of Isaac Kron °° Hannchen, née Lohenstein, F Neustädterstr. 7, Gießen St. 39, Jewish teacher training college Kassel, teacher, kosher butcher, military service Arolsen 1900-1904, Arolsen 1904-1905

Mengringhausen, 1905-1919, Westhofen/Alsace-Lorraine, front line soldier 1914-1916, opted for Germany Feb. 1919, therefore expelled from Alsace-Lorraine, 1919 -1925 Harmuthsachsen, °° Selma 1921, teacher 1925-1933 in Fritzlar, VZ33, sent on leave 1.5.1933, forced to retire 1.1.1934, 1934/35 German private lessons, geography, French, Biblical and new Hebrew, took courses at Vocational school, gave supplementary lessons for pupils, 15.12.1937, last entry in the synagogue register, unsuccessful applications as cantor in the United States, ver 29.12.1937 Hamburg, arrested in 1938, dep. 25.10.1941 to Lodz, later Auschwitz, # May 1942 Chelmno.

St. 20

58) °°Selma Kron, , née Blumenkrohn, * 6.4.1890 Spangenberg, daughter of Victor B.

°° Hannchen, née Plaut, chemistry lab assistant, °° Gustav 1921, VZ33, ver 29.12.1937 Hamburg, dep. 25.10.1941 Hamburg to Lodz, later Auschwitz, # May 1942 Chelmno.

St. 21 59) - son Walter Victor Kron, , * 15.3.1922 Harmuthsachsen, 1928-1932 Jewish elementary school VZ33, 1932-1937 Rektorats- School with diploma, ver.14.4.1937 Frankfurt / M Philantropin boarding school, e 28.6.1937 children's transport to USA, 1943-1946 US soldier, in 1945 spent a few days in Fritzlar, 1951 Bachelor degree, 1957 Masters, 1961 Doctor at Law, Assistant Attorney General, pensioned 1997 , °° Ann,

eNr.34

-- granddaughter Lisa Kron, , USA

-- grandson, David Kron, * May 1963, USA, °° Shoshana, née Wertheim

--- Great-grandson, Benjamin Aaron Kron, * Febr.1997

60) (mother of Gustav) Joanna Kron, née Lohenstein, * 30.1.1848, since 25.1.1926 F, VZ33, ver 29.12.1937 Hamburg, #?

Kugelmann, Meier, * 1840, a soldier in the Franco-Prussian. War 1870/71, trader, broker, # 5.9.1914

°° Jeanette, née Hirschberg (or Levi), * 1844, # 7.8.1909

61) - daughter Kugelmann, Gitel, * 24.7.1875, in F since 1932, # F 12.12.1933

- daughter Bella Kugelmann, 1884, °° William Bolten, President of the Fritzlarer Association in New York

- son **Robert Kugelmann, F * 6.6.1880, in 1921 moved to Mönchen-Gladbach, dep. Düsseldorf to Lodz 27. 10 1941, # missing**

62) - son Josef Kugelmann, * 13.5.1877 F, Fraumünsterstr. 19/Münster C 60, property owner, grain merchant, °° Betti 6.3.1911, Front-line soldier 1914-1918, Helper at, 1200 Year anniversary 1925, VZ33, standard value of house 1.1.1935, KK38, imprisoned from 8./9.11.1938 on, incl. Breitenau 9.5 -13.12.1941, house confiscated by the city 25.7.1941 , dep. 16.12.1941 from Breitenau to Dachau, declared 'Enemy of the people and government' 9.4.1942, inventory auction 3.6.1942, # 16.6.1942 Dachau, Trusteeship 1946,

St.22 63) °°Kugelmann, Betti, née Plaut, * 31.5.1884 Willingshausen, since 28.2.1911 F,

°° Josef 6.3.1911, VZ33, KK38, imprisoned Breitenau from 9.5.1941, dep. 9.2.1942 from Breitenau to Ravensbrück, # 11.10.1942 Auschwitz,

St.23

64) -- granddaughter Berta / Bertel, * 8.3.1924 F, VZ33, refused Ursulinenschule 1934, ver April 1938 Marburg, identity card there, ver 1939 Hamburg, 26.6.-11.8.1939 F, dep. 25.6.1943 from Hamburg to Theresienstadt, Mauthausen, **liberated on 5.5.1945 in Lensing / Austria. In Fritzlar Nov 1945 to June 1946, House C61 = Fraumünsterstr. 15, ver Hamburg, e USA June 1946, Trusteeship 1946, friend Gerda Kraft**

St.24

°° Melvin Borowsky 1956, * 12.1.1930, #

2.10.1996

--- great-grandson, Dr. Claude Borowsky, * 18.6.1964, °° Karen, née McElhaney, * 4.4.1953

--- great-grandson, Dr. Mark Borowsky, * 8.7.1960

--- Granddaughter **Hilde / Brunhilde Kugelmann, * 22.1.1916, ver Spangenberg, ver Hamburg, °° Benno Helfer s.d.**

-- Granddaughter Irene Kugelmann, 16.12.1913 * F, Ursulinenschule, e 1.11.1929 USA, °° Baruch, # 3.5.1989

65) -- grandson, Max Kugelmann, F * 18.12.1911, Latin School, ver 14.4.1926

Gudensberg, VZ33, 13.11.1933 ver Würzburg, e 15.12 1933 USA, °° Paula 27.6 1939, 1943-45 US soldier, in 1945 in Fritzlar, # 17.7.1989, Max Kugelman Foundation,

eNr.35

°° Paula, née Wertheim, °° 27.6.1939

--- great-granddaughter, Beatrice Kugelman, * 11.2.1942, °° Dan Dickey, USA

- daughter **Selma Kugelman**, * 22.1.1875 F, cashier at J. Kugelman, moved to Mönchengladbach before 1921, dep. from Wunsdorf 27.9.1940 to the Killing Institute Brandenburg, euthanasia victim # 27.9.1940

66) Liebmann Kugelman, * 4.5.1881, in F since 15.8.1932 Hintergasse 12, trader, VZ33, imprisoned 9.11.1938, # Buchenwald 16.12.1938, the first Fritzlar Shoah fatality, trusteeship 1946,

St.25

67) Rebekka Kugelman, * 30.6.1883 Felsberg, since 15.8.1932 F Hintergasse 12, sister of Liebmann, VZ33, KK38, house "sale" 21.3.1940, moved to Treysa, Berlin April 1940, dep. 3.8.1942 from Berlin to Theresienstadt, # 28.4.1943 Terezin,

St.26

68) Frommet Kugelman, * 22.11.1867 Kleinenglis, sister of Liebmann, in F since 15.8.1932 Hintergasse 12, VZ33, KK38, ver April 1940 Treysa, Berlin, dep. 3.8.1942 from Berlin to Theresienstadt, # 15.4.1943 Theresienstadt,

St.27

L

Lange, Michael Moses, °° Lea, née Rubino

---- great great grandchild Elimelech Lange, Jerusalem

69) Lautmann, Leo, F 1938 employee at Joseph Löwenstein, Fraumünsterstr. 22

Lehmann, Mojzesz, * 18.5.1896 from Lublin, 1946 in F Fraumünsterstr 22; he took over the former Löwenstein business.

°° Charlotte, * 31.5.1891

Lissauer, Elias, * 25.4.1865, in F Gießenerstr. 18/Werkel C121, furniture trader, # 14.11.1929, VZ33

°° Lissauer, Dina, née Abt, # 4.2.1930 F; take over of the Lissauer Foundation 1939 refused by the city.

1) - daughter, Frieda / Friedel Lissauer, * 9.7.1901 F, °° Elias Auerbach, s.d.

70) - son Gustav (II) Lissauer, , * 1.3.1903, field and garden owner, furniture trader, VZ33,

°° Bella 1933, e June 1934 USA (San Francisco), # 10.12.1955,

eNr.36

71)°° Bella Lissauer, , née Hofmann, *ca.1903, °°Gustav (II) 1933, e USA in June 1934, # 7.1.1950,

eNr.37

72) -- granddaughter Dorothy / Dina Lissauer 19.6.1934 F *, e United States in June 1934,

°° Hans Meyer, Sherman Oaks,

eNr.38

--- great-granddaughter Joan Emily Lissauer, 5.1.1942

73) - son Max Lissauer, * 14.4.1907 F, furniture production and trade, house, garden and farm owner, farm sale 1933, VZ33, unit value of the house 1.1.1935, hospital Marburg 1935, Bendorf Sayn-1936, sale of gardens 1934-37, operating permit cancelled 23.4.1937, still wealthy in 1938, fields and house sold March to June 1940, dep. 15.6.1942 from Bendorf – Sayn to Izbica, # 15.6.1942 during transport, trusteeship 1946,

St.28

- daughter Sidonie Siddi Lissauer, *15.11.1898 F, Ursulinenschule, Gießener Str 18, 1925 °° Theo Blumenkrohn, 1925 moved to Spangenberg, later Erfurt, e 1938 Palestine, # 21.1.1991

--grandson Manfred Blumenkrohn, later Jecheil Ogdan, Israel

74) Moses Lissauer, * 22.9.1870 Ungedanken, since 1887 F Gießenerstr. 8/Werkel C3, 14 and 18, women's fashions and furniture, 1924-1928 Chief synagogue warden, VZ33, house and garden owner, operating permit withdrawn 1937, business devastated 9.11.1938, field "sale" 14.11.1938, KK38, 1939 synagogue President, house "sale" 16.4.1940, ver 1.8.1940 Kassel, # 6.12.1941 Kassel, Trusteeship 1946

75) Clara Lissauer, , née Heilbronn, * 20.6.1876, ° Moses, Dep. Chair, Jewish Women's Association, # F 2.2.1937 F

- Son Gustav (I), Lissauer, * 27.4.1901 F, ver Karlsruhe, Mannheim 18.6.1926, e 8.7.1938 USA, Trusteeship 1946, ° 8.8.1942 Lissauer, Hanna, née Löwenstein, # 8.7.1961 (St. placed in error ,see Goldwein)

76) - son **Julius Lissauer**, , * 5.4.1906 F, Gießener St. 8, manufacturing goods, garden owners, VZ33, KK38, ver 1.8.1940 Kassel, dep. 1.6.1942 from Kassel to Majdanek, # Majdanek/ Lublin 5.8.1942, Trust 1946,

St.29

- son Siegfried Lissauer, , * 6.12.1902 F, # 19.1.1903

77) - daughter **Susanne/Susi Lissauer**, * 19.10.1909 F, ° Paul Luss 22.6.1934 s.d.

78) **Löwenstein, David**, * 21.10.1874 F, son of Gottlieb, Gießener St. 20+22, Fraumünsterstr. 22, clothing and furniture, synagogue warden/accountant , member district commercial association, VZ33, wealthy, imprisoned 8./9.11.1938, KK38, ver 19.5.1939 Frankfurt / M, Quinchestr.25, dep. 22.11.1941 Frankfurt/M to Kowno Fort IX, # Kowno shot 25.11.1941.**St.30** 79) ° Pauline Löwenstein, , née Reis, * 3.6.1875, VZ33, # 17.7.1934 F

80) - daughter **Bessy/Bessi Löwenstein**, , *5.12.1902 F, Ursulinenschule, VZ33, KK38, ver 19.5.1939 Frankfurt / M, Quinchestr. 25, dep. 22.11.1941 Frankfurt / M to Kowno Fort IX,

Kowno shot 25.11.1941,

St.31

81) - son **Siegmund Löwenstein**, * 4.7.1905 F, salesman, VZ33, wealthy, imprisoned 9.11.-16.12.1938, KK38, 1940 forced relocation Fraumünsterstr. 19, ver 23.9.1940 Frankfurt / M, Quinchestr.25, dep. 22.11.1941 Frankfurt/M to Kowno Fort IX, #Kowno shot 25.11.1941, **St.32**

82) ° **Elli Lina Löwenstein**, , née **Wallach**, * 1.1.1909 Flieden, F since 11.10.1936, KK38, forced relocation 1940 Fraumünsterstr.19, ver 23.9.1940 Frankfurt / M, Quinchestr. 25, dep. 22.11.1941 from Frankfurt to Kowno Fort IX, # Kowno shot 25.11.1941,

St.33

83) -- grandson **Bernd Löwenstein**, * 26.7.1938 F, last entry in the Jewish birth register, SA threatened on the night 8 / 9.11.1938 to throw the infant out of the window KK39, ver 23.9.1940 Frankfurt/M, Quinchestr. 25, dep. 22.11.1941 Frankfurt/M to Kowno, # Kowno shot 25.11.1941,

St.34

84) Jettchen Löwenstein, , * 5.7.1875 F, Marktplatz 1, VZ33, KK38, 9.5.-20.10. 1941 imprisoned Breitenau, 21.10. Merxhausen 30.10. Bendorf-Sayn, # 19.11.1941 in Bendorf-Sayn, inventory auction 1942

Löwenstein, Gottlieb, * 1827, Fraumünsterstr. 22-26/Münsterstr. C 52-54, manufactured goods, clothing, furniture, sewing machines since 1873, synagogue warden, # 8.6.1897, ° Beßchen, née Stern

- son Löwenstein, Isaac, * 7.4.1870

- daughter Löwenstein, Minna, * 5.8.1876 F

85) - son **Joseph II Löwenstein**, * 22.6.1868 in Obermöllrich, house+farm owner, factory goods and furniture, synagogue warden, VZ33, sells farmland 1.9.1937, ver 22.2.1938 Fulda, Rhönstr. 18a, sells house 21.9.1938, dep. Kassel on 9.12.1941 to Riga, # Riga declared dead. on 8.5.1945, trusteeship 1946,

St.35

86) ° **Löwenstein, Rickchen Karoline, née Kron**, * 27.3.1872 Leusel (Laufen/Alsfeld), VZ33, ver 22.2.1938 Rhönstr Fulda. 18a, dep. Kassel on 9.12.1941 to Riga, # declared dead Riga, 8.5.1945,

St.36

87) -- grandson Alfred Löwenstein,, * 17.5.1902 F, VZ33, e Palestine in June 1933, # 1986 in Israel,

eNr.39

88)° Gitta Löwenstein, née Schloß,*14.7.1904, ePalestine in June 1933, #1987 in Israel,

eNr.40

--- great grandson Gideon Löwenstein, * 1935 Palestine, e USA, studied in Germany 1956-1960, Prof. Furniture Design, °° Melanie Löwenstein, , two children: Adin, David, USA

--grandson Löwenstein, , Arthur, F * 1905, # 12.6.1907

89) -- granddaughter Blanka (I) Löwenstein, * F 23.10.1903, ver 1931 Jesberg, VZ33, ver 1.3. Fulda 1933, e 29.9.1938 USA, °° Siegfried Katz s.d.

eNr.41

90) -- granddaughter Löwenstein, Erna, * 20.8.1897 F, °° Fritz Rapp s.d.

-- grandson Gustav Löwenstein, , * 16.6.1899 F, bank official, soldier from 11.5.1914, died as soldier 31.8.1918

s. 46) --granddaughter Herta Löwenstein, , * 30.12.1908 F, °° Leon Katz s.d.

91) Fanny(I) Löwenstein, née Moses, * 22.3.1844, in F Fraumünsterstr. 22, factory goods, the largest textile business in F, VZ33, # 18.5.1936 F

Sister e USA °° Stiebel

92) - son Siegfried Löwenstein, , * 23.4.1896 F, °° Berta 1924, VZ33, imprisoned from 8./9.11.1938, business "sale" 1939, ver 1938, Jan. 1939 e USA,

eNr.42

93) °° Berta/Bertl Löwenstein, née Rapp, * 5.8.1899, VZ33, °° Siegfried, ver 1938, Jan. 1939 e USA,

eNr.43

94) -- grandson Ferdinand Löwenstein, , * 27.4.1925 F, Rector school, ver 1.12.1935 Fulda, e Jan. 1939 USA

eNr.44

95) -- grandson Gerhard Löwenstein,, * 2.4.1930, VZ33, ver 1938, Jan. 1939 e USA,

eNr.45

Löwenstein, Susmann, ver before 1933, e 1935 Palestine

°° Löwenstein, Hilde, née Löwenstein, ver before 1933, e 1935 Palestine

Löwenstein, Auguste, * 17.7.1874, °° Jeremiah, Gießenerstr. 23/Werkelstr. B25+26, F # 16.2.1927

96) Leopold Löwenstein, * 18.5.1884 F, private Prot. school, house+farm owner, sells factory goods until 31.12.1938, synagogue warden and chairman, VZ33, wealthy, imprisoned 9.11.-9.12.1938, KK38, business ended 31.12.1938, ver 15.5.1939 Bad Nauheim, retirement home Frankfurter Str. 63, house+land "sale" on 7.7.1941, dep. 15.9.1942 from Bad Nauheim via Darmstadt to Theresienstadt, # Treblinka 30.9.1942, trusteeship 1946,

St.37

97) °° Löwenstein, Paula Rosa, née Scheuer, * 19.5.1895 Ostheim Friedberg, in F since Feb. 1920, VZ33, KK38, ver 15.5.1939 Bad Nauheim retirement home Frankfurterstr. 63, dep. 15.9.1942 from Bad Nauheim via Darmstadt to Theresienstadt, # 30.9.1942 Treblinka,

St.38

Moses Meier Löwenstein, , * 30.3.1814, in F Flehmengasse 10, butcher

- son, Julius Löwenstein, * ca 1847, #? 1934

- daughter Hilde Löwenstein, , ver before 1933, e 1935 Palestine

98) -- grandson Hermann Löwenstein, , * 11.12.1869, F synagogue beadle # F 3.9.1936

-- grandson **Nathan Heinemann Löwenstein**, , * 8.5.1873 F, ver before 1921 Fulda, 1939 Karlsruhe, ver 27.6.1940 Frankfurt / M, dep. Stuttgart to Theresienstadt 22.8.1942, # Theresienstadt 17.12.1942

-- granddaughter Sally Löwenstein, , 23.12.1888 * F, ver before 1933, 1939 Hanover

99) Fanny (II) Löwenstein, * 19.6.1871, F Steinweg 1, Nikolausstr. 6, F since 1885, VZ33, KK38, # Dec. 1938

100) Siegfried-Susmann Löwenstein, , * 10.5.1884 Obermöllrich, F since 1889, Nikolausstr. 16, Nikolausstr. 6/C7, Fraumünsterstr. 5, secondary school, house + farm owner, textile factory, bicycles, sewing machines since 1906, VZ33, wealthy, imprisoned 9.11.-30.11.1938, KK38 forced business closure, house "sale" 24.1.1939, ver 21.11.1940 Frankfurt/M, land "sale" 21.8.1941, dep. probably May or June 1942 to the region of Lublin, # Izbica? (declared dead 9.5.1945), Trusteeship 1946,

St.39

101) °° Ella Löwenstein, née Heilbron, * 28.4.1893 Wolfenbüttel/Achim, in F since 1920,

°° Siegfried-Susmann. VZ33, KK38, ver 21.11.1940 Frankfurt/M, dep. Frankfurt/M probably May or June 1942 to the Lublin region , # Izbica?,

St.40

102) - daughter Blanka (II) Löwenstein, * F 30.11.1921, Ursulinenschule, VZ33, KK38, ver 16.7.1939 Frankfurt/M, dep. Frankfurt/M probably May or June 1942 to the Lublin region , # at an unknown place

St.41

Löwenstein, Joseph (I), * 1794, # 1864, °° Amalie, née Buxbaum
-- daughter Löwenstein, Güta, * 14.5.1871 F, s. Sauer

Luss, Paul, Dr., * 17.3.1900, Krefeld-Uerdingen, Manufactured goods, imprisoned Dachau 1938, dep. 22.4.1942 from Krefeld via Düsseldorf, German citizenship withdrawn 5.9.1942 , Shoah Izbica

s.77) Luss, Susi, née Lissauer, 19.10.1909 * F, Gießenerstr. 8, Ursulinenschule 1917-1927, Women's Training College, °° Paul 22.6.1934, ver Krefeld, 1940 visit to F, dep. from Krefeld via Düsseldorf to Izbica / Lublin region on 22.4.1942, # Izbica?,

St.42

M

Bernhardine Mannheimer, , * 8.12.1873, °° Epstein

Julius (I), Mannheimer, * 20.5.1895, F Kasselerstr.18, businessman, ver 1927 Adorf, # 24.6.1935 F

- daughter Margarita Mannheimer, , * 18.9.1922 F, ver 1927, e early 1933 USA, °° Schap

- son David Mannheimer, , e USA 1933

- son Fritz, Mannheimer, * 2.8.1903 F, Kasseler St. 18, ver 1927 Adorf, e USA, loss of German nationality 3.4.1940

Gustav Mannheimer, , * 23.6.1904 Ungedanken, e, loss of German nationality 2.1.1941

Moses / Moritz Mannheimer, , * 5.3.1880 F, Fraumünsterstr. 8/Münster C 66, private Christian high school, house + garden owner, livestock trader, synagogue warden soldier 1914-1918, # 16.9.1931, buried by the Kriegerverein (Soldiers Association), VZ33, Trusteeship 1946

103) Mannheimer, Frieda, née Marburger, * 7.8.1885 Laasphe, Nikolausstr. 4, °°Moses, Fraumünsterstr. 8, VZ33, livestock trade deregistered 5.4.1934, home sale 17.2.1937, ver 1.4.1937 Laasphe, e 1941 USA

eNr.46 **104) daughter Bertha Mannheimer, , * 6.12.1914 F, remembers 1200-Year anniversary 1925, Ursulinenschule, trade school, ver 23.5.1931 Spangenberg, VZ33, 1935 Hamburg, e 11.9.1936 USA, °° Erich Weitzenkorn s.d.,**

eNr.47

105) - son Julius (II) Mannheimer, * 30.3.1909 F, VZ33, e 3.4.1937 USA,

eNr.48

s. 12) - daughter Lilli Mannheimer, , * 24.4.1910 F, ver.1.4.1937 Laasphe, °° Brill, s.d.

106) - son Manfred/Freddy Mannheimer, , * F 13.10.1927, protestant elementary school 1933-1937, ver.1.4.1937 Laasphe, e USA 1941, # 26.8.2002, °° Ellen, née Schiff

eNr.49

107) - son Siegmund Mannheimer, , 19.10.1911 * F, VZ33, e 3.4.1937 USA,
eNr.50

108) - son Theodor/Theo David Mannheimer, , * 19.2.1919 F, VZ33, ver 6.6.1933 Battenberg, 18.1.1934 Meinbressen, 4.2.1937 F, 19.4.1937 Laasphe, e 1938 USA

eNr.51

109) Aron Mansbach, * 14.6.1873, in F Flehmengasse 13+4, house owner, merchant, VZ33, home sale Flehmengasse 4 on 10.6.1938, e South Africa in June 1938, Trusteeship 1946, eNr.52

110) °° Mansbach, Emma (II), née Heiser, * 8.1.1875, e South Africa in June 1938,
eNr.53

- daughter Fränzi Mansbach, * 1.10.1903 F, ver.1924 Eisenach, e Palestine in 1938, °° Max Stern, # 1994

s. 31) - daughter Ida Mansbach, , * 23.8.1901, °° Hirsch s.d.

111) Ascher Mansbach, , * 5.10.1865, in F since 1896 Am Hochzeitshaus 23/ Geismarstr D 42 1/2, house owner, textile merchant, butcher, livestock trader, VZ33, ver Nov. 1935 Neuss, home sale 29.4.1936, Düsseldorf-Grafenberg 1941, Bendorf Sayn-1942, # 12.4.1942, Trusteeship 1946

112) °° **Anna Mansbach, née Marx**, * 1.8.1865 Grusen, VZ33, ver.1935 Neuss, Kapitelstr. 1, as companion of her husband to Dusseldorf-Grafenberg 1941, then to Bendorf Sayn 1942, dep. 15.6.1942 Bendorf-Sayn to Izbica, # Izbica,

St.43

113) - son **Arthur Mansbach**, * 24.6.1898 F, ver.1935 Neuss, Kapitelstr. 1, manufactured goods, 1936-1938 Chairman Neuss synagogue, imprisoned Nov. 1938 in Dachau, dep. Neuss on 11.12.1941 from Dusseldorf to Riga, # Riga,

St.44

114) °° **Johanna Mansbach, , née Hirtz**, * 23.9.1890 Grevenbroich, ver Neuss, Kapitelstr. 1 1935, dep. Neuss on 11.12.1941 via Dusseldorf to Riga, # Riga,

St.45

115) -- grandson **Ernst Guenther Mansbach**, , *2.12.1927 F, 1935 Neuss Kapitelstr. 1, dep. Neuss on 11.12.1941 from Dusseldorf to Riga, 9.8.1944 to Stutthof, # Dec 1944.

Stutthof, **St.46**

116) -- grandson **Fritz Mansbach**, , * 5.10.1926 F, ver 1935 Neuss, Kapitelstr.1, dep. Neuss on 11.12.1941 from Düsseldorf to Riga, 9.8.1944 on to Stutthof and Buchenwald on 16.8.1944, # 5.1.1945 Buchenwald,

St.47

117) - son **Karl Mansbach**, * F 15.12.1903, bankruptcy procedure 4.10.1933, ver.1935 Neuss, e Amsterdam 1936, e USA 1939, # 1983,

eNr.54

-- grandson Stanley Mansbach, USA

118) - son **Ludwig Mansbach**, * 27.8.1896 F, Gießenerstr. 14, Kasselerstr. 16, Am Hochzeitshaus 23, °° Herta 1927, livestock trader, VZ33, litigation in 1935, fled to Holland with his family 1935. s'Herzogenbosch, Kalverstraat 46, loss of German nationality 21.8.1939, arrested May 1940, dep. to Westerbork, 3.9.1942 to the East, # 30.3.1944 Auschwitz, **St.48**

119) °° **Mansbach, Herta, née Levie**, * 8.10.1907 Leer/Ostfriesland, °° 1927, VZ33, escaped to Holland 1935, lost nationality 21.8.1939, arrested May 1940, dep. from Westerbork 3.9.1942, # 30.3.1944 Auschwitz,

St.49

120) -- grandson **Günther Mansbach**, , * 6.4.1932 F, VZ33, escaped to Holland in 1935, loss of nationality 21.8.1939, arrested May 1940, dep. 3.9. 1942 from Westerbork, # 30.3.1944 Auschwitz,

St.50

121) -- grandson **Hans-Jürgen/Hans-Jörg Mansbach**, , * 4.1.1931 F, VZ33, escaped to Holland in 1935, lost nationality 21.8.1939, arrested May 1940, dep. 3.9.1942 from Westerbork,

30.3.1944 Auschwitz,

St.51

122) -- granddaughter **Otilie Mansbach**, , * 9.6.1929 F, VZ33, escaped to Holland in 1935, lost nationality 21.8.1939, arrested May 1940, dep. 3.9.1942 from Westerbork, # 30.3.1944 Auschwitz,

St.52

- daughter **Sidonie Mansbach**, , * 23.9.1899, 1932 ver, °° Bachmann, s.d.

- Meier (IV), Mark * 26.3. 1831, °° Mathilde, née Dalberg, F Nikolausstr. 12, grain trader, ver 1898 Magdeburg, # 22.12.1905

- son **Robert Mark**, , * 10.1.1877 F, grain trader, °° Herta, ver before 1933 Allenstein/East Prussia, 1939 in Königsberg, dep. 27.8.1942 to Theresienstadt, 3.5.1943 Theresienstadt

°° **Herta Mark, née Blitzstein**, * 19.8.1890 Königsberg, dep. 27.8.1942 Theresienstadt, dep. to Auschwitz 9.10.1944 # Auschwitz probably 9.10.44

-- granddaughter Hilde Mark, , * 16.10.1911 Memel, e 1936? Palestine, # 28.12.2004

°° Heinz Pyritz, * 13.5.1906, # 1.4.1946 in Palestine

-- granddaughter Rina (Renate) Mark, * 1.11.1918 Allenstein, e 1936? Palestine

°° E. Auerbach, *10.8.1914,Berlin, Prof. Ophthalmology # 1997 in Jerusalem

- daughter **Adele Mark**, * 28.5.1874 F, ver 1898 Magdeburg, 1939 in Magdeburg, dep. 25.11.1942

from Magdeburg to Theresienstadt , # Theresienstadt 6.1.1944

- daughter Hedwig Mark, * 4.12.1871 F, ver 1898 Magdeburg, official register 1939, °° Moritz Ganz, e England in May 1939, # 8.12.1944

-- granddaughter Anna Friederike Ganz, , * 1.4.1896, doctor, Suicid 1943, in Berlin, °° Engelhard, # 30.9.1951 Paris

- son **Otto Mark**, * 21.3.1880 F, ver 1898 Magdeburg, soldier 1914/18, shop window decoration merchant, 1939 in Magdeburg, dep. from Magdeburg early 1943 # (Feb. 1943 Majdanek?),

°°**Erna Mark**, née Cosman, * 3.4.1888 Kleve, °° Otto 28.7.1921 , 1939 Magdeburg, dep. from Magdeburg early 1943 #(end of March 1943 Majdanek?)

-- grandson Erich Meyer/Eric William Mark, * 18.7.1922, Magdeburg, e 13.1.1935 England, °° Miriam Majerfeld, * 21.6.1931

---great grandson David J. Mark

---great granddaughter Anne Mark °°Robert Feldman 1986

---great granddaughter Sandra °° James Robinson 1995

--grandson Werner/ Vernon W. Mark, * Magdeburg 1.4.1927, e 10.11.1938 England

Mark, Jerome, * 19.5.1863 F, son of Selig Mark, jr. °° Philippine/Biene, née Mark, Gießener Str 1 1939, official register 1939

123) Max Mark, 19.12.1872 * F, son of Isaac II and Gita, called Hannchen, née Rosenbaum, Marktplatz 13, VZ33, shoemaker, 1938 Berlin-Schöneberg, official register 1939, dep. 18.10.1941 Berlin to Lodz, # 15.6.1942 Lodz

St.53

124) Mark, Philippine/Biene, * 8.6.1843, daughter of Isaac II, 1st °° Selig (II), 2nd °° Gottfried Martingasse 8, # 1938

Mattes, Fredi, * 27.12.1920, ver Geldern 5.6.1935

125) Richard Meyerhoff/Maierhofer, Kasselerstr. 25, VZ33, e June 1933 England, eNr.55

s. 53) Liselotte Mills, née Kaufmann s.d.

126) Erna Moses, , * 4.5.1906, in F housekeeper for David Löwenstein, Gießener St. 22, VZ33, 31.10.1936 ver Ziegenhain, e USA Dec. 1936, # 13.6.1958 New York,

eNr.56

°° Dankmar Abraham,

N

Nebel, Hans, °° Ruth, née Stern, 30.6.1946, e USA

Neugarten, Emilie, * 1889 F, °° Futermann, e Haifa 1938

Neugarten, Minna, 1938 e Buenos Aires

Neugarten, Paula, * 7.5.1887 F, °° Boldes, moved to Recklinghausen

Neugarten, Siegfried, 27.11.1898 * F, son of Moses, Kasselerstr. 14, moved to Essen 1916, soldier, war medal, °° Hermine Issen, e in February 1939 to Belgium, arrested May 1940 together with other Germans in Belgium, escaped from internment camp at Gurs/ Pau, Dep. Basses Pyrenees/Southern France 1942, hidden in Brussels for two years, **liberated**, e 1954 to Israel, 1956 back to Essen, Chief Executive of the Essen Jewish Religious organisation, Head of the NRW Jewish Religious organisation, member of the Central Council of Jews, deputy. Board member for Christian-Jewish Cooperation Council, # 1.2.1986,

St.54

- Two children: Neugarten, Grete and Hans

Neugarten, Sophie, * 7.10.1887 F, °° Piek, ver Leipzig

127) Aron Neuhaus, * 23.2.1873 Guxhagen, F Gießener St. 13, teacher in F 1905-1924, soldier 13.7.1917-30.1.1918, ver.1930-1933 Frankfurt/M, VZ33 Gießener St. 13, ver 26.3.1934 Kassel, Jordanstr.4, 1938 Moltkestr. 7, 1941 Moltkestr. 10, 1942 Mittelgasse, dep. 7.9.1942 from Kassel to Theresienstadt, # 7.2.1943 Theresienstadt,

St.55

128) Rosalchen Neuhaus, * 26.4.1871 Guxhagen, Fraumünsterstr. 8, sister of Aron, in F since 1911, VZ33, ver 26.3.1934 Kassel, Mittelgasse 53, dep.7.9.1942 from Kassel to Theresienstadt, **liberated** in Theresienstadt 8.5.1945,

St.56

129) Leopold Nussbaum, * 6.9.1901 Borken, ver. **F** Kasselerstr. 14, businessman , VZ33, engaged to Gretel Friedberg 30.4.1934, ver. 1.5. 1934 to Berlin, dep. from Berlin to Auschwitz 4.3.1943, # Auschwitz,

St.57

19) °° Nussbaum, Gretel, née Friedberg, * 14.4.1914 F, Ursulinenschule, VZ33, engaged 30.4.1934, ver.1.5.1934 Berlin, Dec. 1938 e Shanghai, # 11.1.1943 in Shanghai,

eNr.57

- daughter, * 1935 Berlin, Shanghai 1938, e 1947 USA

O

Ogdan, Jechiel, * 14.7.1927 as Manfred Blumenkrohn, , Spangenberg, e 10.9.1938 Palestine

P

130) Sara Pfifferling, * 30.6.1888 Datterode/Eschwege, in **F** since Feb. 1919 Fraumünsterstr. 26, maid to A. Stern, VZ33, KK38, Kassel Mombachstr. 17, ver 19.5.1939, dep. 9.12.1941 from Kassel to Riga, # March 1942 Riga,

St.58

131) Jettchen Plaut, née Stiefel, *19.8.1880, 1937 housekeeper in **F**, ver 3.8.1937 Sontra?

Plaut, Max (I), Dr., Kassel, # after maltreatment 31.3.1933

Plaut, Max (II), Dr., brother of Betty Kugelmann, née Plaut, e Palestine

Plaut, Selma, * 15.6.1910, 19.3.1935 ver Frankershausen

Herta Poppert, née Speier, * 11.11.1913 **F**, Ursulinenschule, ver Bochum 1928, Essen May 1933,

°° Erich Poppert from Belgium, **survived**

R

Friedrich / Fritz (I) Rapp, * 6.7.1888 Groß Umstadt, ver. Weinheim, dep. 22.10.1940 Gurs, Frankreich, dep. 10.8.1942 Auschwitz, # Auschwitz

s. **90)** °° **Erna Rapp, née Löwenstein**, * 20.8.1897 **F**, Fraumünsterstr. 22, Ursulinenschule, seamstress, ver 8.2.1922 Fulda, Rhönstr. 18a, VZ33 in Fulda 17.5.1939, dep. 9.12.1941 from Fulda via Kassel to Riga, # March 1942 Riga,

St.59

- son Fritz (II) /Fred Rapp, *26.12.1923 in Fulda, e 26.7.1939 to Cardiff, England, later on USA

- son Guenther **Rapp**, * 7.8.1927 in Fulda, dep. Kassel on 9.12.1941 to Riga, # March 1942 Riga

- daughter **Marga Rapp**, *5.1.1931 in Fulda, dep.via Kassel to Riga 9.12.1941, # March 1942 Riga

s. 28) Sofia Resnik, née Hecht, * 1.10.1904 **F**, saleswoman, **F** since 1924, ver 1935 Frankfurt/M, e 1935? Palestine.

eNr.58

132) Toni Rosenbach, * 25.5.1889 Hoof, in **F** Housekeeper for Aron Mansbach Flehmengasse 4, VZ33, ver.13.8.1937 Kassel, Schillerstr. 7, dep. 9.12.1941 from Kassel to Riga, # March 1942 Riga,

St.60

Selma Rosenhoff, née Löwenstein, * 14.3.1889 Obermöllrich, ver before 1933 Osterholz-Schermbeck, # unknown

Gerda Rosenthal, * 8.5.1916, in **F** 1945-46 after **liberation** from forced labour, e USA June 1946, In the USA °° Kraft, New York, friend of Bertel Borowsky

Joseph Rosenthal, , * 20.12.1917, °° Katharina, * 5.4.1919, **F** 1946 camp north

Wilhelmina Rosenthal, , in **F** 1946

133) Anneliese Bertha Rosenzweig, * 10.4.1928, in **F** since 3.4.1934, ver 1935 ?

134) Beatrice Rosenzweig, , * 10.4.1928, e 22.11.1937,

eNr.59

Berta Rothschild, née Bacharach, * 8.3.1878 **F**, ver prior to 1933, 1939 in Mannheim

Rubino, Dr. Rudolf, # 1875 USA

°° Friederike, née Elsbacher, # 1870 Frankfurt/M

S

Robert **Salmon**, , 29.10.1890 * Homberg, ver before 1933, residence unknown 1939, dep. 1943

Auschwitz, Auschwitz #

Paul Sauber, * 28.1.1924, F 1946 Blaumühlengässchen

Heinemann Sauer, , * 26.10.1856, F Markt 23, livestock trader, # 14.6.1928

°° Frieda Sauer, * 24.4.1873, after # 1921

- daughter **Alice Sauer**, * 29.7.1903 Wattenscheid, in F Ursulinenschule, ver before 1933

Ludwigshafen, dep. 22.10.1942 Gurs, France?, 10.8.1942 Auschwitz, # Auschwitz?

- daughter Berta Sauer, , * 31.3.1894 F, Ursulinenschule, ver before 1933

-daughter Franziska Fränzi Sauer, , * 13.9.1902 F, Ursulinenschule, °° Max Gutheim s.d.

Güta Ida Sauer, née Löwenstein, * 14.5.1871 F, ver before 1933 Kassel, Mombachstr. 17, Jewish retirement home, state official register F 1939, dep. Kassel to Theresienstadt on 7.9.1942, **liberated** in Theresienstadt 8.5.1945

135) Sara (I) Sauer, née Gutheim, * 29.3.1871 Lohne, F Gießener St. 17, in F since 1897, VZ33, KK38, ver 22.11.1940 Frankfurt/M, dep. 15.9.1942 from Frankfurt / M to Theresienstadt, # 23.2.1943 Theresienstadt,

St.61

s. 52) - daughter **Paula Sauer**, * 3.8.1893 °° Kaufmann, s.d.

136) Sara (II) Sauer, , * 5.9.1880, in F Gießener St. 17, ver after 1939

137) Sauerwald, Jacob, F Jordan/ Martinsgasse 7, trader, e.g. in 1936 he sold the property of Max Gutheim, ver before December 1938

138) Augusta Schasny, , * 8.4.1907, converted to Cath. Church, Ursuline school, came from Plauen / Vogtland to F 20.6.1939, e 15.12. 1939 Lima, Peru, # 1970,

eNr.60

139) Carl Schloß, * 27.11.1891, Flehmengasse 1/C 113, house + garden owner, VZ33, manufactured goods, licence withdrawn 4.3.1937, ver.5.3.1937 Hanover, home sale 25.8.1937, e Oct.1937 Argentina , Trusteeship 1946,

eNr.61

140) °° Hilde Schloß, née Löwenstein, * 4.2.1893, VZ33, ver 5.3.1937 Hanover, e Argentina in October 1937,

eNr.62

Olga Ruth, née Stern, °° Segal

- son Aron Segal, died 1948 as soldier in Israel

141) Else Selig, , * 29.8.1916, saleswoman since 24.1.1934 , ver after 1935

142) Spangenthal, Trude, * 10.10.1920, came to F 23.4.1935, ver after 1935, e South-America,

later Israel

eNr.63

Emma Speier, , née Mannheim, * 10.1.1878 F, ver before 1933, 1939 in Alsfeld

Nathan Speier, * 1841, Flehmengasse 1, # 18.7.1888

°° Bertha Speier, née Adler, * 1841, # 8.10.1903

143) - daughter Amalie Speier, * 11.4.1873 Züschen, F since 1875, Martingasse 18, VZ33, KK38, owned part of a house, 23.5.1941 hospital Frankfurt/M Jan.+ Aug. 1941, "sold" woollens + furs, house, garden + land June 1941, dep. Kassel on 7.9.1942 to Theresienstadt, **liberated** in Theresienstadt 8.5.1945, 1945 Frankfurt/M,

St.62

144) - son Hermann Speier, , * 1.12.1880 F, Martinsgasse 18/Brüdergasse B 43, home, field + garden owner, Soldier 1915-1918, 1927 shoe trader, VZ33, home sale 6.6.1934, setting the standard value 1.1.1935, cattle trade deregistered 1.8.1934, cigar business licence withdrawn 8.10.1937, footwear deregistered 4.10.1938, Garden "sale" 15.12.1938, KK38, house + land "sale" June 1941, imprisoned in Breitenau 9.5.-31.10. 1941, dep. 31.10.1941 from Breitenau to Sachsenhausen, # 11.2.1942

Sachsenhausen, Trusteeship 1946,

St.63

145) - daughter Sofie Speier, * 6.9.1878 F, Martingasse 18, owned part of a house VZ33, KK38, wealthy, house, garden + land "sold" June 1941, expropriated 27.8.1942, dep. via Kassel to Theresienstadt on 7.9.1942, **liberated** in Theresienstadt 8.5.1945, 1945 Frankfurt/M,

St.64

146) Moritz Speier, * 28.7.1873, in F since 1875, Zwischen den Krämen 2+4/Markt D 30, livestock trader, house + garden owner, house purchased 1911, ver.1929 Merseburg, VZ33, imprisoned in 1938, e summer 1939 to England, e USA Sept. 1940, land "sale" 10.2.1940, house "sales" 1.4.1940 and 28.11.1941, assets forfeited to the German Reich 7.12.1942, trusteeship 1946,

eNr.64

°° Jeanette, née Katzenstein, * 2.1.1886, ver 1929 Merseburg, e 1939 England, e Sept. 1940 USA
 - daughter Bertel / Bertha Speier, , * 21.2.1913 F, Ursulinenschule, ver 1929 Merseburg, e USA 1936, # 18.12.2004, °° 1st Justin Held, * 1904, # 1950, 2nd Glassman, Baltimore
 -- granddaughter Evelyn Held, * 21.12.1943 °° Phil Snyder
 - daughter Clara Speier, * 1920, recalls the 1200-Year Celebrations 1925, ver 1929 Merseburg, e USA 1936, °° Baer
 --granddaughter Joan Anderson
 --grandson Michael Baer
 - Speier, Norbert, F * 1910, recalls the 1200 Year anniversary in 1925, Rector school, ver 1929 Merseburg, e USA 1936, # 30.1.1999
 -- daughter Speier, Rosa, °° Baruch, ver Breslau
 ---granddaughter Lee °°Gail Katz
 - daughter Speier, Rosa °°Baruch, ver Breslau

147) Susmann Speier, * 19.11.1870 Züschen, F Fraumünsterstr. 2/Münsterstr. C 72, Steinweg 1, Gießener St. 25, in F since May 1875, property owner, soldier 1914-1916, VZ33, setting the unit value 1.1.1935, livestock dealer, licence withdrawn 1.3.1937, land sale Jan. 1937, KK38, permission to hold religious services at home refused by the mayor in 1939, imprisoned Breitenau 9.5.-8.8.1941, interim stay in F, prison in Kassel Oct.-Nov 1941, dep. Nov. 1941 from Kassel to Sachsenhausen, house confiscated 25.11.1941, # 22.1.1942 in Sachsenhausen, inventory auctioned 3.6.1942,

St.65

148) °° 1. Riekchen Speier, , née Hammerschlag, * 22.3.1875, # F 4.4.1933

149) °° 2. Rebekka Ruth Speier, née Grünebaum, widow of Strauß, * 6.6.1888 Groß-Karben/Friedberg, F since 4.4.1935, KK38, imprisoned Breitenau 9.5.1941-9.2.1942, dep. 17.2.1942 from Breitenau to Ravensbrück and back, on 5.10.1942 from Breitenau to Auschwitz, # 13.10.1942 Auschwitz,

St.66

150) Josef Speyer, , * 22.5.1879 Züschen, F Gießener Str. 25/Werkelstr Str. B 27, soldier 1915-1918, house owner, VZ33, livestock trade deregistered 18.2.1936, grain trade 25.3.1936, e 10.3.1936 USA, loss of German nationality 23.11.1940, trusteeship 1946,

eNr.65

151) °° Speyer, Ida, née Weinstein, * 29.8.1886 Felsberg, VZ33, e 10.3.1936 USA, loss of nationality 23.11.1940,

eNr.66

- daughter Berta Speyer, * 7.8.1910 F, Ursulinenschule 1919-1924
 - daughter Flora Speyer, , * 1.2.1912 F, Ursulinenschule, ver 1928 Magdeburg, e USA 1929, loss of nationality 23.11.1940, °° Reinhardt, # 23.1.1992,
 - daughter **Herta Speyer**, 11.11.1913 * F, Ursulinenschule, saleswoman, ver 1928 Bochum, in 1932-33 Wulfen, in May 1933 Essen, engaged 1934, °° Erich Poppert, to Holland Zaandam/Rotterdam, loss nationality 23:11 .1940, dep. Auschwitz, **liberated**, °° Massy, France, after 1945, # Dec. 1991,

in addition

St.67

- daughter Irma, Speyer, * 7.8.1910 F, Ursulinenschule, seamstress, ver 1928 Aurich, e USA 1929, loss nationality 23.11.1940 °° Hecht, # 2002

152) - daughter Margaret/Gretel/Greta Speyer, * 10.9.1916 F, Ursulinenschule, seamstress, VZ33, e USA 12.12.1934, loss of nationality 23.11.1940, # 10.10.2006,

eNr.67

°° Leopold Appel from Borken, in the USA, # May 1995

153) daughter Speyer, Paula, * 8.3.1915 F, Ursulinenschule, VZ33, e Holland 26.5.1933-26.3.1934, e USA 12.12.1934, loss of nationality 23.11.1940, # 15.3.1997,

eNr.68

°° Frei in the USA

154) daughter Ruth Speyer, * 15.4.1918 F, Ursulinenschule, VZ33, e 10.3.1936 USA, loss of nationality 23.11.1940, °° Freimark,

eNr.69

155) Simon Speier, * 6.10.1852, in F Gießener St. 27, livestock trader, # F 6.12.1935

156) - son Theodore Speier, , * 18.10.1884, land owner B58, Trusteeship 1946

157) Abraham Stern, * 31.5.1877 Densberg , F since 1915 Neustädterstr. 5, Martinsgasse, Fraumünsterstr. 26, bookbinder, soldier 1915-1918, after loss of employment food hawker, VZ33, 1930-1938 welfare support, various attacks by Nazi, furniture destroyed on "Crystal Night", KK38, ver end Dec. 1938 Frankfurt/M, ver 19.4. 1939 Kassel, 15.5.1939 Frankfurt/M Sandweg 3, dep. Frankfurt/M probably May or June 1942 to Lublin region, # at unknown place.

St.68

158) °° Frieda/Friederike (I Stern), née Pfifferling, * 11.3.1886 Datterode / Eschwege, in F since 6.7.1916, VZ33, KK38, ver end of Dec. 1938 Frankfurt / M, ver 25.2.1939 Kassel, 1.4.1940 Frankfurt/M, dep. Frankfurt/M probably May or June 1942 to the region of Lublin, # at unknown place, declared dead 8.5.1945,

St.69

- son Arthur Stern, , * 18.4.1916, 1932 ver Brückenau, 1935 Mergentheim, e 1935? Palestine

159) - daughter Erna Stern, * 20.7.1927 F, VZ33, Jewish School Kassel from 1.1.1938, ver Kassel 28.1.38, 15.12.1938 back to F, KK38, ver 25.2.1939 Kassel, ver 1.4.1940 Frankfurt / M, dep. 5.12.1941 from Marburg?, **Shoah** Auschwitz?, declared dead 8.5.1945

St.70

160) - daughter Stern, Herta, * 6.6.1921 F, ver 25.2.1939 Kassel, 1939 Marburg, ver 1.4.1940 Frankfurt/M, dep. Frankfurt/M probably May or June 1942 to Lublin region, # at unknown place

St.71

161) - daughter Ruth (II) Stern, * 23.2.1919 Marburg, had to leave Ursulinenschule in F 1935, ver.1935-1938 Würzburg, 7.10.1938 back to F, ver 1.11. 1938 Hamburg, dep. 6.12.1941 from Hamburg to Riga, Jungfernhof then Stutthof, Thorn, **liberated** April 1945, 1945 Fritzlar, Eschwege, , °° Hans Nebel, Auschwitz survivor on 30.6.1946,Hans # 1989, e USA printed report: Sylvia Kramer: The Story of Ruth, 1975

St.72

correspondent: Eva Müller

David (I), Stern, * 1818, in F Nikolausstr. 6, # 12.4.1899

°° 2nd Minna Stern, ,née Kaiser, * ca 1845, # 21.2.1919

- son Julius Stern , , * F 12.12.1876, e, loss of German nationality 2.1.1941

- son David (II) Stern,

-- grandson Max Stern, , * 28.4.1903, plasterer, 1927 °°Fränzi, ver 1927 Eisenach, Erfurt, e Palestine 1938, # 1981

°° Fränzi, née Mansbach, * 1.10.1903, °° Max 1927, ver 1927 Eisenach, e Palestine 1938, # 1994

--- great-grandson Alfred Stern, , * 1928, # 1948 in Israel as a soldier

--- great-granddaughter Olga Ruth Stern, , * 20.8.1935 Eisenach, e 1938 Palestine, °° Segal

162) - grandson Moritz Stern, * 8.2.1907, merchant, arrested 10.12.1935, Garden "sale" 18.8.1941

?

163) son Sally (I) Stern,, * 31.12.1874 Rothhelmshausen, since 1909 F St. Gießener 11, VZ33, livestock dealer, licence withdrawn 25.1.1937, KK38, ver Dec. 1938 Brückenau, e 20.12.1938 USA

eNr.70

164) °° Henny Stern, née Gerson, * 9.10.1880, VZ33, # F 15.12.1937, last entry in Jewish Register of Deaths, last tombstone Jewish Cemetery before 1945

-- grandson Emil Stern, , Nikolausstr. 6, Garden owner, visit to the USA before 1900, ver 1910, e 20.12.1938 USA, garden "sale" 31.10.1941, Trusteeship 1946
 -- granddaughter Friederike (II) Stern, * 5.4.1911 F
 -- grandson Hugo Stern, ver before 1933, e 20.12.1938 USA
 -- granddaughter Ruth (I) Stern,, * 5.4.1911, in F Ursulinenschule, ver 1926 Bunde, 1928 Kassel, e USA before 1933, ° Eggener
 - son Salli (II) Stern, * 14.8.1889 F, ver Fulda, e 18.9.1939 Bolivia, loss of German nationality 7.3.1941
 165) -- granddaughter Gerda Stern, , * 1935 F, ver after 1935
 ?

166) Rebecka Strauß, * 6.6.1888, domestic staff in F 1935, ver after 1935
T

Tratnauer?, Ascher, son Isaac, DP, # F 7.5.1947
Max Tugendreich, , * 13.7.1879 F, ver Berlin before 1933, dep. from Berlin to Auschwitz 4.3.1943,
 # Auschwitz

167) Bella Wallach, , * 3.8.1915 Flieden, **F Gießener Str. 119**, ver 1938,
 Lina, Weinberg, née Katz, * 25.1.1900 F, ver Fulda, e 20.3.1939 England, loss of German nationality 18.3.1940

Erich Weitzenkorn, * 25.3.1913
 s. 104) ° Bertha, née Mannheimer, s.d. * 6.12.1914, e 11.9.1936 USA
 - daughter Linda Weitzenkorn, , ° 2. Jack Nesselroth,
 -- granddaughter Jeffrey Nesselroth, Japan, two great-grandchildren
 -- granddaughter Liza Nesselroth, , USA, two great-grandchildren

Sara Wischinska, , daughter of Schmuel Nathan, * 18.7.1946, DP, # 30.1.1948 F
Feibel/Faivel Wolkowich/Wolkowicz, , DP, policeman Watter Barracks 1947, e Israel 1949
 ° **Estera**, née Grünspan/Grinszpán, DP, e Israel in 1949
 - son **Jecheskel/Yecheskel Volkowich**, *1948, DP, ° Michal
 - son **Joseph Mendel Wolkowich**, , * 12.9.1947 F, DP, # F 30.10.1947

Z

Brandel Zettenberg, , # 7.7.1946 F, DP
Jisrael Shmuel Zwi, , son of Mordechai, * 14.7.1933, DP, # Kassel, 23.10.1947

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 Archives City of Fritzlar I-XIX; Gutheim File; Personal Index cards
 Archives of the Newspaper Printers Olten&Wiegand, Homberg:
 HKB: Homberger Kreisblatt, Official daily for the Homberg District, 1933 – 25.3.1937
 KFH: District Paper Fritzlar-Homberg, Official Gazette for all authorities of this District as from 27.3.1937
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 HHStA: Central State Archives for Hessen Wiesbaden Order No.. 365,24.25 Nr. 202ff
 HStA: Hessen State Archives Marburg 180 District Office Fritzlar 2741.2748.2749; 327/6
 HStA Weimar, Finance Register
 In addition information from Archives at Bad Nauheim, Bendorf-Sayn, Berlin, Essen, Frankfurt/M, Fulda, Gemünden-Wohra, Hamburg, Jerusalem Yad Vashem, Kassel, Krefeld, Laasphe, Mannheim, Neuss
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 FKA: Fritzlarer District Gazette, Official Fritzlar District Gazette as from 28. 1. 1933 up to 26.3.1937
 HP: Hessische Post 1945
 HN: Hessische Nachrichten (News) from 1.1.1946, from 2.4. plus Eder-Bote (Messenger), replaced 1.6.1946 by „Schwälmer Echo“ (missing 2nd half of 1947) back again from 1.1.1948 with „Heimat-Echo“
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15. Thanks

The readers and the author sincerely thank the translators who were each kind enough to translate a part of the book:

Ms Gertraut Berthold, D 34596 Bad Zwesten

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Mr. Eric Mark, B 1950 Kraainem

Mr. Martin Mulqueen t, D 34560 Fritzlar-Geismar

Mr. Hans-Heinrich Volkers, D 34560 Fritzlar

Special thanks are due to Mr. Eric Mark who brought the various translations into line with each other.

Many thanks are also due to the PC specialists for all their technical help:

Mr. Alexander Fischer, D 34560 Fritzlar

Mr. Wolfgang Hrycak, D 34560 Fritzlar

Mr. Dr. Heinz Nöding, D 34590 Wabern-Hebel

Finally I want to thank my wife Charlotte for all her assistance.