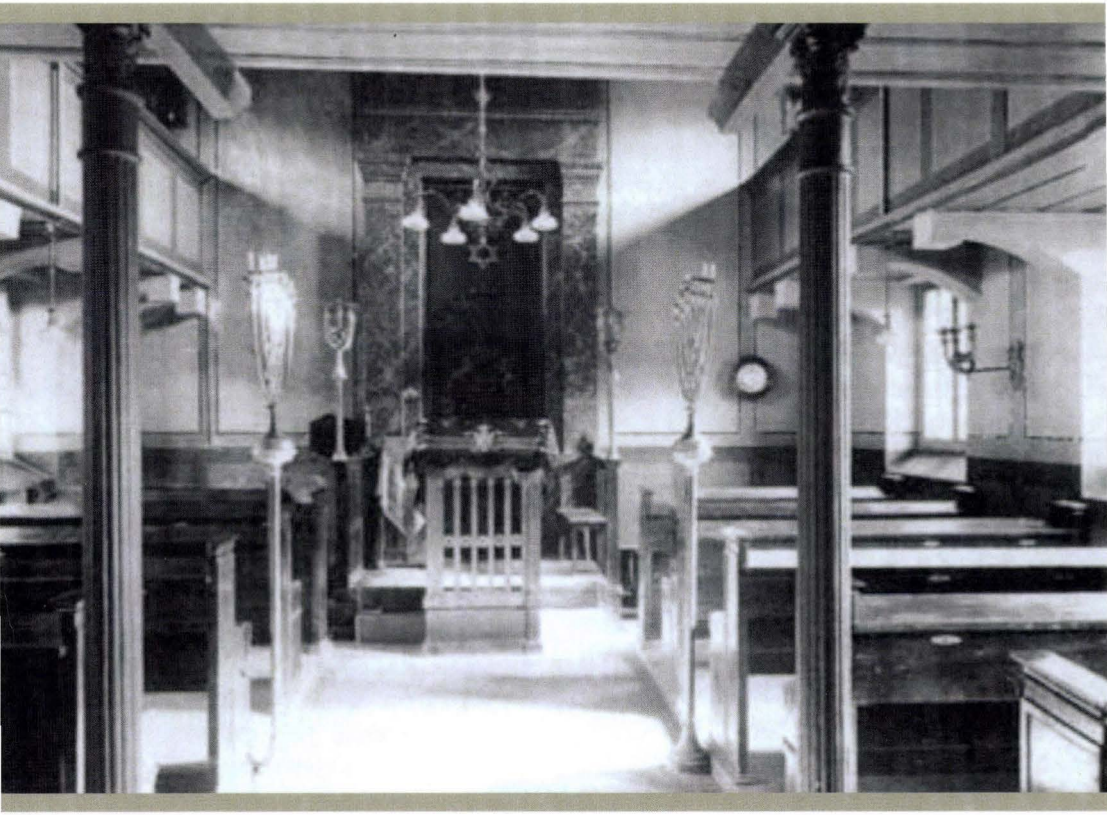
The Jewish Community of Kirchen, Germany, 1736 - 1940



Die Jüdische Gemeinde Von Kirchen, (Efringen-Kirchen, Kreis Lörrach) 1736 – 1940

Victor Rosenberg, Translator
Original German: Axel Heuttner

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(Die Jüdische Gemeinde von Kirchen, (Efringen-Kirchen, Kreis Lörrach) 1736 – 1940)

Axel Huettner, 1978 (revised, 1993)

Translation: Victor Rosenberg and Lori Randall, 2017

For My Grandchildren, Maya, Alex, Cole, and Keira, and their possible descendants, so that they may know an important part of their ancestry and heritage.

Introduction to the Translation

As a descendant of many of the people named in this book, I have a particular interest in reading it. Although I learned German from my parents who moved from Kirchen to the United States three years before I was born, I failed to master the language. With the help of friends and the artificial intelligence translation programs from Google and Microsoft, I was able to provide this translation of Axel Heuttner's thorough and interesting history of the Jewish community in the village of Kirchen, Germany.

I am particularly indebted to Lori Randall, Ph.D., who volunteered to translate a chapter as a participant in the University of Michigan's "translateathon". Lori translated Chapter 5, dealing with the destruction of the Jewish community of Kirchen in the Nazi holocaust. This chapter would have been difficult for me to translate.

The original work in German was published in an edition of just 1,500 copies and is of interest to a small group of people. But, I believe this book deserves a greater audience, because Axel Heuttner so skillfully weaves the history of a minority (Jewish) population in a small village in southwestern Germany (Baden) with the broader currents of German national history. It becomes clear how events far away affected this small community.

My ancestors lived in this community for many generations. Every person named in the book Bloch, Dreifuss, Kahn, or Frank, is a relative or ancestor. Surely many others are as well. I had always been curious to know how they had lived. My conclusion is that the holocaust did not occur in a vacuum and that Jews suffered throughout their time in this village. Nevertheless, after all that occurred, it is heartening to see how the residents of Kirchen (mostly) learned from the experience and how they reached out to the survivors to begin to build new relationships. This book is a tribute to that outreach.

Victor Rosenberg

Ann Arbor, Michigan, USA, 2017

Preface

The municipality of Efringen-Kirchen would like to thank Axel Huettner, pastor in Ander Wollbach, for his initiative to preserve the lives and work of our Jewish fellow citizens up to their death or their expulsion. In his 1978 book "The Jewish community of Kirchen" he wrote about the fate of our former fellow citizens. This book launched with 500 copies received such a large and positive response that it was soon sold out and 500 more copies were printed, which were also sold out after a few years. So, it was not surprising that the demand became stronger for a new edition.

Now this book is not even remotely comparable to the old. It was thoroughly revised, and brought up to date, including information about the two important visits of our former Jewish fellow citizens in the years 1983 and 1991.

The community is extremely grateful to Axel Huettner, the author of this book. He has undertaken the enormous burden of many hours of work in addition to his full-time occupation as a pastor. And he did this work free of charge. For their support in the procurement of documents, photographs and sketches, the comprehensive writing of revisions and corrections, the municipality thanks Walter Silbereisen and Birgit Sutter of the municipal administration of Efringen-Kirchen; Tanja Glaß from Lambrecht; the office manager of the municipality of Efringen-Kirchen; Wolfgang Weller, senior teacher at the public school of Efringen-Kirchen; Michael Oehlbach, principal of the basic primary and secondary school; Renate Huettner in Wollbach; the employees of the General National Archive in Karlsruhe; the Lörrach city archive; as well as the former Jewish fellow citizens who now live in the United States, especially Sophie Kessler, and Alfred Rosenberg. Also, Herbert Brown in Haltingen, was very helpful with his knowledge and experience. Thanks are also due to the Municipal Council of Efringen-Kirchen, which has provided the necessary funds and thus once again proved its high sense of responsibility for a cultural project dealing with a sensitive issue despite a strained financial situation.

This book appears in an edition of 1500 copies, and is certain to get a good response. It informs us about the fate of our Jewish fellow citizens, and it may also strengthen our awareness of a need for increased compassion and tolerance in an increasingly difficult time.

Efringen-Kirchen in January 1993

Horst Dierkes

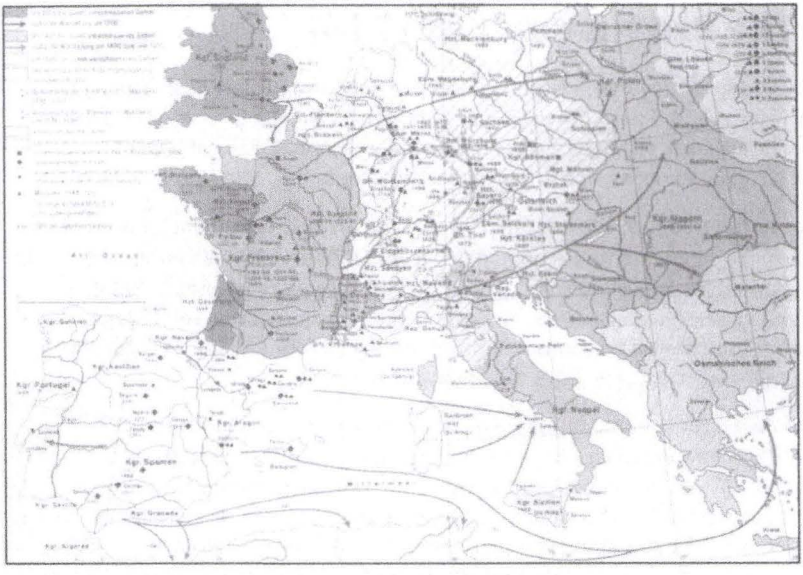
Mayor

Chapter 1: The Pre-History (To 1716)

The beginning of the history of the Jews in Germany is shrouded in semi-darkness. The legends and tales that want to give credibility to the existence of larger Jewish communities in Germany in pre-Christian times, are clearly religious, cultural, or economic apologetics of Jewish communities in their struggle for existence in a Christian environment.

We can date the large communities of Worms and Mainz, from historic documents that in 1636 to 1700 tell of communities that were in the same place from 1432 to1500. We enter historically secure and provable ground if we assume a written verifiable emergence of Jews in Cologne before the year 321 and in Trier just after 305. Except for the two cities Trier and Cologne, no verifiable writing mentioning Jewish religious communities can be found in the writings from the old Jewish communities in the Rhine cities of Mainz and Worms.

How many towns and settlements in the upper Rhine area grew from Roman settlements including Strasbourg, Basel and Breisach? So, an actual founding date of these Jewish communities is unknown. The rise of these places into some thriving communities is due to economic development of the Jewish community. They were businessmen or merchants, judges, customs officers, or doctors. The Jews mostly took prestigious positions in public life. So they were excellent for the growth of their cities' long-distance trade with the Orient and the Slavic countries and they helped to establish a new economic order. The economy centered on the usual exchange of goods. In addition, the economy required a second type of employment that was common in the early Jewish communities in the upper Rhine region, agriculture. However, the Jewish farmers in the long run could not prevail against the medieval feudal organization of economics and life patterns, which demanded a common Christian faith". When one considers Jewish economic history in certain development stages you come to the phases one and two, where the Jews were catalysts to a modern cash economy and lived with the people of other faiths largely in peace and harmony, to the point where Christians learned to master this activity. Finally, against discriminatory measures more Jews adopted less economically necessary functions. Some complicated decrees constrained the relative freedom and freedom of movement of the Jews, while others restored them. This is the result of the lifting of the decisions taken by Church and State authorities like synods, councils, emperors and Kings. The time of Royal or Imperial protection of Jews begins with the Carolingians. Later Jewish groups or individuals were awarded individual privileges.



Massacers and migration of Jews in the Middle Ages

The earliest documentary references to Jews in the Baden area before 1806 date from the early 13th century, in Freiburg in Breisgau 1230, Konstanz 1241 and partly in the first half of the 14th century, Lahr 1356, Breisach 1301, Endingen/Kaiserstuhl 1331, Offenburg 1343 and Neuchâtel 1354. Jews were first mentioned in the census of the important cities of the upper Rhine, including those in France or in Switzerland today. These include: Strasbourg 1188, Colmar 1278, Basel 1242, Rheinfelden 1290. It is relatively certain, that considerably long before the first documentary mention that Jewish communities existed in some of these cities. They were usually mentioned only if there were disputes between Christians and Jews. Significantly, many of these mentions fell close to the date of instituting discriminatory measures against the Jews.

So, it was very soon after the first mention of Jews in Freiburg and Konstanz that they were banned from entering the market and one hundred years later it was the dress regulations of Duke Leopold of Austria, 1394, that the Jews should wear coats of "a certain color" and wear "a striped pointy hat". A little later, a yellow patch of about four inches in diameter was added to be attached on the left side of the chest.

What happened to the Jewish communities of the Middle Rhine, Speyer, Worms, Mainz and Cologne, in 1096 after the rise of Godfrey of Bouillon – was the almost total destruction of the Jewish community by gunmen of the first crusade, who wanted to avenge the blood of Christ. This happened to the Jewish communities in the upper Rhine region significantly later. First privileges, laws, and regulations were promulgated here, that increasingly limited the habitat of the Jews.

In 1236 in a decree issued by Frederick II., the new classification of the Jews included, to 'servi camerae imperialis' (serve the emperor). Probably because the economic usefulness which Jews once provided no longer existed, and the religious fanaticism of the Crusaders against infidels ended, the legal status of the Jews, those holding municipal offices excluded, once identical with the Christians, were downgraded to the status of Imperial servants of Chamber. "The Jews unlike as in the past, when they were individually privileged were now merely one of several equal groups such as women, merchants and clerics or as city residents of different nationalities. Now, the Jews were declared officially as a special class of the population for which a words "servi camerae" were assigned. It covered all people of same kind, namely the Jews. Worthy of protection and vulnerable to the full impact of economic factors and law, they were quite needy victims of economic policy. They were deprived, economically from "traditional" professions and completely pushed out of political influence. The Jews in a farming area were more suitable than other groups in the population for money lending with interest. Thus, arose the "sadhana Jew".

All Christians were restricted by the canonical prohibition against interest in 1215 by Pope Innocent III. The 4th Lateran Council issued a decree stating that it was forbidden to take interest on borrowed capital. Until then, the monasteries had control of the money business, although Augustine, Gregory of NYSSA and Leo the Great strongly prohibited this practice. In their released position, the Jews were now pushed, by "beneficium turpe", to take interest, due to their underdog status. The image of a sponge which is able to absorb can then be squeezed out, best describes the situation of the Jews.



A Jewish money-lender at his desk. Since the 15th century Jews were allowed to practice only a few professions: pawn shop, money exchange and peddling. Jews were forbidden to join guilds (woodcut of 1531)

The doctrine of individual church fathers about the need for the existence of Jews in the Christian State was nourished by medieval piety and from a mystical understanding of the world and deep superstition. This brought about a new religiously motivated type of Jew hatred and brought about the accusations of ritual murder and host desecration.

In this heated intellectual climate of 1340 huge environmental disasters broke out. Terrible swarms of locusts and floods caused by rain destroyed the entire harvest. Solar eclipses and a great earthquake occurred. In Basel in 1356, due to the nearby expanding population since 1348, the greatest medieval plague raged, which depopulated entire cities. Reported from Basel "... the dying was so great, that in the town alone 14,000 people died and there were only three marriages by the Grayling (Gate) to the Rhine".

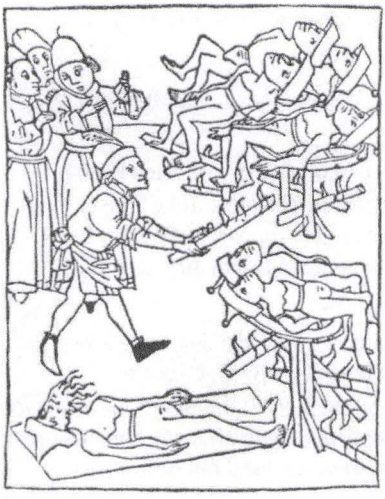


Jews Pierce a communion wafer. (Woodcut 1492)

In 1348 Basel received news about the plague and the Jews poisoning the well in Bern. Under the pressure of guilds and craftsmen who believed Jewish poisoning of the well as the proven cause of the plague, the City Council which was convinced of the guilt of the Jews imprisoned 600 Jews on the 9th and 16th (or 16 and 23) of January 1349 in a specially built wooden building on a sandbank in the river Rhine and burned them. 130 children were baptized. All debts to Jews were declared null and void. The City Council was forced to declare, no Jews would be tolerated in the city for 234 years.

This "comprehensive, bloodiest persecution of Jews in medieval Germany" claimed 35 more victims in the smaller cities of our region. The Jews in Säckingen, Neuchâtel (Müllheim), Waldshut and Breisach were also persecuted, murdered, and their possessions taken.

On the 30th of January 1349 Freiburgers burned Jews, with the exception of the twelve richest, (with whose help they wanted to locate the riches of the Jews) and of children and pregnant women, to save their souls through the baptism of thirty-seven of them. On February 14, 1349, the 1,800 Jews of Strasbourg were burned on a wooden scaffolding in the cemetery. The previous Council of the city, which protected the Jews, was forced to resign. The persecution spread from place to place. Hardly any of the larger communities between Cologne and Basel survived this terrible time.



The Jews were blamed for the plague. They were tortured with burning logs to obtain a confession. (Woodcut of 1475)

These terrible persecutions and their methods cannot be attributed to a latent antisemitism, certainly not on the modern breed of antisemitism, which only bore its terrible fruit in the 19th and 20th century. Exactly the same methods were used on other social minorities, such as against the Albigenses in France, and later against the Hussites in Bohemia.

In medieval thought the inviolability of the person, especially of these heretics or infidels was meaningless. Neither for other groups. Otherness in language, religion and customs, probably also envy about economic success were reasons for these persecutions. Also, the lower mortality of Jews from the plague compared to the rest of the population, due to a moderate lifestyle and better doctors, was used against them. "This meant that those not stricken by the plague: (the Jews) were not victims, and who is not the victim, must be the killer".

There was within the cities very different levels of toleration. Freiburg for example expelled its Jews five times in almost 200 years, each time expressing the sentiment "for all time". More and more Jews settled in the country, exchanging their economically secure, but otherwise vulnerable situation in cities for a quiet but economically almost hopeless situation in the country. They were asked for payment of varying protection funds to be more or less under the protection of the respective sovereign. So, Margrave Karl (1553-1577, previously Regent of upper Margraviate) took from the Jew Saif on August 20, 1544 the payment of eighty guilders, and forty-eight from Ellen Sammet and twelve years later forty-four from Weil for protection. At the same time, four other Jews were placed under protection in Sulzburg.

On November 11, 1533, the Junker Adelberg von Barenfels gave the Jew David protected status in Grenzach. Already in 1542, Jews were living in Schliengen in the bishopric of Basel. Also, Jews were living in Haltingen and later in Mauchen. Margrave Ernst I (1535-1553), the father of the

aforementioned Karl allowed the Jews of Sulzburg the establishment of their own cemetery in 1546.

On May 26, 1570, the Margrave gave protection to the Jews, Jakob von Aach, together with his wife and child, his father and his servants.

Things became turbulent after Karl's death. So, his direct successor, Georg Friedrich (1604-1622), took a tougher stance against the Jews. Jews in the communities of Rotteln, Sausenburg, and Badenweiler were expelled. The political testament of George Frederick of Nov.17, 1615 says: "for conservation... we expelled said religion... all Jews from our Principality..... and we forbid all future Jews to live our state..."

So, in 1622 the Jews from the upper and the lower Margraviate were expelled. Foreign Jews were allowed to be in the Margraviate with expensive escort letters. However, "under prohibition of any trade and interaction with the subjects". Some Jews in the upper Margraviate had settled in the time of the thirty years war. They were deported again after the conclusion of the peace of Westphalia in 1648. They were allowed to criss-cross the land but only with payment of much conduct money. Few took advantage of this.

Under Frederick VI (1659-1677) the plight of the Jews improved considerably. He no longer maintained the ban of his grandfather. The last years of the reign of Frederick VI, and almost the entire term of his successor Friedrich Magnus (1677-1709) were overshadowed by the turmoil and unrest of the French war during which many Jews fled the country. In 1697 Friedrich Magnus, shortly after the peace of Ryswick reverted to the previous policy, which stipulated that no Jews were allowed in the country and that foreign Jews were no longer permitted to trade.

Economic hardship, lack of outlets for livestock and other agricultural products caused the farmers to complain that they had no cash. This was a result of princely decision not law. The farmers of the country would have been forced to sell their livestock in the adjacent foreign areas and would need to take considerably higher risks.

Until 1709, the year of the start of the Government of Karl William (1709-1738), no Jews were allowed in the Baden Oberland.

Under the reign of Karl Wilhelm, a liberal attitude especially impacted the Jewish laws. On May 4, 1716 Jews could settle in the following municipalities of the Oberland as protected citizens: in Emmendingen five families, in Müllheim four families, in Sulzburg four families, and in Lörrach four families. All these Jews originated from Switzerland. For these four places, the actual date of establishment of Jewish communities is the year 1716.

All of these families were friends or relatives of Joseph Günzburger, a Jew who served in the Austrian Breisach as "Overlord" of the Markgräflerland Jews and was responsible for the timely payment of protection money to the Margrave.

Chapter 2: The Early Years (1736-1802)



The Markgräflerland and adjacent areas on a French map of 1720

After the Jews had settled in the village of Dorneck, and although they lived there over 80 years on January 9th a woman and child asked for a pardon but had to leave the town, with bag and baggage to vacate the land.

The history of the Jewish community of Kirchen begins with this quote. In the Jewish community of Dornach village "they lived there peacefully for over 80 years" since 1730, but had continuous difficulties with the rule of the council of the canton of Solothurn, more specifically with the Governor of Dornach-Thierstein. While on March 22, 1730 Leible Bloch from Dornach was allowed by the council to buy a house. But this approval was retracted four weeks later, and the prohibition on the acquisition of homes was extended to all Jews. Under penalty of ten pounds, the cantonal council also decided, to allow no other Jews in Dornach.

On January 9, 1736, complaints were logged against the Jews in the Vogt region and they were issued a 'bag and Pack' order to expel them. This decision was confirmed on February 10, 1736, and that date was set as the final deadline for the expulsion.

The designated families migrated mostly to nearby Alsace, especially places like Hégenheim, and the hamlet of Buschweiler. Others moved to the towns of Lörrach and Kirchen and across the Rhine in Baden-Durlach. This immigration settled in the Jewish community of Lörrach, which up to 1940 included residents with the family name of Dornacher.

For Kirchen this begins the over two-hundred-year long history which was not always excellent, but mostly peaceful starting with the migration of Jewish families from Dornach who made up about 20% the Jewish minority population.

The first documented Jew in the history of Kirchen is Hirz Bloch. A document, dated November 6, 1747, signed by Margrave Karl Friedrich von Baden (a Jewish protection letter), was issued in the name of the Jew Hirz Bloch. Hirz Bloch was already in residence in Kirchen prior to March 31, 1736. Not much can be said about him. He died before 1753, and had a son, July Bloch.

As Schmidt points out, Bloch was the oldest on a list of Jews in Kirchen dated 1810 which stated that he came from Dornach in the Solothurn region. Furthermore, Schmidt points out that only a few Jewish families lived in the region, three in Lorrach, two in Thumbringen, and four in Kirchen.

Leutrum mentions these four families by name: "... four families Dania, four brothers are Blochen." The name Bloch is represented among the Jews reported from Dörnach, also tradition in naming (prefers the given name Salomon and Leibi (Leopold)). Both in Dörnach and later in Kirchen the document notes the origin as the Kirchener Bloch from Dörnach. However, I would like to address misgivings about Schmidt's claim "but the earliest date of early Jewish settlement in Kirchen is likely the year 1736."

The date of the first letter from Hirz Bloch (March 31, 1736) poses some problems. The Jewish families were prompted only on February 10, 1736 to leave Dornach within a period of time that reached far into the summer months. Even with the Jewish friendly attitude of the Landvogt of Rotteln, in Leutrum, and also the slow official bureaucracy in Karlsruhe the text suggests that the immigration of Hirz Bloch could not have been possible before February 10, 1736.

Soon the Jews of Rotteln, and those of Kirchen, participated (on August 15, 1738) in an homage celebration for the guardian of Karl August, initially planned to be at Kalten Herberge, but was moved to Lörrach because of limited space. All subjects over the age of fourteen had to appear. On the whole, 7,133 people paid homage in Lörrach. Each subject who had worshipped, received wine and a half a pound of bread. In later times the Jews of Kirchen and Lörrach gave less homage. It took place in a solemn manner, with the participation of the rabbi in the synagogue.

The establishment of Jewish communities was not limited to the Baden Oberland. In the neighboring Alsace region around the same time the establishment of some larger municipalities occurred: Siarez, Niederhagenthal and Huningue. The large communities of

Hégenheim (with a cemetery) 1673 and Blotzheim existed before 1660. Already in 1572, a Jewish burial place existed in Zwingen. In addition to the mentioned places in Alsace and in Switzerland, settlements in Lörrach, Fischingen, Tumringen, and Kirchen were mentioned and later for a short time these towns became protected places for Jews.

The time of the Jews coming to Kirchen falls in a decade when the legislation against the Jews once again increased. The reasons which led to these measures may well be the large number of Jews settling in the upper and lower Margraviate. Thus in 1729 it was determined that whoever did not pay his protection fee before the expiration date, would at once be deprived of protection, and had to leave the country. In 1735, the maximum interest rate was set at 5%. The following conditions were imposed on every Jew coming from abroad to be admitted to the region: Assurance of at least 800 fl. of protection money, in cities, with 40 fl paid semi-annually in advance. For each foreign Jew newly coming to the region the following conditions prevailed: each with assets of at least 800 fl. must pay protection money of 25 fl. in advance twice a year in forty cities and villages. Nevertheless, the Jewish community of Kirchen grew. In 1738, nine people (three men, one widow and five servants); in 1749, 29 people; in 1750, 30 persons; in 1751, 30 persons; in 1757, 33 people. In 1785 eight households of Jews were counted.

The mood of Jews in the Oberland was tense. In neighboring Lörrach in 1722, the protected Jew, Nathan Braunschweig came in conflict with the Basel authorities. Bailiff v. Leutrum reported about it: a few years ago, a protected Jew, Nathan "known only as Nathan Braunschweig called Braunschweig by farmers, was a poor example of the hoped-for Jewish conversion, as he went to Basel with different non-Jews practicing a godless ritual. The text says that there was a certain buyer for 1000 fl. in jewels. The Jew, a foreigner, was Portuguese.

They somehow cheated the seller of the jewels, but were apprehended in France. Nonetheless, it caused trouble for the magistrate of the region. Since Nathan Braunschweig had been seen in Klein-Hüningen with a foreign Jew, he was suspected of the act. The Basel magistrate issued a decree to the head of Rotteln, and asked them to interrogate the Jews and confront other people in Basel.

On 2 July 1722, Nathan Braunschweig asks Margrave in Lörrach to listen to him because as a Jew he has nothing good to expect from the statements of the constable at the Riehen gate of Basel. This is followed by a longer, in some respects contradictory correspondence between the Oberamt of the Princely House and the council in Basel. Braunschweig himself sent this matter to Karlsruhe but nothing came of it. His wife and children were suddenly gone from Lörrach. Basel in turn after the non-appearance of Braunschweig on the scheduled date of June 27, 1722, had decreed that the Jews of the entire city should be held liable for the loss and initially adopted a general prohibition of them to enter Basel. However, in the meantime Huningue opened a new market, and the Jews of Basel took many of their businesses and demanded the lifting of the "ban". Many innocent Jews were also affected. At the same time as a twist by tireless detective

investigation they succeeded to locate Nathan and Lazarus Braunschweig in Strasbourg and arrested them in December 1723. Their property was seized and the jewels were located in their apartment in Schächtelein. Switzerland made extradition requests to France. After lengthy diplomatic negotiations – the Braunschweigs were held responsible for the matter and thus the French Colmar court delivered the two on May 6, 1724 to Basel. But both denied involvement in the affair, so they were tortured to force the confession. Now the relatives of Jews declared themselves ready to cover the damage incurred which amounted to 3,600 fl. for the court and 3,000 fl. for the Jewels.

On July 19, 1724, the faculty of law presented the council with a minor opinion on the case of Braunschweig in Basel, which is interesting enough as a spotlight on the former jurisdiction. After presenting the inquisition records and the interrogations of the two Jews, two other thieves were caught.

The two delinquents then forfeited their lives and could be punished; because the thefts were valued at 2-3 000 fl. the life sentence stood, even if it was the first theft because their share of the stolen goods was greater than the minimum for the verdict. The offence was also severe, as it involved a theft repeated at different times. The death sentence required that reputation be considered in determining punishment and also the nature and level of the theft, but the reputation of the two was not the best. Because the thieves had stolen without violence or by nighttime burglary, the court could soften the rigor of the law if the general welfare did not require an example.

Normally the two deserved the gallows but they had committed to refund the stolen material, whereby the damage would be nullified, so they were not given the death penalty, but punished with the rod. Then the Council decided on August 5, 1724: "Jews Lazarus and Nathan Braunschweig are to be driven out of the city and expelled forever by city and country."

This affair had understandably stirred up much concern in the area, and the memory has long lived in the people. About ninety years later it was written that: Two elegantly dressed people for 3000 taler had bought from a reputable goldsmith for the coronation in Hungary precious gems. After they paid him 1000 talers cash, they pooled everything that they had in a box, sealed the box and gave it to the goldsmith as a pledge for the missing sum, at least so it seemed to the Goldsmith, as if it were the same. "In fourteen days", they said, "we will bring you the missing sum and then take the box." Everything was done in writing. It took three weeks, no one shows up. The coronation day passes, four weeks passes. No one wants to ask again for the little box. Finally, the goldsmith thought: why should I guard your possessions at my risk, and my capital is dead therein? So, he wanted to open the little box in the presence of an official person, and deposit the already received 1000 talers. When it was opened a note said, "dear, good Goldsmith", "you are cheated by the two rogues." Namely the little box containing fakes instead of precious stones, pebbles and glass instead of gold. The two merchants were cheated. The Bohemian Jews, slipped the real box silently aside and returned another to

the goldsmith, which looked identical. "Goldsmith", said the actuary: "good advice is expensive here. You're an unlucky man."

In Kirchen the population used all available resources to fight against the influx of other Jews, after they had not had the best experiences with the three Jews they now sought to capture.

We will see the Alsatian Jews settling here in future, because the situation of Jews in Alsace was not the best. The applications of the Alsatian Jews for residency were often reviewed by French officers and officials, including in particular for land in Vogt von Wallbrunn in 1760.

Salomon Ullmann of Dürmenac asked to live in Kirchen in the January 1760. He had been involved in Colmar in an inheritance law suit, and was accused of having bribed the witnesses. He therefore feared that he would be prosecuted and "probably even hit on the head, as that is how the Jews were treated in Alsace." He presented recommendation letters from a Commander D'arimont to be recorded - but only on a second application. On May 23, 1761 was it granted. He showed himself not able to understand this, but because after some years, leaving many debts - he was even in arrears with the protection money - he returned with his wife to Dürmenach. It was reported on September 20, 1765 in the Municipal Council of Kirchen: Salomon Ullmann is promised good luck with his protection. Since then he had behaved himself, but the whole community complained about him. Many have said the Jew took fruit, oil, wood and other things, but had not paid 1 kr. for them. Also, he was guilty of not paying the rent although he ruined the house. Since Georgi, he was homeless, his wife was out of town, and the children were with her. This removed a large burden from the residents of Kirchen, but they could still have a misfortune of a fire.

Shortly afterwards, in 1762, Isak Hänlein (Hänle), from Opfingen, came to take shelter in the Oberland. The example of Salomon Ullmann alone sufficed. In a report from the municipal authorities of September 20, 1765 it says: "The whole citizenry had mourned .... just two of the protected Jews had been originally let into Kirchen, now there are already forty. They were poor and caused much damage to the municipality. They would beg the farmers for wood, fruit and all kinds of things, but not to pay for it. You may spare the community before other Jews come." Isak was not included in the protection in Kirchen.

A third record is from 1766. It is therefore no wonder that people of the oberamt were quite suspicious of the Jews from the family of Ullmann. Nathan Ullmann from Dürmenach, a cousin of Solomon, wanted to settle down near his brother Meier in Kirchen. He had in 1762 a dispute with a Christian in Dürmenach hitting him in the chest and throwing him to the ground. Some days later the Christian died.

In Hirsingen, a person seemed exceedingly ill disposed towards the Jews. He agitated the entire Alsace region by distributing lots of fabricated receipts, letting

Christian debtors of the Jews off the hook and as a result drive hundreds of Jewish families to ruin. The doctor dissected the body of the opponent of Ullmann, wanting to find a blood clot that caused the death of the man. Nathan Ullmann had to flee. He was sentenced to death in absentia and his effigy was placed on the Dürmenacher gallows.

In Hagenthal, he asked the provincial Government for protection in Kirchen, until he could be pardoned by the King of France. This request was supported by the commander of D'arimont because Ullmann had done him many favors. But the court refused Ullmann's application as the extradition of deserters and transgressors was agreed to between Baden and France and they feared problems with France would result. The Jews of the region were against accepting Nathan and Meier Ullmann into the community, because they were criminals and had no assets.

Meanwhile, Nathan and Meier Ullmann did not seem to have been idle in their refuge. Together with Bertold Vogt and Nathan Aaron (probably from Buchsweiler) they visited the Swiss trade fairs and trading centers in 1767 and operated a considerable trade in linen. They did well also selling silk cloth, and gold and silver ribbons. Curiously, the extradition treaty with France was not an obstacle since Nathan Ullmann in 1769 asked for residency in Lörrach. He offered 50 fl. protection money and also purchased ten new Louis gold coins worth of goods in Pforzheim. Nevertheless, he declared himself ready to travel to Pforzheim next year and to buy as much merchandise as he could. The mayor supported the request on October 7, 1769. He described his situation and especially stressed that he was married, but had no children. He wanted to open a shop with his goods in Lörrach, but his main sales were abroad. No merchant in the district carried these goods, which had previously been bought by the citizens in Basel, so that the money flowed outside the country. The shop could therefore be harmful to the country. "Because all the local Jews traded mostly in cattle and a few in the sugar and coffee trade, this (Nathan Ullmann) sold completely different goods, and therefore nobody was harmed; so, we find "no concern to make the humble request of your Highness for protection and the adoption of Nathan Ullmann." Certificates of the company Füstenberger and Sons and the merchant Guild of Verdun were connected to the application.

The authorities had no objection to Ullmann's admission, if he only opened a shop with the designated wares, and did not take his earnings out of the country. On November 13, 1769, Ullmann was granted protection in Lörrach for 75 fl., and 10 new gold coins for the release from Pforzheim.

The economic situation of the Jews in Kirchen was very poor according to the documents described above. "Not commercial", is a phrase that that haunts all the lists, files and orders, somehow related to the professional and financial situation of the Jewish community. It is a highly accurate term for this. Rürup defines it as follows: "emergency trade" is generally trade in essentials, which operated without sufficient capital or business regulations. "Emergency means the absence of any other financial acquisition possibility just to provide the most urgent needs of life."

Due to the constantly forced change of place, it was impossible for the Jews to obtain fixed capital even if the law permitted them to do so. Statistics from the year 1800 show that the Jews of the Rotteln region were the poorer citizens of the Margraviate. The per capita assets amounted to Aman fl. 149.16; in the Rötten, fl. 770.63; in Durlach, fl. 753.8; in Karlsruhe, fl. 243.14; in Badenweiler, fl. 214.56; in Pforzheim in the high mountains, fl. 165.03. The Jews in Rastatt, Germany, Ettlingen and some other towns were still poorer with per capita assets amounting to only fl. 110 fl.

Unlike in cities the rural Jewish population remained poor and had trouble providing a minimal livelihood along with paying their protection money. In Kirchen they traded especially in wine and grain and cattle. That they took any conceivable opportunity to acquire money under these oppressive conditions is still overlooked in the 'moral' assessment of their activity. Jews wanted to purchase goods such as land and houses but had to adhere to the following order of the Margraviate of Baden: "the acquisition of houses by the Jews was fixed only in recent times, that where the Jews live, they are allowed to buy homes in only two parts of the country without special dispensation: other than the general obligation to carry all debts on the houses", but then they are subject to the following restrictions: Such houses shall not be with any one side directly opposite the side face of a church or surrounding the church in a space closer than 200 feet, or in front of the church.

A good example of this economically generally poor situation, which was made more difficult for the Jews by special regulations and laws, is the letter of Jew, Lazarus Braunschweig of Lörrach, dated May 25, 1765, in which in the name of all those residing in Rotteln he writes to the Margrave and asks him to abolish the ordinance, according to which all the contracts between Christians and Jews should be signed by the superintendent and two honest Christian men. The old regime made it impossible for Jews to trade. In order to avoid this time-consuming and money-losing practice, the farmers preferred to sell to foreign Jews or go to Basel. This law was a great pity for the country, inasmuch as it did more harm than good. The local officials of Lörrach, Otlingen, Efringen, Tüllingen, Weil, Brombach, Wollbach and Kirchen also shared the same opinion.

On July 13, 1765 came the reply from Durlach: it is said that "special princely fatigue" brought about a change in the complicated procedures for the towns of Rotteln, Badenweiler and in the high mountains. Regular trading, now only has a to be certified by a Christian negotiator, and an honest man, who has no debts to Jews, has to be consulted. In all transactions with foreign Jews and all main and final bills, promissory notes and bonds between Christians and Jews, the previous regulations should be maintained.

In addition to these complicated procedures for business transactions, there was even the obligation to buy wool from the wool factory in Pforzheim for at least 200 guilders. New incoming Jews in the Oberland were allowed to buy woolen goods for resale but only for sale abroad to leave open a possible big domestic market.

Unfortunately, the successful David Günzburger converted to the Catholic faith (1753), and a new regulation of this issue was necessary. According to the increased number of Jews settled in the Oberland, four chiefs or subordinates were appointed, one each for the margraviate of Hochberg, for the town of Sulzburg, for the rule of Badenweiler, and for the landgrave of Sausenburg. Lazarus Braunschweig in Lörrach became the head of the Röttier Jews. The court Jew Salomon Mayer in Karlsruhe often served the Jews of Lörrach as an advocate.

There were also difficulties with the butchers' laws, because the butcher's ruling of 1755 determined that in the future the butchers would slaughter the cattle and sell the meat to the Jews.

The protection letters regulated the meat supply of the Jewish families. Each Jew was allowed to slaughter as much meat as he needed for his domestic use, both of cattle, calves, and sheep. The animal parts that he could not use because of the Jewish laws, he could sell in pounds or quarters, but not sell on credit.

But the new butchers' order determined that the butchers would slaughter the cattle in the future and sell the meat to the Jews. For this reason, the butchers did not want the Jews to have livestock for their households. Since the Jews saw this as a violation of the rights guaranteed to them, they demanded protection from the Supreme Office on January 1, 1757.

A court council decree of March 9, 1757 stated, if the Jews could not agree with the butchers, the mayor "should, according to the proportion of the Jews, determine a certain number of cattle which they themselves are allowed to own and to take care that the Jews, if they are not able to enjoy the same from the slaughtered cattle, then at a certain public place, to which they are to be assigned, they can sell the meat that was previously assessed by the obligated estimators according to its quality and true value according to the price set, so as to prevent all crooked and forbidden peddling.

We don't know if the decision of the mayor's office had an impact. At any rate, it did not meet their needs in the long run, for new difficulties arose as early as 1763, which were finally brought to light by the following comparison. It had to contain the seeds of new disintegration, for again the possible increase in Jewish families had not been taken into account.

1. For both the Kirchen and Lörrach Jews on festivals, The Lörrach Jews may slaughter two cattle, but the Kirchen Jews only one. The Jews can sell the hindquarter that they do not use.

2. Should Jews need meat outside their festivals, they can buy the meat for the normal price and sell the parts they do not eat to others at the same price.

3. Between Christmas and Easter the Jews should get the meat needed for the year salted to prepare it according to its type, in Lörrach twenty, in Kirchen twelve pieces,

however it is to be sold to others under the same conditions as the butcher's non-kosher meat.

4. The leftover meat in Kirchen may be distributed in Friedl, Efringen and Eimeldingen.

Where did these 38 or 40 Jews come from who eked out their uncomfortable lives around 1760 to 1780 in Kirchen? Blotzheim two persons, from Dornach/KT. Solothurn six persons, from Dürmenach i.E. one person, from Emmendingen three persons, from Harburg one person, from Lörrach four persons, from Müllheim one person, from Molsheim one person, from Opfingen/Freiburg one person, from SEB one person, from Sierenz, one person, and from Wolfzern, two persons.

As was pointed out earlier, the brothers Bloch from Dornach/KT Solothurn (Switzerland), came in 1735/1736. In 1749 Lazarus Braunschweig asked Jacob from Lörrach, for gracious protection for his brother in Kirchen. In 1753, the Wolfzen/Strasbourg-born Moses Samuel from the same place sought protection in Kirchen. In 1760 Samuel Ullmann followed, in 1766 Samuel Ruf of Blotzheim, in 1780 a Schlummel Bloch, businessman, from SEB. By 1820, Jews from Baden communities arrived mainly through marriage or immigration for economic reasons, from Emmendingen, Lörrach, Müllheim, and Opfingen.

What is striking in this list is the concentration of the hometowns of the immigrants in Alsace, but at the same time the physical distance was large for that time. In the Alsace region towns passed strict Jewish laws. The number of Jewish emigration places can be explained quite simply by the fact that almost everywhere by law only the eldest child was given the opportunity to be included in the protection of their place of their birth. This made the wanderings of necessity often long.

This motley collection of people probably very soon organized into a community. The Kirchener Jews built their own synagogue already in 1766. For many reasons, this is questionable. Numerically, the community was too small to require even a room used exclusively for worship purposes, and financially they could barely cope with the stresses of building a synagogue. I doubt Schmidt's conjecture which says that a new prayer room was concealed before this date. The money was lacking in the community at this stage. On the other hand, the group numbered approximately forty inhabitants, which corresponds to about seven or eight families.

The Jews of Kirchen held their services until Easter 1789 in the home of the protected Jew, July Bloch. "It was not until 1789 that a synagogue-like building was mentioned in Kirchen, and it was set up in an already existing house to serve the congregation until the construction of the second synagogue in 1831 as a place of worship.

To conceptually launch a Jewish community is a very difficult matter. Old traditions, Talmudic concepts and forms intermingle with the legal, religious, and organizational conceptions of the Christian environment. A Jewish community is defined as follows: "(the

Jewish community) is a united cooperative autonomous entity which freely and independently can manage their financial, their religious, their community, their cultural, their social, police and legal matters.



This House (FR. Rottra str. 31) was probably the first prayer hall of the Jewish community.

Sociologically, it is a co-operative society, constitutively a democratic, socially an oligarchic community. The municipality is subject to all functions and every taxpayer member has the right to elect the officials and chiefs. Just as the community is called democratic, it can also be called oligarchic. Certain layers of the congregation, the rich, the seen, etc., occupy the most important places within the congregation. "

Until far into the eighteenth century, the autonomy of the Jewish communities remained untouched. Only the absolutist state curtailed these rights, since all rights come from the state, it interferes in the affairs of the congregation. It cleans up or unleashes difficulties, arranges the finances, checks the community books, forces the community to keep their community and business books in German.

"Since the beginning of the eighteenth century, Baden-Durlach had had a national, rural administrative headquarters in Emmendingen. Emmendingen's mayor, ruled Rotteln, and Badenweiler and the Landgraviate of Sausenburg Messende Landjudenschaft... At their head was an Oberschultheiß, a chief Rabbi and three lawyers to order all community matters and to manage the arbitration of disputes, and to represent the Jews to the State. The deputies, elected from three classes, the rich, the middle class and the poor, stood by the Chief Rabbi for the purpose of fixing the tax base, the regulation and distribution of the taxes, and the election of the agreed officials.

The Jewish community of Kirchen from the outset was in the Rabbinate of Sulzburg. The Elbląg districts from Emmendingen to Säckingen in our area belonged with Sulzburg, Müllheim, Lörrach, and Kirchen. The founder of the Rabbinate of Sulzburg is the already mentioned Joseph Günzburger, tradesman and the Jew Vogt from ALT-Breisach. He wrote

to the Margrave on May 14, 1720, that the Jews of Hochberg and Badenweiler had long desired a rabbi and to be taught in the Jewish doctrine and the laws. At the same time, he offered a candidate of his choice: David Kahn from Alt-Breisach. In 1727 this rabbi came to Sulzburg and remained until his death 1744. Isak Kahn, son of David Kahn, succeeded his father in 1744 in the office of the rabbi and later received the title of a landrabbin. He died late in 1797. In the same year, Abraham Weil, grandson of the famous Oberland rabbi Nathanael Weil, was elected rabbi in Sulzburg and held this office until his death in 1831.

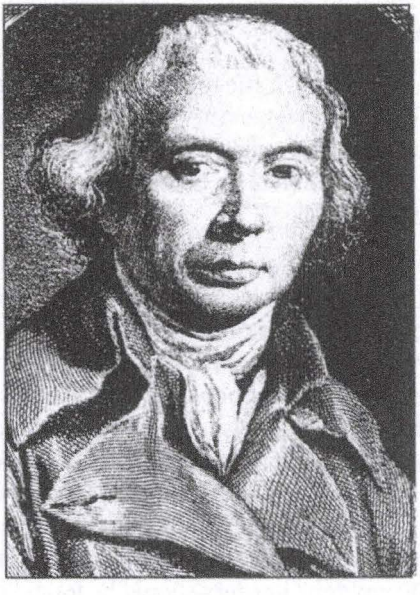
For completeness the last Sulzburger Rabbi, Emmanuel Dreifuß, should be mentioned. According to him, the Rabbinate of Sulzburg was incorporated into the newly founded Rabbinate of Freiburg.

The position of Rabbi in the period before the Constitutional edicts was that of undisputed judge in all areas of community life, except for the so-called serious crimes, murder and manslaughter. Often, he was the only one who could also write the German language and therefore time and again served as a supplicant for the community, as well as when contact with the authorities was required.

Rabbis in the Jewish communities in the Grand Duke's administration equaled the Christian clerics. After 1809 the rabbi took a singular position among the Jews of his time.



Markgraf Karl Friedrich (1728 – 1811)



Johann Georg Schlosser (1739 – 1799)

In the middle of this period coinciding with the founding of the Jewish community of Kirchen, the two margravities of Baden-Durlacch and Baden-Baden merged in 1771. New economic ideas and insights came over from France including the economics of the

Physiocrats. N.b. It was the Age of the Enlightenment. The Physiocrats introduced the idea of open trade and the idea of providing the same education in reading and writing to Jews as well as Christians.

Markgraf Karl Friedrich (1728-1811) was an enthusiastic follower. He gave up the previous policies of closed borders for the importation of goods, and the one-sided preference of the manufactures became the current economic policy. According to the doctrine of the Physiocrats, trade was not the province of the dealer, but the degeneracy of the professionals. Only the contact with the earth was natural and free, one had to fill those people who were the most remote from nature with the blessing of the earth.

In 1775 the brother-in-law of J.W.v. Goethe, the mayor of Emmendingen, Johann Georg Schlosser, sought to advance an idea which was recognized throughout Germany. He sat down with the Jewish leaders of his council and the teachers of the Christian schools to organize classes in the elementary subjects of reading, writing and arithmetic for the Jewish children.

In a report of September 12, 1776, he writes to Karlsruhe: "The teaching of German reading and writing had a good effect on the Jews, that I everywhere found as appropriate with amazement the accomplishment of the children in the few months of spelling and reading also in writing. The Jewish children were as accomplished as the Christian children.

However, the model character of this school experiment remained far too long a model. Even when the "German Jewish school" became the "public school", which was to be attended by all, it had problems in the rural communities. These schools taught only boys until their 13th birthday. Girls did not need to attend the schools if they could sew and knit well.

In addition to these economic and scholastic political innovations, a book appeared in August 1781, strangely enough written by a government official, the Prussian War Councilor and Archivist Wilhelm Dohm. It is titled, "On the Civic Improvement of the Jews." Dohm, who was a close friend of the philosopher Moses Mendelsohn (1729 - 1786), pointed out in his book the disgraceful situation of the Jews, which had only one reason, that they were Jews. As a prerequisite for the demanded emancipation of the Jews, Dohm saw the need for a transformation of the state and society. Only one year after Dohm's book in October, 1781, Joseph II issued the toleration edict for the Austrian territories including Baden. The edict voided all the oppressive Jewish laws of the past. However, a court decree of March 2, 1786, decreed that poor Jews whose fortunes did not reach the 100 guilders' borders should be forced to emigrate as far as possible.

Apart from the above exceptions, the Jews were free to seek their place of residence, could send their children to already existing public schools or Jewish schools, and had the opportunity to learn a profession of their choice. These political, intellectual and not least new economic ideas had a profound effect on Karl Friedrich von Baden, a ruler who was

open-minded. On February 1, 1782, he ordered a report from his privy councilor on the Austrian ordinances issued in the neighborhood of Baden. "... whether and which of the new Austrian ordinances concerning the Jews should be applied to the Jewish inhabitants of his own country ... and to what extent the Jews were to be trained to learn a craft, without disadvantaging the rest of his subjects. "The reports received by the various offices and leaders tended toward a more liberal attitude toward the Jews. Typical of this is the report of the economist, Sontag von Lörrach. He demanded the same rights for the Jews as Christians, who are also impoverished here and there, especially "because they cannot seize the way of life for which they are suited." Shortly thereafter, in 1783, serfdom was abolished in Baden, however it did not concern the Jews. They were never serfs due to their special status as protected citizens.

By the regulation of the January 20, 1804, the personal tax was abolished. In 1798 the church authority was asked whether Jews could be included in the general school. The answer turned out to be yes but with some limitations, that are worth mentioning: "The Jews should be given a special place in the school, because they seldom observe the cleanliness usual among Christians, and cannot hide or conceal their strange smell." In the spring of 1801, the Baden court councilor, Philipp Holzmann, wrote a report on the path to the emancipation of the Jews, which he believed to be his own opinion: it is titled "About the civic improvement of Jews in Baden". Holzmann's report is in the spirit of the French Revolution and follows in large part the publication of his friend Dohm. He analyzes the current constitution as a conglomerate of superstition and ignorance. Holzmann continues: "The Jews were regarded as a nation rejected and cursed by God, and they were held under terrible pressure and injustice against them. The State does not have to worry about how the Jews behave or their religious opinions so long as they do their duty and the State has the most effective power in its hands."

Holzmann's recommendations of for the future show, from today's point of view, exactly how things were for Jews in Baden in 1862. It would take more than half a century before Holzmann's proposals were realized. Around 1801 the time was still not ripe for these plans. They went the way of uncomfortable advice, they got lost in the archive.

Chapter 3: THE ASCENT (1803 - 1864)



The Margraviate of Baden around 1800 *The Region of Baden in 1815*

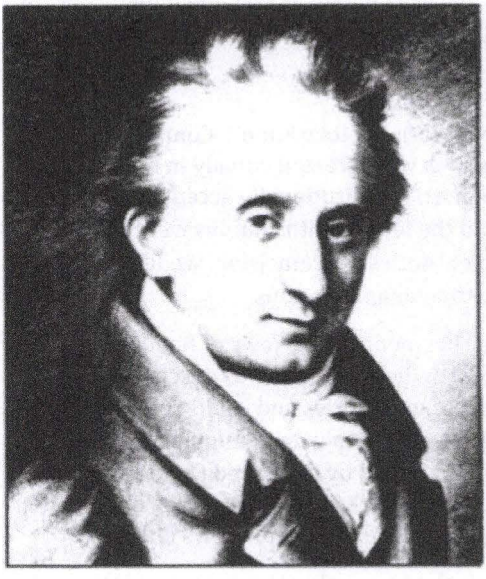
Since the destruction of Jerusalem, that is for more than 1700 years without a fatherland and without civil rights, the Jews lived in dispersion all over the world, mostly through no fault of their own. Though working inhabitants of a country, they were despised, mistreated, and persecuted in many places as strangers. God knows and is sorry. Some people say in ignorance 'You should chase them all out of the land.' Others say: 'You should make useful people out of them and then keep them.' Emperor Napoleon in 1806 wrote to the Jews in France, that they should give him informed and erudite men sent from their midst... "That's why the Jewish Congregation was formed in the great Sanhedrin, the High Council of Jerusalem in ancient times..."

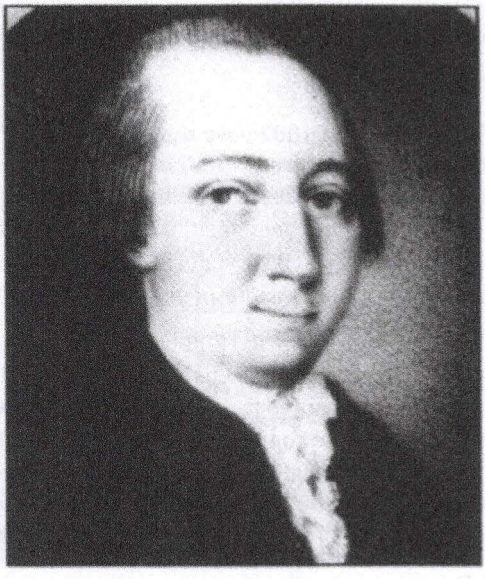
Hebel's historical view of the legal result of Jewish emancipation efforts, portrayed in the case of the great emperor Napoleon, is, as it were, the echo of the major changes in the laws concerning the Jews in Baden.

Baden became a state between 1803 and 1806 by Napoleon's decree and his sending of his ambassador to Baden from Paris, Sigmund Karl Johann, patron of Reizenstein, (1766-1847).

Its borders, created by the merging of various domains, remained essentially the same until 1952. The state was essentially pushed into a new Jewish policy by three factors:

The Jewish population in Baden increased by 5.5 times between 1790 and 1806, and the total population increased by 5.3 times in the same period. The problems resulting from this could no longer be solved with the previous laws of the absolutist state.





Sigmund Karl Johann, Freiherr von Reizenstein (1766 — 1847) Nikolaus Friedrich Brauer (1754-1813)

Population growth: 1771 - 1809

- In 1771 United Marquisates in 1790: 2,186 Jews, 1.3%
- In Baden in 1803: 6.500 Jews = 1.44%
- In the Grand Duchy of Baden in 1806: 12,000 Jews = 1.33%

In addition to the conviction that these numbers were actually Baden's contribution to the new laws, the edicts of the new constitution should not be forgotten. Yet, the proposals, memorials, and advice for the improvement of the Jews in Baden remained in the drawers and archives of the Grand Duchy of Baden offices. Much of what these magistrates and court councilors had worked out was still valid after 1806, according to the Holzmann report.

Three men merit mention in the history of the constitutional edicts in Baden. Its main author was John Nikolaus Friedrich Brauer (1754-1813), Privy Councilor. He became the editor of the Code of Napoleon for Baden. His two collaborators were Karl Wilhelm, Baron of Biberstein (1763-1817), the actual Privy Councilor, head of the Police Department from

1806-1808, and in 1809 State Minister and then Minister of the Interior, and the already mentioned Baron of Reizenstein. They gave the new Grand Duchy basic rights, that were second to none in German states.

The third factor can be read directly from the report of the great conference in Paris. In 1806 a Jewish emergency meeting met in Paris, which was followed by the conference described by Hebel in 1807. This Napoleonic decree gave Baden, in fact, the impetus for the reforms of the Jewish laws, which had long been in place.

To the various edicts:

The first edict of 1807 gave the Jewish faith a "constitutional toleration". Contrary to the treatment of the three Christian denominations which were treated equally in the religious edict of 1803, and declared in this first constitution as "constitutionally accepted", there was a real equality between the Christian churches and the Jewish faith. Rabbis were regarded as clergy and as civil servants in the exercise of their duties (circumcision, wedding, funeral), just like a leader of one of the three Christian denominations.

The sixth edict of April, 1808 brought further improvements to the Jews of Baden. They became "legacy free citizens". Their relationship with the State was thus described. But they were designated as 'protected citizens' in their communities and could neither participate in the community affairs, nor did they have right to vote in municipal elections. These local civil rights could be granted in exceptional cases by the Grand Duke personally. But Jews had national rights and could establish themselves without restriction only in their place of birth. Freedom of movement in our sense did not exist for non-Jews either.

B. Rosenthal cites the "framework laws" relating to the Jews as having various interpretations and in whose application and enforcement there were various contexts. They needed a precise definition.

On the 13th of January, 1809, the drafting of the preceding edicts resulted in the Ninth Constitutional Edict, the so-called "Judenedikt" or Jewish edict, which had been designed mainly by the Privy Councilor Brauer.

In the introduction to the edict, the civil equality of the Jews is declared, "which only then comes into its full effect, if they are generally striving to equal the Christians in political and moral education and so that their equality does not disadvantage other citizens!"

A spirit of paternalism, the "correction spirit" as Dubnow called it, is present in all these laws and edicts. Equal treatment and equality of Jews and Christians were often violated by inhibiting specific provisions of the law. The tenor of these laws can be simplified to requiring that Jews become Christians.

But were not these constitutional edicts the hope of all the Jews in Germany? Did not the Jews of most German states look with a certain envy upon the achievements of their fellow Jews of Baden, and were they not grateful?

Of course, one can agree with Dubnow's judgment; it was not a perfect law, but this once and for all eliminated discrimination against the Jews and brought complete equality. The Jewish community of Kirchen gave their full consent to these edicts, because they saw their relatives and friends in the nearby area live in far greater personal freedom.

Through the war years, the effects of these somewhat more modern Jewish laws were hardly noticeable to the rural Jews. This was due to the pietistic, far-away spiritual head of the Jews in Sulzburg, Rabbi Abraham Weil, who did nothing to create the spiritual foundations of the new rights of the Jews he was responsible for, and to give them an understanding of their rights, and also their duties. He was only concerned that his flock adhered to the religious commandments in the strictest sense, which was a matter of course for the Jews at that time. It was not until 1814 that he issued a letter in which he invited the leaders of his congregation to create the preconditions for the execution of the edicts, as if these men had the necessary spiritual level to do so. It would have been appropriate for him to visit his congregations and to work in the new spirit. He was not at all fit for his position, according to the two circulars which I have here, the second of which is answered by Nathan Reutlinger quite intellectually.

"The Jews are equal:" (August 4, 1814) said Nathan Reutlinger, leader of the Jews in Lörrach and Kirchen: "By the mild, loving, and paternal will of His Royal Highness, our all-loving sovereign, the equality of the Jews with the rest of the subjects is granted in all the civic and political conditions expressed in the Governing Gazette of 1809, No. 6." This requires, first of all, that the moral condition of our fellow-believers, hitherto brought down by revolutions and not permitted to do civic acts, be lifted up again, and this should be done in a manner according to the highest principles."

"It is therefore the incessant duty of the Jewish leadership to have a watchful eye on the actions of their subordinates, and through all the means at their command, ensure that morality and righteousness be preserved among them."

"The first teacher is the sacred religion itself. This is the creator of fidelity and attachment, the support of the state, and leads with its gentle hand to morality, righteousness, and finally to the source of happiness."

"The Board of the synagogue will, therefore, from time to time remind the teachers of religion that their students be duly instructed about their duties. In his time, the chief rabbi will instruct the synagogue president, (Parness) on this subject."

Meanwhile, answers to the following questions are required within three weeks:

a) What is the current moral state of the region?
b) What resources were available to raise the moral state?
c) Whether it has also been ensured that the highest (the grandduke's) aims/intentions are clarified and explained to the Jewish subjects, and whether it was specially commended tot hem that in order to be worthy of these benefits, they have to gradually give up the detrimental alms

that they lived on so far and to make a living in the same way as the other citizens. (that is: the grand duke, his advisors and also the „Oberrat der Israeliten“ Chief Rabbi in Karlsruhe encouraged Jews to learn a craft or become employed workers.)

The Board of Directors will easily understand how important this point is, and what attention is required, to fully live up to the (the Grand duke's) highest ideals and wishes.

"Sulzburg, August 4, 1814 provincial Rabbi Abraham Weyl".



Thias Weil Chief Rabbi in Karlsruhe (1721-1805)

Dancing on Sabbath and holidays. June 4, 1819

High priestly Board! holy leader of the upper Rhine, Provincial Rabbi Abraham Weil in Sulzburg, decreed the abolition of dancing on the Sabbath and holidays in the Jewish local

municipalities of Breisach, Hesingen, Eichstetten, Emmendingen, Sulzburg, Müllheim, Lörrach, and Kirchen.

In 1798, I as a Chief Rabbi have been authorized as overseer of these local synagogues. The Chief Rabbi, Thias Weyl, in Karlsruhe, forbade dancing to the Sabbath, feast, and holidays for the aforementioned Israeli communities, and for the following reasons:

1. According to our Mosaic laws, dancing is prohibited on such days.

2. It is common and known, that such dancing and a gathering of people, creates mischief and immorality, which certainly no state condones.

3. Also I am convinced and it is proved that the Jewish youth, which often are poor and earn hardly a guilder weekly through their occasional work, waste much money in such holiday dances. Now, I wonder where do poor people get this money? Certainly, no other way than they must either steal it from their poor parents or get it in an otherwise dishonest way.

4. It has been proven that these holiday dances are damaging even to the Christian inhabitants, because the Jewish holidays are mostly on Christian weekdays. Christian youth now stop at that dance place, so they leave their field work and run to the dance, they lose money and no one works. Therefore, it causes double damage, and often causes dissension in the Christian families.

For these reasons, I have forbidden dance of Jewish youth. You gave me some years of obedience, until finally the difficult war times, which have corrupted the people not only in the body, but also the soul. Recently the Jewish youth failed to obey. I asked the district offices, to give no more dance permissions, but I was betrayed. They say the youth is now more enlightened than before. I wish to God it would be so, then they would have more religion. Enlightenment requires us to honor religion, because it requires us to treat the Prince and the fatherland with love, loyalty and a willingness to serve. It is, therefore, self-evident that any lapse in religion is also harmful to the State.

I therefore ask that you kindly consider my reasons, and that I should like to order that dancing not be permitted on holidays, and that those who nevertheless dance should be physically punished ... Sulzburg, 4 June 1819, signed Abraham Weyl, Provincial Rabbi.

The Grand Ducal district council is well aware of the moral well-being of youth, but emphasizes, on the other hand, that the Sabbaths and holidays have always been an opportunity for joy among the Christians, and therefore it is honorable for the unmarried people to dance and it should be allowed.

The Lörrach Jewish leader said that his opinion in these matters should be acknowledged by the provincial Rabbi. He thought that the 25 fl. paid by the local Jewish community every year to him, was intended:

1. to ensure that the youth are taught and brought up in the religion and

2. to make sure that the community is provided with a good teacher, and

3. at least several times every year the synagogues and the associated community are required to consider moral lessons so that everyone may know what according to the Mosaic law is right and wrong, what you should do and not do.

The provincial rabbi, at least as long as he was the leader, did not care for all this. We are compelled, in urgent cases, to go to a nearby rabbi in Alsace to get expensive advice. We must complain and remind him of his duty since we must pay the 25 fl.

The result of the Ninth Constitutional edict for the Jews in Kirchen, as everywhere in Baden, was the direct interference of the public authorities in their so far quite competently run community affairs. So, the Jews were obliged by the edict of the Constitutional article, to be notified about the payable entries in the books of the State.

Thus, according to Article XXX of the Constitution, the Jews were obligated to immediately notify the authorities and register in the state's books.

"The Jews are required to ensure that notification is given for each marriage, birth and death", says a report of the District Office of Lörrach on 1.2.1816. In the same report, which summarizes the results of the census carried out every year, it says: "the Jews in Kirchen seem to be in very poor condition. The Office therefore has to pay particular attention to the fact that the civil registers are strictly guided by the order and form of the state books, but the fact is that the young Jews who are still capable of being employed are not to be found learning a trade. In order to achieve this beneficial purpose, it is necessary to proceed with the strictest measures against the parents and caregivers of the Jews working in trades, and to grant no exception to the general rule without the most important reasons.

Now what was the Jewish community of Kirchen like in these years of inner and outer change?

In 1803, the Jewish community of Kirchen had 48 to 50 parishioners. In 1810, there were 60. It was a young community. In 1803 over 70 % the Jews were younger than 30 years old. In 1810, there were still 58% that were younger than 30 years. Slightly more in 1803, 56.8%, and in 1810, 52 %.

The occupations of the Jews of this time in Kirchen has by and large remained the same, which I have already described in the previous chapter. A substantial improvement is nevertheless to be observed in the shift to the cattle trade. The incomes of the cattle traders of this time cannot, however, be compared with the much higher income of their peers before and after the First World War. According to the present list, the Jews of the second generation are taking advantage of the economic and socially strengthened position. In the case of the first Jews, their participation in the cattle trade increased.

This development means a step forward for the economic improvement of the Jewish communities of the country, but still far from the demand of edicts of the Constitution,

according to which Jews must work also for "existing Christian food needs", according to the "uniform food act".

The later data of the protection records of 1816 and thereafter show how slow and difficult the change of professions was. The Civil Law was adopted according to Articles 18, 19 and 20 of the Constitution and was dependent on the profession of the respective applicant.

After 1810 in the Jewish community Jewish craftsmen who moved to Kirchen for professional reasons became a novelty.

So, Moses Seligmann and Samuel Moses plied the cobbler trade, Moses Levi was a locksmith, Bernhard Lieberles was a woodworker, Samuel Lieberles Weber was a business owner, Samuel Bloch and Sigmund Weil were butchers. However, it should be added that the majority of those listed here were born around the turn of the 19th century. Schmidt's statement "The occupation of early Jewish residents here was that... of locksmith and shoemaker..." Clear explanation is in the already mentioned paragraphs of the IX Constitutional edict and its very exact application on the part of the authorities. The efforts of the government to integrate the Jews professionally and socially into the Christian population, making builders and artisans out of them, bore fruit only slowly.

Decisions of various local leaders in the Jewish communities of Baden can be directly tied to the great economic plight of the Jews. "Their ancestors may have been poorer in front of the Brick kilns of Egypt as the miserable people in their miserable huts... Their hunger and their clothing compel them to do what the Talmud tells them: the old and infirm will live in poverty. Seven-eighths of Jewry lived in a state of need half-begging, half lived like cattle and like dogs. It was like this for fifty years."

A crime of particular gravity, which took place in March 1816, in Kirchen belongs in the context of the just described social abuses of the Jewish leadership in Baden.

Report of the Regional Court in Mannheim January, 1816.

"The thirty-six-year-old Hirz Bloch of Kirchen in the Oberland, the son of the Jewish community there (called Bannduttel), had already gone on to small crimes and idleness. He had the intention of robbing and murdering Baruch Kahn of Bissingen, who had recently entered the country. On the following morning, he accompanied him to Basel on the country road. He struck him from behind twice on the head with the thick stick, which was intended to murder Krämer Baruch Kahn from Bissingen in Württembergischen, but the stick broke. The beating continued until the man, apparently dead, lay on the ground. He cut the money belts from his body, and escaped with them. The dying man was found, vainly nursed, and died on the third day, covered with thirty-five wounds, which were fatal, partly because of their great quantity, and partly because of their severity. His Royal Highness's majesty has upheld the Supreme Court's verdict, according to which the well-known intentional murderer and occasional shoemaker was beheaded, and because of his great cruelty his head was put on a pike. This judgment was carried out in Lörrach on the 15th of June.

In the entry of the record book of the Jews (GLA 390/2546) of March 24, it says: "Baruch Kahn. He was from Bissingen, Germany and died from cruel mistreatment. He has been dissected on March 26, 1816 and was buried in Lörrach. The dead man was 53 years old.

Witnesses: Herz Bloch-Mock, Schulz and Marx Braunschweig-Wolf.

In his memoirs, E. Kaiser reported that the last person executed in the region had been a Jew from Kirchen. In the entire history of the Jewish community of Kirchen, he remains the first and last criminal that I encountered during my research.

The immigration trend in the period 1820-1847 remains the same as already described. Immigration from Switzerland however ebbs away completely, while the inflow from Alsace continues and increases the population of the Jewish communities of Baden especially in Kippenheim, Emmendingen, Rust, Schmieheim, Adelsheim, Breisach and Eichstetten. Jews coming from the Alsace came from Hégenheim, Hagenthal, and Dürmenach, etc. Of the thirty immigrants coming to Kirchen during this period, nineteen came to get married. These are 63% of all immigrants. Only eleven came to Kirchen to look for better commercial opportunities or earning potential or for other family reasons. Sixty-nine percent of immigrants were under thirty years old.

Another consequence of the Ninth Constitutional Edict was the obligation of the local schools to educate Jewish children to read, write, and calculate. They were also taught morals, essay writing, geography and history. But there was always teaching in Judaism. In the Torah it says, "These words which I command thee this day shall be written in thy heart, and thou shalt teach them to thy children, and thou shalt speak of them when thou sit in thy house and when you go on the way, when you lie down and when you get up."

Religious instruction began in early childhood for boys and girls, especially for boys in writing and traditional teaching (Torah and Talmud), the latter at least so that they could read the Hebrew prayers and the Yiddish instruction books printed in Hebrew letters.

The religious education was first begun at home by the parents, then went to a young man hired by the municipality who wanted to become a Rabbi, or the Rabbi taught the children himself in his community.

The general antipathy toward attendance in the Christian schools, was not so much opposed to the knowledge to be taught but to the spirit and the methods used in these elementary schools, which were intended to "provide the knowledge of everything that is necessary for life as a Christian and a citizen."

The compulsory schooling began at age seven and ended for girls at thirteen and for boys at fourteen. The school supervisor was appointed by the local pastor.

The Jewish children had to enroll in these schools after January, 1809, technically free from the Christian religious instruction, but in all disciplines except arithmetic, the visual material, the reading-books, all teaching, was interwoven with Christian thought. In today's perception, this was certainly not an exemption from Christian instruction. Essays on

biblical stories were written, almost exclusively biblical stories were read, and Christian hymns were sung.

A state-controlled religious education was introduced for Jewish students. The content of the religious teaching was also prescribed: it must "sharpen morality, encourage charity and subservience to the power of the state and civic order according to the pure principles of Moses and the prophets ... (that they). Will become as they were when the nation was still a separate state. "

In 1809 Kirchen got its first popular Jewish teacher, Samuel Ruf, from Blotzheim, who taught until 1820. The Jewish teachers were always a cantor (prayer leader) in the synagogues and usually also the shochet (ritual butcher) in the smaller rural communities.

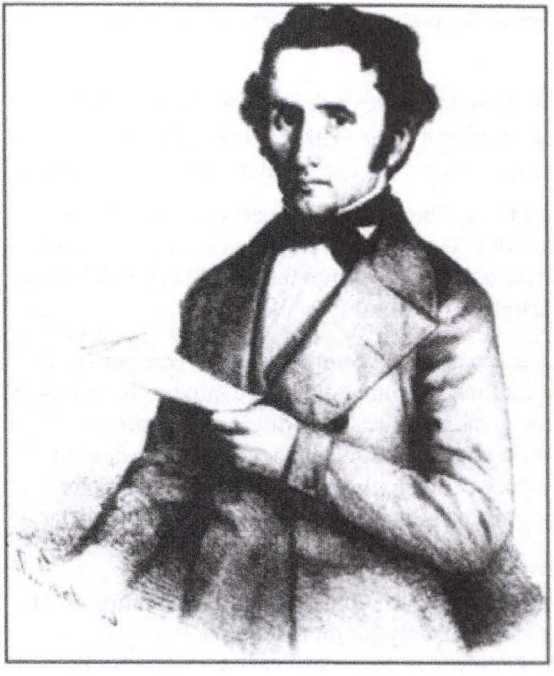
The task of this teacher went far beyond teaching. They were at the center of intellectual and spiritual life in a community without a rabbi. They led worship as well as giving their advice on controversial religious issues because the really competent Rabbi sat in Sulzburg and came at most twice a year to visit the religious community.

The education of Jewish children in the Protestant village school in Kirchen was generally mismanaged in the first years after the Ninth Constitutional Edict came into force. In March, 1813, the following resolution on compulsory schooling was communicated to the schoolmaster and the mayor in Kirchen: "Without distinction, all Jewish children should become part of the Christian school. A directory of all eligible Jewish children has to be given to the schoolmaster every year at Easter. The Jewish schoolmaster has fourteen days, to certify this."

Little of the liberal spirit of the individual articles of Ninth Constitutional Edict entered into the consciousness of officialdom. The district Rabbi Dreyfuß on the occasion of a religion exam on October 13, 1836 wrote of the following situation twenty-seven years after the edict was introduced in Kirchen. Dreyfuß writes to the Evangelical Parish Office and protested that "the local Jewish schoolchildren have the Protestant catechism as a reading book and probably also had to learn the Christian doctrine of religion." He strongly demanded the cessation of this illegality, asking the Evangelical Parish Office to choose a new reading book restricted so "that the main textbook may contain no Christian doctrines." The Kirchen School Board decided only ten years later, that the Jewish pupils in accordance with the Synagogue, would learn only biblical histories of the old testament."

A case from the files of the municipal archive Efringen-Kirchen (1821 – 1850) shows how sharply and consistently the existing laws and regulations were applied. On August 20, 1821, the Jewish cantor of Kirchen, Abraham Schwab from Kronweißburg, Bavaria, was given the instruction "to go away with his family from Kirchen and go to his homeland", since on June 29, 1821 a law was issued according to which all foreigners were to leave Baden. The Jewish community of Kirchen, however, was ordered "that the vacant position would be filled with a local suitable person in four weeks."

Jewish religious teaching included the following subjects: Torah translation, Hebrew language, Hebrew writing, Hebrew reading, and the learning of blessings. In the larger Jewish communities of the cities, in Sulzburg, for example, a Jewish school was established as early as 1795, where, since 1804, the son of the Chief Rabbi Isak Kahn, Leopold Kahn, taught as a state-appointed teacher.



Moses Nordmann 1809-1884, religion teacher in Kirchen 1834, later Rabbi of Hégenheim and Basel.

Up to the year 1834 Moses Nordmann (later Rabbi of Hégenheim), taught in Kirchen. Unfortunately, there are no records about the work of Nordmann in Kirchen. So, it is not clear which families Nordmann taught. He was a theologian. Nordmann not only attended the Talmud schools, but also the universities of Nancy, Würzburg and Heidelberg, where he was confronted by the new thought of his time (such as Abraham Geiger in Heidelberg). On September 15, 1834 after a dramatic election dispute with his Orthodox opponent, Cohn, he was elected as Rabbi of Hégenheim. He experienced both the highest flowering and the inexorable decline of his community. A whole series of reforms go back to him. He founded a society for the promotion of agriculture and devoted himself to the reform of education. Against the Orthodox beliefs of the rural areas of Saxony he could not enforce his radically liberal ideas. Constant disputes with his Orthodox colleagues cost so much energy that the further dissemination of his ideas was prevented.

The honorary office of the Parnass is ancient in the Jewish communities. It is often badly translated as the board chairman or the headmaster. Basically, it has a different meaning. It originally meant the activity of caring and feeding, and not primarily administration or presiding. In the smaller rural communities, which were quite free from state regulation until 1809, this high office was usually transferred to the most economically secure and therefore socially secure member of the community, who, according to general opinion, was least accessible to various influences. The first head of the Jewish community of Kirchen, who also held the title of "superintendent" of the Jewish school, was Herz Bloch-Mock. His tasks are described in the Ninth Constitution Edict: "Every synagogue has... local elders who are appointed and confirmed by officials... and must be educated Jewish citizens." He was responsible... "for the religious discipline,"... for the execution of commands of the authority. Already in 1816, the aforementioned Herz Bloch-Mock is called 'former Jewish leader'. Two synagogue councils came after him in 1833. This body was called the "Synagogue Board" and consisted of three to seven members, who were elected by the voting members with a simple majority depending on the size of a community. Those chosen were confirmed by the District Office. One of these was appointed the director after consultation with the district synagogue by the District Council. The term of office of the director lasted six years. Every three years, half of the synagogue councils had to leave, and were replaced by new ones. With Bloch such a synagogue Council was first named in 1835 for Kirchen. In 1841 the synagogue leaders Elias Bloch and the two synagogue councilors, Joseph Oiesheimer and Menge Bloch were elected. The election rules were as follows according to Bloch.

All male members of the Jewish religious community at least twenty-five years old and are residents of the district for a year and calendar year ahead of the election, are eligible to vote in the Grand Duchy of Baden. "The following are excluded: those who are incapacitated or mute, those who receive constant support from public funds for the poor, and those who do not own a house nor pay direct state taxes, and those against whom bankruptcy proceedings are open while in arrears over one year on Kirchen taxes."

As so often happens in small communities, these honorary offices were placed in the service of personal power demands and certain group interests. An eloquent testimony to this is provided by the files, letters, complaints, etc. of the Kirchen's Jews, against their synagogue councils, and vice versa. The synagogue council elections, every three and six years, took on a growing weariness with the candidates in Kirchen. When some of the candidates were selected, two or three of whom were elected, one or even both of them chose to refuse the election for reasons of fatigue.

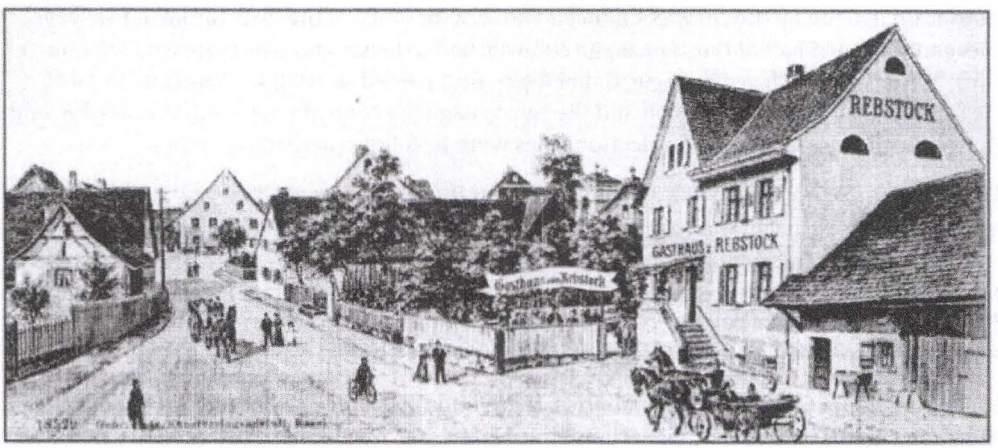
A further institution of the congregation, which is explicitly mentioned only after 1892, but whose tasks were de facto taken over by the synagogue council before this time, is the assessment council. The assessment council had to partially provide leave for the teacher of religion, build the synagogue, care for the local poor, etc. The total sum of this expenditure was now levied on the individual members of the community. The "Ordinance on the Circumstances for the Ecclesiastical Needs of the Individual Israelite Communities and the District Synagogue of May 26, 1826" determined the mode of this procedure and the

procedure for the levying of the treasury assessments. The assessment councils had the task to review the self-assessment of the individual community members.

L.D. Kahn states in one of his writings about the Jews of Sulzburg that the assets to base the estimate on included all the things for personal use, even such goods destined for sale. Not included are the personal house and the goods required for household use. Each person had shopping money amounting to two percent of his own assets and two percent of the assets of his wife.

This practice of tax assessment often resulted in protests to the treasury council, that, in their view the assessments were too high. But compared to the enormous difficulties of making such an assessment, the protests and objections against the taxation were minimal. It is, of course, easier to accept the tax assessment of a "superior" authority than to take the view of relatives or acquaintances.

The first report on the Kirchen Jews' worship practice is found in a letter dated from March 11, 1789 from the Kirchen Jews to the Margrave to support to the building of the synagogue.



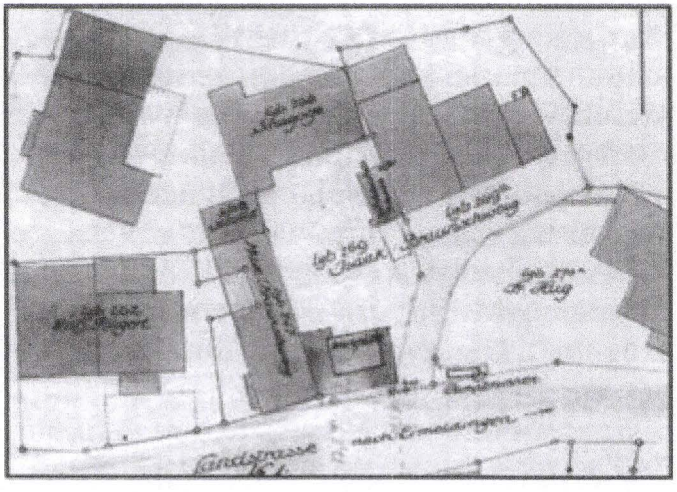
Postcard with the Rebstock Inn. The two towers of the synagogue are clearly visible to the left.

There Moses Samuel writes: "The local Jewry, which consists of nine households, has hitherto had its common place of assembly for its service in the home of July Bloch, but since Easter he cannot give us this place anymore because he needs it himself. Another place is not to be found here, and the Jews are too poor to buy or build some buildings of which only two or three are possible. But one cannot dispense with a place of assembly."

The Jews of Kirchen asked the Mayor of Lörrach for financial support for the purchase of such a building, as was the practice in the lowlands. The community of Kirchen could possibly offer 700 fl. for such a place. This would be the cost for a such a structure. The mayor agrees to this plan, if the Jews of Kirchen are jointly liable for capital and interest. The files are silent on the outcome. But on July 30, 1823, Herz Bloch, the head of the Jewish

community, wrote to the Mayor of Lörrach to stop the new plans for a synagogue building, since "the synagogue was built only 28 years ago (1795). It is big enough for the Jewish community."

In a letter from the Jews of Lörrach (October 31, 1801) to the Margrave on purchasing a centrally located plot in Lörrach for a new synagogue building, the Lörrach Jews point out Kirchen as the example of a municipality, that "longs" to have their own synagogue. This synagogue (prayer hall) probably built in 1795 seemed to be small. As previously reported, already in 1822 and 1823 efforts were underway to expand the Synagogue or to plan a new building. The successor of the longtime leader Herz Bloch, Hirsch Bigar proceeded with the new construction plans.

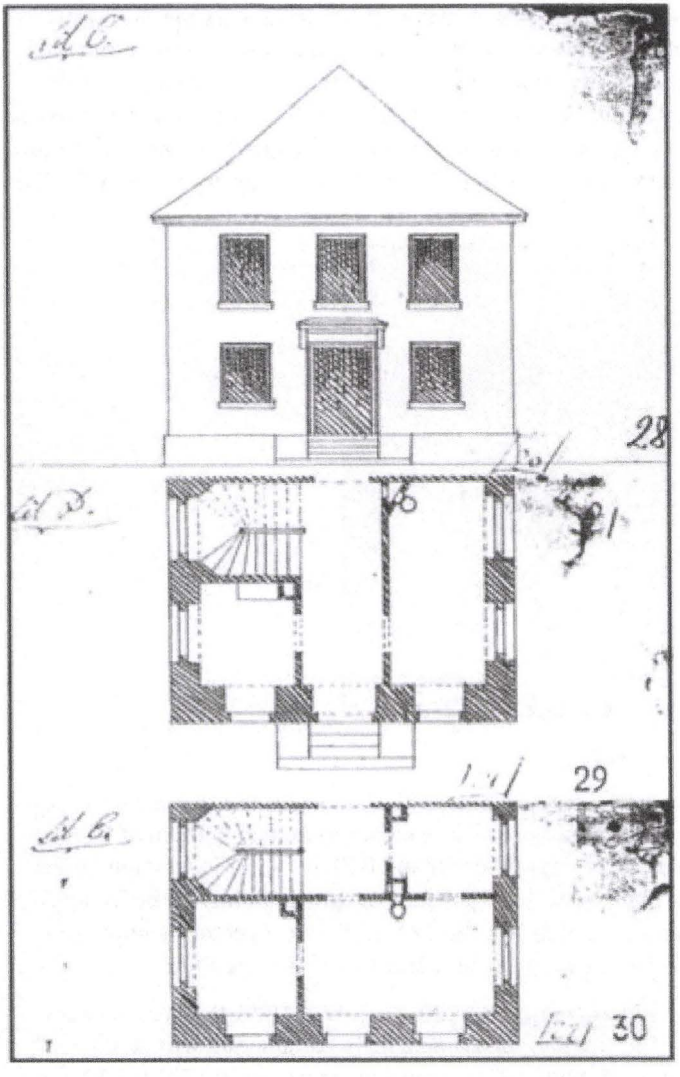


Location plan of the synagogue, cut-out.

This Herz Bloch defended himself: "the current time is also not suitable to perform a costly construction... If the synagogue is too small, it could be enlarged for a maximum of 100 fl, this is always better than a useless expense of more than 2000 fl." After inspection by the district architect it is difficult to build a good and solid synagogue building. If the "old place" is really too small an extension is warranted. On the 12.8.1823, the directorate approved the elaboration of plans: 1st about the extension, and 2nd for the new building.

The plans for a new building did not appear until 1828. On July 2, 1828, the headmaster Hirsch Bigar asked the District Office to plan the synagogue in conjunction with a school building and a teacher's apartment. In June, 1828, a new entry was made: "The Jewish community of Kirchen is of the opinion that solid construction should begin and this building should be spacious and suitable for children and grandchildren." The cost was to be 1100 Fl. and the municipality proposed a collection for this in the surrounding Jewish communities. As justification, the assets of the community were, one third were wealthy, and two thirds were needy if not quite poor. The total construction cost was estimated at

100 florins. The municipality rejected the proposal for the new synagogue building because the Jewish community could not support the cost. They ordered the community to provide a more cost-effective plan that the Jewish community could support.



The new plan (see picture) provides a building for the synagogue, which differed very little from a stately house in its outer appearance and the Rabbi said it was like the one planned for Düsseldorf.

The Jewish community rejected this new draft on the grounds that the savings were too small to justify the need for "not making the building an ecclesiastical building." The

reference to "church" examples can be understood as meaning that the rabbi wanted to make the synagogue as a sacred space and as resembling a church. On October 7, 1828, the new plan for the synagogue building with adjoining buildings costing fl. 4694 was published. The synagogue had the dimensions 12.10 m. x 8.60 m. With 50 construction workers, the building will be built. The lowest bid of fl. 4656 was awarded to the contractor Fingerlin from Haltingen.

On July 23, 1829, the head of the congregation, Hirsch Bigar, expressed the request that the synagogue, which was to be built, be larger than the plan. He proposed an extension of 3-4 feet on the east side, because this would provide significantly more space. "If we are already spending a great deal on this building, we would rather sacrifice a bit more to see the building built according to our wishes."

The provincial Rabbinate of Sulzburg, under Rabbi Abraham Weil, on July 16, 1829 drew attention to the Jewish law, which was to be observed during the construction of a ritual immersion bath. According to this opinion, Jews are not allowed to put into a bath, the water of which is pumped into a bathtub carved from a single stone. The bathtub must be made by a composition of several stones, and the water filling it must flow directly from the earth into the basin. So, the plans for the construction of the facility had to be changed.



The processing of the whole complex caused difficulties for the contractor, Haltinger Zimmermann Faraji. Conditional punishment was threatened if he did not finish the synagogue building in four weeks. It had become high time, because the building should be finished at noon to one o'clock on February 2, 1831. This provision was approved by Rabbi

Abraham Weil. Already in 1846 and 1860 serious damage and defects occurred to the building. The Jewish teacher Lazarus Mannheimer complained to the district office of the synagogue council of Kirchen, that there were serious problems with the building.

In response to your letter of the 14th Elul (a Hebrew date), about the sale of your old synagogue, this building was built and used as an apartment for the poor. The sale appears to be very questionable if the revenue is not used for the purchase of another building for the same purpose. The poor already have priority on the use of the building, and this cannot be withdrawn from them, without providing a sufficient replacement. Since that house is inhabited also by orphans and a widow, its sale is still questionable. It is noted in our Scripture, Genesis 1: 27 verses 21-23: "you should not oppress any widows and orphans. If you oppress them, they will cry to me and I shall hear their cry etc."



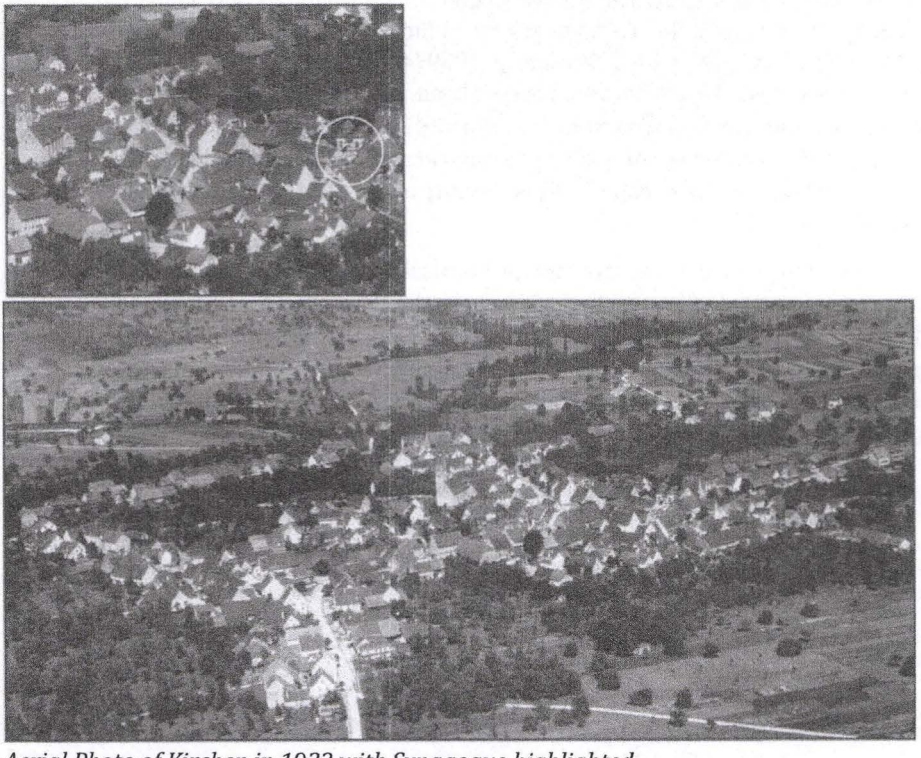
The former synagogue of Kirchen with the school house, the ritual bath and the apartment of the religious teacher.

Furthermore, it is not advisable to rely entirely on the achievements of the community, since this could lead to delays, and the responses are likely be sparse. In addition, there is the fact that the prosperity of the Jews has meanwhile increased considerably in the middle class with the help of God and I wish that the Eternal will continue to help us. In this way, the local community is now able to pay off the debts still remaining on the synagogue, without needing to withdraw help from the poor.

The best thing will be to settle with the Jewish community. The main reason for this was to ensure that the Jewish property remained the property of the Jews and that the city had no claim to it.

In addition to the synagogue building just described, the school building had two classrooms. The teachers' apartment was housed in the upper story, while the ritual bath, (*mikva*), was in the basement.

Architectural and moderate style classification of the synagogue



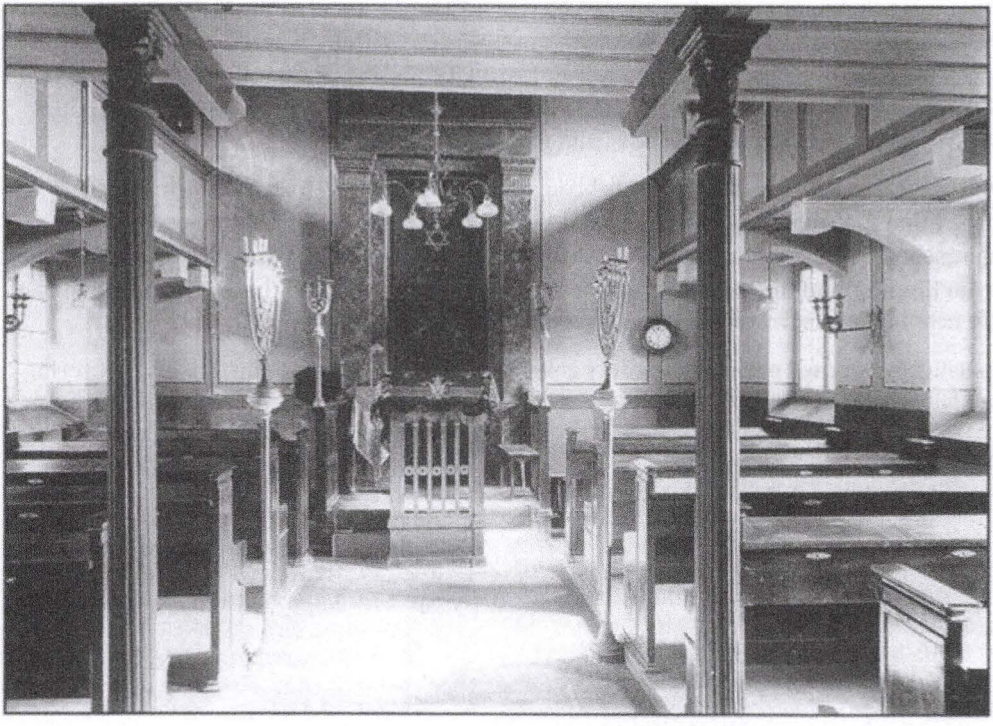
Aerial Photo of Kirchen in 1932 with Synagogue highlighted

The synagogue consists of a longitudinal building with galleries on three sides and an altar, which is embedded in the east wall. The west side is divided into two lateral risers, which, like the lower towers, are a few meters above the lobby. Upwards, the two towers are surrounded by a hollow-edged cornice, on which sits under a very low pyramid roof. The lobby opens westwards into a portico, with high Doric columns.

The hollow cornices are reminiscent of Egyptian style forms, and the proportions of the building resemble squat towers. The synagogue showed a mixture of different styles: contrary to the Egyptian models, the windows, are closed with round arches, and are perforated; the stories are separated from each other by broad cornices – a style which cannot be found in Egyptian architecture. In spite of these "stylistic idiosyncrasies", which include the Doric portico, it was intended to imitate the great power of Egyptian temples. If a comparison is to be drawn, it is the similarity to Weinbrenner's synagogue in Karlsruhe, which certainly served as a model, especially the two pylon-like towers with the flat pyramid roofs on the West side and the Doric columns.

The influence of Egyptian architecture, which can be derived from the ideas of the temple in Jerusalem, becomes clearer in the case of synagogues, the furnishings of which are predominantly Egyptian in style. The synagogues in Eichstetten, 1829/30, Kirchen, 1831, Altona, 1832, Copenhagen, 1833 and Würzburg, 1839/40, all show a narrow intimacy, not only from Egyptian style of architecture in general, but also from the attempted reconstructions of the temple of Solomon. The shrines in the synagogues in Kirchen, Copenhagen, and Würzburg are composed of formal architectural components. There was a Hebrew inscription above the portal: "This is the gate of the Lord (to the Lord) where the righteous shall enter" (1831).

All the orthodox synagogues are pointed toward Jerusalem, as most of the old churches have been, and so the sacred ark, (aron ha kodesh), where the Torah scrolls are kept, which was the height of the synagogue hall, was placed on the east side of the synagogue. The exterior of this ark was made of dark red marbled wood, flanked by two columns. The curtain in front of the doors of the ark was made of black cloth, decorated with the star of David and two lions holding a crown over the sign of the presence of God, the two Hebrew letters: H D.



The sanctuary of the former synagogue of Kirchen, which was destroyed on 9.11.1938.

Like most of the recently built synagogues, the one in Kirchen also had a two-piece women's gallery unlike the classic ones. The table for the reading of the Torah scrolls, stood in front of the ark. The eternal light, hung in a traffic light-like vessel before the ark. Two candlesticks, a Hanukkah menorah that reminds congregants of the consecration of the temple by Judas Maccabeus, and whose eight lights lasted eight days and are individually lit, stood at the side of the central nave.

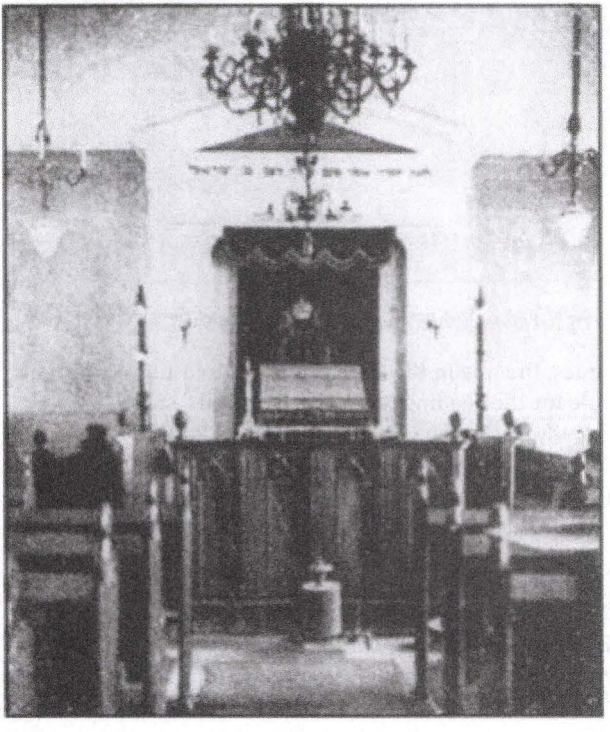
The walls, the ceiling and the floor of the synagogue room were completely unadorned. The walls were only decorated with geometrical ornaments, but not with animal or human representations. In front of the benches, lockable storage compartments were located, in which the prayer books and the other ritual items of worship, such as tallit, tefillin, etc., were kept.

In addition to the three usual daily prayers, there was a supplementary service (mussaf) on feast days and Sabbaths after the morning prayer. The synagogue leader (schammechan), knocked on the window shutters or doors with his wooden hammer, to call the communities for worship. In this activity, he was also called the "schul" knocker. In some congregations, he also announced the death of a congregation member this way.

The most solemn moment of a Sabbath service is taking out and lifting the Torah scrolls from and to the ark. The Torah scrolls themselves are written on parchment by a sofer, a specially trained scribe, taking into account special ritual regulations and rolled up on two rods. You do not touch the Torah scrolls themselves. When the scroll is read the reader uses a pointer (Yad), which is made from wood or a noble metal.

One of the Kirchen Torah scrolls was brought in 1736 by Bloch from Dornach at his emigration to Kirchen. Before the high holidays there were sermon-like speeches, (deraschot), given in the synagogue. At the two highest feasts, the great day of Atonement (Yom Kippur), and the Jewish New Year Festival (Rosh Hashanah) there was the blowing of the 'schofar,' a bent instrument made from a ram's horn.

Specifically adopted synagogue orders governed the course of worship as well as entering and leaving the synagogue. The oldest order I know was signed in the year 1866.



The Inside of the Lörrach Synagogue in about 1809

The Synagogue Rules (1866)

From the State Archives of Freiburg - the orders of synagogue from 1840-1877 - synagogue order for the Jewish community of Kirchen, signed on November 6, 1866, in Harburg, Director, Samuel Lieberles, Leopold Bloch, and Herz Bloch.

"To establish a synagogue order corresponding to the dignity of worship in local community, we find ourselves compelled to establish the following rules:"

1 The time worship is to begin, is set by the synagogue Council.

2 Immediately before and after the service, as well as during the service, events may not take place on the street or in the courtyard of the synagogue.

3 Entering the synagogue as well as leaving must be done with propriety. The behavior should be especially proper during the service.

4 Also the religious leader, who is appointed as "empowered" by the synagogue council, must pray only on Sabbath - and holidays.

5 Praying and singing along with the prayer leader may not take place.

6 Chattering in the synagogue during worship is strictly forbidden.

7 While the Torah is taken out of the ark, and until it is returned to its place, no one may leave the synagogue; Urgent cases are excepted.

8 Before last Kaddish prayers, no one is allowed to leave his seat.

9 While the prayer for his Majesty, the Emperor and his Royal Highness, the Grand-Duke, is performed, all those present have to rise from their seats.

10 Children under four years of age may not participate in public worship, and all parents are responsible for the indecent behavior of their children in the synagogue.

11. Infringements of these regulations are punished by the synagogue Council with fines, from six crowns to ten guilders.

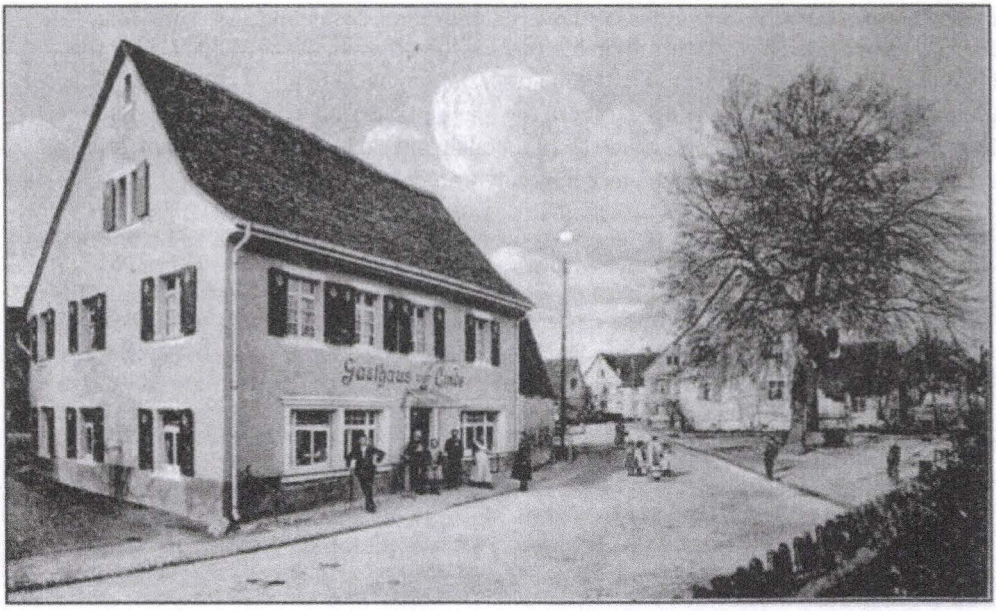
In the neighboring Jewish community of Lörrach a synagogue order was issued in 1857 that turned out to be far more dramatic. Bloch reported the emergence of this order: the differences between individuals and all the hatred that accumulated and erupted, show that at the time in the Jewish community of Lörrach there were no good feelings. The records tell of much quarreling and strife, and not even the sacred house and the worship service were respected when the fighting erupted. A brawl, which occurred on December 19, 1851 at the morning service between Abraham Willstätter and Lazarus Weil before the recitation of the Kaddish prayer is indicative of the atmosphere. Abraham Willstätter of the synagogue Council wrote: "at the morning service I removed myself from my place, which I had in the synagogue, to say the customary prayer for my recently deceased mother. On going to the sacred Ark, when the prayer was being recited, Lazarus Weil asked whether I had said the

prayer in order to become richer. I said, "You are not worth the trouble of an answer, you jerk (Vollzapf)," and then I fell with his chair over me without resistance. Here on reciprocating he said it is not worth my trouble, to answer you". During this altercation, his brother Benjamin and Nathan Dornacher, came to help and threw me to the ground, dirtying my tefillin and my tallis. "Witness: Bernhard Nordmann and Nathan Reutlingen."

Statements by Lazarus and Benjamin Weil:

"Abraham Willstatter moved away from his place, before the prayer in question was to be said, came over to our place, and called us thieves, because I said the prayer which he was supposed to have said. I directed him away from our place and suggested we settle the dispute outside the synagogue. He did not leave even after a further request. Then I moved my chair aside, to show him a list of the respective prayers, that I was entitled to say for my mother. Abraham Willstatter may have been struck by the moving of the chair. He hit me in the eye with his hand. In order to ward off further abuse, my brother came to my rescue. This made the chair fall down and with it Abraham Willstatter, since he was drunk. Witnesses: Gessau Blum and Nathan Dornacher. "

I will be silent about the embarrassing impression that such scandals made in the district council. It is a pity that the authorities were often troubled with such disputes, so that the chief officer felt himself to be forced to write the following letter to the district rabbinate: "December 29, 1851, there have been frequent disturbances of worship in the local synagogue lately. Rules are evoked out of jealousy because of the prayer. We are often overrun with such complaints every day. If these acts concern only the internal matters, as such we feel neither the right nor the obligation to interfere in any way. If, however, such a scandal degenerates into a ruffian's fight, or if the public peace and the public condition are violated, we must, strictly speaking, oppose such annoying appearances from the point of view of the security police intervening. We have asked several Jewish community members several times in kindness and peace and harmony to stop, but in vain. We are tired of the matter and will in the future proceed with all the means at our disposal. Before this, however, we enter once more the path of goodness, and send, therefore, to the files which contain the mildest case, so that you can take appropriate measures within your jurisdiction, both in general and in the present case. After appropriate measures, including the publication of this letter, we request the return of the files and reserve our further opinion. Signed district officer, Winter."



Guest house "Zur Linde". Until 1900 the Jewish Inn of Kirchen.

The Jewish community of Kirchen was conservative, religious in the traditional sense, an orthodox community to the end. Liberalism could make strides in the municipalities of Baden up to the end of the 19th century. But the smaller, therefore more homogeneous communities, hung on to the tradition of rural communities and remained orthodox, contrary to all reform proposals, even those of the Chief Rabbi in Karlsruhe.

Daily life proceeded in the web of stringent ritual. These "milestones", as I like to call the daily duties of a pious Jew, the division of pure and impure in the commandments of dining and in dealing with people and animals were included in addition to the already mentioned three prayer times.

Many of the family fathers traveled in the near and further surroundings with their goods and livestock as tradesmen. It was not easy for them. They were usually traveling for several days on these journeys. There were not many Jewish houses, so you had to cook for yourself. In Kirchen itself such a Jewish inn was "Zur Linde". The first host was Samuel Lieberles. The restaurant was a Jewish inn until the turn of the century. The Sabbath was and still is today the center in the life of a Jew. "It is decisive for the life of the individual Jew by the prohibition of work offered every week for one day."

L. D. Kahn portrays the Sabbath, as it was celebrated in Sulzburg until the turn of the century, but this was also valid for Kirchen. The evening before the Sabbath was a family-friendly celebration. With the work dust removed and the weekday clothes put away and with it all daily troubles, one turned into a "holiday man". The large parlor in the house

looked festive, the fir floor was freshly covered with sand, crunching and crumbling. The tiled stove provided a cozy warmth in winter. On the occasion of the holiday, after the customary blessings had been said, the majority of the Jewish families ate noodle soup, cold and spicy fish (Sabbath is the precursor of the Messianic period, which occurs when the King of fish Is served), soup with side dishes, punch and cake ... In this "world of yesterday" the Friday evening and Saturday were duly celebrated. "



Jakob Bloch (Victor Rosenberg's uncle) on horseback 1910

The Jewish Law after 1809

On May 4, 1812, a new edict, supplemented by the old Ninth Constitutional Edict of 1809, reorganized the protection of the Jews. Protection of citizenship could only be expected by those who, by means of personal assets or by a properly learned profession, maintained their livelihood, who had mastered the German language and had learned to read, write, and calculate. Those who fed themselves from the public trough should remain excluded from all protective and civic rights.

In places where no Jews previously lived, they could live there only with the consent of the municipality. Here, as in the old Jewish settlements, they were excluded from the municipal administration, and had no right to vote for mayor or in Municipal Council elections. The Grand Duke retained the right to pardon the most respected Jews using the civil law of the place.

The Constitution of 1809, which at least attempted to provide justice for the Jews in some important issues, became the basis for a reactionary police system, which in its individual regulations would fit well into the past eighteenth century. In April 1818, the long-

established constitution of the Grand Duchy of Baden was formally surrendered by the sick Grand Duke Karl Ludwig Friedrich (1786-1818). The rebellious nobility, the disaffected bourgeoisie, and the more advanced civil servants, were the main actors of this "coup d'état". But the jubilation of the Jews over the allegedly achieved bourgeois equality was premature. Thus, it was said: "The civil rights of the people of Baden are equal in every respect ...", but already in the following subordinate clause: "... where the constitution is not an exception, both by name and by fact." The idea of the Christian state held firm. The electability of the deputies was limited to the "confessors" of the three Christian denominations, who also had to be holders of local citizenship.

Up to the year 1830, an amendment to this section of the constitution, which made the Jews into a class of "state serfs", was reviewed for new advances in the upper council and the liberal part of the lower chamber.

The old reaction, which, despite the liberal additions in the form of the Minister von Boeckh (1777-1855) and von Winter (1778-1838), was more or less in accordance with the instructions of Metternich's Vienna. It suppressed the press, restricted the university's freedom of education by maintaining the resolutions passed in Karlsruhe, and supported the ideas and principles of the Holy Alliance at the same time. In the Congress in Frankfurt, the Baden ambassador Friedrich von Humbolt, from Blittersdorf (1792 - 1861), asked the other governments to be warned about passing a hasty Jewish law, as practiced in Baden. The Baden Minister of the Interior, Berkheim, in 1828, shared the best of Baden's experiences with the so-called liberal laws of the Jews: the limited rights given to the Jews in the Edict of 1809. It did not have the desired result. They were neither morally nor intellectually equal in this period to the Christian population. The overwhelming majority of the Jews were, as before, non-citizens and never regarded themselves as citizens. Instead, they felt themselves to be a branch of the Jewish nation dispersed throughout the earth. They also chose only those professions which were not connected with physical labor, such as, tailors or shoemakers, and those who could be well combined with trades. such as butcher or soap maker. People felt that Jews were not capable of serious citizenship, so long as they insisted on their own language, religious cult, and national spirit.

When in 1830, Leopold (1790-1852) succeeded his deceased brother Ludwig I (1763-1830) to the throne of the Grand Duke of Baden, it seemed like a more liberal time for Baden. The new Prince was kind, friendly, and a friend of the Constitution. In contrast to his predecessor Ludwig, gruff, suspicious and sinister, who set up police rule and was a victim of his own cronyism and mistresses.

On the other hand, the July Revolution of 1830 in Paris had an impact on the atmosphere in Baden. The freedom of the press, the abolition of the tithes and the labor issues, were becoming ever more heavily debated in the Second Chamber. In this freer climate, the Oberrat again presented the submissions for the equality of Jews in municipalities and state offices. On March 3, 1833, the Second Chamber decided by a majority of votes that the equality in the enjoyment of political rights of the Jews with the Christian inhabitants could

not yet take place. In the Act on the Rights of Community Citizens and the Acquisition of Civil Rights, which abolished the old differences between the protected citizens and the larger community, the Jews were excluded as part of the population. What a strange irony: the first conservative chamber was prepared to remove the Jews from this last hurdle on the road to general civic equality, but the legacy of feudalism, which Baden, the most liberal state, had had in its history, denied this equality to the Jews. This peculiar liberalism, which established itself with Leopold's government in Baden, and especially in the professors, C. Rotteck (1775 - 1840), Karl Theodor Welcker (1790 - 1868) and the mayor H.E.G. Paul, became a test of all German liberalism.

Welcker explained the rejection of the Jewish claims for equality as follows: "Christianity constitutes the right direction, the correct rationale, or the correct basic principle of life, not of the despotic and theocratic constitution, but the free constitutional state, namely the predominance of free, moral, rational, free conscience, or free morality." That is the impact of rationalism of the 18th century, which combined with the moral freedom of the individual and the civil liberty of all with the theology of Protestantism sought to penetrate the entire public life with Christian sentiment.

The apparent incompatibility between Christian and Jewish nationality found its expression in an inquiry of second Chamber at a synod. The proposals that the Baden Jews should reject their dietary and rest laws, circumcision and their language were consistent with this. After ten years of practice, the complete admission of the Jews to citizenship could be envisaged. In this decisive situation, the Superior Council declared in a superior manner that it did not wish to pursue an argument about religious views.

A petition, signed by 1,315 Jews around the country demanded complete equality of the Jews, as well as the removal of some existing exemptions of the regulations in 1846. The second Baden Chamber of 1846 newly elected in February took up the request for civil equality after six rejections. However, this proposal was far from being law. In the hopeful upsurge of the early 1830s, conditions evolved which were familiar to Ludwig. But it was the old oppressive atmosphere that was to find its opposition in the outbreak of unrest of 1848.

Situation in Kirchen:

In 1839 Abraham Moses was denied admission to Kirchen as a protected citizen. According to Abraham Moses, in his own writing, and according to the report of the synagogue council, "there was only one type of trade allowed for Jews, called Nothandel or essential trade, but Nothandel did not include foodstuffs, needed for the preservation of a family, and consequently the petitioner does not possess the legally required qualities. So, the request by Abraham Moses for civic acceptance should be denied by Kirchen."

In the later years, such as 1841 and thereafter, the inclusion in protected citizenship was refused to other persons for similar reasons. On the other hand, the following letter, prepared by the Synagogue Council, was directed to the city council in Kirchen: showing

how ready the Jews of Kirchen were to participate in municipal tasks. This is shown in the following letter: "If a fire should break out, the local Jews are not compelled to deploy to fight the fire. They did so only by free will. Nevertheless, they were ready to do this service, and would not hesitate to do so. However, we still believe that it would be much better if one were compelled to do this duty, and therefore cannot evade it. Our request, therefore, is that just like the Christian citizens, the Jews be compelled to do this duty."

A state or even a community may not be able to compel its citizens to be more open-minded and socially committed. Nevertheless, the most elementary of all civil rights were always denied to Jews. They were not permitted to be legally equated with their Christian neighbors. As the year 1848 approached, we are reaching an epoch which is important for the political development of Baden and thus also for the Jews. For Kirchen, I would first like to present the state of the Jewish population in 1848 and the immigration and emigration trends of that time. In 1848, the Jewish community of Kirchen had 147 inhabitants. This corresponds to 14.45% of the total population. Of these, 53.5% were men and 46.5% were women. 59.5% of Jewish community members were younger than 30 years. Only 4.14% were older than 60 years. The average family of the Kirchen Jews in 1848 was 4.77 persons. The occupational structure is as follows: 30% of all Jews were active in commerce or trades. 9.38% were without actual vocational training. 2.34% earned their living as a laborer. The children and students accounted for 35.16% of the Jewish population and 16% of the population of Kirchen. Thus, 61% belonged to the unemployed or dependent population. In the period between 1848 and 1864, 18 people moved into Kirchen.

Mostly non-economic or non-professional reasons made Kirchen attractive to immigrants. The high number of women (2/3 of all immigrants) makes it clear that these were mostly for marriages. The areas from which the immigrants originated ranged from Endingen in the Canton of Aargau with seven immigrants through the Alsatian communities of Hegenheim and Sierenz, each of whom came to the Baden Jewish communities of Sulzburg, Müllheim, Kippenheim, Breisach and Emmendingen, Altdorf, Friesenheim and Gailingen. During this time, fifteen people left Kirchen for unknown reasons.

The years 1848/49

Prehistory: In France, a revolution broke out in February 1848, which now also removed the last remnants of an apparently sham monarchy. The spark reached over to Germany. It was about great things: the elimination of press censorship, a uniform legal system, the establishment of a German central government supported by the elected representatives of the people.

This awakening was strengthened by a united, powerful Germany under the colors of black, red and gold and the desire for a liberal order ending a famine lasting more than 30 years. The Baden government tried to alleviate the most serious distress by manufacturing a so-called mixed bread, a mass made from ground beets and other things. But the starving, who were the underprivileged even in more economically stable times, cried out to the creators of the catastrophe. There was enough wealth, but the power of the nobility and of the

bourgeoisie was too great for them. They blamed those who had slightly more possessions than they themselves, and were thought to be powerful, namely the Jews.

Thus, the disturbances of March, 1848, in Baden, strangely enough, began with riots against the Jews. In Müllheim, on March 4 and 5, 1848, riots against the Jewish community took place. The Freiburg newspaper writes as follows: "The Jews are not well suited to our enlightened time.... Thus, in Müllheim, heavy vehicles were driven from one end of the city to the other, and bombed the doors and apartments of the Jews. As one of them, frightened by the riots, asked his Christian neighbors, with whom he was friends, what was going on. He received the calming answer: 'Do not let them go to the door again! "

Similar events took place in the neighboring villages of Alsace. Infected by the general rebellious spirit, the farmers revived the old grudges against the Jews beginning in March in Alsace. The Jews fled in mass to the Swiss border communities.

In North Baden, especially in the provinces of the Odenwald low mountain range, where the poverty was greatest, the farmers plundered Jewish settlements because their residents offered little resistance. Promissory notes and bonds were cancelled, their possessions were stolen, and often their houses were set on fire. The Jews along with their actual enemies, the land owners, were the first victims of the revolution. They were then, if only to a very small extent, a participant in this uprising.

There were two sides to the Jewish involvement in the goals of the revolution: on the one side were the idealists, the educated, and the great middle class represented in Frankfurt. This group wanted to transform their gloomy police-state political presence into a bright, economically and politically free future. On the other side, were the people, constricted by regulations and laws, taxes and fees, oppressed by prejudices and beliefs, and tormented by hunger and need. What did the political consciousness of the Jewish population look like?

It can be said generally that the Jews as a whole were not qualified and able to take part in political life. It is even apparent that they had only a small degree of political interest before the revolution of 1848. This was due not only to the fact that their full emancipation had been delayed, but at least as much to the slow transformation of their economic, social, and intellectual condition.

In the economic sphere, with regard to the spiritual behavior of the Jews before 1848, they largely adhered to the traditional forms of Jewish life. The questions of emancipation and the reform of Judaism, which had already been practiced in certain circles, found little response among the majority of the Jewish population. Therefore, only a small minority was actively involved in political life. Thus, the Jews were divided into two major directions:

(A) The Orthodox, who saw the existing sovereign state as the expression of a rational law, an imperishable world order based on law and morality. They did not think they had the right to oppose the wisdom or morality of their richer neighbors. Above all they relied on the protection of God. This majority of Orthodox Jews, from their religious point of view, advocated faithfulness to the ruling dynasty and to authority.

(B) The Reform Jews had already largely disappeared, and remained in the minority in Baden, and were mostly from the two larger communities of Mannheim and Karlsruhe.

The theoretically and politically simplest solution to this dichotomy was the most difficult to carry out: complete assimilation into German culture. The most politically active Jews desired to abolish the Christian-state system of government. This formed the basis for a communion between them and the German liberals. The Jews pressing for equal rights saw in the principles of the Christian state the main obstacle to their full participation in the German circle of life, and therefore the idea of universal freedom and equality was of greatest importance to them. In a letter of 1833, Leopold Zunz writes the formulation for this: "The cause of the Jews is victorious in the same measure, and therefore also in the same epoch, as that of universal freedom."

Gabriel Riesser, the great champion of Jewish emancipation and lawyer for German Jews, saw Judaism and Germaness as two opposite areas of experience. He considered that they should complement each other as father and mother in the life of a child. He gave expression to this religious element that appears repeatedly in his writings as a slogan. "God is our father, Germany is our mother."

The status of Jewish law in 1848:

In February, 1848, in the second chamber of the Baden Landtag, a bill was introduced for "Immediate admission of the Jews to the full enjoyment of all civil rights" by the deputy L. Brentano (1813-1891). At the session of March 2, 1848, the Second Chamber decided, in Welcker's report, to ask the government to declare that "all restrictions on political rights for the reason that a citizen belongs to a particular religion should be repealed."

On March 4, the Grand Duke declared that he would discuss the important and current requests with the Minister of State, and at the same time, with the head of the Ministry of the Interior, Councilor Mittermaier. At the same time the pressure of the events happened on the same day, and it is said in this letter: "The government is prompted to submit the statutes for a draft law, indicated by the second chamber, to the annulment of political rights of religion. (The royal majesty the Grand Duke), therefore, also gave the hope that the second chamber will do this with the great gratitude of the people, trusting in their royal sovereignty and our institutions, will hold fast to the legal order under which alone liberty can flourish, and to put an end to all their resistance. At the meeting of 16 March, Bekk, on behalf of the Ministry of State, handed over to the Second Chamber a draft bill with the following contents: (Article 1) of Section 9 of the Constitutional Law shall be replaced by the following: "All citizens without distinction of religion, have the same rights for all civil and military offices and church offices."

Article 2 of the Bill of rights shall be replaced with: "The political rights of all religions are equal."

Article 3: of the Bill of rights was repealed. This repealed provision was "A Deputy can be appointed... only belonging to one of three Christian denominations..."

This draft only concerned the citizenship of the Jews, but not the civic equality, since "a law on civic municipal civil equality requires very careful consideration of the interests of the individual communities and their Christian inhabitants. At the very least, great injuries could occur, whereby the distrust and hatred against the Jews will only be increased and their position will be diminished rather than improved. "(Commissioner's report of the deputy Zittel) On May 13, the Second Chamber accepted the law with only one vote against.

The first chamber voted 14 to 4 for the draft law. Hirscher said that "a Christian people entrusts the provincial legislature and administration to consider everyone, without distinction and without regard for their religion. It is a pretext which violates the innermost consciousness, inasmuch as it seems to be a higher force by virtue of its Christianity, assigning a lower standing to Jews. In all this, the Commission makes no objection to the rejection of the present law by believing that the general current of the time should be taken into account.

The law of the Frankfurt National Assembly of the German People's Party of December 27, 1848, the Act of February 17, 1849, which gave the Jews access to popular representation, came into being. The Ministry of State resolved to abolish § 13 of the ordinance of 1831, which so far excluded the Jewish citizens from the mayor's and municipal councils.

The Revolution of 1848

"With deepest pain, which all the friends of the freedom of the people and the fatherland share, we hear the news that our people are to be relieved of the pressure of slavery of decades, and of centuries. And as to the destruction and endangering the persons and the property of our fellow-citizens of Jewish faith, that the luminous banner of freedom shall not be defiled by shameful excesses. Fellow citizens! It is a sacred duty of every honorable man, who does not play games with the name of liberty ..., with all his energy, to confront such unfortunate beginnings. Only servants of reaction were able to persecute the Jews, with this persecution it could never be a free country, instead it is despotism. "

According to these clear words of Heckers in 1848 one should actually assume that the Jews of the Baden communities joined the freedom loving groups or the German Legion of Herweghs. None of the groups represented in the parliament of Baden had ever so clearly spoken in support of the Jews. The politicians in Frankfurt talked but achieved nothing. Hecker went to the lake district in April 1848 and organized his Freischär group, with whom he moved to the Baden area between April 12 and 20. But hardly any Jews joined him. The overwhelming majority of the Jews were well disposed to oppose a policy of violence against a united Germany, in which they were to enjoy local civic rights. Order and legality also remained their motto in the Revolution. They entered into citizens' associations and citizens' organizations, and took part in actions to fight legally against the discriminatory laws. On the other hand, messianic enthusiasts on the first of March of the year 1848 believed in a kind of manifestation of the Messianic age of Revolution. Leopold Zunz thought that the world court would deal with the oppressors and the day of the Lord had come for the world. "Not long, and the Messiah, who has been prayed for during a

millennium, will appear, and our Fatherland will be given to us. The Messiah is freedom, our fatherland is Germany. "

This revolutionary Messianism had two results: First, complete internationalization of Judaism and second a conscious severing of the root-like bindings. Even when there were riots against the Jews in twenty-two villages of Baden, there was hardly any reactions by the Jews to these pogroms.

In Kirchen and in the surrounding villages, a militia was formed in the first days of March. The militia was to replace not only the police but to ensure peace and order. Friedrich Rottra emerges from some statements as their captain. Rottra, who was close to the ideals and goals of March 1848, but not always in their execution in the revolutionary events, was actively involved in the battles against the soldiers from Baden and Wuerttemberg, as well as the Prussian and Hessian military forces in the Baden region.



Friedrich Rottra 1821-1903

He proudly wore his "Bürgerwehr-Käppe" (a black cape with a red border at the lower edge and a German rosette) and a peasant accent. He said that he would be glad if they had just killed all the irregulars, and he never took part in national politics. Thus, the middle class had been enthusiastically inspired by the ideas of the March events, and had been involved in a different form of popular support, together with the Baden military, maintaining the monarchy. These German vigilantes, which numbered sixty men, also included Kirchen Jews, such as Daniel Levi, Veist Bigar, Marx Bloch, Lazarus Bloch, Lazarus Bigar, Veist Bloch, Bernhard Lieberles, Alexander Bloch, and Herz Bloch.



The combat on the Scheideck near Kandeni April 20, 1848

After the battle of Scheideck on April 20, in which General von Gagern was shot by the rebels, they fled from the attack of the Hessian military, and this changed the enthusiastic mood in Kirchen. Rottra spoke "... of the indifferent mood, which always prevails among the country's population," and that participation in the Heckerschen Corps was not advisable.

On September 23, 1848 Struve and his assistants recruited citizens from the Baden villages. Rottra reported: "The next morning, about 200 men from Inzlingen and the surrounding area marched under Generral Spehn to the village of Kirchen, which had about sixty men, and appointed me as their captain. I thanked them, but did not accept the position. "The march went on to Freiburg, but on September 24, 1848, the march met a bloody ending in Staufen. But previously Rottra said: "The leader of a group under our flag, an old soldier, a Jew, stopped at a turn along the way and commanded, "Turn right to Sulzburg, and he ran

with his whole ragtag army through the forest to Sulzburg." The ensuing battle at Staufen was devastating for the Jews. Totally riddled and badly weakened by poor armament and even worse fighting spirit, everyone fled home as quickly as possible. Rottra writes nothing about the fighting spirit of the Jews. However, the enthusiasm of the Jews did not seem to have proved the best for the aims of the revolution.

The Jews, who stood in the revolution, came from the most educated classes, or from the progressive proletariat of the great cities. In any case, they did not come from the main contingent of the Jewish population, the citizenry of the small provincial towns and the rural communities. The preservation of peace and order, to which even the few Jews involved in the 1848 revolution repeatedly cited, corresponds more fully to the real feelings of these broad Jewish classes. They faced the revolution passively.



March of the Republicans from Lörrach to the north

This is also the desire of Jews. "The Jews have always, in every country, sought the equality of law which had long been denied to them. They sought equality by law, or by the righteousness of the princes and governments, but never in any country through violence. The Jews have always been the most loyal subjects of the Grand Duke and the fatherland."

Some Orthodox communities of Baden in April 1848 declared that they wanted to give up all political rights, to avoid the unrest which could endanger them and their possessions.

Although the majority of the Jews remained opposed to the revolution, that did not mean that this attitude sprang from a religious conservative worldview. We have to assume that even before outbreak of the March events large numbers of Jews wanted liberty. However, when the hope for a victory waned and the political situation on ground won out, the Jews went back to the tendency to avoid change even taking an ostentatiously loyalist stance. In general, they would rather forgo the increasing persecution, economic difficulties, and the reactionary repression that was rampant, than take on revolutionary hope.

What was the cause of the passive attitude of the Jewish population? In addition to the desire for peace and order, which they shared with most politicians, fear of anti-Jewish riots with the outbreak of the revolution remained ever present. Especially in the small rural communities that led the revolutionary events, as the population in the village streets celebrated their freedom, the Jews were full of fear in their houses. In addition, it was to be expected, that the celebration of equal rights in the countryside would cause decisive anti-Jewish sentiment. This unfriendly attitude of the rural population towards the Jews had its root in the economic rivalry. People were afraid of the political emancipation of the Jews, and their economic equality. An additional fear was exacerbated by the concern for the attack on economic security as a side effect of the revolutionary riots: the fear of communism. For the first time the fear of communism began to appear in June 1848, when news of the Paris street fighting reached our area. This fear of communism came to its climax in the September fighting and was strongly felt in May of the following year during the popular uprisings in Baden.

The fear of the anticipated reactionary aftermath of the revolution also had an effect on the behavior of the Jewish population, which undoubtedly explains why the protests of the Jews were not more violent as the Jewish equality in question was then provided by the election. In the context of Kirchen's situation, the already mentioned results of the election to the German Parliament in 1848 and the Landtag election in 1850 were helpful. The complete electoral lists, with the names of the voters and the names of the electors, clearly showed the development described above.

The election of 1848

After the March uprising of 1848, elections to the second Chamber of the Baden Landtag were held in Baden. The municipality of Kirchen had 996 inhabitants. A total of 180 men who had reached the age of 25 included 25 Jews, 13.9% of the total electorate. The Jewish population was 14.2%. of the total population of Kirchen.

Evaluation of the results

The voting behavior of the Jewish population of Kirchen was not like that of the overall population of Kirchen. Friedrich Rottra was elected as council clerk of Kirchen by Christians (42.0%) and Jews (46.0%). Rottra, who was expected to be a moderate Republican, especially in regard to the freedom of the press, supported the goals of the 1848 revolution throughout Germany, and rejected the police state rule of Blittersdorf's regime. However,

he did not see himself committed to Struve and Hecker. His voters, especially the Jewish voters, were at least generally receptive to the main objectives of the incipient revolution and thus rejected the rule of the police at the time. But we must never forget elections in places of this size are especially about the persons running and secondarily about their political programs. In the election of the second candidate, Johann Herter, voting behavior was not uniform. He was elected with 16% of the total votes, but only 8% of the Jewish vote. Whether Herter in 1842-1845 alienated the sympathies of the Jews for the Mayor, is not known.

However, the third person elected was Müller with 15% of the total votes, but 20% of the Jewish vote. J.G. Müller replaced Herter as Mayor and served until 1848. Then, he replaced Rottra in the Office of the Clerk of Council.

Elections to the Landtag 1850

The Jews had almost no voice in the 1848 election of Friedrich Rottra and J.G. Müller. Schmidt got 9 of the total of 17 Jewish votes or 53%. In 1848, elected by 4% of the Jewish votes, J.F. Schmutz did better in this election with 30% of the Jewish votes. This election showed a clear change in the electoral will after the failed revolution of 1848 and the beginning of the reaction in Baden.

The Economic condition of the Jews in Kirchen 1848-1850

A secondary result of a study of this period of 1848-1850 yields insight into the income conditions of the Jews in these years. In 1849, 189 taxpayers of the municipality paid taxes to Kirchen equivalent to a tax rate of fl. 9.55 per man.

Twenty-seven Jews of the community paid 167.08 fl. in taxes to Kirchen. This corresponds to 6.19 fl. per man. The Jews were responsible for 9.4 % of the total tax revenue of the municipality, while they were 14.5% of the population. In those years, they were still not assimilated economically with the rest of the population.

In 1850, the following picture emerges: In the municipality (261 taxable persons) total tax revenues amounted to 2,490 fl., which corresponded to 9.54 per capita. (this included co-taxpayers of the town of Emeldingen.) The 26 eligible Jews had a total tax revenue of 217.74 fl. corresponding to 8.37 fl. per man. Therefore, the Jews increased their taxable income in those two years by more than 26 percent. The reason for this increase is likely in the political stability of the Kirchener Jews, and the politically reactionary position of the Grand Duchy of Baden which fostered economic prosperity.

The electorate of 1850 was divided into three groups, which were formed according to the amount of taxable income. There was a total of 22 voters with an average tax rate of 38.28 fl. per person in the first group. Among them was only one Jew, whose tax was fl. 21.16. This corresponds to a representation of 4.5 %. of the Jews. A total of 64 eligible voters with an average tax rate of 12,99 fl. are in the second group. Among them were nine Jews with an average of rate of 12.9 fl. The representation of Jews here was 14%. The majority of the

electorate was in the third group with 175 people with taxes averaging 4.67 fl. per capita, while the sixteen Jews who were in this group paid 5.01 fl. taxes per man. The Jews involved in this group were 9.1%.

The unrest of the year 1849

Although Baden acknowledged the Frankfurt Congress of May 11, 1849, the Baden troops mutinied at the Rastatt. The Grand Duke fled on May 14 to Alsace, and then to Mainz. The revolutionary committee of the people took over the government on June 1. The provisional government was under L. Brentano, A. Goegg, and F. Sigel. It was recognized without opposition and held elections for a constitutional assembly. The Grand Duke's government, from Mainz, first asked for help from the government in Frankfurt, then directly for military help from Prussia. Efringen and Kirchen played quite different roles in this second Baden "Volkserhebung" (peoples action), which was more like a military revolution. Efringen was commonly described as the "headquarters of the rebels", which from this point exerted its terrorist influence on the surrounding area. There, on the eve of the battle of Riedlingen (June 24, 1849), the squadrons gathered against the advancing "foreign" troops. In Efringen the supporters of the revolutionary parties came together from all neighboring places and demanded the transfer of the loyal troops to the revolutionary army. People like the teacher Duschilio were openly committed to the cause of the revolution, as was the engineer, Fischer, who already fought in 1848 and held a celebration of joy when it became known that the Prince of Prussia had been captured by the revolutionary army. After the failure of the uprisings in the Baden region, calm prevailed and the individual municipalities were now apportioned by Exter, the mayor of Lörrach, according to their faithfulness or infidelity. In addition to Lörrach, Steinen, and Hüsingen belonged to the badly unfaithful communities, which constituted the majority in the district of Lörrach including Inzlingen, and also Efringen. In those places there was also a revolutionary peoples party.

Kirchen was included among those faithful to the constitutional spirit. But this judgment is not entirely clear, because some residents of Kirchen were subjected to difficulties as a result of the revolution.

On July 17 the pastor, Friedrich Heinrich Lammert, who was born in Mannheim, from 1845 to 1851 openly called upon the people to obey to the provisional government, and in his final prayer he did not mention the Grand Duke but prayed for the provisional government instead. Heinrich Rupp, a former notary in Kirchen, who had already fled in 1848, was one of those who actively participated in the Struve putsch, and fled abroad after his defeat and in 1851 was condemned in absentia to six years in prison. On the other hand, there is also evidence that the residents of Kirchen supported the verdict.

In July, 1849, the house of the old-sundial-bearer, Bürgin, was surrounded by the Lörrach army, under the command of Frederick Binder, because the second son of Bürgin refused to serve in the revolutionary army under the command of the provisional government. The municipality of Kirchen determined: "In view of the great political significance of our time, it seems to require... extraordinary means to ensure public peace and security. We urge the

citizens to come together at once and form a provisional militia ... in the hope that the citizens will comply with their first civic duty without reservation. The following measures will be taken: the citizens' guard will consist of 90 men, where 15 will form a guard unit, each for one night. This civil militia was to be trained by the military. "The following Jews of Kirchen belonged to this civil service: Veit Bloch, Süßmann Lieberles, Alexander Bloch, Bernhard Lieberles, Lazarus Bloch, Alexander Bloch, Herz Bloch, Marx Bloch, and Lazarus Bigar.

The Jews of the Kirchen seemed much more enthusiastic about the task of standing up against the revolutionary government, their army, and the regiment, than to support the Hecker and Struve campaign of 1848. As in the elections already described, the basic idea of the Jews living in the small rural communities was more likely to remain in the unjust legal special position than to attempt to achieve accelerated change in their situation as a result of revolutionary events. The resolutions of the Frankfurt National Assembly, especially those about the Reich constitution, on the enjoyment of civil rights without respect to religion, were recognized by the Baden government, but after the unsuccessful 1848 revolution, this free constitution was silenced.

The Rabbi of Sulzburg said on August 29, 1849: "With this year's celebration in the synagogue for the birthday of his Royal Highness of the Duke, we give thanks for the happy restoration by the grace of God of legal order in this country."

The truly liberal era began with Grand Duke Friedrich I (1856-1907), who established the reputation of the "liberal model province" in Baden. On January 1, 1862 August Lamey (1816-1896), after 53 years of experimentation with mostly discarded laws, introduced a law on the civil equality of the Jews with other citizens and the complete equality for Jews in Baden.

"After the year 1862 no Baden State Parliament would have to deal any longer with the civic affairs of the Jews," Lamey argued in the final vote, with the following words: "A Russian or otherwise alien who comes to Germany enjoys all the rights of a citizen. So only his religion excludes the Jew, and that needs to be eliminated. The dispute returns even if the change in the law is postponed."

However, riots broke out after the promulgation of the law in the towns of Baden with larger Jewish communities. In the Karlsruhe Gazette of February 21, 1862, it says: "In the local district (Lörrach) there is strong agitation against the emancipation of Jews among the people. In Sulzburg in the past nights this excitement is in the air. Windows were bashed in many Jewish homes. To further counter this, the gendarmerie was called by leaders of Müllheim. The people consider the Jews still not worthy to have equal rights for the well-known reasons; rather, it is their view, that the Jews would then want emancipation in other areas of life. Thus, such deplorable demonstrations are to be expected."

The years around 1862 also brought to the state of Baden as a whole the highest level of Jewish population in its entire history. The development of the region is somewhat

different. The two largest municipalities, Müllheim and Sulzburg, in 1864 reached a population of 422. Kirchen increased its Jewish population from 174 to 193 between 1864 and 1873 and Lörrach from 191 to 248 between 1864 and 1875.

The reason for this somewhat shifted development curve for Sulzburg and Müllheim can be found in the city of Freiburg, which opened its gates to the city with the complete legal equality for the Jews, and this immediately had a powerful influence on these rural Jews. The counterpart to Freiburg occurred in the city of Basel, which gave the Jews the right of settlement only after the violent intervention of south Bavarian Jewry in the national government. In 1864, the Baden Jews were given the right of freedom of settlement equal to the Badeners of the three Christian denominations. And thus Basel, a little later became an attraction point for the Jews from Lörrach and Kirchen.

So before 1864 only three Jews from Kirchen emigrated to Basel, while in the period of 1865-1899 eighteen Jews moved to Basel.

In 1864, the population statistics for the Jewish community of Kirchen looked like this: Of the 174 members of the Jewish community of Kirchen, 56% were men, 44% were women, 56% were under 30 years of age, 32% were between 30 and 60 years of age, 12% older than 60 years.

The professional structure also changed compared to 1848, especially the increase in merchants or tradesmen went from 27% (1848) to 37% (1864). The percentage who lived, as private citizens without actual vocational training decreased slightly from 35% to 30%. Overall, the number of non-producing citizens remained almost constant until the year 1848.

Chapter 4: Rural-urban Migration and Incipient Decline (1864-1932)

The political situation

The period from 1862 to the mid-seventies is often referred to as the second liberal era in Baden. Theoretically, equality of the Jewish population was gradually introduced. In this period, the first Jews were appointed judges and prosecutors. In 1870, the orientalist, Gustav Weil, from Sulzburg was the first Jew appointed to a chair in a Baden university. In 1870 Leopold Guggenheim from Gailingen was the first Jewish mayor elected in Baden. In 1868, Grand Duke Friedrich appointed the lawyer, Moritz Ellstätter from Durlach, as Minister of Finance, the highest office which until then had never been held by a German Jew. Ellstatter's reform of the State of Baden became exemplary for the whole of Germany. Four Jews were members of the Baden parliament: Naphtalie Näf for the electoral district of Freiburg, Elias Eller for the electoral district Mannheim, Jakob Gutmann for the electoral district of Karlsruhe, and R. Kusel. In 1877, Näf represented the district of Lörrach in the state parliament of Baden.

From 1858 onwards, the political developments of the 1848/1849 revolution took a new course. In Baden, the pressure of the reaction had been so widespread that the liberal governments were in agreement with the more conservative governments and were hoping for constitutional cooperation under the auspices of a moderate reform program. The greater participation of Jews in political life was particularly widespread in parliamentary elections.

An approximate overview of the transformation of the political orientation in Germany during the "Neue (New) Era" gives the following picture:

Conservatives, loyalists 14%
Moderate Liberals 50%
Democrats / Progressives 35%
Socialists 1%

The great majority of the German Jews welcomed the new German Reich. For the national liberal party founding the Reich had solved a political dilemma for them. They were able to loyally support Bismarck's power policy, but at the same time criticize his internal policies. They were equal citizens and, along with the German bourgeoisie, got a new self-confidence. They could be patriotic and liberal at the same time. Only a small minority warned against Bismarck's illusory constitutionalism, and this minority saw the parties and parliaments as tools of his political plans.

The majority of Jews thought it was their duty to participate in the formation of the Motherland with all their might. However, from the outset this sense of duty did not always agree with the idea of Prussian dominance in Germany. Particularly in the South and

Southwest, the aversion to Prussian hegemony was pronounced. In Baden, the Jews' special interests were added to the general aversion to Prussian supremacy. This resulted from the different level of emancipation in the North and South. In Baden, the emancipation was already delivered.

The outbreak of the Franco-Prussian (July 19, 1870 to May 10, 1871) war exerted a particularly profound effect on the political attitudes of the Jews. For example, a publication of the strictly Orthodox Jews in southern Germany said "the Jewish Community of Germany is once again united... No longer do the ravens fly to the Kyffhäuser, the imperial throne has... become the reality."

District synagogues and synagogue councils had daily prayers for the victory of the Germans during the war. This resolution was adopted:

"The war which has broken out between France and Germany, has resulted in tribulations endangering Jewish property and persons. When in distress and trouble, Jews beg their Creator to be heard and rescued. When other denominations of repentance give penitents and prayers, Jews will follow the other denominations and set a good example:

1. Every evening at five o'clock, with the exception of Friday and Saturday, so long as the war lasts and one is not hindered by extraordinary events, there are to be worship services in the synagogue with the reading of psalms.

2. During the hours of attendance, all the Jews who are in office have to appear and to participate in the service worshipfully and calmly. (For the Synagogue Council: Reutlinger, Hermann Levi.)

In Prussia, there was still discrimination against the Jews in state positions and in the army. It is, therefore, very understandable that the Baden Jews did not easily accept the unity of the great fatherland in governance over religious issues.

On July 31, 1870, the District Synagogue also ordered the Supreme Council to add to the prayer for the Grand Duke, given each Saturday, a blessing for the German army and all who died in the war. At the same time, the Synagogue Council was asked by the Rabbi to urge the members of the community to "give devotion and demonstrate love especially to all the sick and wounded, to all the needy and distressed." Also, it was "urgent to exhort people to obey all necessary instructions of officials."

On March 17, 1871, a general religious peace celebration was organized by the Jews in the country. On March 22nd for the birthday of His Majesty the Emperor and King of Prussia, there was a collection to be organized for the benefit of the Disability Foundation. On March 19, 1872, it was decreed that the birthday of the Emperor (March 22) be regularly celebrated in the synagogue. On April 29, 1877, the Jubilee of the Grand Duke's 25th anniversary was officially celebrated. The German Reich, the King of Prussia as emperor, the German Reichstag, the general suffrage, freedom of conscience, equality, freedom of trade and freedom of movement provided the great majority of Jews with unquestioned achievements.

The people who symbolized the new empire (the patriarchal figure of Wilhelm I, and Chancellor Bismarck, who was "destined by fate) made a considerable contribution to Jewish opinion, beyond all political utility. The Jews of Germany imagined themselves, after long and fruitless hardship, in the great and powerful empire, in which all Jews as Germans could rejoice with heart and soul, for emperor and kingdom, and for the greatness and glory of the beloved Fatherland. That culminated in the cry, "We German Jews are German, and nothing else."

The long-sought attempt to grasp the essence of the connection between Germanism and Judaism had finally led to the term "German Citizen of the Jewish faith". It represented the compromise which they concluded between the expression of their German citizenship and their loyalty to the Jewish faith.

However, the Jewish faith had become more and more undermined by the Jews' increasingly positive attitude towards the new state. Because of the changed political situation, all the desires for the realization of Jewish nationalism could be postponed until the messianic period. The number of those who no longer adhered to traditional beliefs was growing. Thus, a sentence like this is symptomatic of this development: "The educated Jews are not so much Jews, but rather non-Christians."

Many Jews felt that their Judaism had become meaningless. The new values emerging were formulas for a secularized culture then in vogue in Protestantism. Thus, a simple monotheism, whose only principle was "one father of all, love for all without exclusion of other believers" replaced Old Testament revelation. Terms like piety, mission, and benevolence, which were characteristic of the nineteenth century's religious thinking, replaced the revelation from Leviticus. The messianic hope is then nothing more than the hope of the Jews for integration into the perfecting greater humanity.

The economic consequences of winning the Franco-Prussian war resulted in the culturally and industrially advanced cities becoming a true draw, and the practices of the major towns migrated into the small rural communities. In the cities, there were educational opportunities. A ravenous desire for education prevailed in the youth of the Jewish communities of the country! The possibility to move forward economically, and to be able to do business in the greater world was there in the big cities. The hectic expansion of industry and commerce after the Franco-Prussian war and economic speculation that helped these industries in these early years brought work and bread to many. In the end, a major economic crisis, especially in Northern Germany, was triggered. This climate of economic depression led to the anti-Semitic movement starting in Berlin, and spreading to many other German States. This anti-Semitism, which was believed to be dead was directed not only against the religion of the Jews. Too many Jews ignored the migration to the large cities and the rapid Jewish assimilation. A new feature, which never found a scientific basis, was now became a major part of the anti-Semitic movement: the inferiority of the Jewish race compared to a so-called Aryan race. The Jews to whom this attack was applied did not take this seriously enough. Thus, the economic crash, the cultural struggle of Bismarck, and the

political maneuvers of the conservatives can be considered responsible for the violence that followed.

This disillusionment of the patriotic German Jews was most strikingly expressed by a leaflet by Heinrich von Treitschke against the anti-Semitic utterances. "When the barriers fell, they thought, the prejudice had also fallen, and they chose to believe that people really loved them." The half-baked scientific opinions on the new racial theories came from important people. To name but a few, the orientalist Paul de Lagarde, the national economist, Eugen Dühring, the orientalist and diplomat Joseph Arthur de Gobineau, the historian Heinrich von Treitschke, and the Berlin court preacher Adolf Stöcker.

The politician and scientist Treitschke, who was so highly esteemed by many, was the one who promoted the turn for the worse on the Liberal German Jews. The anti-Semitic wave had stirred the Jews out of their complacency, but the spiritual resurrection of anti-Semitism remained. The shock had paralyzed them, leaving many to wish that they should not be regarded as Jewish. And the anti-Semitism pushed back again on those defenses of the "Jewish" laws, the policies by which they had gained entry into German politics.

This anti-Semitic agitation was by far not as great in Baden as it was in Prussia and Saxony. Still no Jew was promoted to officer in the Baden army which was organized according to the Prussian model in 1868 and was subordinate to the Prussian Supreme command.

Kirchen and other Jewish communities of the Oberland did not feel this "scientific" anti-Semitism so much. Klinkenberg's statement that "anti-Semitism was never the first impulse of the mob, but at the outset, there were always scholarly arguments that made possible mass movements by defining a 'we' and an 'enemy'. Golo Mann writes about the denounced Jewish community: "It was German in its virtues, German in its impoverishment, it was patriotic, and it was overwhelmingly conservative."

Jews could serve as witnesses at the birth of a Christian child for the record books and vice versa at the birth of Jewish children. Jews did serve in the same fire brigades, and sang in the same choral societies, as other residents of Kirchen. They did not live in separate areas, rather the Jewish houses were distributed throughout the entire village. They knew each other, they knew the strengths and weaknesses of each other. This characteristic, this human dependency on each other, was the best defense against anything, even scientifically cloaked anti-Semitism. Therefore there was no noticeable anti-Semitism in Kirchen at this time, and even into the nineteen thirties. Kirchen lacked the breeding ground.

Golo Mann's characterization of the German Jews can be summed up succinctly, they were willing to assimilate. Until the emancipation, the whole life of the Jews was determined by the synagogue, which took on all functions of the community, such as justice, social security, etc. Religion changed with the emancipation of 1862. The emancipated Jewish citizens lived simultaneously in the synagogue and in the larger community. This identity

and break with tradition led to an internal crisis in Judaism, at a time that could hardly have been worse.

Emancipated Jews did not find their way into established society, because Judaism itself was in a serious crisis, and where the admission into this coveted society actually succeeded, the person who achieved this goal found himself in an environment which no longer functioned and was itself in a crisis of identity. Jewish identity was determined solely by one's religion in the late 19th century. The Jews living in the Markgräflerland lived almost exclusively in a liberal Protestant environment and saw their isolation increase. The Jews, as well as the Christians were defenseless against the burgeoning criticism of religion in the broader culture. This was solved in the predominantly Protestant towns, and later also for the Jews living in the Protestant communities in the countryside. It was solved gradually by the ministers of their religion. The two major Christian churches (Catholic and Protestant) had arranged their centuries-old co-existence and tolerated each other due to their precisely defined areas of power and influence. Then, when a petty power - an uninfluential third religion (the Jews) claimed the same recognition, it was not considered as a separate major religious community. Jews were not recognized as Jews, but rather as abstractions, as people who were Jewish. And the Jews themselves, even though they knew that they were only very conditionally welcome in this society, chose to vote in the elections to the Reichstag and the provincial assemblies for rather rich staunch anti-Semites, rather than vote for a liberal defender of emancipation, even if they had to fear that their specific interests might suffer. What strange political schizophrenia!

The rural exodus:

The small increase of the German Jewish population, between 1825 and 1925 was 67% below that of the general population but did not prevent the steady urbanization and emigration of the rural Jewish population to the cities. The rural exodus began with the emancipation. The merchant, the self-employed entrepreneur, became the merchant in the city. The youth who received access to the universities, became doctors or lawyers. The reservoir of Baden's Jews, the rural community, which previously always decreased in population by people moving abroad, lost its function. In 1852, 81% of all Baden Jews were on the land, and only 19% in the city. But in 1895 only 52% lived in the country, 48% in the cities. However, the cities were not bulging with Jews.

It is true that the growth of the cities increased to a great extent during this period, but the number of Jews living there remained constant. Only a few cities were exceptions. In 1900 Karlsruhe had 2,576 Jews, in 1905 just 2,460. In the year 1900 Müllhaus had 2,466 Jews, in 1905 it had just 2.428. As long as the influx of Jews from the rural communities continued, the Jewish communities in the cities could keep their numbers or even slightly increase them.

That is illustrated in the example of Kirchen: In the years 1870-1899, the greater community of Kirchen had more births than deaths, 984 births and 724 deaths, a margin of

26.42%. During this period, the Jewish community also had more births than deaths of 152 births and 98 deaths, a margin of 35.53 %.

In other words, the growth of the Jewish community of Kirchen in those years was still perfectly normal, yet it had 9% more deaths than the total community of Kirchen. At that time, the Jewish community of Kirchen still had a very favorable age structure compared to other Jewish communities in Baden. In 1880, the population of the Jewish community was 160. The emigration clearly exceeded the immigration between 1870-1899 for the first time. So, 84 people left, while only about 50 people came in through immigration.

Basel was a real magnet for the emigration-willing Jews. There, all facilities were available to develop professional and intellectual skills. Over 20 % of all emigrants in these years went to Basel and acquired Swiss citizenship. The nearby city of Lörrach with a burgeoning textile industry, and a very rapidly growing population, attracted the second-highest number of Kirchen Jews. Thirteen percent of the emigrants went to Lörrach.

It is followed by another Baden city Emmendingen with eight Jews from Kirchen moving there, Müllheim with seven emigrants, followed by Constance, with five Kirchen emigrants. With a total of thirteen emigrants (+ one to Paris), Alsace is second only to the non-Baden states with nineteen emigrants. Four migrants went to German speaking countries, only one person emigrated to the USA. Forty-six moved to municipalities in Baden. Sixty-eight percent emigrated from Kirchen because they saw better opportunities for lucrative work in other cities. Sometimes family members went along with the worker.

Immigration to Kirchen

Between 1870 and 1899, a total of 50 persons immigrated into Kirchen. Half were men and half women. The high proportion of 20 - 30-year-old women in the immigrant group proves the "marriage thesis" as the main motivation of Jews coming to Kirchen. Eighty-eight percent moved to Kirchen to get married, while only six people or 12% came for professional reasons. Emmendingen had the highest proportion of single people with eight, and thus matches the eight people who went from Kirchen to Emmendingen. Twenty-two people came from Baden municipalities to Kirchen, twelve people from Alsace, two from Switzerland, and five from smaller Baden German communities.

Professional analysis:

The main occupation of the Jewish inhabitants of Baden was trade. Thus at the turn of the century in Baden there were 6,488 Jews engaged in trade. This was nine percent of all the population of Baden. Of these, 4,054 were self-employed persons or managers, that is, the vast majority of Jews held a socially favorable position, more than the rest of the population. Of the 6,488 persons engaged in commercial activities, 5,696 or 88% traded in goods and services. Jews involved in money and credit rose to 157 persons (2.4%), and in logistics 364 persons = 5.6%. In Baden, the participation of the Jews in trade was as follows: In the goods and merchandise trade they were 18.3%, money and credit (37.8%), household credit (8.2%) and insurance (5.3%).

In 1880, in Kirchen 23.6% of inhabitants were in the trade in goods and products and only 0.66% in public service. In the District of Freiburg, Jews accounted for 2.0%, of those in the public service (army, administration, schools, universities, etc.), while in Kirchen, only 0.66% of Jews were in public service.

Throughout Baden 3.66% of all Jews were employed in the public service. Two percent of the Kirchen Jews practiced a craft or trade. The trade in basic necessities lost its dominant position, which it held for many centuries and gave way to the independent merchant, economically integrated seamlessly into the emerging middle-class. Only later, in Kirchen after 1918, was the community in an economic downturn due to the constant migration and the associated decline in births.

Another example of the healthy size of the Jewish population of Kirchen was that the municipality wanted to initiate a dispute between Kirchen and the Grand-Ducal Upper Council. By an act of September 1876, all religious schools were dissolved and converted to public schools in Baden. A consequence of this legislation was a financial requirement that the communities contribute the funds for denominational religious education, if the number of students of the respective denomination exceeded twenty. The community of Kirchen was prompted multiple times by the Grand-Ducal upper chamber to pay an annual payment of RM 160 for the Jewish religion teacher, Weikers-Heimer. In 1879, the citizens committee refused this payment unanimously. Also, the lawyer from Freiburg did not see any chance of winning a case against the Grand Duke. Between 1879 and 1885 there were an average of about thirty-five Jewish students in Kirchen.

The Jewish teachers of religion needed this subsidy. They earned about 600 - 800 M per year (+ 400 M additional income), while the salary of a principal teacher at a public school was between 1,100 - 2,000 M per year with free housing. Again and again, the Jewish religious teachers were complaining to the authorities that their salary was inadequate. A whole file of these complaints is still to be found in the municipal archive of Freiburg.

In 1888, taxation was changed for the local churches and synagogues by law. Hitherto, in the Jewish communities, the taxation, which had been customary for centuries, had been carried out by means of the self-estimation method. Now the state took over these tasks, albeit against the protest of many Jewish communities, which had successfully practiced the old procedure.

In 1889 the boundaries and the seats of the district Rabbinate was reorganized by large population movements. The district synagogue in Sulzburg, which until then all the region's Jewish communities belonged to, was dissolved and together with the district synagogue in Breisach was assigned to the newly formed District Rabbinate in Freiburg. The district Rabbi, like the Christian clergy, was committed to visit all municipalities in the district at least once annually, and to check the municipal statistics, as well as religious education and conduct a service in the synagogues.

In 1889, the High Council of the Jews of Baden conducted a survey of all Jewish communities regarding the nature of their synagogue services. As in most rural communities, the sacred service in Kirchen was in the traditional form. Only in the cities, was a German component introduced into the worship service. The prayer book made concessions to the changes in the situation of the Jews, and contained some cuts and changes to the old text. So, the points relating to the sacrificial system, the return to Zion, and the belief in a personal Messiah were omitted or changed. In 1904 and 1906, when the revised prayer book came out in print, there was a storm of indignation from the Orthodox congregations of the country. The Association to Safeguard the Interests of Law-abiding Jews in Baden accused the High Council of religious indifference, and of promoting reform Judaism. Jewish protests rained down from all sides. Five orthodox rabbis from Baden rejected this prayer book, as did Zionists who were gaining more and more influence.

The external situation of the Jews, however, was marked by the agitation of the anti-Semites. In the Reichstag elections of 1879, as well as in the state elections in 1879-80, the bourgeois parties as well as voters were quite antagonistic toward Jewish candidates. Here, the slogan was: "Do not elect Jews!." By 1879 in Baden, whose parliament had earlier welcomed Jewish deputies, there was still not a single Jewish deputy. The German Jews placed great hopes in the government of Frederick III. In one statement, they suggested that all the male children born in 1888 be given the name of Frederick. More than 500 families did this. But Emperor Frederick III was ill and ruled only 99 days.

Many Jews had great fears for his successor. The reaction of the German Jews to Bismarck's fall, at the beginning of the year 1890 is symptomatic of this. Many welcomed the resignation of the Chancellor, but in general the reaction was subdued. His resignation meant the victory of Wilhelm II whom the Jews found suspect. The following quote best characterizes the ambiguity of the Jews in this matter: "Certainly, it is fortunate that Prince Bismarck was dismissed. But was it a blessing or a misfortune?"

In 1893, the "Central Association of German Citizens of Jewish Faith" (CV) was founded as a defense against the ever-growing anti-Semitic agitation. In the same year, the "Association of Baden Israelites" also joined in.

Both associations wanted the full naturalization of the Jews in the German nation, while retaining their Jewish ("mosaic") faith on an equal footing with the Protestants, Catholics or other denominations represented in the Empire. In Gabriel Riesser's words: "Whoever denies me the claim on my German fatherland, who denies me the right to my thoughts, my feelings, the language that I speak, denies me the air that I breathe. Therefore, I must fight back against him, as against a murderer." This, better than any declaration of principles, outlines par excellence the depth and the balance of the Jews' claim to German language and culture.

On September 27, 1893, the program of the Central Association was adopted, especially in point four, the defense against the full bloom of anti-Semitism. The "Association of Baden Jews" in 1908 joined the Central Association as a regional association. In the 1880s and

1890s the Zionist movement appeared as a counter-movement to the Central Association of German Citizens of Jewish Faith. It advocated partial assimilation. This was one of the great movements of the 19th century.

The Zionist movement was initially welcomed by the Central Association as a cooperating entity against anti-Semitism, but that soon changed. On the March 30, 1913, the Central Association opposed the Poznan declaration of German Zionists, which demanded that every Zionist accept relocation to Palestine. The Central Association stated, "we require of our members not only the performance of civic duty, but accepting German sentiment in civic life. Any German Zionist who strives to create a secure home for the disenfranchised Jews of the East, or to raise the pride of the Jews in their history and their religion is welcome as a member. But, we must separate from the Zionists who deny a German national sentiment, who behave as a guest in a foreign country and identify nationally only as a Jew." What is Zionism? Klinkenberg defines it as: "Zionism is as much breaking with Jewish tradition as preservation of tradition." Zionism was triggered by anti-Semitism, and hasty assimilation efforts, which were understood as a total surrender of Jewish values.

Zionism meant a massive politicization of Judaism. It was created at the same time, in two different areas, in Galicia (Austria / Hungary/Russia) and in Germany. When Theodor Herzl published his program "The Jewish State" in 1896, he didn't know that in 1882 in Odessa a Jew named Jehuda Leib (Leon Pinsker) developed a similar body of work about the same issues. He called it "auto-emancipation".

Theodor Herzl brought all the different currents of Zionism into a common organization. According to the First Zionist World Congress, held in Basel on August 29, 1879, Herzl negotiated in talks with Wilhelm II, the Turkish Sultan, and the English Colonial Secretary, Chamberlain, in order to make the main point of the Basler program "a reality for the Jewish people" (the establishment of a legally secured homeland in Palestine).

The Jews of Kirchen knew hardly anything about these developments that took place in its immediate vicinity and would later be earth-shattering. They had other concerns. Each year, more young people moved away. Less and less came from outside into Kirchen, and fewer children were born and so the younger generation grew smaller. This was a significant contraction which was evident in everyday life. The Jewish community in 1873 reached its peak with 192 people. In 1895 there were just 138 people.

In these eventful years, a gathering of South Baden Synagogue Councils created a Jewish burial society. They noted: if out of 5,000 Jewish families in Baden, 4000 family fathers would join this association with a contribution of 15 fl. it would suffice to pay for any burial of one of these 4000 members, and give the widow or orphans the considerable sum of 1000 fl. On February 18, 1872, twelve of the fathers met in a town meeting in the synagogue of Kirchen and declared agreement to create this new burial society.

Around the turn of the century the Jewish community of Kirchen was commercially very successful, but it was smaller and also older. That is, it was rich in income and wealth and

Jews compared favorably to the wealthier citizens of Kirchen. The Jews of Kirchen had long since ceased to be renters and had become home owners and operated small farms whose produce largely fed themselves like almost everyone else in the village. They also often were travelers and traders. During this time, many of the Kirchen Jews were born at a hospital in Basel, while most non-Jewish children were born at home. Also, the Kirchen Jews could afford to treat their illnesses in Basel hospitals.

Many of the emigrants came into prosperity, wealth and prestige. For example Leopold Bloch, and David Lieberles were drawn to Basel during this period. Salomon Bloch, and Dr. Samuel Moses, who worked as a doctor in Lörrach moved to Zurich. The cigar manufacturer Marx Bloch, moved to Emmendingen. During the First World War, he received several delegations from the parish churches in Emmendingen and entertained them generously. He also launched a foundation to build a fortress. Veist Weil, who moved to Freiburg, and Hirsch Bigar, who lived in Kirchen, made large donations to the Jewish community. The already mentioned Marx Bloch in Emmendingen, gave the municipality a war loan with a nominal value of RM 1,000, - for the recovery of dead soldiers.

Others, mostly descendants of the second generation after their emigration, became physicians like Dr. Alexander Bloch first in Balingen, later in Basel, or became lawyers like Dr. Karl Erwin Bloch in Lucerne, or became rabbis like Dr. Fritz Bloch, Chief Rabbi of Württemberg or a lawyer like Nathan Moses in Karlsruhe. The Jews had been emancipated and partially assimilated in the almost forty years since the abolition of the restrictive laws in 1862. They also assimilated and partially assimilated in certain spheres economically and professionally. Yet a certain subliminal anti-Semitism also remained in the highest governmental positions. When, in 1904, the Upper Chamber of the Congress of Baden was enlarged by the revision of the Baden constitution, the Jews of Baden took the opportunity to ask, as the Protestants and Catholics had done, to appoint a representative of theirs to the upper council of this Chamber. But the Ministry denied their request.



Choir Rhenus at the singing festival in Emmendingen in 1924. The choir included Marx Bloch who had done much for Kirchen

What were the conditions in the broader culture? For example, there was the discussion about the Jews' ritual method of slaughtering. Initiated by anti-Semitic propaganda in the last third of the last century, this question was also introduced by petitioners to the parliament. Although the Jewish method had long been scientifically proven by the then veterinarian Lydtin, "that it was purposefully intended to kill the slaughtered animals safely, to avoid animal suffering, and mainly to ensure that no animals were killed by untrained men." The petition referred to the "cruelty and blood lust of the Jews." Strict decrees, issued by the local police, also regulated the process of slaughtering animals in Kirchen. The cattle traders had to slaughter their cattle in the slaughterhouse of the village, whose statistics are still extant from the year 1889. For example, a man named Braunschweig slaughtered ten head of cattle and four small calves that year. Leopold Braunschweig followed with eight small calves, while Gotthold slaughtered six calves.

The years before WW I were marked by a further shrinkage and ageing of the community. In 1905, Kirchen had a Jewish population of 86. How did the Baden Jews behave in the years before the first World War in German politics? Politicians of many parties and groups strongly warned against the dangers of an impending war. In May 1913 Ludwig Frank[1], a Nonnenweier-born Jewish lawyer, the first Jewish Reichstag member, and one of

[1] Victor Rosenberg's father, Alfred Ludwig Rosenberg was named after Ludwig Frank, his mother's first cousin.

the leading figures of the German Social Democrats, called leaders in Bern and Basel and representatives of France for a Conference that promoted the idea of Franco-German understanding and lasting peace. Albert Ballin, a Jew and confidant of Kaiser Wilhelm II, invited Winston Churchill in April 1914 to Kiel, to bring about peace between the English and Germans.

Just like the majority of Germans, Jews were powerless to stop the foreign policies of Kaiser Welhelm II. German foreign policy was entrusted to the Emperor and his counselors. German Jews, lacking an accurate assessment of the situation, were opposed to the policies. The German population was surprised by the war as were their Jewish fellow citizens. Both were overwhelmed by the wave of enthusiasm that moved across Germany at the outbreak of war. Within the Jewish communities, there was no difference in regard to patriotic duty.

In August 1914, the same Ludwig Frank, who shortly before the outbreak of the war was making every effort to understand it, said that "at the moment of danger and national defense all previous issues would be secondary to the need to protect the borders". He spoke out for the war loans as did many of his democratic colleagues, volunteered as a man over forty years old to go to the front, and was one of the first to die in the trenches.

During the first wave of enthusiasm for war only a few found the courage to reveal the futility of this activity: "Do we really have to deny that Jews are more alien to Germany than others? Must we really be ashamed of a three-thousand-year-old history. Will the wider world will no longer question that we do not understand the waging of war? Are we really that miserable, that we are the enemy, because at every step we must overcome the fear of human blood which has become second nature to us?"

Wilhelm II decreed: "I know no parties, I know only Germans." Almost five thousand Jews in Baden alone followed the call to arms. This corresponded to 18.37% of all Baden Jews. Nineteen percent of these were totally voluntary enlistments. From Kirchen the following Jewish citizens took part in the war: Jonas Olesheimer, Leopold Braunschweig, Samuel Moses, Veist Bloch[2], and David Moses. Moses died on July 1, 1916 in France.

As the war went on, the situation became more and more difficult, and the German front came to a standstill. Anti-Semitism, which came to a halt as a result of the common task of the war, resumed. The Jews were accused of having caused the war, of enriching themselves in the war, and not serving in adequate numbers in the field to fight the war. "Jewish shirking" became a watch word.

In 1916 a survey was conducted by the Ministry of War, which determined the number of Jewish fighters at the front. After the failure of the civil order in November 1918, Jews in leading positions in Baden assumed responsibility for an almost nonviolent transition of power. These were the two Karlsruhe lawyers, Ludwig Marum (Minister of Justice) and the

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[2] Veist Bloch is Victor Rosenberg's grandfather and the father of Alice and Jacob Bloch.

former Reichstag deputy, Ludwig Haas (Minister of the Interior). Haas enabled the Grand Duke's family to flee from Karlsruhe with their lives.

The 1919 State Constitution proclaimed the Democratic Republic of Baden. It says in section 18, which regulated religious and ecclesiastical affairs: "each inhabitant enjoys undisturbed freedom of conscience and of worship... All state-approved churches and religious communities have equal rights. They are bodies governed by public law and have the right of self-taxation according to the laws of the country. The religious communities were designated as corporations that could arrange and manage their own affairs freely under the general state laws. In particular clerics are chosen by the churches themselves.



Veist Bloch as a soldier 1916[3]

As a result, the "tutelage offices" of 1812 were to be appointed by a government commissioner, the appointment of the High Council members, rabbis and synagogue leaders by state authorities, disappeared. The economic situation of the early 1920s was dismal. An astronomically high number of people were unemployed and a galloping inflation reignited the ever-present subliminal antisemitism in a new form. This "dissatisfied movement" was confrontational to reactionary groups, and was to take part in the Weimar Republic, which, according to the reactionary's opinion, was installed by the international Jews in order to destroy Germany.

[3] Victor Rosenberg was named after Veist Bloch, his maternal grandfather.

"This led to the removal of the office of the supreme commissioner that had been created in 1812, and appointed the members of the supreme council of the Jewish community. The rabbis and synagogue presidents were appointed by these state authorities. The economic situation of the early 1920s was dismal. An astronomically high unemployment and a galloping inflation heated up the always present anti-Semitism in a new form. A 'dissatisfied' movement emerged as a reaction against the conservative or reactionary groups. This movement in the Weimar Republic, was said to be installed by international Jewry to destroy Germany.

The peace of Versailles was a disgrace for Germany. To the seemingly unbeaten German soldiers all these complicated issues found their explanation in a single word: 'stab' or dagger thrust. The new Republic was a 'Jewish State'. The Jews were 'blood suckers', 'parasites', 'a parasite on the German national body'. They formed a 'State within a State', and destroyed the 'national body'. As individuals, they showed 'greed', 'lust', and materialistic attitudes. International Judaism ruled the world, or if not, them 'the elders of Zion' did.

The religiously and economically based anti-Judaism gave way definitively to the racial anti-Semitism. The Jews were an 'inferior race'. Arthur Dinter's novels "*The Sin Against the Spirit*", "*The Sin Against the Blood*", and "*The Sin Against Love*" spread these anti-Semitic sentiments in wide circles of the German population.

German parties, associations, and federations put anti-Semitic thought into their programs. The NSDAP was founded in 1920. It was probably the largest, but not the only party to do this. These included "The German Social Party", already formed before the war and in 1922 the "German National People's Party" broke from it. Also, the "German Peoples Freedom Party", the "Front Fighters Covenant", the "Steel Helmet", the "Young German Order", the "German nationalist protection party", the "Trutz-Bund", as well as the "Alldeutsche Verband" which was founded before the war, all spread anti-Semitism to large parts of the German population.

The Religion Teacher

Jewish teachers of religion already had difficulties providing Jewish instruction. This was made doubly difficult in the politically overheated atmosphere. Surcharges that were levied by the Council and the galloping inflation seriously endangered the economic existence of Jewish teachers. The salary scale that was created by a commission set up by the High Council in January 1920 had to be steadily adjusted to the new cost of living. This adjustment brought little relief from the economic misery caused by the inflation. A look at the files on the taxation of the Jewish community for local ministry needs shows a financially bleak situation.

In 1921 the long-standing Kirchen religion teacher Jakob Alperowitz complained in a letter to the Freiburg district synagogue that in the current high inflation environment he could not feed his six-member family from his salary. In 1924, the Municipal Assembly of

Kirchen filed an objection to the proposed budget of the synagogue because of the high salary of the religion teacher. The High Council in Karlsruhe rendered an opinion for Alperowitz: he was in the teaching profession since 1907 and had two children aged six to fourteen years of age and two who were fourteen to twenty-one years of age and thus fully needs the funds provided in the budget. Jakob Alperowitz left Kirchen in the same year and moved his home with his family to Müllheim, where he served until 1939 as a teacher and Cantor.

In 1931 Alfred Ludwig Rosenberg began his service as the last full-time religion teacher, ritual slaughterer, and Cantor of the Jewish community of Kirchen.



Jewish youth from Kirchen and Müllheim on a field trip. Standing with glasses: religion teacher and Cantor Alfred Rosenberg. Lower right, Alice Bloch, Alfred's future wife.

Alfred Rosenberg came from Breisach. Among his ancestors was the rabbi family Kahn, who had settled in Sulzburg long ago. After schooling, Alfred Rosenberg attended the Jewish Teachers' Training College in Wiirzburg from 1928 to 1931. Shortly before assuming his position in Kirchen, he received training in Freiburg as a ritual slaughterer. In his service contract, signed on November 22, 1931, his duties were providing all religious instruction, serving as cantor in the worship services, as well as giving the sacred sermons after the sacred service. He also had to serve as the ritual slaughterer where he had to be always

available to the community members. He was also responsible for supervising the sale of the meat, and the removal of veins required by the religious law.

His salary in Baden was grade 4B for non-scheduled civil servants. Alfred Rosenberg was entitled to two weeks' vacation and the use of the service apartment (four rooms and kitchen) in the synagogue building. In 1932, he was appointed treasurer of the Jewish community. In his period of service in Kirchen he met Alice Bloch, whom he married in 1935.



Family picture 1935 in front of the synagogue, left to right Bertha Bloch, Veist Bloch, Alice Bloch, Alfred Rosenberg.

Alfred Rosenberg left Kirchen in May 1935 and became the religious teacher and cantor of the Jewish religious community in Darmstadt. The young married couple lived in Darmstadt until 1938 and then emigrated to Brooklyn N.Y., USA. There, Rosenberg worked for a short time as full-time religious teacher and cantor, then from 1941 onwards in a similar position in Lansdale, Pennsylvania and as an employee in the food wholesale trade.

The years 1924-1929 brought about a slow but noticeable economic stabilization. There was also a return of anti-Semitism in the bourgeois parties. The international economic crisis, which began in 1929, was catastrophic for Germany. The German income per capita decreased by half between 1928 and 1932. The anti-Semitism was the revolt of the petty bourgeoisie against industrialization. It was particularly true in those years. The middle class, which was hardest hit by the depression, was also the home of the German Jews and, at the same time the home of their worst opponents, the supporters of the NSDAP. This party had its highest adherence in the middle class. Thus, in a double sense, the Jews were in competition with these members of the middle-class.

G. L. Mosse describes the common basis of all German parties, which were moved to the right of the center, such as Alldeutsche, DNVP, NSDAP etc., as follows: "The common ground for the Jews' opponents was based on their ongoing struggle against the uprooting and alienation which characterizes every society going through rapid industrialization. Such ideas, which are generally designated by the word 'völkisch' (popular) were not only a solution to the problems of a disorganized capitalist society, but they also aimed in the end to distance a person from their society. Rational thought, for example, was rejected in favor of an uprising of the people. Rational thought gave way to primordial feelings and moods. Home was not a physical place, but where man was in connection with nature. The reality of modern society was something evil and the Jews embodied this modern age.

The parties of the center like DNVP, the Democratic Party, the German Democratic Party, the Center, the Christian Social Service Party, the Economic Parties, and the German People's Party were each very different in their anti-Semitism and attitude toward the Jews. Thus the DNVP can be classed as extremely anti-Semitic while the German Democratic Party (DDP) rejected anti-Semitism as a highly "immoral movement appealing to the lowest instincts". The SPD and KPD left-wing parties also took a different position on anti-Semitism. While the SPD never made any concessions in its electoral program to anti-Semitic tendencies, the KPD swam more or less in the general anti-Semitic stream.

Jewish immigration into Kirchen declined between 1900 and 1932 by twenty-seven people. Fifteen immigrants came mainly from other Baden Jewish communities, four from the rest of Germany, four from Alsace, and four from Switzerland. Twenty left Kirchen to go the United States, fourteen left to go to Switzerland, thirteen went to Basel, ten to different places in Germany, six to Alsace, five to France and one to Argentina. Above all, the emigration to the United States of America took a steep increase. More than twenty-one percent of all the people who had emigrated during this period went to the United States. This later increased even more in the time of national socialism.

Chapter 5: The Catastrophe (1933-1940)

"The perpetuation of injustice does not cease simply because it is silenced. Nor does anything good come of a desire to hide behind the injustice, as was done to our people by other peoples during and after the war. This tactic did not expunge the mass murder of Jews. Let us trust in God's grace when he passes judgement on our people; then will he be able to transform a curse into a blessing and liberate us for the new life and vibrancy of our people now and in the future" [footnote 292].

In 1934, Leo Baeck closed his speech commemorating the 125th anniversary of the founding of the Jewish Federation of Baden1 with the following words: "To remember truthfully means to hope truthfully; both acts stem from the same psychological root. Only the person who clings tightly to his past has the strength to meet the future. Today we look towards the future differently than our ancestors would have believed was possible. But of one thing we may be certain: the powers that live in the Jewish citizenry of Baden, the powers that are ordered and strengthened through the morale of the Jewish community, will continue to act as a blessing in difficult times, and, with the sanction of the Eternal One - our God - as a blessing in better days" [footnote 293].

Baeck's words were particularly well-suited to the year-old experience of daily life under the rule of the Nazi Party. Germany's Jews certainly looked towards the future differently, even if there was little actual hope at that time for a dignified future. Too much trust had been destroyed; too many expectations of human reason and ethics had been shattered in this single year. Hundred-year-old political commitments had suddenly become invalid; neighbors and friends were prevented by the threat of State repercussions from continued interactions with their fellow citizens of Jewish descent.

We all know how this situation arose. Even still, the progression to this state of affairs has hardly become clearer to us after almost 60 years.

The first German parliamentary elections after Hitler's rise to power took place on the 5th of March, 1933. The election results for Kirchen were as follows: [footnote 294]

Parliamentary Election Results 1932 and 1933 in Kirchen

	March 5th, 1933	July 31st, 1932
NSDAP (Nazi Party)	53.0% (46.1%)	51.4% (43.6%)
SPD (Social Democratic Party of Germany)	12.7% (10.7%)	14.5% (11.9%)
KPD (Communist Party of Germany)	12.0% (17.3%)	17.7% (20.2%)
Zentrum (Centrist Party)	1.2% (15.0%)	1.3% (15.0%)
DNVP (German National People's Party)	5.2% (4.5%)	4.9% (2.0%)

The results in parentheses are for the entire administrative district of Lörrach.

The national election results were as follows:

NSDAP	43.9%
SPD	18.3%
KPD	12.3%
Zentrum	13.14%

By the 13th of March, the change in command had already been executed in Kirchen, as described in the Upper-Baden People's Newspaper:

"On Thursday evening at 10:00 a division of uniformed Nazis appeared in front of the local courthouse and hoisted the swastika flag as well as the flag of Baden, which immediately attracted the attention of residents, as the large square in front of the courthouse filled completely in a moment. The German National Anthem as well as the Horst Wessel song2 were sung. After both songs had been sung, the organizers moved on to do the same thing at the courthouse in Efringen" [footnote 296].

Shortly thereafter, a systematic, country-wide boycott was carried out against Jewish businesses, doctors, and lawyers on the 1st of April, 1933. On the same day, the following appeal appeared in the Upper-Baden People's Newspaper [footnote 297]:

"Compatriots in Lörrach and the surrounding area. The following Jewish businesses and doctors in Lörrach will be boycotted and, hence, avoided under all circumstances during the duration of the boycott" [footnote 298].

In Kirchen, the following businesses suffered from this boycott: the small grocery store owned by Julius Bloch (75.0) and his wife Sophie, nee Geismar, on Friedrich-Rottra-Strasse (formerly House 72) and the butcher shop owned by Marx Braunschweig (99.0). The remaining Jews of Kirchen were not in business, but rather dealt mainly in cattle.



Photo Caption, p 86: Adolf Hitler and entourage visit a section of Kirchen's west wall that is still under construction on the 19th of May, 1939.

Image Caption, p 86: Front page of the Upper-Baden People's Newspaper from April 1st, 1933.

Dr. Leo Baum, who had lived and practiced medicine in Efringen since 1927, and who had also joined the local branch of the German Red Cross shortly after its founding in 1929 - working as an educator and company physician within their ranks - left Efringen already on the fifth of March, 1933 and moved to Basel because, as the record-keeper for the Efringen-Kirchen district archives wrote, "the circumstances of the time made it impossible for him to continue being active in the Red Cross" [footnote 299]. Dr. Baum later left Switzerland and lived in the USA.

According to the Weimar Constitution, which had been valid until the 24th of March, 1933, all citizens were equal under the law. Only through the Enabling Act3 enacted by parliament on the 24th of March, 1933 did it even become possible to discriminate legally against certain groups of citizens. As early as the 7th of April, 1933, the "Law for the Restoration of the Bureaucracy," (endnote 4) the first in an endlessly long chain of laws that discriminated against Jews, was passed.

In April of 1933 the incumbent regional leader of the Nazi party, Eglin, demanded in a letter to the mayor of Kirchen that "the local council resolve to immediately revoke the citizen's ration (endnote 5) of Leopold Braunschweig, who had moved out of the country, and to distribute said ration among the waiting applicants" [footnote 300].

The local council complied unanimously with Eglin's wish. In 1936, after Eglin had been appointed mayor of Kirchen, he urged the district officials of Lörrach to revoke the citizen's ration of the following Jews living in Kirchen [footnote 301]:

Henriette Olesheimer, nee Bachrach

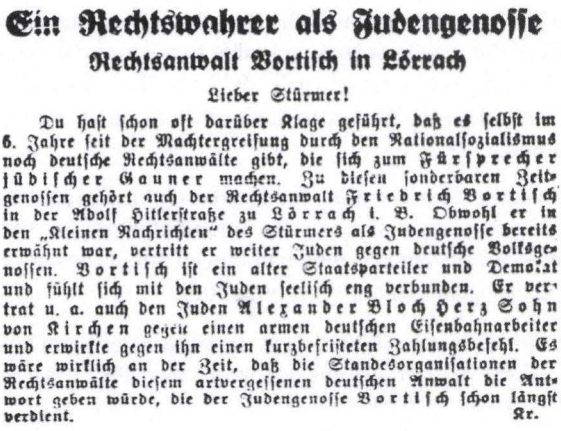
Marx Braunschweig Levi, butcher

Samuel Moses-Braunschweig

Isak Braunschweig.

This request, which was buttressed by a provision passed on August 13th, 1936 to deprive all Jews of the advantages they enjoyed as German citizens, was also granted.

The press, which was aligned with the interests of party leaders like Eglin, published selective announcements and so-called historical retrospectives that were supposed to illustrate the depravity of Jews in both the past and present:



Ein Rechtswahrer als Judengenosse

Rechtsanwalt Bortisch in Lörrach

Lieber Stürmer!

Du hast schon oft darüber Klage geführt, daß es selbst im 6. Jahre seit der Machtergreifung durch den Nationalsozialismus noch deutsche Rechtsanwälte gibt, die sich zum Fürsprecher jüdischer Gauner machen. Zu diesen sonderbaren Zeitgenossen gehört auch der Rechtsanwalt Friedrich Bortisch in der Adolf Hitlerstraße zu Lörrach i. B. Obwohl er in den „Kleinen Nachrichten" des Stürmers als Judengenosse bereits erwähnt war, vertritt er weiter Juden gegen deutsche Volksgenossen. Bortisch ist ein alter Staatsparteiler und Demokrat und fühlt sich mit den Juden seelisch eng verbunden. Er vertrat u. a. auch den Juden Alexander Bloch Herz Sohn von Kirchen gegen einen armen deutschen Eisenbahnarbeiter und erwirkte gegen ihn einen kurzbefristeten Zahlungsbefehl. Es wäre wirklich an der Zeit, daß die Standesorganisationen der Rechtsanwälte diesem artvergessenen deutschen Anwalt die Antwort geben würde, die der Judengenosse Bortisch schon längst verdient.

Kr.

Reproduction of a newspaper announcement; the caption beneath the image reads as follows: In October of 1938, in the paper "Stürmer," lawyer Fr. (Friedrich) Vortisch is branded as a "Jewish Minion" because he represented Alexander Bloch from Kirchen in a legal matter.

Hermann Albrecht (endnote 6), in his rather fanciful story "*The Teaching Assistant*" about J. P. Hebel's (endnote 7) work in Lörrach, painted strong anti-Semitic feelings with a scene involving a Jew from Kirchen. A freelance agent of the Upper-Baden People's Newspaper picked up on Albrecht's story and published it in the paper on the 14th of December, 1940 under the headline "When Jews still Dwelt in Markgräferland." (endnote 8) (For additional articles, see Appendix Number 19).

It was clear that [the people of] Kirchen were willing to adapt themselves quickly to the new times and the new regime. This tendency was also discernible in the results of the August 19th, 1934 public opinion poll administered after the death of president von Hindenburg, in which the people approved a plan to combine the office of president with the office of chancellor.9 The proportion of citizens in the district of Lörrach who voted against this measure totaled about 20% of all the votes cast; in Kirchen the "no" votes accounted for just under 4.9%. [footnote 302]

caption on p 88 = Upper-Baden People's Newspaper of December 14th, 1940. Albrecht's story from "The Teaching Assistant," carefully manipulated to emphasize its racist nature.

On the eve of the Nazi takeover, 63 Jews lived in Efringen and Kirchen. [footnote 303]

Two characteristics stand out for population age pyramids in 1933. First, they did not include the category of children up to ten years of age. Second, the proportion of the population under the age of 30 is only insignificantly greater than the proportion of the population over 60.

Population age pyramid of the Jews in Kirchen in 1933

up to 30 years of age	5.4%
30 to 60 years of age	42.9%
over 60 years of age	31.8%

If one compares the population pyramid of the Jewish population with the population of the country as a whole and with the populations of Baden and Württemberg, respectively, serious variations enter the picture:

	up to 30	30-60	over 60
Total population of the nation [footnote 304]	58%	33.8%	11.1%
Total national Jewish population [footnote 305]	45.3%	40.9%	13.8%
Jewish population in Baden & W. [footnote 306]	36.1%	48.5%	15.6%
Jewish population of Kirchen	25.4%	42.9%	31.6%

If the natural population pyramid for the nation as a whole had already been destroyed (on account of the high number of citizens over 50 years old as well as the lowered birthrate that could be attributed to the aftermath of WWI), then the population pyramid of the rural districts stood almost on its head. These districts found themselves in a process of population deterioration that must lead within a few years to an inevitable reduction of the population. When the national birth-rate to death-rate ratio (of a five-year period) is compared with the birth-rate to death-rate ratio of the Jewish population, it can be statistically proven that the Jewish population was gradually dying out.

Development from 1890 - 1926

Total for Baden:

Births:	2,016,733
Deaths:	1,343,163
Ratio of births to deaths:	+33.4%

Total for the Jewish population in Baden:

Births:	14,609
Deaths:	13,726
Ratio of births to deaths:	+6%

Total for Kirchen:

Births:	759
Deaths:	626
Ratio of births to deaths:	+17.5%

Total for the Jewish population in Kirchen:

Births:	55
Deaths:	70
Ratio of births to deaths:	-21.4%

The situation of Kirchen's Jews in this timeframe shows the signs of a community condemned to a quick extinction: 21.4% more deaths than births. The internal migration of the younger generation from the country to the cities would have caused this community to die out in the foreseeable future.

Nevertheless, Stauer [footnote 307] believes: "The ... negative coefficients of the Jewish population balance should not ... lead to the conclusion that Germany's Jewish citizenry in the year 1933 would have been condemned to inevitable decline and extinction, even without Nazi persecution. Population developments never take place according to mathematical principles. It still would have lain within the realm of possibility that something similar to the situation in France since the time of WWII, for example, could have happened. In this case, the decline in births might have stopped someday, so that the entire development might, perhaps, have been reversed."

Although I admit the fundamental possibility of such developments, it appears to me - at least in light of the development of the Jewish population up to 1933 - unlikely that this constant decline would have taken a sudden upswing and, above all, that the aging of the population would have suddenly slowed, even in more peaceful times.

An overview of the long-term population development between 1825 and 1939 reveals the above-described process of attrition quite clearly.

Between 1825 and 1939 an increase of almost 23% can be seen in the overall population of Kirchen, whereas the Jewish population of Kirchen decreased over 27% during the same timeframe.

The overall population of Kirchen [footnote 308] increased in the years 1900 through 1939, enjoying a birthrate 9.08% higher than the death rate, whereas the Jews of Kirchen

experienced a birthrate 55.96% lower than the death rate. Given these numbers, a potential increase in the Jewish population seems unlikely.

The share of the Jewish population as a percentage of the total population of Kirchen followed the trends listed below until 1925, when it fell back to only 6.8%:

1825	9.6%
1875	15.2%
1900	10.4%.

Jews retained some freedom in public life up until 1935. Although meagerly allocated, the privileges they enjoyed could be regarded as positively liberal in comparison to the deprivations that came upon them after 1935 as a result of special laws. When the first of these laws were passed, care was taken to ensure that they applied, as much as possible, to the population in general. Thus, from the outside, it appeared that these laws were not directed exclusively against the Jews. Use of the word "Jew" was avoided; instead, it was replaced with the word "non-Aryan." By the same token, veterans of the first World War were exempted from the conditions of these special laws, as were persons who had been employed since the first of August, 1914.

In January of 1935, Veist Bloch, a veteran of the first World War, was bestowed the Cross of Honor for Veterans, an award established by Hindenburg, on behalf of the "Führer and the Reichschancellor." And in July of 1939, Veist Bloch was issued a certificate of residence by the District Office in Lörrach, confirming his citizenship in the Reich.



Im Namen des Führers und Reichskanzlers

Dem Viehhändler

Veist Bloch Kirchen

ist auf Grund der Verordnung vom 13. Juli 1934 zur Erinnerung an den Weltkrieg 1914/1918 das von dem Reichspräsidenten Generalfeldmarschall von Hindenburg gestiftete

Ehrenkreuz für Kriegsteilnehmer

verliehen worden.

Badisches Bezirksamt Lörrach

Nr. 496 /35.

Lörrach, den 23. Januar 1935.

Der Landrat:

image caption, top of p 90 - Certificate of Conferral of the Cross of Honor for Veterans of the First World War given to Veist Bloch on the 23rd of January, 1935.



Veist Bloch as an on-duty soldier, 2nd row on the outside right

With the passage on September 15th, 1935 of the Citizenship Law and the Law for the Protection of German Blood and Honor, Jews were forced out of all sectors of public life. These two laws, frequently also referred to as the "Nürnberg Laws," defined for the first time who could and could not be a citizen of the Reich. Excluded from citizenship were Jews, defined as follows: "A Jew is someone descended from at least three full-blooded Jewish grandparents" [footnote 309], and in section 2.2 of the same decree: "A mixed-blood Jew is someone descended from one or two full-blooded Jewish grandparents ... a grandparent who belonged to a Jewish community of worship qualifies as a full-blooded Jew, regardless of his/her bloodlines."10 The first section of the Law for the Protection of German Blood and Honor stipulates that: "marriage is forbidden between Jews and citizens of German bloodlines or closely related bloodlines." The second section indicates that "extramarital affairs are forbidden between Jews and citizens of German bloodlines or closely related bloodlines." It is unknown how the Jewish community in Kirchen reacted to these laws. It was surely difficult for them to believe that, in a previously functioning community, all relationships and fundamental principles of life simply ceased to be valid. The extent to which this disbelief prevented the Jews of Kirchen from realizing the true danger of the situation and the true need to change their ways of thinking and doing business is revealed by the low number of citizens who decided to emigrate to a foreign country during this period. Only four people moved out of Kirchen between the years 1933 and 1936.

The widespread ownership among the Jewish community of land and homes, the respectable standard of living, and, not least of all, the 200-year tradition of making their homes in Kirchen caused the majority of Kirchen's Jews to shy away from the idea of emigrating.

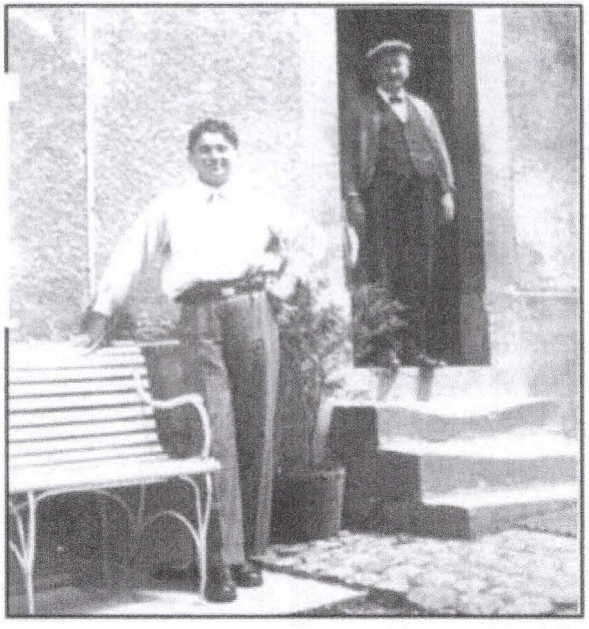


photo caption, bottom of p 91 - Veist Bloch with his son, Jakob, in front of their home in Kirchen

NSDAP
Stützpunkt Efringen

Efringen, den 11. 7. 37.

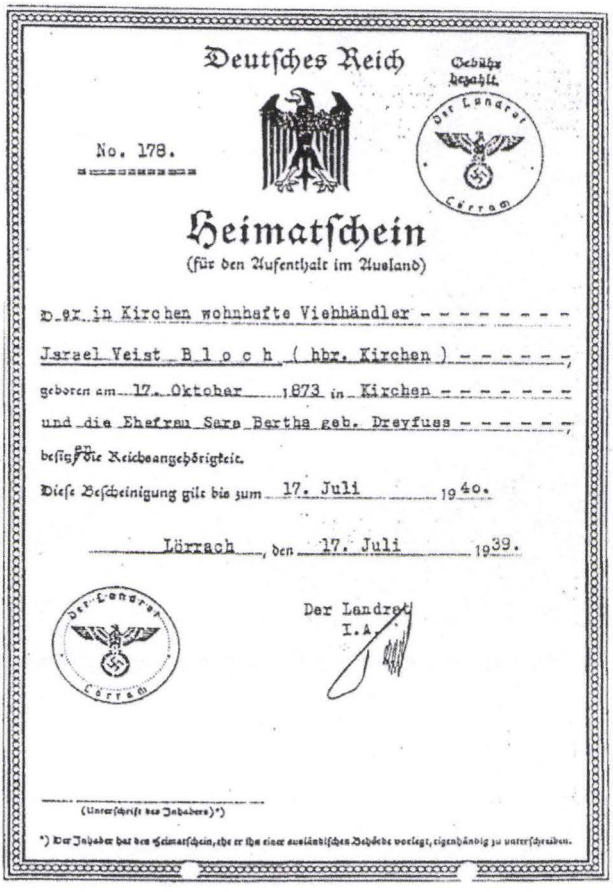
Herrn
Dr. med.
E f r i n g e n.

Einer Meldung des S.D. zufolge haben Sie in einer Mütterberatungsstunde das Kind der Jüdin Thekla Bloch, in Anwesenheit arischer Mütter, als Musterkind bezeichnet. Die Voraussetzung zur Aufnahme in die NSDAP ist infolgedessen nicht mehr gegeben, deshalb habe ich Sie auf der Parteianwärterliste gestrichen.

Heil Hitler!
Stützpunktleiter

Maßregelung des Arztes von Efringen wegen "Judenfreundlicher Äußerung"

image caption, bottom of p 91, right-hand column - reprimand issued against the doctor in Efringen for his "Jew-Friendly" demonstrations or statements.



Deutsches Reich

Gebühr bezahlt.

Der Landrat Lörrach

No. 178.

Heimatschein

(für den Aufenthalt im Ausland)

Der in Kirchen wohnhafte Viehhändler - - - - - - - -

Israel Veist B l o c h (hbr. Kirchen) - - - - - - ;

geboren am 17. Oktober 1873 in Kirchen - - - - - - -

und die Ehefrau Sara Bertha geb. Dreyfuss - - - - - ;

besitzt die Reichsangehörigkeit.

Diese Bescheinigung gilt bis zum 17. Juli 1940.

Lörrach, den 17. Juli 1939.

Der Landrat
I.A.

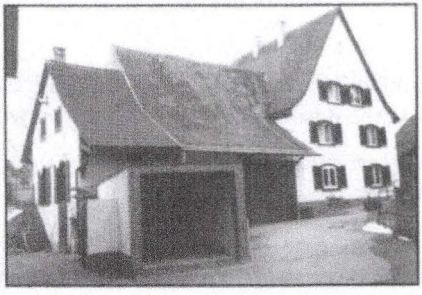
(Unterschrift des Inhabers)*)

*) Der Inhaber hat den Heimatschein, ehe er ihn einer ausländischen Behörde vorlegt, eigenhändig zu unterschreiben.

image caption, top of p 91, left-hand column - citizenship documentation for Veist and Berta Bloch, July 1939

Jewish Homes in Kirchen and Efringen

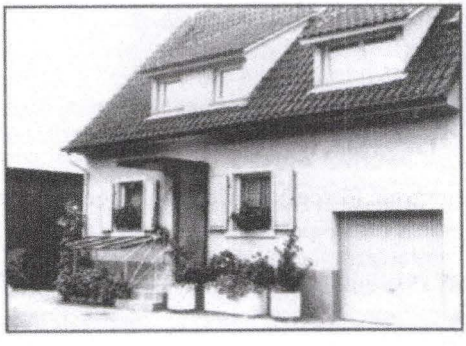


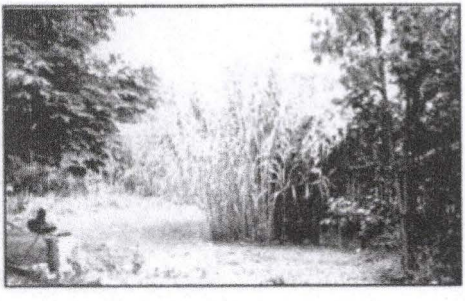


1 Plat Number 2, House Number 193, 12 Basel Street, two-family home of Klara Harburger.

2 Plat Number 39, House Number 122, Basel Street (90/38) single-story residence, equipped stable, and storage room in the possession of Isaak and Salomon Bloch through a life-hold granted by N.L. Wormser.

3 Plat Number 228, 21 Basel Street, two-family home with outbuildings in the possession of Samuel Moses I.





4 Plat Number 68/70, on the angle, root cellar with haymow, and one-story residence with barn and single-story storage room in the possession of David Lieberles in Basel.

5 Plat Number 278, House Number 82, 8 Bergrain (Street), single-story residence with equipped shed in the possession of Regine Bloch and Marie Bloch.

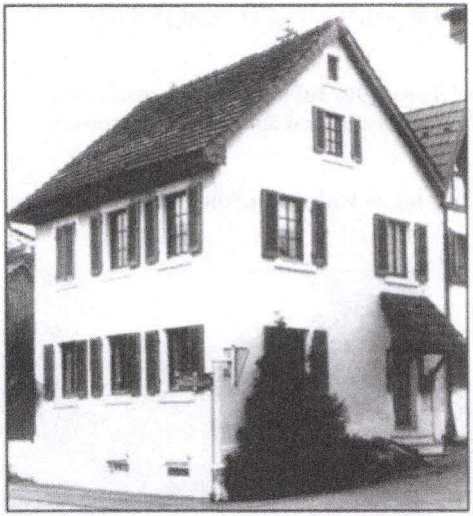
6 Plat Number 269, House Number 77, 4 Bergrain (Street), two-family home with outbuildings and a slaughterhouse in the possession of Isaak Braunschweig.

7 Former site of the Friedrich-Rottra Street Synagogue with residence and root cellar. Adjacent house with bathroom and in-house school is in the possession of the Jewish community.

8 Plat Number 268, House Number 76, 103 Basel Street, single-family home with butcher shop in the possession of Marx Braunschweig.

9 Plat Number 266, House Number 73 b, Friedrich-Rottra Street, rental property with outbuildings in the

10 Plat Number 265, House Number 72, Freidrich-Rottra Street, single-family home with store-front in the possession of Julius Bloch and Sophie Geismar.



Home of Hermann Moses and Eva Schwab.

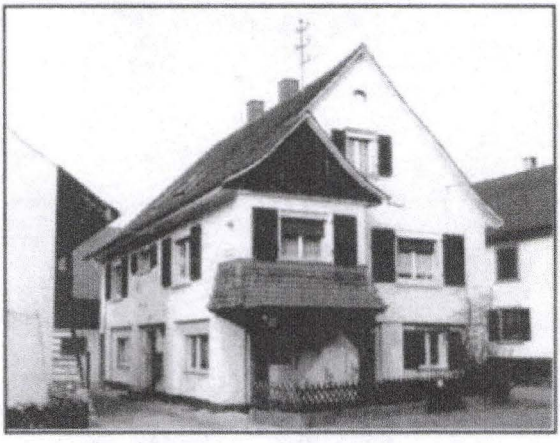
11 Plat Number 253, House Number 44, 1 Bergrain (Street), single-family home in the possession of Veist and Bertha Bloch.

12 House Number 41, 58 Friedrich-Rottra Street, in the possession of Emma Olesheimer-Weil.

13 Plat Number 192, House Number 14, two-family home with outbuildings in the possession of Henriette Olesheimer and L. Braunschweig.

14 Plat Number 194, House Number 13, 46 Friedrich-Rottra Street rental property and outbuildings in the possession of Seligmann Moses and Auguste Weil.

15 Plat Number 113, House Number 123, House Number 11, Friedrich-Rottra Street, two-story residence, barn with stable, storage room and lavatory in the possession of Samuel Moses II.



16 Plat Number 232, House Number 17, 3 Bromen (Street), two-family home with outbuildings in the possession of Auguste Bloch Wachenheimer.

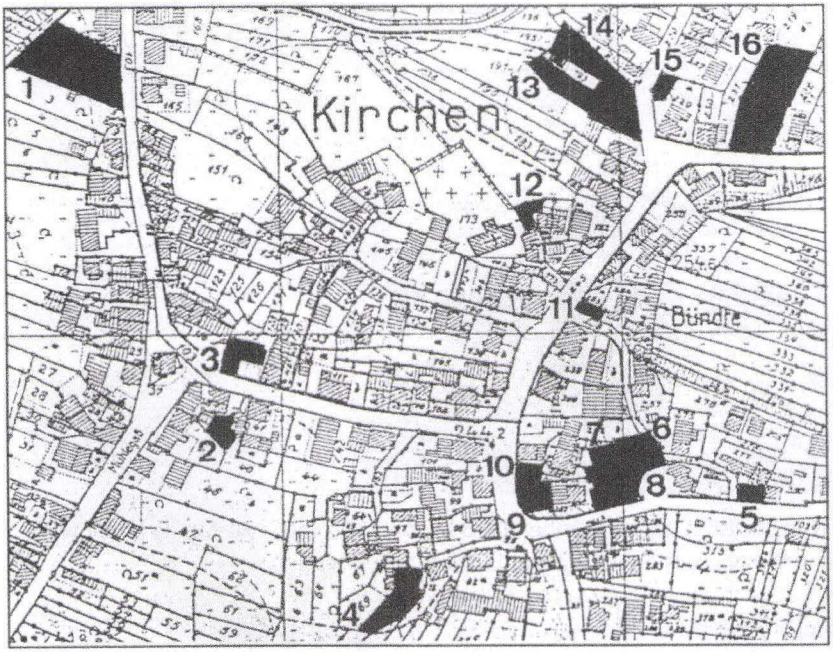


17 Plat Number 467/468, House Number 183, 20 Neusetze (Street), single-story residence and 2.5-story storehouse in the possession of Rosa Moses, nee Weil.

18 In Efringen, Plat Number 1844 a, 2 Main Street, residence with yard and acreage in the possession of Sigmund Harburger.

19 Plat Number 4483, Jewish Cemetery at approximately...

Part of the cemetery belongs specifically to the Jewish Community, so the rest of it must belong to the city.



The above Jewish real estate is marked with black areas in the register for the community of Kirchen [footnote 310]

This listing demonstrates that over 90% of the Jewish citizens of Kirchen lived in their own homes. The businesses of Leopold Braunschweig and Veist Bloch were assessed the highest tax value of any firms in Kirchen, and L. Braunschweig also owned the first car (in Kirchen.) Additional businessmen - cattle merchants - who could be counted among the most prosperous citizens of Kirchen were as follows: Moses Olesheimer, Alexander Bloch, Julius Bloch, Salomon Bloch, Issak Braunschweig, Marx Braunschweig I, Marx Braunschweig II, Samuel Braunschweig, Samuel Moses I, Samuel Moses II.

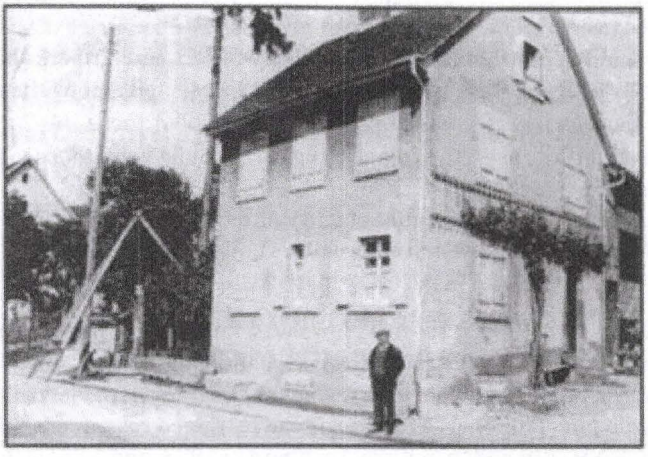
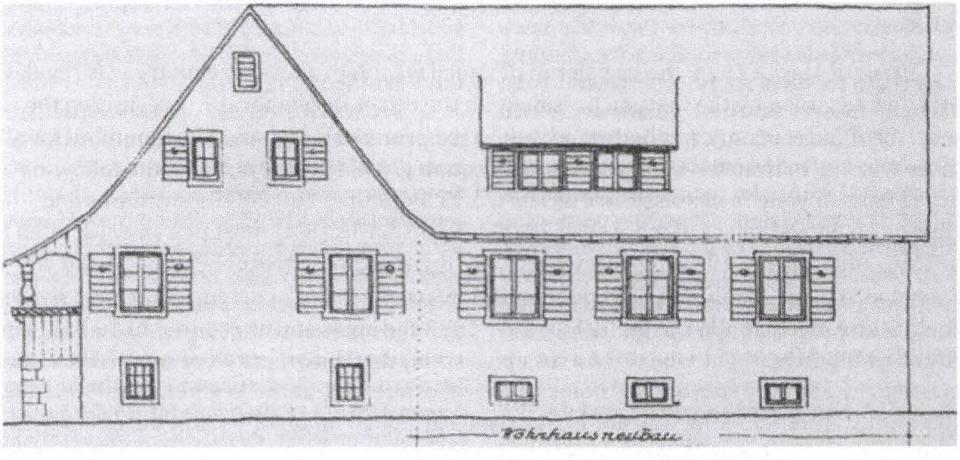


Photo Caption at the top of p. 95 - Veist Bloch in front of his house in Kirchen.

In the years 1922 - 1933, ten applications were submitted by Jewish citizens for permission to build or renovate their homes or business spaces. On June 29th, 1924, Isaak Braunschweig submitted the following plan for an addition to his home.



Caption to accompany house sketch: Plan for a single-family home for I. Braunschweig in Kirchen, 1924. (The portion of the plan marked with the word "Wohnhausneubau" shows the extension that Mr. Braunschweig wants to add on to the back of his existing house.)

After the relatively peaceful years of 1934/35, in which the Nazi Party concentrated on the economic, social, and political consolidation of its power, the state-sponsored sanctions against Jews intensified substantially with the passage of the so-called Nürnberg Laws. The mass emigration of Jews to foreign countries began. Yet the majority of elderly Jews in

Germany were neither prepared to emigrate nor willing to engage in such an undertaking, as they had always been and still considered themselves to be Germans. The countries that received Jews in the early years of the Third Reich needed skilled workers and farmers above all: occupations that were, for a variety of reasons, severely underrepresented among their own populations. Most of the German Jews were too old to be re-trained for these occupations. Those Jews with the best prospects of emigrating successfully were those who had children between the ages of 15 and 20. These children could still learn a skilled or agricultural trade and could, therefore, serve as a point of entry into the new country for other family members. The chances of childless and elderly Jews emigrating successfully were extremely limited.

The political climate in those countries that received Jews was, for the most part, uneasy. As a result of the economic crisis of the early 30s and the sense of nationalism that was intensifying throughout the world, those Jews who were willing to emigrate were viewed as nothing more than intruders who put additional strains on already strained resources. To that end, 2,114 Jews emigrated from both Baden and Württemberg in 1933, and 1,236 Jews emigrated in 1934, but only 997 Jews emigrated in 1935 [footnote 311]. The Jewish population of Baden and Württemberg decreased through emigration alone by about 14% up until 1935. In comparison, the emigration rate of Jews leaving Kirchen amounted to just under 6%. After 1936, the number of emigrants increased substantially. In 1936, 2,066 Jews emigrated and in 1937 the number of Jewish emigrants leaving Baden and Württemberg was 2,186.

Up until May of 1934, the transfer of personal wealth to a foreign country was regulated by a decree issued by the German president on the 8th of December, 1931 regarding the security of the economy and budget as well as the protection of domestic tranquility for all those wishing to transfer wealth to a foreign country. This decree outlined the following provisions: Anyone in possession of assets worth more than 200,000 Reichsmarks and earning an annual salary of more than 20,000 Reichsmarks (RM) must pay an emigration tax of 25%. After May of 1935 the provisions were tightened to assets of 50,000 RM and an annual income of 20,000 RM. The personal allowance in foreign currency that an individual could take totaled 50 RM up until 1937; after 1937 the amount was reduced to 10 RM. The so-called "Sperrmarkguthaben" (inaccessible assets) that emigrants were required to leave in Germany after the sale of their homes and real estate was, at the beginning, still relatively accessible. After 1938 the transfer losses regularly added up to 92-94% of the emigrant's entire assets. [footnote 312]

The later the Jews waited to sell their possessions as a way of financing emigration, the higher was their loss.

To that end, the Jews of Kirchen who wanted to sell their homes to finance their emigration were required to sell far below the actual market value. After 1941, houses and land that were still in the possession of Jews were forcibly expropriated by the government. Among those properties expropriated in Kirchen were the following: House Number 11,

which belonged to Samuel Moses II (house is no longer standing); House Number 41, which belonged to Emma Olesheimer-Weil; the Synagogue with the school of the Jewish Community, which is no longer standing; House Number 122, which belonged to Isaak and Salomon Bloch from Basel; House Number 123, which belonged to Samuel Moses II; House Number 183, which belonged to Rosa Moses Weil; and the house at #2 Main Street in Efringen, which belonged to Sigmund Harburger.

An October 10th, 1938 memo of the Schopfheim Chamber for Industry and Trade recommended that precautionary measures be taken against any person whose career might enable him to bypass the regulations governing transfer of personal wealth to a foreign country, thereby organizing his emigration secretly. In Kirchen, the Moses brothers' fur-trading company, overseen at the time by Alfred Weil, was regarded as particularly suspicious [footnote 313]. In 1937, when Alfred Weil wanted - in spite of the times - to buy another piece of land from Rosa Bloch, nee Moses, who lived in Basel, the Müllheim Association for Agrarian Economy and Politics wrote on the second of February, 1937 as follows to the mayor's office in Kirchen: "We want to ensure that this (the purchase) won't be approved, because we cannot accept that the Jew Weil should be granted this land, ... and we believe that it would be possible to raise a local farmer's11 interest in purchasing this land." [footnote 314]

On the 8th of August, 1939, the farmers' organization [union or co-op] for the district of Müllheim presented the Mayor's Office in Kirchen with a listing of the properties in Kirchen that still remained in the possession of Jews. These possessions, in accordance with the Edict Concerning the Assignment of Jewish Assets12, were to be sold as quickly as possible to Aryans [footnote 315]. Members of Kirchen's Jewish community who were affected by this edict were as follows: Isaak Braunschweig, Marx Levi-Braunschweig, Isak Bloch in Basel, Salomon Bloch in Basel, Marie Bloch, Regina Bloch, David Lieberles-Maier in Basel, Samuel Moses, Samuel Moses II, Rosa Weil, Alfred Weil, and the Jewish community [as owners of the synagogue and school] in Kirchen.

Through changes to the Industrial Code on June 20th, 1938, Jews were forbidden to work in careers in which they had frequently been represented, such as real estate sales and acquisition and property management. The November 12th, 1938 Edict Concerning the Exclusion of Jews from the German Economy robbed members of the Jewish community of all opportunities to continue working in their careers. This edict affected not just the self-employed whose businesses and shops were "cleansed" of their Jewishness and Aryanized. Rather, the edict affected almost everyone who was employed in business and industry.

The Edict Concerning the Declaration of Jewish Assets had already been passed on the 26th of April, 1938. With the passage of this edict, Jews lost control over their own assets. The property of Jews, who were denied German citizenship, was confiscated. The aforementioned Edict Concerning the Assignment of Jewish Assets also prohibited Jews from having any of the following items in their possession: objects or works of art, gems, or jewelry. Jewish doctors were divested of their licenses as of the 25th of July, 1938; from that

point forward they were referred to as "people who work with the ill" and were allowed to treat only Jewish patients. In November of 1938, all Jewish lawyers still remaining in German courts were forced to resign and were subsequently allowed to work as "consultants," advising and representing only Jewish clients.

In accordance with the third announcement regarding obligatory ID cards of July 23rd, 1938, Jews were issued special ID cards, which were marked with a large "J" and which must be presented upon conducting business with a government official, whether or not the official asked to see it.

After the second enactment of the August 18th, 1938 law concerning the modification of surnames and given names, Jews were allowed to go by only a limited set of specified "Jewish" given names. (Jacob, Joseph, David, etc. were not a part of this set!) If Jews had a German given name, they were required to take on an additional given name; these names, no less were "Israel" for men and "Sara" for women [footnote 316].

The already tightly limited freedom that remained to Jews after 1933 had come to absolute zero. It became clear even to the most good-natured and optimistic Jews of the time that it had become impossible to remain in this Germany. Yet this realization came too late for the majority of Jews. The typical immigration destinations of the 17th - 19th centuries, such as Switzerland, the USA and, to a limited degree, France, had by this time either already closed their borders or were allowing only a few privileged Jews to enter. The Alsace region had been an ideal immigration goal in the early years of the Nazi regime, especially for the Jews of Kirchen. Many families had relatives, friends and business partners there. The same language was spoken there; indeed, the grandparents or great-grandparents of more than a few of Kirchen's Jews came from the Alsace region. But after 1933, France increasingly tightened the borders against its German neighbors. The problem of tight borders was exacerbated by the difficult economic situation and by latent anti-Semitism. Switzerland, the classic political sanctuary of the 19th century, had also been an attractive destination for Jews emigrating from Lörrach because of close family and business ties. Until about 1935, Switzerland continued in its relatively open acceptance of the droves of German Jews flowing across the border, offering them at least a temporary place of residence. Because it was easier for them to assimilate, German Jews were preferred over the eastern Jews who, as early as 1900, constituted half of the total number of Jews living in Switzerland [footnote 317]. In 1920, 11,551 of the 20,779 Jews in Switzerland were eastern Jews. 44% of the entire population was Jewish; 2.3% of the foreign-born population was Jewish. Starting in 1933, strict prohibitions against employment were enacted for all Jews, and residence permits were granted for only a few months. An agreement between Swiss and German authorities, which sparked protest among the Swiss citizens, stipulated that the passports of German Jews be marked with a "J," and that the bearers of these passports be granted entry into Switzerland only if they had obtained assurance from a representative of the Swiss consulate that they would be allowed to remain in Switzerland or if they were planning to simply travel through Switzerland en route to another destination.

In August of 1942, the Swiss borders were completely closed. In response to vigorous protests from Swiss citizens, the borders were later partially reopened.

The US was the immigration destination for the majority of German Jews, including the Jews from Kirchen. As a result of high immigration rates in the years 1920 - 1930, the immigration quotas were drastically tightened. In the year 1932/33, only 996 Germans obtained residence permits in the US. In 1933/34, the number of German Jewish immigrants to the US consisted of 4,392 people and rose to more than 10,000 after 1936.

In spite of its low immigration quotas, the US offered German Jews a better chance of immigration than any other country. Anyone could be sure of obtaining permission to immigrate, provided that he or she had relatives or acquaintances in the US who could sign an affidavit guaranteeing financial support for the applicant.



Photo caption: Isaak and Frieda Braunschweig in July of 1938 in Paris. New York was their ultimate destination

8,846 Jews immigrated to the US from Baden and Württemberg between the years 1933 and 1940. Of these, 5.8% immigrated between 1933 and 1935; 21.9% between 1936 and 1937; 49.6% between 1938 and 1939; and 22.7% in 1940.

The benefits gained by the US from the intellectually and technically sophisticated German Jewish immigrants cannot be fully appreciated even today.

Palestine, which had been governed under a British Mandate since 1920, played a rather subordinate role as an immigration destination for German Jews until 1932.

Between 1933 and 1936, an average of over 7,000 Jews immigrated to Palestine, all the more so because the German Jews in this county were, by and large, able to save the majority of their assets. However, professional prospects for the German immigrants were quite limited. The country needed farmers, tradesmen, drivers, and laborers. However, the German Jews were, for the most part, merchants or academics. A change of careers was unavoidable for many. After 1937, German immigration to Palestine decreased again to 3,600 Jews. Influential Arabic organizations pressured the German and English governments to put a stop to the mass immigration.

The age distribution [of Jews] in Efringen-Kirchen in the years 1936 and 1938 offers interesting insight into the recently begun flight [of the Jews]. In 1936, there were 52 Jews in Kirchen. 23% were below the age of 30, while about 29% were over 60. 48% fell into the 30-60-year-old category. In 1938, 31 Jews still lived in Kirchen: only 10% of these remaining Jews belonged to the under-30 age group in Kirchen. On the other hand, almost 55% of the remaining Jews were over 60 years old.

The population pyramid of Kirchen stood on its head. The year 1939, especially the events of the so-called "crystal night"13 on November 9th, 1938, opened the eyes of even the most good-natured and least skeptical to the real intentions of the National Socialists.

The Night of the National Pogrom (Kristallnacht / Crystal Night), 9 November, 1938

excerpt from the Upper-Baden People's Newspaper

newspaper caption: "The German" [reporter stationed in Paris] reports on the "spontaneous demonstrations of hatred for the Jews" in Markgräferland in the wake of the death of attaché Rath in Paris.

The so-called "people's rage" that erupted in the wake of the "cowardly Jewish assassination in Paris of the German attaché, Ernst von Rath" - as the headline of the Upper-Baden People's Newspaper of November 11th, 1938 referred to the act - exposed the entirely ruthless bigotry of the National Socialists. This rage also caught on in the Jewish communities of the Markgräferland.

Even in Kirchen the Synagogue and nearby school were "damaged badly by unknown outsiders, probably SA (Storm Troopers) or SS (Security Detail) under the leadership of the sitting mayor of Haltingen. Moreover, Jewish males were removed by the Gestapo to the concentration camp at Dachau, where they stayed for a week and then returned to their places of residence." [footnote 319]

This event was reported as follows in the Upper-Baden People's Newspaper:

Kirchen, November 12th. Out of indignation over the cowardly Jewish act of murder committed in Paris, the Synagogue there was destroyed. The books and scrolls kept in the Synagogue were confiscated. During the search of the premises, two knives used in the kosher butchering process were also discovered, even though these should, according to law, have been delivered [to state authorities] after the edict banning kosher butchering was passed. The Jewish males who still live here were taken into custody.14"

Although this report claims that two butcher knives were found on the premises, a message kindly shared with the author by Mr. Alfred Rosenberg indicates that the knives had already been taken to the courthouse in Kirchen in April of 1933, after publication of the decree banning kosher slaughter.

Exactly how these events played out in Kirchen will most likely remain unknown. One thing is certain: a delegation of the Nazi party, under the leadership of the mayor of Haltingen, came from Haltingen; plundered the Synagogue; threw out into the street and the surrounding yard ritual objects as well as kitchenware taken from the upstairs apartment of the former teacher; and destroyed the sanctuary of the synagogue. The extent to which the citizens of Kirchen took part in this act of barbarism remains unknown. The Jews of Kirchen were rounded up and forced to watch the terrible spectacle of the destruction of their holy place. The 8th graders at the local elementary school were taken to see the destroyed synagogue on the following morning.

Afterwards, the men were taken into "protective custody" and delivered to the concentration camp at Dachau. "For the first time ever, Jewish males were taken away from their homes by members of the Gestapo and police organizations during the noon hour between the 8th and the 10th of November, 1938, after which they were brought to the jailhouse in Lörrach. They could take a specified small amount of underclothing and the like with them. From there, they were driven in delivery trucks to Dachau. After about 6 to 8 weeks, the Jews in question returned to their homes." The following Jews of Kirchen belonged to this number:

Alexander Bloch

Samuel Braunschweig

Jonas Olesheimer

Veist Bloch

Samuel Moses I

Alfred Weil

Marx Braunschweig

Samuel Moses II

Lehmann Wormser.

Similar events took place in the neighboring community of Lörrach.

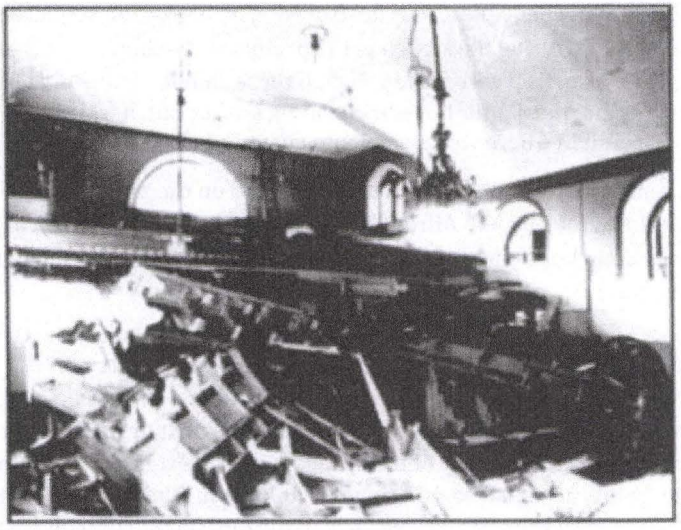


Photo caption: November Pogrom in Lörrach: the destroyed interior of the Lörrach Synagogue.

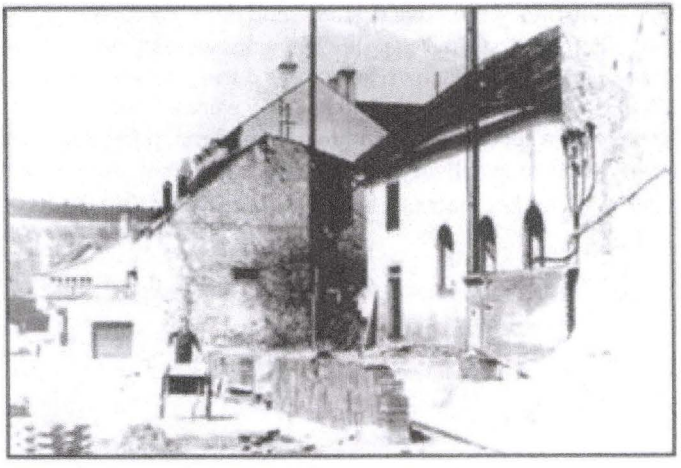


Photo caption: A view of the north side of the new marketplace before the November Pogrom. The light building is the Synagogue shortly before its demolition; nearby to the left is the Jewish School and the roof of the house at 17 Teich Street. Destroyed 1939/40.

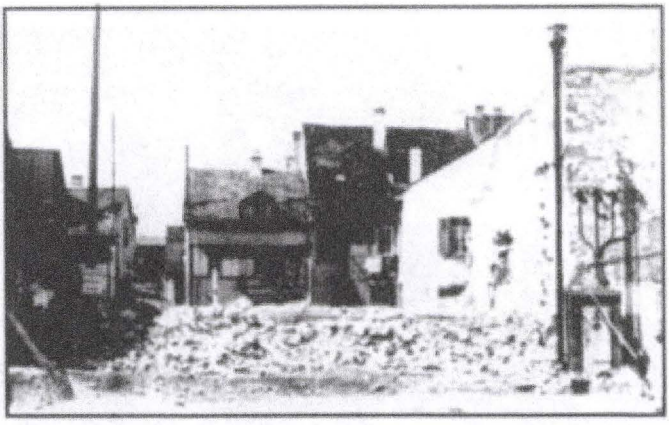


Photo caption: After the destruction of the Synagogue.

Newspaper excerpts on the top of page 101 are from the Upper-Baden People's Newspaper of November 11th and 12th, 1938. I didn't spend much time with these excerpts, because Fraktur starts to give me a headache after a while =) However, I spent enough time with them to have discovered the following:

The excerpt on the left depicts the November Pogrom in Lörrach as just one more in a series of national acts carried out by ordinary citizens who are outraged by the heinous Jewish-planned and -executed assassination of the German attaché Rath in Paris.

Meanwhile, the excerpt on the right presents the destruction of the Synagogue in Lörrach as great news - we can finally follow the city planning commission's advice and expand the market square, because that pesky Synagogue is out of our way now. The news item is introduced with the words "The market square is going to get bigger!"

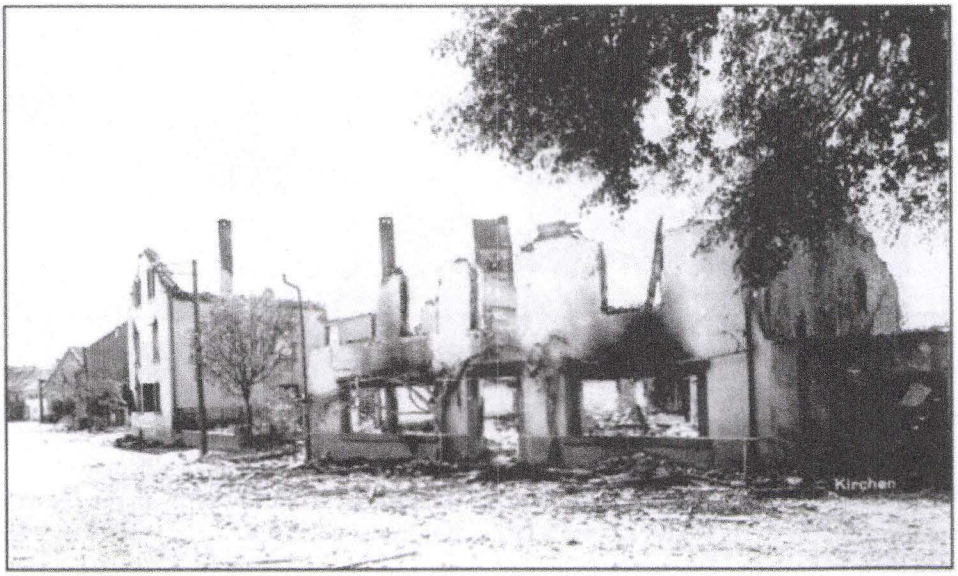


Photo caption: Kirchen after the shelling of 1940

The ruins of the Synagogue in Kirchen were ultimately destroyed by the shelling of Kirchen in 1940 and were later removed.

Up until the events of November 1938, a number of Jews would not have wanted to leave Kirchen for all the world. These events were the last incentive needed to convince them that it was time to emigrate.

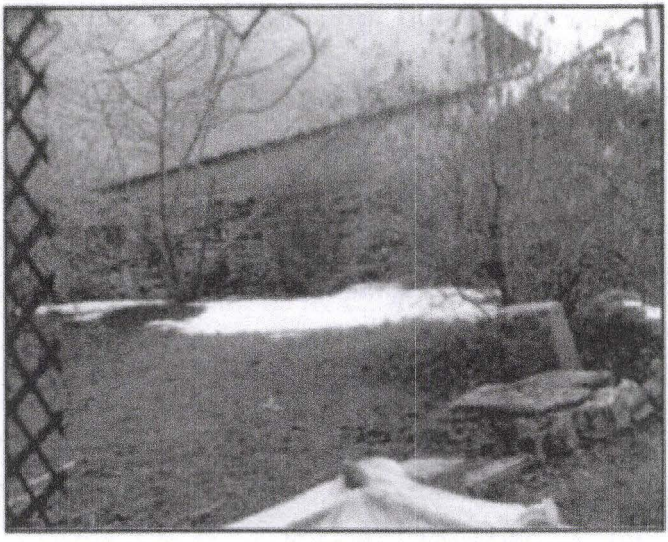


Photo caption: location of the former synagogue

Emigration from the Jewish community of Kirchen

In the years 1933 - 1941, the following numbers emigrated from Kirchen and Baden and Württemberg, respectively:

	from Kirchen:	from Baden and Württemberg:
1933	7.2%	11.2%
1934	2.4%	6.5%
1935	7.3%	5.3%
1936	4.8%	11.0%
1937	17.0%	11.6%
1938	53.6%	21.5%
1939	4.8%	26.8%
1940	2.4%	3.9%
1941	-	1.8%

The year 1938, with 53.6% of all the immigration that took place between these years, was the principal emigration year in Kirchen. 92.7% of all those Jews in Kirchen who were willing to emigrate did so before 1939, whereas only 67% of Jewish emigrants from Baden and Württemberg left before 1939. Possible reasons for the relatively early departure of

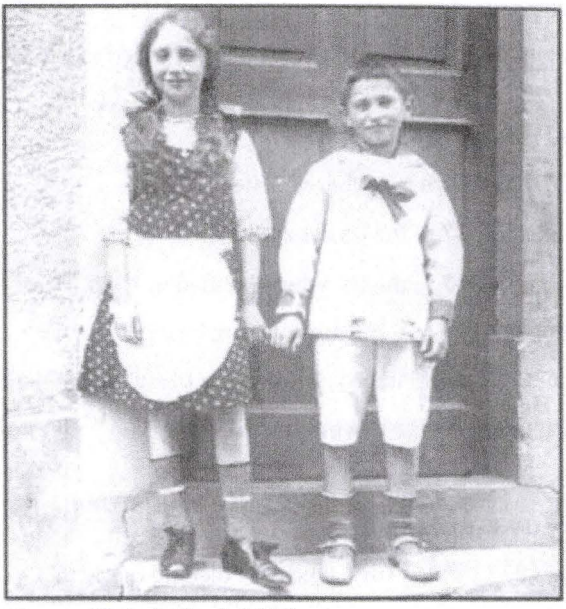
Kirchen's Jews include Kirchen's proximity to both France and Switzerland and, perhaps above all else, connections with relatives and acquaintances living abroad.

Exactly where did the members of Kirchen's Jewish community go during these years? The US tops the list with 64% of all those Jews who emigrated from Kirchen, followed by France with 7 persons (17% of all emigrants) and Switzerland with 6 persons (15% of all emigrants).

			to the US	to Switzerland	to France	to Palestine
1933	3 people	7.2%		2 (4.9%)	1 (2.4%)	
1934	1 person	2.4%		1 (2.4%)		
1935	3 people	7.3%	2 (4.9%)			1 (2.4%)
1936	2 people	2.4%	1 (2.4%)			1 (2.4%)
1937	7 people	17.1%	6 (14.6%)	1 (2.4%)		
1938	22 people	53.7%	16 (39%)		6 (14.69%)	
1939	2 people	4.9%		2 (4.9%)		
1940	1 person	2.4%	1 (2.4%)			
	41 persons	100%	26 (63.4%)	6 (14/6%)	7 (17/1%)	2 (4.8%)

It has been observed that, in the first years of the emigration, 1933 - 1935, those Jews who emigrated were primarily young or relatively young; only later, during the time of increasingly

oppressive reprisals, were older Jews forced to emigrate. This observation, however, is not valid in the case of Kirchen.



Alice and Jakob Bloch 1916



Photo Caption: a cheerful group of children in Kirchen, 1932. From left to right: David Bloch, Julius Bloch, Johanna Braunschweig, Sophie Braunschweig, Paula Bloch, Margot Braunschweig, Alex Bloch

Who were these members of Kirchen's Jewish community who were forced to leave their former homeland?

The following people emigrated directly from Kirchen:

Norbert Moses, in December 1936 to Norwich NY, where he died

Julius Bloch, on the 17th of November, 1937 to the US, where he died

Jakob Bloch, on the 29th of November, 1937 to the US, where he died in 1988

David Bloch, on the 29th of November, 1937 to Oxford, NY, where he died

Auguste Bloch/Wachenheimer, on the 25th of January, 1938 to the US, where he died

Irma Betty Bloch, on the 25th of January 1938 to Huntington, NY

Marion Bloch, on the 25th of January, 1938 to the US

Sally Bloch, on the 25th of January, 1938 to the US

Eugen Moses, on the 5th of March, 1938 to New York, where he died on the 11th of November, 1976

David Braunschweig, in July of 1938 to New York

Julius Braunschweig, in July of 1938 to New York

Sophie Kessler / Braunschweig in July 1938 to New York
Frieda Braunschweig / Levi In July 1938 to New York, died there in 1962

Isak Brunswick In July 1938 to New York, died there in 1960

Alex Bloch to the USA in 1938

Marx Braunschweig 1938 to the USA, died there shortly after immigration

Regina Braunschweig / Levi to the USA

Max Braunschweig 1938 to New York, died there 1940

Sophie Meier / Braunschweig 1938 to Brooklyn NY, died there

Manfred Moses 1938 to San Francisco

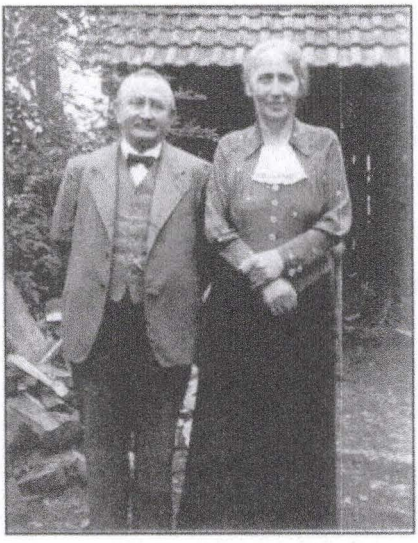
Crossing Switzerland to the USA:

Veist Bloch 30.5.1939 to Zurich 1941 to the USA, died there in 1941

Bertha Bloch 30.5.1939 to Zurich 1941 to the USA, died there in 1956

Dr. Leo Baum 05.3.1933 to Basel later USA

Johanna Braunschweig 1941 to Basel later USA



Veist and Bertha Bloch in 1935

Migrated to the USA via Darmstadt:

Ludwig Alfred Rosenberg 17.5.1935 to Darmstadt subsequently in 1938 to USA, died there 2005

Alice Mirjam Rosenberg / Bloch 17.5.1935 to Darmstadt then 1938 to USA, died there 1986

The following Kirchen Jews Moved to Switzerland and remained:

Denise Braunschweig / left on 27.9.1934 to Basel, died there

Rosa Bloch 1935 to Basel

First emigrated to Switzerland and moved from there to another country:

Veist Bloch (See USA) 30.5.1939 to Zurich from there USA died in 1941

Bertha Bloch (See USA) 30.5.1939 to Zurich from there USA died 1956

Dr. Leo Baum (See USA) 05.3.1933 to Basel from there USA

Ruthweil / Mendelssohn 1934 to Reinach 1935 to Palestine

Moved to Gailingen and later moved to Switzerland:

Clara Harburger 3.1 1.1937 then to Lengnau.

Emigrated to France and stayed there:

Thekla Klein t 3.2.1968 i. Lorquin

Henriette Olesheimer 1 1.7.1938 to Besancon, died there

Emilie Lieberles 07.6.1933 to Trimbach, there died in bombing

First moved to France and moved from there to Switzerland:

Leopold Braunschweig 11.7.1938 after Besancon then to Basel, died there

Rebekka Braunschweig 11.7.1938 after Besancon then to Basel, died there

Johanna Braunschweig 11.7.1938 to Besancon, then Basel, then USA

The following citizens emigrated to Palestine:

Ruth Weil/Mendelssohn, July 10th, 1935 to Israel (see Switzerland)

Rosa Weil, February 21st, 1936 to Israel



Henriette Olesheimer

(The members of the family Alperowitz, who also once lived in Kirchen, are not included in these statistics, because they had already lived for over ten years in Müllheim and carried out their emigration from there.)

A total of 41 people left Kirchen between 1933 – 1940; their departure completely derailed the life of the Jewish community, which had been functioning only to a limited degree up to that point. Thus, worship services no longer took place; indeed, the synagogue was destroyed. Leopold Braunschweig, who had served up until that point as cantor and teacher, left the community in July of 1938.



Leopold Braunschweig

The number of laws passed after the pogrom night on the 9th of November, 1938 came thick and fast. In this way, Jews were forbidden to enter theaters, movie theaters, exhibitions, concerts, cabaret shows, museums, guest houses, swimming pools, playing fields, etc. Indeed, the Judenbann (ban on Jews) made it possible for cities or communities to designate specified portions of the city or community as so-called "off-limits areas" for Jews.

Jews were required to turn in their drivers' licenses and car registration documents. They were forced to hand over to the state without compensation their radios, electrical appliances, typewriters, bicycles, woolens; indeed, even any expendable clothing. Telephone connections were terminated. Jews were forbidden to use public telephone booths as well as public transportation. They were no longer allowed to purchase newspapers, and their children were allowed to attend neither public schools, Jewish private schools, nor universities. In the April 30th, 1939 law concerning the renting of property to Jews, rent controls and protections against eviction were abolished for Jews. Jews could be forced to house strangers of Jewish blood in their apartments. Jewish landlords were allowed to rent their apartments only to Jews. Later, Jews were forced out of their apartments and crowded together in terribly cramped quarters known as "Jew Houses." The ghetto of the middle ages found its way back into Germany. The fate of Frau Hammel illustrates this. Frau Hammel wanted to move from Offenburg to Kirchen in August of 1939. Her request, however, was declined for the reason that it was not "in the interests of the community of Kirchen." Instead, she was expected to look for a Jewish apartment in Offenburg.

On the 3rd of September, 1939, the civilians in the villages of the Markgrafland that lie near the Rhein were evacuated, including the entire population of Kirchen. Most of the Jews from Kirchen ended up in Constance, but a small portion ended up in Schopfheim. In December, the civilians were allowed back into their homes, but the Jews were not allowed to return to Kirchen. They lived in Constance for the most part in Tägermoos Street, Döbele Street, Sigesmund Street, and Rhein Alley, in the vicinity of the destroyed synagogue. If they wanted to look after the belongings and the homes they had left behind that had not yet been confiscated, they were required to obtain the permission of a provincial government minister and to announce both their arrival and their departure to the mayor's office. [footnote 321]

Rent was not paid to Kirchen's Jews for the apartments that they had left behind, even though the majority of these apartments were occupied and the Jews were required to pay rent in Constance or elsewhere.

A decree issued by the national minister for nutrition and agriculture arranged for the sale of all pieces of farmland that still remained in Jewish hands to (German/Aryan) farmers as quickly as possible. The mayor's office [in Kirchen, presumably] thereupon shared the following information: "The agricultural lots, fields, and pastures that belong to the Jews are small parcels that lie in a variety of districts and allotments; these parcels are not suited to settlement, but can be disposed of only to current farmers or neighboring land-owners. A disposal of these lots is not possible, however, due to prevailing conditions: real estate sales in the border zone at this time have come to a complete standstill." [footnote 322]

On the 6th of February, 1940, Alfred Israel Weil, who was living in Constance at the time, requested permission to retrieve the linens and furniture that he had left behind in his apartment in Kirchen. He was granted approval to do this. When Alfred Weil, for reasons of ill health, allowed the deadline for retrieving his possessions to pass and requested a new deadline, the provincial government was not allowed to grant the request, but must, instead, refer it to the local Gestapo office, which responded thus: "There is no doubt that the Jew Weil will henceforth attempt to capitalize on the grace of the authorities using tried and true Jewish methods." [footnote 323] The events of the war rendered Kirchen completely "free" of Jews. The district of Baden was likewise slated to become "free" of Jews in the very near future.

The "Robert Wagner Campaign."



Photo caption: Reichsconsul and district leader Robert Wagner in the year 1934 on Röttler Street.

With the German victory over France, the district leader of Baden, Robert Wagner, saw an opportunity to solve the "Jewish Question" once and for all – at least in his district. "In a discretionary interpretation of an agreement reached between the German Cease-Fire Committee in Wiesbaden under General von Stülpnagel and the French delegation under General Huntziger as a representative of the Vichy Government," Wagner and Joseph Bürkel (district leader of Saarland-Pfalz and Lothringen) found a way to deport the Jews in their region. This agreement between the Germans and the French "called for the deportation of all Jews in the Alsace and in Lothringen to the unoccupied part of France" [footnote 324]. Wagner and Joseph used this agreement as justification to order the eviction of all Jews living in Baden, Pfalz, and the Saarland. This eviction was to take place on the 22nd of October, 1940 under cover of darkness. With this plan, a long-established group of citizens, rooted deeply in their homeland, would be evicted from the villages and cities where they lived.

5,362 Jews from Baden [footnote 325]; that is, 82.5% of the total of 6,500 Jews living in the three affected districts were herded in the shortest possible time into trucks and driven to the nearest sizable railyard, where they were then shunted off into special trains and deported into the unoccupied territory of France by way of Belfort. Most of the Jews deported in this campaign had not even one hour's time to put together and bring along the requisite belongings (50 kg of luggage and at most 100 Reichsmarks in cash per person.)

Image caption: The Secret Service's Confirmation of Completion regarding the deportation of the Jews in Baden and Pfalz.

As this mass deportation was being carried out in Lörrach and Grenzach, the Jewish community had already completely left Kirchen. The files from the national archive in Freiburg give us information about the deportation in the form of the August 30th, 1946 report of the regional government office in Lörrach, which notes that:

"Then on the 22nd of October, 1940, all male and female Jews with their children and with a bit of luggage were taken from their dwellings and gathered together by the Gestapo and political organizations in the early morning hours. Thereafter, they were brought to Freiburg, from whence they were then to be transported further to Gurske (!). During the evacuation, hate-filled anti-Semitic onlookers and other elements of this type gathered. Some of the onlookers hurled taunts at the Jews, but stones or other similar objects were not thrown at the transport" [footnote 327].



Photo caption: Jews from the Markgraf region were gathered in the market square at Lörrach on the 22nd of October, 1940 and transported in trucks to Freiburg for a train journey.

The report from Grenzach read as follows: "As far as can be determined, the evacuation of the two married couples named Bloch (they came from Kirchen) was carried out by the Gestapo using a truck. The furniture as well as household items and fabric (Bloch was a travelling fabric merchant) were impounded by the Gestapo and partially auctioned off, partially loaded by the Gestapo into a car and taken away" [footnote 328].

The destination of this journey was Gurs, a large camp at the foot of the Pyrenees established by the French government in May of 1939 for approximately 7,000 anticipated refugees of the Spanish Civil War.

The first internees were soldiers of the Spanish Republic and anti-fascist civilians; they were joined by an equally large number of over 6000 volunteers in the International Brigade, who had fought on the side of the Republic. These volunteers came from all parts of Europe, a mixed community of predominantly socialist or communist origin. Many of them could not or would not return to their homelands in central Europe, which were either occupied or had become totalitarian states. The majority of them wanted to take up the fight against Hitler, either as members of the French Resistance or as members of the resistance movements of their own countries, which often operated outside of the country of origin. In the first months of the year 1940, the camp gradually emptied itself because the Spanish refugees were needed to help build the French line of defense or to work in the weapons industry. A few joined the Foreign Legion in North Africa. After France's defeat in June of 1940, many Spaniards ended up in captivity with the French forces. They were later carried off to German concentration camps in an agreement with the cooperating French government in Vichy.

In May of 1940, the Germans invaded Holland, Belgium, Luxemburg and northeastern France. Many people who had already fled once from the National Socialists because of their identities as Jews, anti-Fascists, or intellectuals opposed to the Nazi regime found themselves on the run once again, branded as "undesirables." By the end of October, 1940 many of them had been interned in the Gurs camp, along with approximately 6500 Jews from Baden and Saarland-Pfalz. Among these internees were many elderly, ill persons, and children. When France was forced to cede power to Germany and the cooperative Vichy government was established in unoccupied southern France, not only foreign Jews but also French Jews were interned, along with those French citizens who opposed the Vichy government.



map shows the number of Jews deported into various locations in the Pyrenees as of October 22nd, 1940.

The following 28 Jews from Kirchen were affected by the "Robert Wagner Campaign," as carried out in various communities of Baden, and deported to Gurs:

(The list below includes those Jews who were either born or married in Kirchen. Of the 18 who were deported to Gurs, 8 were no longer living in Kirchen in 1939.)

Name	From	Further fate
Anna Bloch (68.4)	Lörrach	presumed dead in Auschwitz (Aug, 1942)
Bertha Bloch (69.0)	Lörrach	died in Gurs, November 19th, 1940
Selma Bloch (68.3)	Lörrach	presumed dead Auschwitz (August, 1942)
Sophie Bloch (75.0)	Lörrach	died in Auschwitz, Aug. 14th, 1942

Friederike Braunschweig (102.0)	Schopfheim	died in Auschwitz
Samuel Braunschweig (102.0)	Schofpheim	missing in Gurs
Kaufmann Freund (104.0)	Sandhausen	died in Gurs, October 17th, 1941
Emma Freund (104.0)	Sandhausen	died in Gurs, September 16th, 1941
Adolf Geismar (107.8)	Pforzheim	died in Gurs, December 25th, 1940
Simon Hammel (112.0)	Offenburg	died in Gurs, December 16th, 1940
Mina Moses (150.4)	Frankreich	died in Auschwitz
Nathan Moses (161.0)	Karlsruhe	died in Marseille, May 31st, 1944
Betty Moses (161.0)	Karlsruhe	died in Auschwitz, 1944
Robertine Moses (160.0)	Constance	died in Gurs, December 12th, 1940
Rosa Moses (158.0)	Constance	died in Auschwitz
Samuel Moses I (158.0)	Constance	died in Auschwitz
Samuel Moses (148.1)	Schopfheim	died in Auscwitz
Emma Olesheimer (166.0)	Constance	died in Gurs, December 5th, 1940
Jonas Olesheimer (166.1)	Constance	died in Auschwitz, August 10th, 1942
Julius Roos (712.0)	Bühl	died in Auschwitz
Mina Roos (172.0)	Bühl	died in Auschwitz
Alfred Weil (198.0)	Constance	died in Auschwitz
Rosa Weil (198.0)	Constance	died in Auschwitz
Lina Weil (197.0)	Constance	died in Noe February 27th, 1943
Lehmann Wormser (203.0)	Constance	
Signumd Harburger (115.0)	Constance	died in France, January 2nd, 1947
Fanny Harburger (115.0)	Constance	died in Israeli nursing home, Lengnau
Regina Bloch (71.0)	Constance	died in Paris, May 9th, 1951

The conditions in Gurs were reported by Maurice Meier in his 1946 book, "Letters to my Son." [footnote 329]. I'll let Maurice Meier have his say here; he is, after all, closely bound by family ties to the former Jewish community in Kirchen.

Maurice Meier, born in 1893 in Nonnenweier, is a stepson of Sophie Braunschweig from Kirchen, who married the widowed salesman Max Meier from Nonnenweier in 1901. This

marriage produced a daughter in 1904, Senta Meier, who emigrated to the US in 1934 and got married there.

Maurice Meier married Martha Abraham from Rust in 1923. Shortly after the wedding, they moved to Tiengen/Hochrein, where they purchased a substantial agricultural operation and farmed. Their two children, Ernst and Ilse-Jeannette were also born here. Shortly after Hitler's rise to power, they sold their property: the situation there in the early years of the Jewish persecution quickly became unbearable. They acquired the former farmland of the monastery of St. Radegund in northern France, which they cultivated together with additional relatives. In 1939, Maurice Meier was imprisoned as an enemy alien, was released again after a short time, but was once again arrested by German troops after the 1940 occupation of France and was taken to Gurs. Here he met with his relatives from Kirchen and Nonnenweier, who had arrived just days before as part of the 6500 Jews deported from Baden and Saarland-Pfalz. During this time, he wrote the letters to his son, which, in addition to depicting the terrible misery of Gurs, represent an educational achievement of the highest order. The entire family Meier was killed in the Auschwitz concentration camp. Maurice himself was able to flee to Switzerland in 1944 and emigrated to the US in 1946 as a physically and mentally broken man. (For more on the life and fate of the family Meier, see the chapter "Fates and Destinies").



Maurice Meier reports:

"...alone, like a ship on the sea, lies the Gurs camp, in the middle of this treeless and shadowless region. Already from a great distance one can see the French flag waving from an elevated point over the camp entrance. A few meters inside the boundary fence, the cars stopped and we alighted. The fear that washed over me with my first impression of the place lessened as we were directed here and there in the camp and I heard the dialects of Baden

and Saarland-Pfalz being spoken. The sounds of my ancestral mother tongue, which I had not heard in years, made me feel at home." [footnote 330]

"The barracks to which we were shown were empty and without light. So one adjusted oneself on the first night as well as one could in the darkness and on the bare floor without a pallet. We all pulled close together and in that way warmed one another. When someone rose in the night to visit the outhouse, the entire self-contained row was set in motion like an accordion...I will try to describe Gurs. The barracks in which we are housed is made of wood. There are gaps the size of one's finger between the planks that comprise the walls, and no moulding has been installed to cover up these gaps. We stopped them up with paper, grass, and dirt. The window frames have no glass or other form of protection from the elements. With a plank of wood, it's possible to close up the openings, and this we do at night. In the day, once we have removed the planks, light comes in, along with rain and wind. The roof is covered with tar paper, but it has been torn to tatters by the elements. The rain-drenched patches on the floor allow one to see where it has leaked during rainy weather. There is a door in each front wall. There are wooden ties embedded in the ground. Perhaps a hardwood floor was once installed there, and others, who came before us, used it for some purpose or built a warming fire with it. There are absolutely no interior fittings. Neither table nor chair, nor light nor bed nor stove is at hand. I estimate that there are approximately twenty-five to thirty barracks in this little secured island." [footnote 331]

image caption on p 112: Letter from Gurs written on the 25th of November, 1940 by Samuel Braunschweig (I can't make out the handwriting very well, but it looks like Samuel Braunschweig is responding to a letter that he received in Gurs on the 20th of November, so there must have been mail service both to and from the camp.)

"The toilet facilities, which can be used by about fifteen people at the same time, are laid out in the form of a terrace. One must climb a few steps to reach them. For those who have had a foot amputated, the process of relieving themselves is stressful and difficult because they must climb the stairs balanced on one foot. Several water faucets are mounted over a long trough. There, one uses the toilet and washes anything that needs to be washed. ... Daily there is about 250 grams of bread and coffee morning, noon, and night. Food is collected from the kitchen in a bucket, barrack by barrack. ... This secured island is surrounded by a double row of narrow-mesh barbed wire. The sentinels who keep watch at the entrance allow only those who have proper travel passes to come in and out. We are people of many nations. Perhaps two to three percent of the population on our secured island is Aryan. Even larger is the percentage of baptized Jews ... The camp street is about 1.5 kilometers long, to the left and right of it lie the individual secured islands of barracks. Each has a double row of barbed wire around it. Each secured island has a single exit to the street, and this is guarded day and night. A strip of several meters wide, the so-called "neutral land," divides one secured island from another. The entire camp itself is surrounded with yet another sturdy fence of barbed wire." [footnote 332]

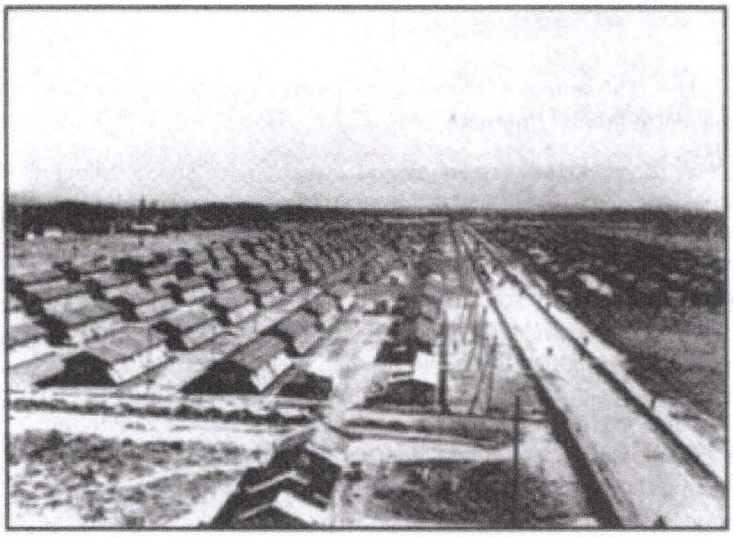
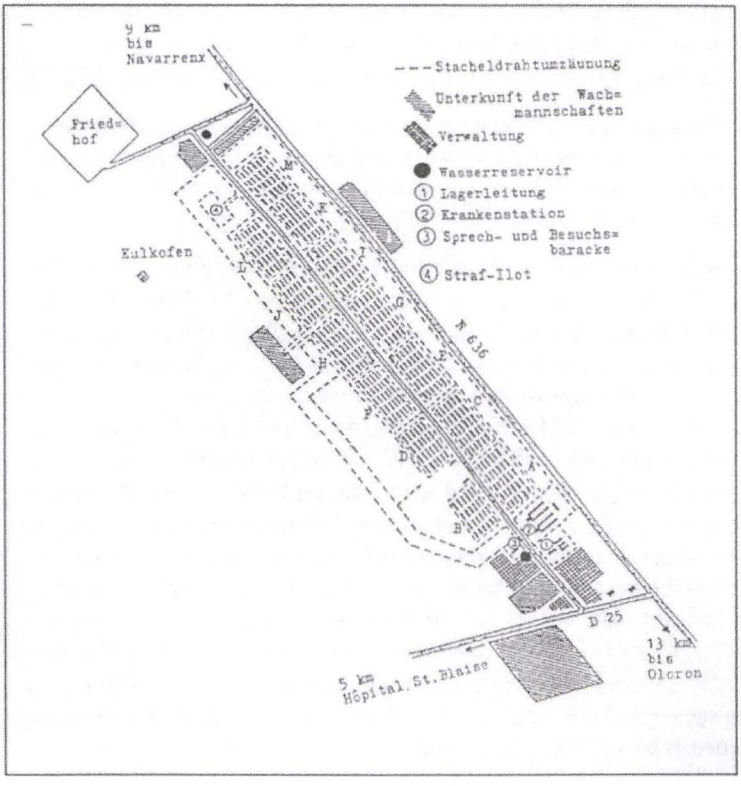


photo caption at top of p 113: The Gurs camp on the edge of the Pyrenees



key to the camp diagram on p 113:

Stacheldrahtumzäunung = barbed wire fencing

Unterkunft der Wachmannschaften = guards' quarters

Verwaltung = headquarters

Wasserreservoir = water reservoir

Lagerleitung = camp administration

Krankenstation = infirmary

Sprech- und Besuchsbaracke = consultation and visiting barracks

Straf-Ilot = punishment island (Ilot is a French word that has the connotation of a fenced off, well secured, isolated place)

Friedhof = cemetery

Kalkofen = limekiln

image caption at top of p 114: Camp Decree: Attempt to Escape. (The penalties for a first escape attempt involved imprisonment [probably in the camp "punishment island"] of a duration to be determined by the camp director. Penalties for the second escape attempt were doubled. Those attempting to escape more than twice were turned over to another, nearby camp called Le Vernet. This camp seems to have functioned more formally as a concentration camp than the camp at Gurs.)

"You must surely be astonished to receive so much mail from Gurs. Yes, our entire family and many acquaintances are here; I have spoken to most of them already ... Why did they not leave Germany? There are many reasons. Some were in the concentration camp at Dachau; some were unable to get a passport; all were unable to obtain an exit visa to any country. All are destitute, grown poor through the confiscation of their possessions. No one suspected the impending banishment. They received orders to be ready to travel in an hour with 30 kg of luggage. ... Each was allowed to keep 200 Marks in paper currency. They were prevented at gunpoint from taking any more assets or objects of value. Nevertheless, there were many who brought jewelry here. They had noticed a weakness for gold among the followers of Hitler's system and knew that favors might be bestowed upon them for having gold." [footnote 333]

"The internees were exploited on all sides and drained like aphids by ants. ...

It is upsetting to be forced to watch how the emaciated dead bodies in the early morning, frozen to the ground and to the bone, are loaded on the corpse wagon and transported away: ten to twenty people each day; that is, more in 24 hours than there were earlier in an entire week. The Jewish Welfare Committee, the Quakers, and the Swiss Humanitarian Aid make vain efforts to stem the tide of deaths from hunger and cold and give additional food to a portion of the needy." [footnote 334].

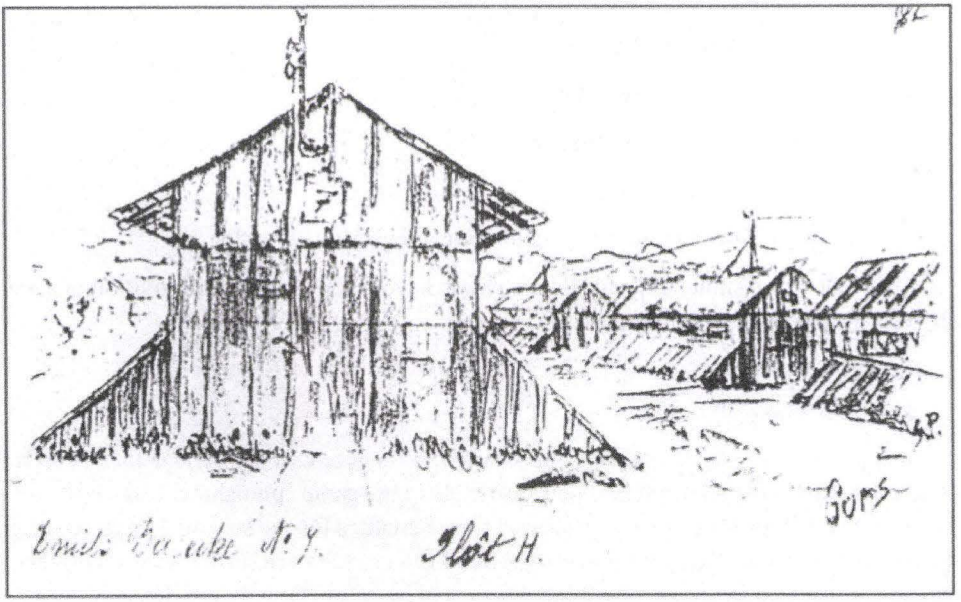


illustration caption at the bottom of p 114: drawing of the camp barracks in Gurs

"The days here are dismal and drab. The dark, heavy, tattered clouds hang low. The storm howls and causes the barracks to tremble. The rain flows uninterrupted in thick, smooth strands to the earth and soaks the ground. The internees, struggling forward in the sticky morass, are soaked through and smudged with mud. Behind the grey, wind-tossed veils of rain, human forms appear in the twilight as misty figures, shadows of the unearthly dead, rising before our eyes from their crypts. Gurs resembles a wasted field of corpses that reeks of decay. Even when I close my eyes, I cannot banish this vision, because the nightmarish image of nameless horrors penetrates the pores into the internal sight." [footnote 335].

"Diarrhea spreads quite quickly throughout the entire camp, and even strong internees are beset by it. Those with diarrhea now die relatively more quickly than those who are starving. Many who are seized by it are no longer able to squat over the toilet without assistance. Those so afflicted have, for that reason, paired up. One accompanies the other to the toilet and holds onto him by the hands while there. Two men in this situation have hardly returned to the barracks when the other one must return immediately to the toilet. ... And so go dozens of pairs uninterrupted back and forth, one supporting the other, day and night without rest. But there is no other way to solve this problem; it's a sensible, mutual form of assistance [footnote 336]."

"At this time, we in Gurs represent approximately 7000 internees abandoned by the world and deprived of all rights. In the past weeks, an average of 100 persons per week starved" [footnote 337].

"He who has even once seen these exposed, emaciated bodies with dry, dead hair will never again in his life forget the image. There are more than a few whose skin resembles the parchment pages of old books, or is completely dry and scaly. Great is the number of those whose skin is crusted over and covered in seeping blisters induced by vermin, scratches, and filth" [footnote 338].

"In each barracks can be found those who lie in the straw and who are apparently still sleeping. These are the ones who are lightheaded and miserable with hunger. For most of these, it is only a matter of days before they fall into eternal sleep." [footnote 339] "For some time now, there has been talk of a new illness that, until now, seldom cropped up; it's called 'barbed wire fever.' This manifested itself in a fellow-sufferer in the following way: He is a man of about 55 years. He walks, as usual, back and forth inside the barbed wire fence of the secured island. Suddenly, he remains standing and stares incessantly at one of the spikes of wire. Slowly he backs away, as if backing away from a wild animal. Now he crouches in a position to spring. With panicked eyes and a speed that one would not have thought possible in this young gray-hair, he springs on the barbed wire, grabs it with both hands and shakes it wildly, as if he were choking a creature wrestling him for life or death. Finally, he bites into the barbed wire. After approximately five minutes he collapses, bleeding from hands and mouth. When he regained consciousness, he knew nothing of what had happened" [footnote 340].

"Because of my letters and all of the others that come from here, you know that the conditions in Gurs have been bad already for quite some time. That was then. Now the conditions are so bad that they can no longer even be described with words. The very stones sob and the earth cries out to the Creator because of the more-than bestial brutality with which the heartless overlords prey upon their internees and allow them to starve. That which was said earlier by only a few is now the wish of almost all: to have it as good as the swine, with so much straw and their feed ..." [footnote 341].

The conditions in Gurs improved somewhat in 1941. Through the intervention of family members and acquaintances living abroad, many of the deported persons obtained permission to emigrate to another country. A portion of those imprisoned at Gurs were transferred to new camps in the area, such as Noe, Riversalles, and Recebedou.

In August of 1942, many of those still living in Gurs were given the certain death sentence of a further deportation to Auschwitz. Heydrich, Eichmann and companions were successful, through continual pressure on Petain's government, in transferring thousands of former German Jews by way of camp Drancy into the extermination camps of Auschwitz and Lublin-Majdanek.

The groundwork for executing the so-called Final Solution had been partially, unintentionally, and gradually laid through administrative channels in France since 1940. The Jews of foreign extraction had been interned in camps since the autumn of 1940. In the occupied as well as unoccupied parts of France, Jews had been systematically captured. These measures were completed in March of 1942 through the first German Orders of Deportation to the East.

The French police supplied the assistance mandated by the Germans and endorsed by the Vichy government. 40,000 Jews from France were to be brought on a work detail into the Auschwitz camp and, indeed, as a means of atoning for assassination attempts against members of the German army, just as the German Army Commander of occupied France, Otto von Stülpnagel, desired.

The Vichy Government cooperated with this program. In doing so, the Vichy Government hoped to exert a positive influence on the treatment of French prisoners of war in Germany while simultaneously ensuring its continued existence by means of its pro-German acts of cooperation. The Jews from the unoccupied areas were loaded at the demarcation line into German freight trucks and transported to the east by way of the central gathering spot of Drancy. In the southern French camps, the assembly of transport trains, which consisted of cattle cars, began on August 5th. Acting on the orders of the local prefect, the camp leaders did not tell the internees that their travel destination - Drancy - was only temporary. Rolf Weinstock, one of the few deportees to have survived Auschwitz, remembers the departure from Gurs still quite clearly in his 1948 chronicle: [footnote 342]

"On the evening of the 5th of August, I was summoned to our usual camp briefing. ... A pleasant gathering always took place after the briefing; that had already become a regular practice. Two masters of music and a female vocalist entertained us with exquisite selections. ... And then suddenly the door was yanked open. We looked around, surprised. The vocalist stopped. With a frightened and unsteady look, she stood before us and gestured with her outstretched hand towards the door. ... In the door stood two men clothed in new, black uniforms. One of these men had a thick, silver cord hanging over his shoulder. With keenly focused eyes, they surveyed us. ... 'The writing on the wall - SS!' we asked ourselves, but only with our eyes. Our lips were tightly closed. The men looked keen and reckless - compact, heavy figures. They stood there like animals ready to pounce. ... The director [of the camp] looked into our room over the shoulders of the two uniformed men and said "Carry on!" With trembling voice, the vocalist finished the interrupted song. - "When comes the hour that parts us?" Had that hour already arrived? The hour! Could there be any "carrying on"? Homeless, without protection - to where should we carry on?"

image caption at the top of page 116: French ID Card with the "Jew" Stamp

On the following day, things looked wretched in the Gurs camp, which was surrounded by French police. Those internees affected by the orders to move were required to wait for hours in the camp for the transport. Mountains of cases and sacks lay in the street. The

people had become old and grey overnight. Those families who were to be torn apart were hit hardest by the terrible news of the deportation. It was not long before a rumor popped up that the transport was going to Poland. Many of the internees had a sense of foreboding which told them that the official justification for their "journeys" wasn't quite right; that the talk of going to a "work detail" or a "family reunification" or a move to a better camp was simply not true.

As a result of this mass deportation, a kind of "suicide epidemic" broke out, as it did in the other camps, as well. "All saw doom before their eyes. No one wanted to move forward into that uncertainty. ... In just a few hours, the hospital was overflowing with people who had tried to slit their throats or wrists and who could still be saved at the very last moment from bleeding to death. For this very reason, the commander of the secret police, in his July 20th, 1942 'secret guidelines for the evacuation of Jews' explicitly recommended that a 'thorough search of the Jews for weapons, ammunition, explosives, poison ... [be] undertaken before the departure of the transport.'" These instructions were repeated verbatim by the local prefects to the camp leaders.

Terror and dread filled the people when they realized, upon arrival at the demarcation line in Chalon-sur-Saone, that the transports were entering the German-occupied area of France. "We neither could nor wanted to believe," reported Rolf Weinstock after the war, "that we would be delivered back into the hands of the barbarians, back to Hitler and his bandits. Even though Germany was our home, none of us wanted to stand on German soil again, until Germany was once again free and Hitler had been destroyed. Yet when we arrived at the demarcation line, we all abandoned our hope of being able to remain outside of Germany until Germany was free again" [footnote 343]. It wasn't just those who had been driven out of Baden who felt this way; rather, all of the refugees from Germany and Austria felt this way. Could this be the humanity of Germany, a country that wanted to conquer the world in the name of culture? Only on this extermination journey to the east did many of the refugees discover the true face of Hitler's Germany.

Of the 28 who were deported to Gurs, only 3, or 10.7%, survived. Eight people, or 28.5% starved in Gurs itself. The remaining 16, or 60.7%, were gradually carried off to one concentration camp or another and met their deaths there. 14 people - 50% - were carried off from Gurs to Auschwitz, where they all died.

One person from the neighboring camp of Noe also went to Auschwitz and also met death there.

I could discover no definitive news regarding the fate of Lehmann Wormser. It is highly probable that he died in one of the camps.

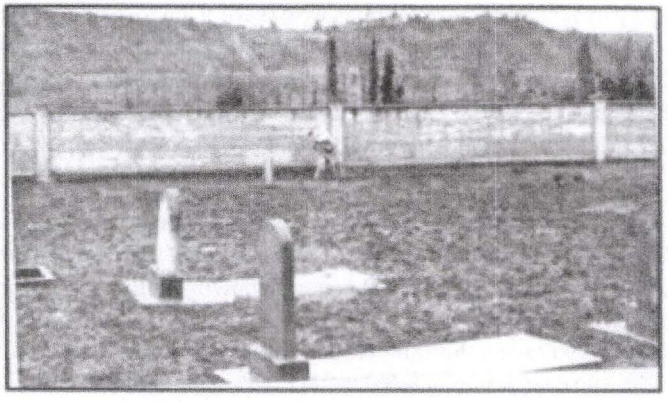


photo caption at the bottom of 117: The camp cemetery at Gurs

The Extermination Camps:

The name of "Auschwitz" must surely awaken the most terrible connotations of any place name known to Man. So much has already been written and told about Auschwitz; so many tears have already been shed because of Auschwitz that this work cannot be charged with the task of contributing another text, another story, another tear to the legacy. But 16 Jews from Kirchen lost their lives in Auschwitz. This is reason enough to cite a few lines from Kogon's "The SS State": [footnote 344]

"The large gassing complex in Auschwitz - or, rather, the complex that lay in Birkenau, but belonged to Auschwitz - consisted, in addition to 5 modern crematoria, of four underground gas bunkers, each with a gathering space that could hold an average of 1200 - 1500 people. The 5th crematorium had no ovens, but, instead, had an enormous glowing pit. The victims were lined up naked in front of this pit and shot down by the SS, so that the corpses or the wounded! fell immediately into the pit. The gassing complex was quite simple, yet refined. The facility looked like a bath-house and was identified as such to the victims. A sign in a changing room used the major European languages to indicate that one should leave one's clothes folded neatly and should tie one's shoes together, so that they wouldn't be lost. After the bath, there would be hot coffee. ... Depending upon the amount of gas, the death by suffocation took between four and five minutes.

Afterwards, the prisoners assigned to special duty pulled the bodies out, took their rings, and cut their hair, which was collected in sacks to be sent to mills for processing. ...

The primary victims of Auschwitz were Jews from every European country that had come under Hitler's domination. ... The record was set with 34,000 persons in a single, uninterrupted day and night cycle. ..."

In this place that was far more terrible than human imagination could envision, the following 16 people from Kirchen were murdered:

Margot Braunschweig (100.2):

She was seized in 1942 in France and transported to Auschwitz, where she was murdered on the 19th of August, 1942.

Samuel Braunschweig II (150.3):

He was likewise seized in the summer of 1942 in France, transported to Auschwitz, and murdered there.

The following persons were carried away from the Gurs Camp in the summer of 1942 to Auschwitz and murdered there:

Anna Bloch (68.4)

Selma Bloch (68.3)

Sophie Bloch (75.0)

Friederike Braunschweig (102.0)

Mina Moses (150.4)

Nathan Moses (161.0)

Betty Moses (161.0)

Rosa Moses (158.5)

Samuel Moses I (158.0)

Jonas Olesheimer (164.1)

Julius Roos (172.0)

Mina Roos (172.0)

Alfred Weil (198.0)

Rosa Weil (198.0).

It is probable that all of the above-named persons were transported from Gurs to Auschwitz on the 10th of August, 1942. By the 3rd of September, 1942, 9000 Jews had been brought from the unoccupied part of France into the Drancy Camp near Paris and then transported further east from there, above all to Auschwitz, where they met with death. Of the 4,464 Jews from Baden who were deported to Gurs, 2,028 were carried off from Gurs to Auschwitz and Lublin Majdanek. Of those, 99.4% died.

image at the bottom of page 118 is a copy of the missing person report filed for Margot Braunschweig after she was captured and sent off to Auschwitz

image at the top of page 119 is a copy of the last letter written by Margot Braunschweig. It was addressed to her grandmother and was written two days before her capture.

Theresienstadt: the Jewish Retirement Home of the Reich. [footnote 346]. This euphemism for the camp that stood at the confluence of the Eger and Elbe Rivers and that served as the gateway camp to the large extermination camps could not have been expressed more cynically. The former garrison town was, because of the strongly fortified grounds, an ideally situated and easily guarded area for the SS. But it was conceivably unfavorable for the elderly people who expected suitable accommodations and lifetime provisions through the so-called "home purchase plans" that they had managed to acquire with the last of their wealth16. On a small area of approximately 44 hectares stood, for the most part, nothing more than huge barracks, in which an average of 53,000 people were packed together. In spite of the propagandistic exhibition of the SS, who described Theresienstadt not just as "the Jewish Retirement Home of the Reich" but also as the "Jewish Settlement Area," from which Jews were deported for "a change of domicile," this camp was, from the very beginning, created as a stopping-off point on the way to the extermination camps in the east. The lack of the most basic things, such as bed frames, ovens, and running water combined with the terrible crowding - 1.6 square meters per person - to bring increasingly contagious epidemics upon the population. One such round of mass contagion and death was taking place during the time that the five former Jews of Kirchen were deported to Theresienstadt in August of 1942.

The five Jews from Kirchen who were deported to Theresienstadt were captured for this transport in Frankfurt: Frida Moses, who worked in a nursing home owned by the Rothschilds, was carried off to Theresienstadt along with her mother Bertha and her sister Elsa as well as the residents of the nursing whom, whom she escorted. Babette and Salomon Bloch, who were also staying in Frankfurt, were likewise deported to Theresienstadt. Salomon Bloch, the long-time director of the Jewish community in Kirchen, died in Theresienstadt on the 12th of September, 1942.

On the 23rd, 26th, and 29th of September, 1942 almost 6000 people were deported from Theresienstadt to the extermination camps in the east as part of a large campaign. In the jargon of the SS, they were taken to another "care ghetto." It's likely that Elsa and Frida Moses, who met death somewhere in the east, were included in this transport.

At the end of 1942 / beginning of 1943, only a third of those carried off to Theresienstadt in August still lived. The survival chances in Theresienstadt varied from transport to transport. The later a transport was carried out, the greater was the chance of getting out of Theresienstadt alive.

The following persons were deported to Theresienstadt:

Babette Bloch (70.0) on the first of September, 1942 from Frankfurt; died on the 3rd of December, 1943 in Theresienstadt

Salomon Bloch (70.0) on the 1st of September, 1942 from Frankfurst; died on the 3rd of September, 1942 in Theresienstadt

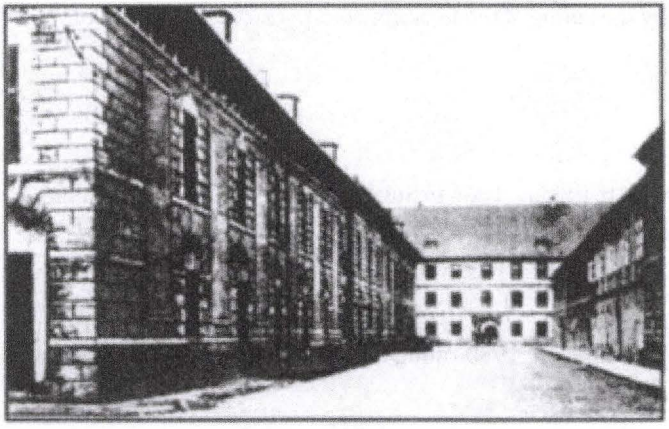
Bertha Moses (154.0) in summer, 1942 from Frankfurt; died in late summer, 1942

Elsa Moses (154.3) in summer 1942; died in the east

Frida Moses (154.2) in summer 1942; died in the east

The following persons were deported on the 26th of April, 1942 to Izbica [footnote 347] (near Lublin in Poland):

Ida Bräunlin, nee Olesheimer and Lieselotte Hammel, a daughter of Mina Hammel, nee Bloch, who was born in Kirchen and last known to be living in Stuttgart. All 345 deportees in this transport died.



caption at the bottom of page 120: Concentration camp Theresienstadt (alley 08)

Statistics of the deportations:

As was already mentioned, no Jews lived in Kirchen itself as of October 1940. They remained in the evacuation areas to which they had fled on the 3rd of September, 1939. Thus, the deportation of those Jews who had once lived in Kirchen affected, above all, those Jews from the areas of Constance, Lörrach, Schopfheim, Frankfurt, Karlsruhe, etc.

On headstones in Jewish cemeteries, one often finds the Hebrew letters reproduced below. These five symbols represent the first letter of each word in a prayer in which all of us - even those unknown victims of the violent rule of National Socialism - hope to be included:

May their souls enter into the covenant of life.

Following are the names and details of the Jews from the community of Kirchen who were displaced, forgotten, and murdered:

Anna Bloch

68.4 (5223) born February 3rd, 1898, single. She was deported on the 22nd of October, 1940 from Lörrach to Gurs, from where she was carried away to Auschwitz on the 10th of August, 1942. She has been missing since then. In accordance with the ruling of the local court in Lörrach on the 14th of November, 1957, she was declared to have died on the 31st of December, 1945.

Babette Bloch

nee Rieser

70.0 (5225), wife of Solomon Bloch. Born on the 4th of August, 1873, last known to have been living in Frankfurt at #7 Hansa Lane. From there she was deported to Theresienstadt on the 1st of September, 1942, where she died on the 3rd of December, 1943. (The date of her death was determined by the ruling of the local court in Lörrach on the 12th of September, 1951.)

Bertha Bloch

nee Bloch

68.0 (5523) Born on the 15th of May, 1866 in Sulzburg. She was deported on the 22nd of October, 1940 from Lörrach to Gurs, where she died on the 19th of November, 1940.

Ernst Bloch

58.0 (5215) born on the 6th of July, 1886 in Kirchen. He was married and lived in Cologne. He was declared by a June 5th, 1950 ruling of the local court in Lörrach to have died on the 8th of May, 1945.

Regina Bloch

71.0 (5226) born on the 12th of June, 1875 in Kirchen. Last known to have lived in Constance at #21 Sigimund Street. She was deported on the 22nd of October 1940 from Constance to Gurs, survived Gurs, and died in Paris on the 9th of May, 1951.

Saolomon Bloch

70.0 (5225) born on the 28th of April, 1868, cattle merchant and long-time leader of the community. His wife was Babette, nee Rieser; he was last known to have been living in Frankfurt at #7 Hansa Lane. From there, he and his wife were deported on the 1st of September, 1942 to Theresienstadt, where he died on the 12th of September, 1942. (The date of his death was determined by the ruling of the local court in Lörrach on the 12th of September, 1951.)

Selma Bloch

68.0 (5223) born on the 10th of December, 1896, single. She was deported on the 22nd of October, 1940 from Lörrach to Gurs, from whence she underwent a second deportation to Auschwitz on the 30th of May, 1944. She has been missing since that time. According to a ruling of the local court in Lörrach on the 14th of November, 1957, she is declared to have died on the 31st of December, 1945.

Notes for Chapter 5

[1]**The** Jewish Federation of Baden (Oberrat der Israeliten Badens) was a political body sanctioned by grand duke Karl Friedrich von Baden in 1809 as a way of recognizing the religious, but not political, rights of the Jewish population.

[2]**The** Horst Wessel Song was the theme song of the Nazi Storm Troopers and was later used as the Nazi Party hymn. Horst Wessel, the composer of the song, was an early leader of the Storm Troopers. After his 1930 assassination by members of the German Communist Party, he became known as a "martyr" for the Nazi cause. Link to the Horst Wessel Lied = https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MD6oDnm43HA

[3]**Historians** refer to this piece of legislation as The Enabling Act of 1933 because it enabled "the government" (i.e. - Hitler and his top advisors) to enact laws without the consent of parliament, the federal council (a body of representatives distinct from parliament; the arrangement was somewhat like the US Senate and Congress), or the German president (Hindenburg). However, the legislation was presented to parliament by Hitler under the title of "The Law for the Rectification of the Hardship of the People and the Reich." (Gesetz zur Behebung der Not von Volk und Reich.) According to the website of the German History Museum (https://www.dhm.de/lemo/kapitel/ns-regime/etablierung-der-ns-herrschaft/ermaechtigungsgesetz.html), Nazi SA troops were present in Parliament on the 23rd of March when the legislation was proposed, to ensure that voting went the "proper" way. Notably, the 94 members of the Social Democratic Party refused to be intimidated by the SA troops and voted against the act. The 81 members of the Communist Party had already been stripped of voting rights as of March 8th, 1933.

[4]**Das** Gesetz zur Widerherstellung des Berufsbeamtentums (the Law for the Restoration of the Bureaucracy) was passed to facilitate the removal of racially "impure" persons and political dissidents from government posts. Presumably, it was because of this law that Dr. Leo Baum found it difficult to continue performing his duties with the Red Cross.

[5]**In** the 18th, 19th, and 20th centuries, citizens of German states typically received (or could apply to receive) a "ration" or "stipend" of some sort from the treasury of the local community. In this case, it seems that citizens of Kirchen could apply to receive a grain ration from the city treasury. It was this grain ration that Eglin wanted to revoke and redistribute as soon as Leopold Braunschweig left the country. I suspect that this decision may have affected any of Leopold's family members who had chosen to stay in Kirchen. Moreover, according to the information provided later on page 87, Eglin, after having become mayor of Kirchen, decided that it was OK to request that the council withhold these grain rations from Jewish citizens who were still very clearly living in Kirchen, so that they could [presumably] be redistributed to citizens of Aryan descent.

[6]**Hermann** Albrecht (1835-1906) was a poet and protestant theologian who wrote under the pseudonym of Anton Hermann Albrecht. He was born near Kirchen / Lörrach in

the city of Freiburg. Albrecht's "Der Praeceptoratsvicari" chronicles the work of J.P. Hebel (see below) during his years as a teacher in Lörrach.

[7]**J.P.** (Johann Peter) Hebel (1760-1826) was an author, protestant theologian, and teacher. Although he was born in Switzerland, he spent a significant amount of his professional life in the Baden-Württemberg region. Indeed, he is noted as the first author to write and publish not in standard German, but in the regional dialect spoken in Baden-Württemberg.

[8]**"Markgräferland"** is an alternate term for the Lörrach region.

[9]**This** move was a tremendously important step in Hitler's rise to power. By combining the role of president with the role of chancellor after president Hindenburg's death, Hitler was able to eliminate any potential checks on his authority.

[10]**The** definition of a "mixed-blood Jew" was incredibly convoluted, involving not just bloodlines or descent but also degree of involvement in a Jewish faith community and the citizenship status of one's spouse. The definition became increasingly more restrictive over the years, so that an increasing number of people were gradually deprived of citizenship rights as well as educational and employment opportunities.

[11]**The** word "Landwirt," which I translated as "local farmer," has interesting nationalistic connotations. I could also have translated it as "local landsman," the implication being that the mayor's office in Kirchen should do everything in its power to ensure that the land goes to a "real" German citizen, rather than a member of Kirchen's Jewish community.

[12]**The** Edict Concerning the Assignment of Jewish Assets (die Verordnung über den Einsatz des jüdischen Vermögens) was enacted on the 3rd of December, 1938. This edict was, in a sense, an extension of the Edict Concerning the Exclusion of Jews from the German Economy (die Verordnung zur Ausschaltung der Juden aus dem deutschen Wirtschaftsleben), which was passed on November 12th, 1938. Both of these edicts required Jewish business owners to sell or otherwise liquidate their businesses, with the understanding that all businesses in Germany must be under the control of Aryans by the 1st of January, 1939. The December edict built upon the November edict, by requiring Jews to sell their real estate, to deposit any bonds they may have held into state-specified banks with a license to conduct foreign transactions, and to deliver any jewelry, precious metals, and works of art that they may have owned to state-sponsored acquisition stations no later than the 31st of March, 1939.

[13]**The** November 9th, 1938 pogrom has been given the name "Kristllnacht" - "crystal night" - because the widespread sound of breaking glass resembled the sound of shattering crystal; likewise, the shards of glass filling the streets on the following morning looked like shards of crystal scattered on the ground. The pogrom was justified as the German (Aryan) people's outraged reaction to the assassination of the German attaché, Rath, in Paris. Rath was assassinated on November 7th, 1938 by a 17-year-old Polish-German Jew, Herschel Grynszpan. According to Grynszpan's own confession, he assassinated Rath as a symbolic

way of avenging the German Jewish community, including his own family members, who were at risk of being deported to Poland.

[14]**The** German word used here (Schutzhaft) actually means "protective custody." This choice of words strikes me as ironic. However, I suppose it's consistent with the media's insistence that Kristallnacht was an act of revenge against the Jewish community in the wake of Rath's assassination.

[15]**The** reference to "allotments" seems to indicate that Kirchen and the surrounding communities divided communally held land among residents.

[16]**Theresienstadt** played several roles in the Nazi's domestic and foreign propaganda campaign. At home, it was billed to elderly Jews as a "retirement camp," where they could purchase a home and live out their sunset years in comfort and ease. Abroad, the camp was billed as a "safe haven," where Jewish entertainers, intellectuals, artists, etc could take refuge during the war. Indeed, many prominent Jewish people were sent here. Finally, it was promoted to the Red Cross as a "typical" camp. Red Cross visits to Theresienstadt were carefully controlled, so that the ambassadors were treated to concerts and plays, to tidy workspaces and gardens, and the cleanest, most tolerable accommodations.

Chapter 6: Stories of Fates and Destinies

Readers of the first edition of this book missed the stories of the fortunes fates of the Jewish residents of Kirchen who escaped before or during WWII. This new edition attempts to track the fate of these residents.

1. Even before the turn of the century the family Philipp Moses left Kirchen and moved to Müllheim. The two sons served in the First World War with the rank of officer and sergeant. None of the five children survived the "Third Reich".

2. Dr. Samuel Moses attended elementary school in Kirchen. He was later a physician in Lörrach and founder of the children's home "Am Blauenblick". In 1938, he and his family were able to flee to the USA, where he had to build a new life at the age of fifty-six.

3. Maurice Meier never lived in Kirchen. His stepmother, Sophie Braunschweig, came from Kirchen. Maurice Meier survived the "limbo" of Gurs and has become known as the author of two valuable books about this horror camp.

4. Herbert Bräunlin, half Jewish, is the only survivor in his family, and writes about the horrors faced by Emma and Jonas Olesheimer, Ida Bräunlin, née Olesheimer in his unpublished autobiography.

5. Sophie Kessler-Braunschweig emigrated with her parents and siblings to the USA in 1938. In a letter, she presents her family history.

6. Nathan Moses, an attorney in Karlsruhe and head of a Jewish Agency there, died in a hospital at Gurs. His wife Betty was murdered in Auschwitz. The two daughters Hanna and Susanne succeeded in escaping into Switzerland.

The family of Philipp Moses:

In 1899, the then fifty-two-year-old cattle dealer Philipp Moses left with his wife Klara (forty-eight-years-old) and their five children, Rebekka (18), Lina (16), Samuel (11), Mina (9) and moved to the women's home in Müllheim after the death of his mother-in-law. They were a long-established Jewish Müllheim family. Owning their own house and the better job opportunities in Miillheim were decisive for the difficult decision to move with the large family.

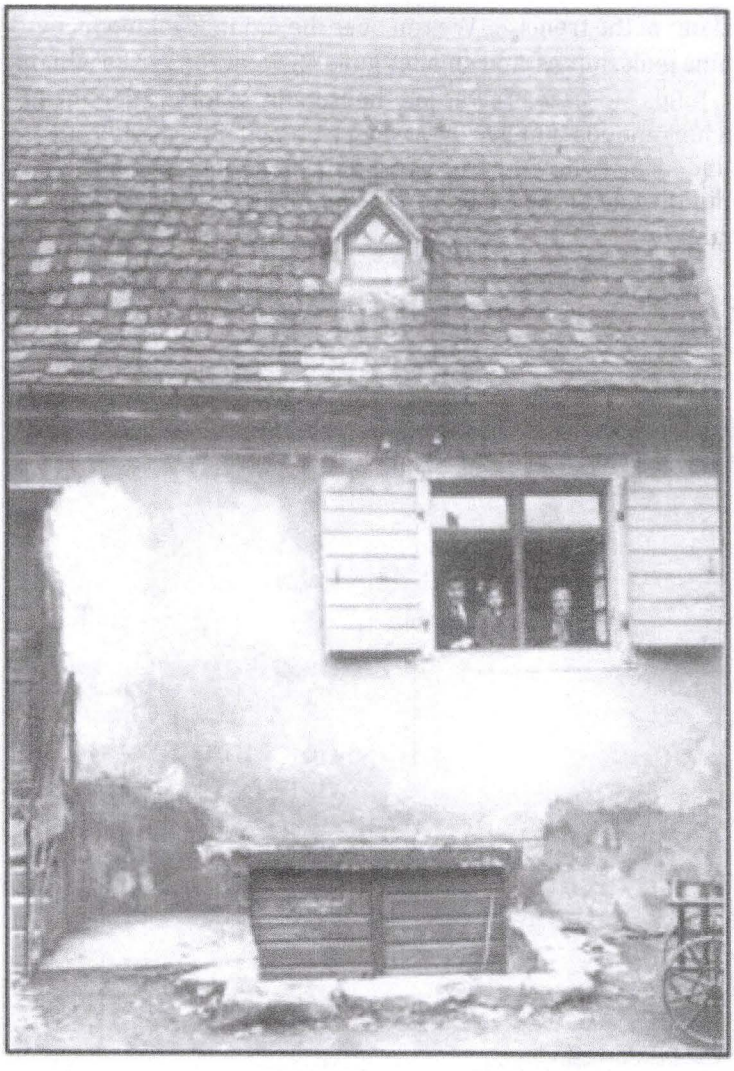
It was in the years in which the Germans lived in peace in their imperial kingdom when Rebekka married in Strasbourg, Samuel completed his school education with a diploma, and became a merchant, and Julius after the one-year examination at the Müllheim secondary school and attendance at the Hanseatic School, finally completed his commercial apprenticeship.



Philipp Moses with son Samuel In front of the house Hauptstr. 109 in Müllheim



Philipp and Klara Moses with daughter Mina



The Moses House in Müllheim

In 1912, Julius with his Baden family, made his way to Switzerland to take a job there.

But two years later peace was over, and Samuel and Julius had to go to serve at the Western Front. The twenty-two-year-old Julius was carried away by patriotic enthusiasm, and in March 1915 he reported to his parents in a letter in detail about the difficult situation on the battlefield.

He described the Loreto Hill battlefield in Flanders, which he had witnessed first-hand. On the 3rd of March at six o'clock in the morning the battle began. At seven o'clock the first French air battalion flew into the air, and at the same moment the

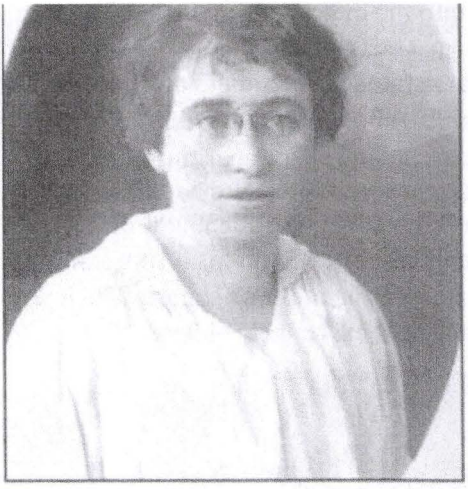
battle columns collapsed out of the trench.... We ran over the mounds taking many prisoners, braving machine guns, mines, and smaller guns. It went forward again in August and September ... Julius Moses was awarded the Iron Cross for his personal merit and courage, but a horrendous number of his own company perished. They lost thirty dead and wounded, including the captain and the lieutenant. Julius remained at the front until the end of the war, and was demobilized in Rastatt on April 9, 1920, as a sergeant.





Corporal of Julius Moses.

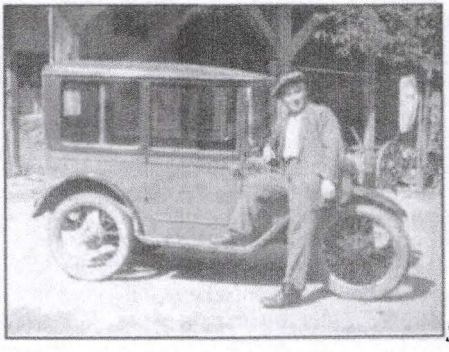
Samuel, who had been a reserve officer, fell into French captivity in 1915, where he had to wait almost four years until the end of the war. Fortunately, there was constant contact between him and his parents and siblings throughout this time. His sister, Berthe, in particular, sent him photographs with encouraging words. To thank her, he presented himself as a "Prisonnier de guerre", and despite his officer's cap and collar tabs he did not look very martial, but rather more sympathetic.



Rebekka (Berthe)



el Moses (seated) as POW



Samuel Moses with his first car

The two brothers had to again find their way back into a middle-class life. But while Samuel, returned home, in January 1931 in the Müllheim business directory he was listed as a tobacco wholesaler and appeared to be unmarried, living with his unmarried sister Mina in the parental home. Julius initially did not move back to Müllheim: In 1921 he was in Berlin, in 1922 as a salesman at the company Bloch-Brown-Mercerie in Zurich and in 1928 in Stuttgart, where in 1931, he married the Miss Johanna Wunderlich from Plauen in Vogtland.

The first boycott of Jewish business in 1933 affected Julius Moses so much that he went to Mulhouse with his young wife and then moved on to Beifort. In both cities, he was unable to get a position, and in 1934 they had to go back to Germany, to live in Weil am Rhein, until they finally emigrated to Dijon on November 1. At about the same time, Samuel emigrated to Troyes, and Mina moved to live with her sister Berthe, who was now divorced, in Strasbourg. The parental home in Müllheim's Hauptstraße was forcibly sold in the course of the "land reform", and the second world war broke out a little later.

Like all French people, Berthe was evacuated into the interior from the border town of Strasbourg, and Mina had to leave Strasbourg. The two men, Samuel and Julius, were detained without regard for their emigrant status as "members of a hostile, belligerent power." They both came to the Marmagne Detention Center in the department of Coted'Or, which was situated in a romantic area near the famous Abbey of Fontenay in the midst of large forests where the internees had to work. Julius was chosen as "chief of the company" or "chef de groupe allemand" on account of his linguistic knowledge, and probably also because of his former military service as the "leader of the company". The names of the other prisoners, which are preserved on a list written by Julius, consisted almost exclusively of Jews.



Berthe with the family of her aunt (maternal) aunt in Nuremberg. In this family sister Lina (Lilly) spent the longest time of her life. She was cousin of Dr. Samuel Moses (Lörrach). She was medically treated in Müllheim until her death in 1935.

"Le moral est bon. Les gens se sont mieux adaptes a leur nouvelle Situation, "wrote Julius in a report on the French service on October 15, 1939: There was plenty of room for everyone and enough straw to sleep on, the food was decent, but they wanted boards and nails. The men were freezing in the large, poorly heated rooms, they wanted to install electric lighting. People had to get ready to work in the morning in the dark, they needed warm clothes, blankets, and shoes in particular, as it was particularly hard work in the woods. They also wanted music instruments and the permission to teach language. For there were musicians and teachers in the camp, and, last but not least, they wanted bandages for the many small injuries inflicted from working in the forest, and medicine, for there were many sick in the camp. Samuel, too, had not been in good health at that time, and his name was often on the list of the sick.

But visits were possible. Hanna Moses was given safe-conduct in Dijon for a trip to the camp "voir son mari detenu au camp de Marmagne" to the annex, the shortest way to the camp. French nationals were issued guarantees for the internees, including certificates of non-conformity from industrial workers and craftsmen. These men, who had lived and worked in France for some years, were in desperate need of help. The situation would have been tolerable if the danger to the life and limb of the emigrants had not grown with increasing time.

Passover 1940: The Jews in the camp had contacts with French Jewish communities. From Rabbi Munk of Paris, who was himself a victim of persecution, one could obtain Matza, ritually slaughtered meat, wine and other kosher food for the feast for the devout detainees. Once again, they could celebrate together God's service - for many, it was perhaps the last time.

A few weeks later, the Germans invaded France, "it went forward again as in August and September." Had Julius ever recalled his words of 1915, or had ever thought that the well-being of a German patriot of 1914/18 should depend on the military fortune of the former opponent? This time, however, this warfare did not materialize. The camp was close to the front. Apparently there were signs of disintegration, as this is known from so many reports. Julius escaped and suddenly reappeared in Dijon with his wife, while he lost track of Samuel, who was lost for some time. Dijon was occupied. After ten days, the couple received a summons to appear at the German headquarters. Julius was not foolishly courageous, but he separated from his wife, who he did not want to burden him with the hardships of living in constant fear and calculated that his chances of escaping from his pursuers would be better if he were alone.

Julius made his way to unoccupied France. In Mäcon, he found shelter for a little more than two years, while his wife lived as an expatriate and "was taken home to the Reich after seven years" stay abroad: to Müllheim on Goethestrasse 15. But the contact with her husband was lost, and only after the war did she learn the following: When the Germans finally penetrated into the unoccupied zone of France, the net narrowed. On February 19, 1943, Julius Moses was arrested in Mäcon by the Gestapo and soon was transferred to the Pyrenees camp Gurs. On February 26, 1943, he was transferred to the notorious camp at Drancy near Paris, where he was deported to Lublin-Majdanek on March 4, 1943. As early as August 31, 1942, Samuel was deported, from Drancy to Auschwitz. On the April 13, 1944, Berthe was also finally deported.



Julius Moses around 1925 during his stay in Müllheim.

Dr. Samuel Moses

Samuel Moses, born on December 5, 1882, was a cousin of the Moses siblings and had a completely different destiny. Their fathers had been brothers. Mosel Moses went with the family to Müllheim around the turn of the century. Jakob Moses moved to neighboring Lörrach.

Three children emerged from the marriage with Maria Guggenheim. Samuel was born in 1882, Regine, was born in 1884, and Rosa, who was born in 1885, married the fur trader Alfred Weil in 1910, and lived in Kirchen up to the deportation and was murdered in Auschwitz.

Still, Jakob Moses is listed on the plaque recessed into the churchyard wall in Kirchen with the names of the participants of the Franco-Prussian war of 1870 / 71, and the tomb of the couple is in the Jewish cemetery in Lörrach.

Samuel Moses attended elementary school in Kirchen until the summer of 1892 and entered high school in Lörrach in 1892. The school records portray him as a very

good student. Twice he won a school award. In 1897/98 he was transferred with the award to the secondary school, where he won the class prize in 1899. In 1901, he passed the Abitur (standardized test) as the best in the class. Already during his school years, Samuel Moses realized, he wanted to study medicine. He enrolled to study medicine at the universities of Freiburg, Munich and Berlin. After graduation, he was called up in August 1914 as an army surgeon. He returned to Lörrach at the end of the war with the iron cross, where he settled as a physician.

The misery, the distress, and suffering of the post-war years, and especially his sympathy for children, gave him the idea of founding a children's and baby's home. From 1918 he managed this home at Herrenstr. 8, which was soon too small. On November 11, 1926, the villa was acquired by the town of Lörrach as a children's home. Dr. Moses supervised the municipal nursery and nursing home as a doctor.



Children's home in Blauenblick

In 1920, he married Mina Günzburger, who bore him two sons, Alfred Moses, who worked as a nuclear physicist in California and Bernhard Moses, the director of a large urban settlement in Brooklyn. Since the year 1919, Dr. Moses campaigned officially and extensively for the public interests of the city. He was a member of the German Democratic Party and was elected in 1919 for the first time from Lörrach to the citizens Committee, where he was a member until its dissolution in 1933. Dr. Moses had to quit his work as a children's home doctor due to the boycott of January, 1933, which banned Jews from practicing medicine.



Dr. Samuel Moses and his wife in the USA

On March 18, 1933, a letter from the Mayor, Dr. Garcia, reached him saying that the medical supervision of the urban children by Dr. Moses must cease on the basis of statutory orders. The letter said, May I submit the sincere thanks of the City Council for your services to the orphanage since the year 1919.

For the Jews a serious, tragic period had begun under the National Socialist regime, they were forced to lead a life shadowed by death – as did Dr. Moses and his family. Rigorous reflections led him in 1938 - just in time, as he himself said - to emigrate to the United States with his family. In Lörrach he left his life-work, in order to start again in America from the very beginning. In the United States, he had to undergo the prescribed medical examination, which he passed in 1939. From then on, he was again a doctor. About this time of his life, Dr. Moses himself said: "It was difficult to build a new practice in a foreign language here in the foreign country."

Since the emigration of the Moses family the contact between Lörrach citizens and Dr. Moses was never severed. So, the news of the death affected everyone. It was shared by his son Alfred Moses in a letter to Mayor Hugenschmidt. Dr. Moses died on 21 January 1969, at age 87 of a stroke. Dr. Moses is indicative of the Jewish middle class. He worked in Lörrach as a friend of the poor and afflicted, and is still not forgotten.

Maurice Meier

Maurice (Moritz) Meier was a Jew who was not born in Kirchen and never lived there. Nevertheless, he was closely associated with this community. His stepmother, Sophie Braunschweig from Kirchen, married the widower Max Meier from Nonnenweier in 1901. With his first wife, Jeannette Baum, he had a son, Maurice. In 1904, a daughter, Senta, was born in the new marriage. Sophie Meier nee

Braunschweig moved to her daughter Senta in the USA in 1938 and died there in 1961.

The life story of Maurice Meier, born August 19, 1893 in Nonnenweier, was particularly hard, given the persecutions of his family by Nazis. In his childhood, he heard stories about the Jews of Kirchen. His shocking life is related in two books he has written. Dieter Petri has recorded his story in his study "The Tiengener Jews, Meier's life story". His description of the biography follows. "Tiengen was the name of the city, where we lived. It is a small town close to the Swiss border, with spruce trees of the Black Forest on one side and the rushing waters of the upper Rhine on the other. Before him was the distant panorama of the Swiss Alps. It was a peaceful and friendly place in those days, in the daytime a bustling commercial center, in the evening an idyllic rural spot; a place where the commercial and industrial noise vied with the rooster's crow and cow bells!"

Meier captures this atmosphere of Tiengen in his book "Refuge" in the 1920s. Moritz Meier, who celebrated his 90th birthday in 1983, had come to Tiengen with his wife and son. At that time, his statement was as follows: "In general the Christians and Jews lived in peace and harmony. The Jews respected their Christian neighbors by opening their homes at Christmas and Easter, and many a Christian house was adorned with green branches at the Jewish foliage festival (Succoth)."

After the end of the First World War, when Meier had fought on the German side, he settled down in the neighboring village of Grießen as a farmer and cattle trader, twenty-six years old.

In 1923, he married Martha Abraham from Rust near Lahr, near his own birthplace of Nonnenweier. The Grießener town band, under the direction of its conductor and the mayor at that time, honored the bridal couple, the only Jewish citizens, with a serenade.

Soon, contacts were made with the Jewish community in Tiengen. A year later, Frau Meier founded a synagogue choir in Tiengen. Thus, when Meier's friends, a non-Jewish family, Sauter, abandoned farming in Tiengen to emigrate to the United States, Meiers bought the property and moved to Tiengen. At that time, Sauter said to Meier that he was better off going to America. The prophet of doom was right.

They had two children: Ernst, born in Grießen, and Ilse Jeanette, who was born in Tiengen in 1927.

Meier worked diligently. The initial small herd of livestock finally increased to 23 cattle, of which 19 were dairy cows. Meier lived from the sale of milk to the city and to private and cattle traders. Two employees and a day-laborer helped. For his work as a cattle dealer Meier owned a car which at that time was still something extraordinary.
In spite of his diligence, the business did not prosper. In the evening music was

played in the house. Frau Meier sat down at the piano and one of the children played the violin. It was fitting with the cheerfulness of the Sabbath. Frau Meier also cooked not only for fellow Jews like Ida Guggenheim or Marie Levi, but also for non-Jewish women, and invited them to dinner.

Early one Saturday morning in the spring of the year 1933, Meier, who was in a stall milking, heard something unusual from the road outside. The national socialists were celebrating the takeover of Tiengen with a march on foot, on horseback and on rattling motorcycles. Meier did not let the noise disturb the rhythm of his work that morning. He filled the milk jugs, loaded the cart, and pulled it along with his son Ernst to the street toward the milk supply station. But immediately two brownshirts stopped them and sent them back. Hearing about the new "rulers", the two of them turned around, feeding the soured milk to the calves and cows that morning.

The Nazi henchmen built a shooting range below Meier's House and planted on a table a widely-read slogan: "practicing eye and hand for fatherland!" Life size cartoons of Tiengen's Jews were used as targets.

A little later someone knocked on Meier's front door. They were SS men. They demanded that Meier hand over of all letters and photos of Albert Leo Schlageter. Schlageter was a war buddy of Meier. After the first world war Schlageter was a member of the illegal "black Reichswehr". Schlageter, as an act of sabotage went into the Ruhr to strike against the French occupation. A French military court sentenced him to death by firing squad.

The Nazis celebrated Schlageter as a fighter for the fatherland, and Schlageter, in Meier's opinion, did not go back to civilian life and for a variety of reasons had worked against his will in the underground. Meier's contacts with the former Lieutenant were a thorn in the side of the Nazis. For this reason, they sought to obliterate all connections with the Jew, so they wanted to destroy the documents which they were seeking.

Meier gave them some letters and photos. that showed him with Schlageter, but kept back some documents. The SS people realized this and left unsatisfied. They wanted the rest at another time.

In the afternoon of that eerie day, a poor woman came to the Meiers. On the Sabbath she could have a free meal at Meiers. Even now, as the Jews were threatened in the city, she wanted to stay with the Meier family. The brown shirts, however, held her back and took her to the field kitchen. The woman was not intimidated and disgustedly replied with the words: "This is your field kitchen, but yesterday and all the days before you did not pay attention to me and you neglected me. Go away!" She said and disappeared through the door. The night brought no rest for the Meiers. From the neighboring inns, a favorite place for the Nazis, the

Meiers heard again and again repulsive exuberant singing: "When the blood of the Jew is sprayed by the knife, then it is so good again." On the following Monday the Tiengen National Socialists introduced new rituals at the public school. From now on, the pupils should not greet their teachers with a "good morning, Herr Teacher!", But with "Heil Hitler!" Ernst Meier, the only Jewish student in the third grade, had to observe this new, required ritual.

At the end of May Ernst's class of was looking forward to a school trip. On the morning of the agreed day, Ernst took his bag and happily went to the school, where the meeting place was to be. An hour later, his father found him, lonely and alone, standing near a neighbor. His face was scratched his hands were bloody, his clothes ripped, and his books lay on the ground. The class teacher, a member of the party committee, had said that Ernst was not welcome to go on a trip. When Ernst wanted to run away, the teacher urged the class., "You should beat him up". So that in the future he would no longer want to go to school at all. The class turned on Ernst - the rowdies first. Most of them had gone to their First Holy Communion a few weeks earlier. Meier's complaint to the Rector did nothing. The rector turned out to be a party member. And so Meier took his son out of school. The fanatical class teacher had achieved his goal. From this point on, Meier thought of emigration. However, they believed they could eventually sell their possessions. But it turned out differently.

One evening, it was late, and the phone rang. The caller anxiously told of an assault by the Nazis on the house of a gentile who had publicly criticized Hitler. The informant at the end of the line said that he feared the man would be taken into "protective" custody to restore "peace and order" in the city, as the National Socialists used to say to justify such behavior. Meier feared he would also be on the list. Meier quickly grabbed a few things together and drove his car to the Swiss border. In Koblenz he called his wife. Immediately after the telephone conversation from Switzerland, Frau Meier heard pounding at the front door. When she opened, SS men demanded the "Jew-Meier". Disappointed at his disappearance, they demanded all the letters and notes of Schlageter, as well as all the papers on Meier's military service. Mrs. Meier willingly handed over the material to them. But the SS men were annoyed. They knew somebody must have warned Meier. That night, Meier continued to Zurich. to his wife's sister, a wealthy Rothschild. A few days later his wife came and joined him with the two children.

When informed of the escape, the SS Chief asked whether refugees were to be deprived of German citizenship. For this purpose, the mayor's office Tiengen was to examine the political past of the Meiers. In reply the mayor's office said that Meier's home in Tiengen was estimated to be worth 27,000 RM. I mention this because people are fond of the "legendary" Jewish wealth. Meier, on his own initiative, gave the Public Prosecutor a detailed description of his income and expenses, as well as he could from memory without any available documents. It is also clear from his

letters, however, how one or another debtor believed he would be allowed to discharge his debt to the Jewish businessman in the new era. The official propaganda, which justified the anti-business measures against the Jews with the slogan "public utility vs. self-interest," encouraged such audacity. Meier had bought a cow from a farmer in Rotzingen for cash, and sold it to a farmer in Oberlauchringen, a normal business activity for a cattle trader. The farmer in Oberlauchringen, owed Meier a residual amount and after eleven months the farmer from Rotzingen demanded an additional payment. In support of the impudent demand, the farmer appealed to a party leader from Waldshut, who threatened a demonstration in front of Meier's house. In the wake of such a demonstration in front of his house, Meier would then be taken into custody for the sake of "public peace". Meier settled and paid to once again have peace.

In the summer of 1932, a small business was forcibly sold in Dogern. It finally ended up in the hands of the capable businessman, Moritz Meier. This, however, allowed the former proprietor to continue the business as a tenant. The tenant then became a member of the NSDAP (Nazi Party) and demanded the return of the business from Meier, without payment. Meier had no reason to conceal his business practices from the authorities, and he could also give information about his political past. Thus, he wrote to the Tiengen mayor: "As an active soldier I was in the front line on the Western Front during the whole war and earned distinctions and recognition ..." Meier is even more detailed in his response to the inquisitive prosecutor's office: I have done voluntary service at the front. In such a company I was buried with six comrades. I was dug out alive, but battered, after approximately sixteen hours.

As references for his story, Meier had the Tiengen hotelier Maurer and the master baker Sutter. Both confirmed Meier as a good comrade when called to the Tiengen Town Hall. They reported also Meier's participation in a dangerous act of courage where three French soldiers were captured in the French trenches.

I don't write all this to glorify warfare, but to imagine the disappointment of former Jewish neighbors. He experienced persecution in a country for which he was once a hero. Meier has not overcome his bitterness to this day. And I can understand or respect it at least by presenting a petition as a well-meaning citizen of the city, that a road be named for Moritz Meier. But the petition was rejected. Meier's story of suffering began in Tiengen. The following stories are even more terrible.

From Zurich, the Meier family went to the French village of Chenehutte les Tuffeaux, near Saumur and Angers, where they bought a former monastery. The beautifully situated courtyard "St. Radegonde ", in the picturesque Loire valley, had belonged to a convent before the state seized everything. As a convent the property had deteriorated. The Meiers decided to go to work. They were supported by Martha's parents, who had recently liquidated the property in Tiengen. In addition, Martha's

brother Gustav and his family, who had also lived for a long time in Tiengen, was related to Martha, the widowed sister of Selma Rothschild from Zurich, where Meiers had previously gone to live with some other members of Martha's family. Eighteen residents were counted as the "family". They all packed in. This did not turn out to be successful.

Despite all the work, Moritz Meier volunteered for the French military. In August 1939, the commission was issued. But when he found himself in Angers, he was not taken to the army, but was arrested and interned as an "enemy foreigner."
The column of the internees continued to move several times when the Germans invaded France. They marched to the south, which was not occupied by the Germans. The political prisoners arrived in October 1940 at the camp Gurs near the Pyrenees, which was originally set up for refugees of the Spanish Civil War.
Some 6000 German Jews from Baden and the Palatinate were deported to Gurs that same month. They included Meier's acquaintances from his birthplace of Nonnenweier, from Tiengen, and from Kirchen.

After long efforts Meier finally managed to legally get out of the camp of Gurs. The release was facilitated by the fact that he wanted to grow vegetables on a small plot of land, which is what then happened. He had to register regularly with the police. He wrote his wife that she should try to escape to the South. But his elderly parents could not have survived such dangerous and grueling journey. Meier himself could not dare to return to St. Radegonde, because the Germans certainly would have arrested him. The last sign of life received from his wife in June 1942 was: "Dear Maurice (Moritz), be not sad from what I must write to you. We were taken on the night of 15 to 16 June. They allowed us to each a small pack to take along.

The separation from the parents was heartbreaking ... Fourteen people were taken from St. Radegonde. The first stop is Angers. From here we are deported to the east. Where? Yesterday I was led across the courtyard, and behind my closed window on the second floor, I saw our child. I am courageous, you be brave also. I have only one wish left: May God keep us healthy so we can see each other again ..." Moritz Meier was not allowed to see his wife and his children. When he received the letter, he had no idea that a deportation to the East, disguised by the Germans as a mere "resettlement action," led to their death. If he had not come out of the camp of Gurs in time, he would have had this same fate. At the urging of the Germans, the French handed over all interned Jews for transport to the East.

But Meier could no longer feel safe even outside the camp in southern France. He was looking for an escape route into Switzerland, but that was also dangerous. From the security of Switzerland, he conducted research about the whereabouts of his family. The requests to the concentration camps, such as Auschwitz, came back unanswered. More and more Moritz Meier came to the bitter certainty that they

died in the Nazi hell. Therefore, no joy could come from his own salvation. He is still bothered by "the guilt of survival".

In 1946 Meier published a book about Gurs using a Swiss publisher and titled it "Letters to my son". The dedication read: "My wife, my dear valiant comrade, Martha, our deceased deported mother, is deprived of her children." In the same year Meier left Switzerland and emigrated to the USA. In 1962 he published a second book, "Refuge (Escape)". He dedicates it to his second wife, Gretel, who is in his persistent deafness his "mouth and ears" and allows him a normal life. Let Moritz Meier's books be read also in Germany, so that they may help our hearts turn against the senseless racial hatred.

Emma, Ida, Jonas Olesheimer and Herbert Bräunlin.



Family Olesheimer in front of their house in Kirchen.

Because most of the inhabitants of Kirchen had maintained good relationships with the Jews for decades, strangers were tactically introduced into the village by the Nazis. The tax collector, L., was an anti-Semite whom the party had introduced. Soon there were also some others who had begun harassing the Jews. Julius Bloch, a soldier, wounded in the First World War, was the first man to be buried in the Jewish cemetery in 1937 (according to the Nuremberg Laws). A very respectable man, L. and dentist D. stood at the cemetery wall and photographed the participants of the funeral. Later photographs of the people were published in the "Striker", the

Nazi newspaper. The next time no one went to a Jewish funeral. Many daily indignities made it difficult for the Jews to live their normal life. In his autobiography, the son of Ida Bräunlin, who now lives in Haltingen, describes a part of the tragic history of his own family that Is identical with that of all the Jews of Kirchen.

The neighbors," he continues, first came only at night, and later they stayed away. Everyone was afraid - the spy system was working. The few exceptions almost do not count, and yet they were a great help in this time. Jakob Estlenbaum was an old man and was very devoted to us. He has always supported us, even during the war with food. A little hero. There were so few .... Most Jewish citizens were able to emigrate at this time. It was not easy in the foreign countries .... The Jews, who could no longer emigrate because of poverty ..., no longer escaped the minions and found death in a foreign country. In these years, the Jews were again closer together. The synagogue was now a meeting place. The wealth disparity fell. Uncle Joni (Jonas Olesheimer) was once again oppressed. In the years 1933 and 1934, many believed that nothing would happen because of war or because they were poor. The Nazis want only the rich Jews. This belief had been supported by the Nazis ... Today everybody knows this was an illusion. They all were annihilated ... This was also true for the Olesheimer family. Their ancestors had been resident in Kirchen since 1825. Meier Olesheimer, born in 1831, had been married twice. Three children came from the first marriage with Rebekka Weiler. From the second marriage with Emma, twenty-six years younger, the two siblings Ida and Jonas emerged. Meier Olesheimer died in 1915. His son Jonas, who in 1914 completed an apprenticeship after attending the Volksschule in Basel at the outbreak of war, served as a radio operator in different fronts.

Jonas had been wounded at the front and returned home after the war as a wounded veteran. In the cement plant in Kleinkems, he found work in the quarry until his war injuries forced him to seek another job.





Jonas Olesheimer *Jonas Olesheimer with his sister Lina*

In the firm, Schetty in Weil, he found new work as a "Säureonkel." He was unable to provide his mother or his sister Lina with a pension or decent salary.



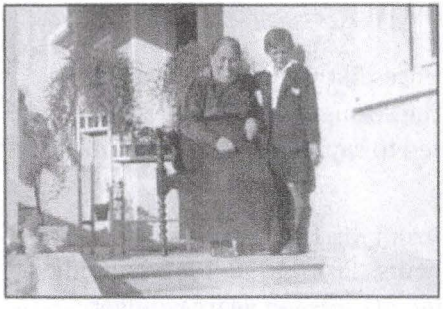


The Olesheimer house in WW I, Unknown soldier, Bertha Bürgin, Jonas Olesheimer, Ida Olesheimer, Unknown soldier *Ida Bräunlin and son, Herbert*

Herbert Bräunlin writes in his notes about him: "Joni was for me father, uncle, friend, just everything. He gave me a lot. My joy in nature ... he taught me to play football, bought football boots, bought a bicycle: we toured, from the sea to Feldberg in 1936. Jonas Olesheimer was a peaceable, balanced man. When, after 1933, the human coexistence also changed very strongly in Kirchen, a couple of neighbors had

hung a Nazi flag on the quince tree next to the Olesheimer home. When the father wanted to put one of these boys on his knees to spank them, Joni came to him and pleaded: "Don't do it."

At the time, Ida Olesheimer had been married to Robert Bräunlin from Haltingen for more than twelve years. In 1923 a son, Herbert, emerged from this marriage of "a shy boy and a chaste Jewess". Herbert Bräunlin characterized this connection: "My father was a competent bricklayer, and likewise an inefficient businessman. Marriage was not going well ... After seventeen years, my mother divorced him, and although she was a Jewess, she converted in 1938. My father was divorced ... In 1941 Herbert tried to take his mother's name "Bräunlin." In a letter from the lawyer, it was said literally: "The accused's use of the name Bräunlin is only a result of the influence of World Judaism, in order not to have a name that is Jewish". Ida Bräunlin, I have more honor with my Jewish maiden-name than with the name Bräunlin. "
The Court dismissed the action brought by Robert Bräunlin. Ida could still use Bräunlin. Then Robert Bräunlin wrote in a letter to Ida: "I will make sure that you go where you belong."

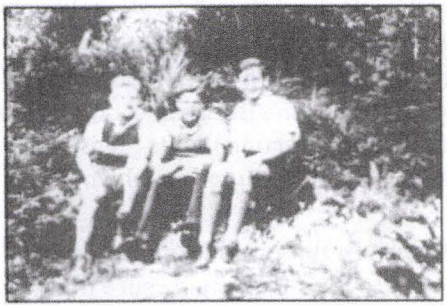


Herbert Bräunlin with his grandmother

Herbert Bräunlin, the son, first grew up in his parental home in Haltingen, attended the public school, and then switched to the humanist gymnasium in Lörrach. The mother baptized him a few days after birth. Herbert Bräunlin: "I owe my life to Jesus Christ." "In the school at the gymnasium, two Jews were in my class, Bernhard Moses, son of famed surgeon Dr. Moses, and Richard Rosenberger, son of a successful merchant. We were respected by our classmates and had no problems. Maybe because I was the strongest in the class and a very good sportsman. And the other two were good students. But there is much negative to report about the teachers.

It was not easy as a Jew or half-Jew to concentrate in front of a teacher in a Nazi uniform. At the age of fourteen, Herbert left high school because "there were not enough services". Nazism, the tuition cost of RM 200, the broken marriage of his parents, and a chronic lack of money - were the actual reasons. Also in the hometown, it was not easy. Although an excellent footballer who played fourteen

years in his youth, his descent was reflected in this, too. When it came to a friendly match against the HJ Elf, a Hitler youth leader said: "Where's the play, you don't play!"





Herbert Braunlin with friends, Christian Burgin and Fritz Knobloch/ Emma Olesheimer born 1857, died 1940 in Gurs

Herbert Bräunlin wrote: I got to know the differences between "Half Aryans" and "Half-Jewish" in this period. It's up to the site. The stranger said "Half-Jewish" and we said "half Aryans". The sister of my father used to say: "... the mother is Jewish. So, no familial ties."

Through a connection with David Lieberles also from Kirchen, Herbert received an apprenticeship in Basel and the official work permits. From 1938-1942 he studied textile machinery at the company Textilmaschinen AG. His ten years younger unmarried sister Lina, who had previously been in Basel as domestic, worked on the estate of Olesheimer, which was directly on grounds on a Church.

Herbert Bräunlin describes the many small hurtful strokes to which the Jews were exposed during the first years of the Third Reich, especially the housewives. "At first, my grandmother and Lina did not want to go to Reiff's shop for shopping. Reiff's was always good to us, but other customers no longer wanted to encounter Jews in the grocery store.

At the store of Julius Bloch, the rest of the non-Jewish clientele had now left ... The Jews regularly went to the hairdresser H., for haircutting and shaving. But he was the first to have a sign at the door of the shop: "Jews are not served here!"

If on the Sabbath Sophie, Margot and Hanneli Braunschweig, (very pretty girls aged twelve to ten years old), walked together through the village, people said "what nerve." Even the friendship of children was torn apart. Hilde Egle, nee Burgen was

visiting the Braunschweig girls on the evening of Kristallnacht. But then she was held by the Nazis and her father with difficulty could barely get his child back.

The living conditions were increasingly worse. Jonas Olesheimer was arrested like the other eight Jewish men from Kirchen in the he so-called Kristallnacht, and transported to Dachau concentration camp and kept there until in the December 1938.

He never talked about this time. With the beginning of the war in September 1939, came a new phase. All the remaining Jews from the villages close to the border disappeared with the first evacuation. "we also participated in the train of refugees; It was in the evening, the train of people and animals and wagons went first to Rümmingen -. Joni and I moved the carts, the Grandma, eighty-two-years-old, and what little we had we could take. Lina found place on the wagon by Berta's house. I can still hear, even today, when we came to Rümmingen the cry: They are Jews! Today, it gives me a similar sensation when a calf with two heads comes into the world. I came with some other boys in Haugen. Joni, grandmother and Lina came to Konstanz to a pension. I've never seen them again."

In Konstanz, they found a miserable accommodation in a tenement house, with ten other Kirchen companions in the vicinity of the destroyed synagogue. Jonas worked at a track construction company in Aulfingen and did this hard work with track spikes and pile drivers. On October 22, 1940, the Jews were deported from Baden and the Lorraine, in the so-called Robert Wagner campaign, in a night action. The destination was Gurs, a huge camp on the edge of the Pyrenees.

Emma Olesheimer died in Gurs on December 5. Denise Braunschweig, a cousin married and living in Basel, sent Ida Olesheimer the message of her mother's death. "She rejected everything that one wanted to give her with the remark, I just want to die. She took no more food, so that she could find her longed-for peace as soon as possible." Her sister Lina came to the camp of Gurs, near Noe. She died there two years after her sister on March 27, 1943.

On June 4, 1942, six days before his deportation to Auschwitz, Jonas Olesheimer wrote another letter to his cousin Denise Leder in Basel: Probably in August 1942, Jonas Olesheimer was murdered in Auschwitz. Ida Bräunlin was obligated to work. In May 1941 she wrote about her living conditions in a letter to Denise Leder in Basel. "... but if Mama knew what I was doing, ever since she closed her eyes forever, she would turn over in her grave - I must stop ..." In the same letter she continues: "Dear Denise, if you come here after the war, you will ask, where did my cradle stand? Sometimes I cry, of so many houses that you can see no more. "
In spring 1942, Ida Bräunlin was jailed by the Gestapo in Lörrach. At the same time, Herbert told them that she left behind the raincoat with the Jewish star affixed. She was informed that she was to be ready to work in the East. Herbert Bräunlin writes

that his mother made two comments: "I wear the Jewish star only under compulsion and in not in Kirchen, and I do not mind working, I am used to work."

He took a bicycle to the "Villa Aichele" (GeStaPo headquarters in Lörrach) to bring her the coat. He happened to be the first man to go to the GeStaPo, who had picked up his mother. He asked them angrily. "What's going on?" Herbert Bräunlin handed him the raincoat, and B. asked him if he wanted to go to the jail to hand over his coat. Bräunlin writes. "Lightning fast I thought - but the word jail frightened me." Thankfully, I declined the visit there. Would I ever have left the prison again? Many have disappeared in this way. As a last sign of my mother's life I got a card, probably thrown out of the train: "Dear Bubi! I'm on my way to the east. Stay strong." Ida Bräunlin entered the Izbica extermination camp. There she was murdered.

After the arrest of Ida Bräunlin, the grandiose house in which Herbert lived was confiscated in Kirchen. He was at that time in the hospital in Lörrach with a lung inflammation. He was informed by an official of the Lörrach tax office that the house had been confiscated. At the request of leaving him at least something, the official said, "How can you prove that this is your bed?"

After further interventions, he was allowed to occupy the room least a bit longer. Many Kirchen residents purchased individual pieces of furniture on the sale of the Olesheimer property. Gratefully, Herbert got some of it back. Previously Herbert Bräunlin completed his education in Basel. With the advance of the war in Basel the differences of opinion were also intense. Bräunlin writes: "I was caught in the crossfire. The opponents of the Nazis were in the majority, but I did not dare to reveal my opinions. The so-called fifth column (Swiss Nazis) would be everywhere. For three years I walked from Badische Bahnhof to Güterstraße and back. I had no money for the tram."



Herbert Bräunlin

With the arrest of his mother, Bräunlin's passport was taken. On May 2, 1942, he began working in an armaments company in Müllheim, where he soon became a foreman. There in Müllheim, he met his later wife Theresa Margarethe Heitz from Bellingen, who, according to her confession said, "I am half-Jew," "What does it

matter to me?" They were not allowed to marry, and so their child was born in the Sulzburg hospital on July 19, 1944. Two days later the baby died, and Bräunlin knew with certainty, she was murdered by a Nazi doctor.

Isaac, Frieda, Sophie, Julius and David Braunschweig

"My father Isaac Braunschweig, (born May 30, 1890) was the son of Israel Braunschweig." In April 1919, my father was engaged to Frieda Levi from Sulzburg, at the guest house "The Wild Man". At the same time Max, the brother of my father, became engaged to the sister of my mother, Regina. The wedding took place in the synagogue in Sulzburg. Two brothers married two sisters. After the wedding, my aunt Regina moved to Kirchen where my uncle Max ran the butcher's shop. My father was also in the business and was only in Sulzburg over the weekend, because my mother continued to run the guest house". In 1928, my father sold his inherited rebuilt guest house "The Wild Man" and moved with the family to Kirchen.

In the early years my two brothers had a reasonably normal youth in Kirchen. This lasted until 1933. After that things changed quickly. In school with the teachers, Ms. Küster and Mr. Gerwig things went well. My brother Julius had an SS teacher who always came to school in uniform. After I left school in 1933, I attended the Women's Work School in Basel. My brother attended the vocational school in Basel. From 1933 to our emigration, as a young girl I could not go to the cinema, to a dance, or any event without being treated as a "Jew". On the train from Kirchen to Basel I was constantly harassed. Stones were thrown at our windows. On Christmas Eve 1937 a Nazi, dressed as Santa Claus came to our front door. My brother Julius opened the door and was brutally beaten. This event so disturbed my brother that once we went to America in 1938 we had to place him in a mental hospital. Since Julius could not become a citizen, he was to be deported back to Germany. But after my younger brother joined the American army in 1941, Julius was left in the hospital. He lives in this institution to this day. For my parents that was terrible. After my arrival I had to work as a servant in a household because I could not speak English. My monthly salary was $40. Of that I had to give $38 to my parents to live on as we were allowed to emigrate only with $ 10 per person.

I could still continue to write, but if I did I would have written a book..."

Nathan Moses, Betty Moses nee Dreifuß, Hanna, and Susanne Moses

Nathan Moses, a cousin of the previously mentioned Dr. Samuel Moses (Lörrach), as well as Julius and Samuel Moses (Müllheim), was born in 1886 in Kirchen. After graduating law school in Karlsruhe, in 1927 he married Betty Dreifuß from Altdorf. The couple had two daughters, Hanna born in 1927 and Susanne born in 1929.



Betty Moses nee Dreifuss



Nathan Moses, an attorney in Karlsruhe

Nathan Moses led the "Jewish Agency" for Baden branch office in addition to his law firm. In 1933, he founded the Central construction fund 'Keren Hajes-sod', also called the Jewish Palästine Factory e.V. Further, he ran travel agencies for Jews willing to emigrate to Palestine. In a letter to Leopold Braunschweig he referred to himself as a "Zionist since the year of 1904".

In the case of the Jews of Karlsruhe too, the desire for emigration had been hesitant. In contrast to the many who had been waiting to go to countries in Western Europe, the goal was irreversibly fixed for those who wanted to emigrate to Palestine. They were exclusively Zionists, who were filled with the idea of "Eretz Israel". Materially and organizationally, they were supported in Baden by the "Jewish Agency", whose leader was Nathan Moses. The issue of emigration not only presented the Jews with major financial problems, they were concerned whether and how they could succeed in building a new existence in the foreign country.

Jewish training centers for agricultural and handicraft professions were by no means to be created overnight. In the field of craftsmanship, Nathan Moses tried to achieve the desired goal by a different route. "As a German Zionist and confidant of

the Zionist Association for Germany," he referred in a memorandum of December 18, 1933 to the law of Baden, to order the craftsmen to refuse to accept Jewish apprentices. With the assurance that such apprentices would surely emigrate to Palestine, he asked that young Jews be given the opportunity "to be educated" in the branches of employment which are in demand in Palestine, such as construction, food processing (cheese or dairy production)." No one would expect that a young Jewish craftsman in masonry would dare to become a bricklayer looking for work in Germany, or even to make a career as an independent bricklayer in Germany."

The Baden Ministry of Finance and Economics, commissioned to answer the question, gave a reference to a circular of the Handicrafts and Trade Chambers of December 6, 1933, stating that "a prohibition of the hiring of Jewish youths as crafts trainees will not be allowed". A direct recommendation meant to prohibit Jewish apprentices, as an encouragement not to employ them.

Nathan Moses, with all the powers at his disposal, assisted the emigration of his Jewish countrymen. In a letter from the summer of 1938 to the Karlsruhe police department, he pointed out the urgency of the timely passport issuance for the emigration to Palestine of Bernhard Meyer, a printing press owner. The latter already had a British "labor certificate", which had the age limit for immigration as forty-five years. Moses wrote: "This certificate can only be used if the immigration is before August 10. (Meyer's forty-fifth birthday). Meyer received the passport in time and was able to get on the last possible ship to Palestine, the Trieste.

The British Mandate government increasingly restricted the immigration certificates to Palestine. This measure led to a list that Nathan Moses used. Because couples needed only one certificate he was able to provide one more person with a life-saving certificate if couples were married. So, Moses recommended that couples marry knowing that the marriage could be dissolved after entry to Palestine. He appeared in such marriages as one of the two witnesses. Such a case was Julius Herz who wedded before the Karlsruhe registry office a twenty years younger bride Sonja Kotkowski. The certificate in this way "saved" another person.

On October 20, 1940, the day of the deportation of Baden Jews to Gurs, Nathan Moses was sick in bed. The then thirteen-year-old Hanna Moses, together with her eleven-year-old sister were still on autumn holidays. She reports: "On the morning of October 22, 1940, at about eight o'clock in the morning, our apartment doorbell rang, and when my mother opened, two men in civilian clothes stood out as Gestapo members and asked whether all family members were at home. My mother said, yes. They told her that from now on no one could leave the apartment, we should get ready to go, they would come back in about an hour. My mother woke us both girls ..., told us to put on something warmer and started to pack. While she hurriedly packed the bags, Mrs. Betty Moses (1889-1944) sent her daughter Hanna to the baker with an earthen pot full of cucumbers. She was afraid the cucumbers would

go bad before their return. The daughter, who received some fresh bread for the journey from the baker and house owner on the ground floor, remembering that "there would be no return, was beyond our imagination." In fact, the Gestapo men came back at nine o'clock and brought a policeman in a guard uniform, who then turned out to be very helpful to my mother. "One of the Gestapo men sent Hanna Moses to buy butter and cheese using the rest of the food cards for this month. She should just say, "The Gestapo officer has ordered it. "

According to their instructions, the Gestapo officials had to take care of the fact that the Jewish families assigned to them had to provide for themselves for several days. "At that time, my father was suffering from a foot infection, and so he was still asleep with a walking cast. Since he was a lawyer and 'head of the Palestine office for the state of Baden' as well as owner of a travel agency (the latter in the name of my mother due to the then laws) for emigrants or for those released from German concentration camps (Dachau above all), he was also known to the Gestapo, who appear to us to have behaved rather politely. They told my parents ... that my father could stay because of his disability ... but not in our apartment, but in the Municipal Hospital, but that his family would have to leave in any case, so my father decided to come along."

Since Nathan Moses could only walk with difficulty on crutches, the Gestapo officials had an "official car", which brought him along with his baggage to the station. Ms. Moses and the two daughters, accompanied by a policeman like the great majority of the arrested Karlsruhe Jews, were taken by tram to Karlsruhe station. "From the platform where we stood," recalls Hanna Meyer-Moses, "we saw a truck with the aged inmates of the Jewish retirement home going to the station."

In Gurs, Nathan Moses was immediately placed in the hospital barracks.

Mrs. Betty Moses, in order to escape the monotony of camp life, came to supervise the camp judicial system. Hanna, the daughter, reported that she had seen her mother smoking for the first time.

It is thanks to Hanna Moses that the so-called Gurs song was preserved. A young unknown musician deported to Gurs founded the camp choir. The text and melody are written as:

"Everyone once made plans, and they held on to them.

But tears grew out of plans, because life did not allow the plans to live.

In the Bass-Pyrenees there is a place where barracks stand. Hardly a tree stands there.

There must be only one who has no right to be in the world.

And whoever entered the place separates the world with a barbed wire.

In the Pyrenees, France keeps watch over every one of the poorest who has not spent anything.

And if you are a stranger then it seems to you

There are only the damned in Camp de Gurs. "

In February 1941, the two sisters Hanna and Susanne were taken by the Quakers to a French children's orphanage in Aspet near St. Gaudens. Betty Moses was very anxious to accommodate the two girls there, because she knew they would be better nourished, even if this meant separation. Many French children were housed in the "Maison of the Pupilles de la Nation but the German children initially were abused. The German children received instruction in French there and worked in the home and garden.

In the summer of 1941, mother Moses surprised her daughters with a visit. She was granted a pass out of the camp for the day by the camp commander. She would gladly have accepted a job as an agricultural worker or a cook in a home. She could not, however, leave her sick husband in the camp alone, and returned to Gurs. At the same time, she could tell the father that the two daughters were doing well in the circumstances.

In the middle of 1942 Hanna and Susanne Moses, together with another girl, were transferred to the OSE children's "Chateau du Couret" in La Jonchere near Ambazac near Limoges. It was a pure girl's home where only Jewish children were held. Gradually, Jews were not only moved from one camp to another in France, but were also deported to the East.

On the journey from Aspet to Chateau du Couret in the summer of 1942, the daughters of Moses were given permission to visit their parents, who had now moved to the Recebedou camp. Since Susanne was sick with the flu, the girls were able to spend a full week with their parents. It was the last time they saw them. At the beginning of 1943, Hanna and Susanne Moses had received fake IDs in the girls' home near Limoges, where they had been living since early summer 1942. They were called "Annemarie" and "Suzanne Mourerde Haguenau from Alsace". "At the same time, we were asked to pack our suitcases immediately and to move to Limoges, from where we were to travel to Switzerland." There the two met with about fifty other vulnerable girls and boys and traveled under the leadership of M. Loinger, An OSE employee, by train to Grenoble. Most children had relatives or good friends in Switzerland. Hanna and Susanne had been included in the transport after having been told the address, in Couret of an OSE committee member. If anyone asked they said their parents were related to a Swiss family, who had brothers and sisters living in Frankfurt and Stuttgart.

Half of the children's group went on the day of arrival in Grenoble to Switzerland. The second group, which included the Karlsruhe girls, should follow the next day.

Because Switzerland closed its borders at this time, the second group in Grenoble was stuck. Supervised by a young man who they knew only by the given name "Luc", it was hammered into the children because of the fake ID cards, to say upon questioning, that they came from Alsace. The discovery that they were in fact Jewish children from Germany, would have meant great danger for them. To not get noticed, the children ate every day in a different small Bistro and stayed during the daylight hours in theaters. After a week when Switzerland showed still no willingness to reopen the borders, the group was divided among reliable young farm families in the countryside. The girls had to work in the households. Hanna, now fifteen-years-old, and her fourteen-year-old sister Susanne came through with the help of Grenoble nuns as a cook or maid in the home of a retired French general of the first World War.

After three months, the girls were called back to Grenoble. There, a group of about twenty children was formed. It was led by a Catholic Girl Scout leader. They were taken by train via Annecy Annemasse to Machilly near the Swiss border. Hanna Meyer Moses reported, "we took the little children, of which we had a number, on our lap, so that we were not so large a group. The leader instructed us on the stories we should tell regarding all the possible situations that could occur. For the ordinary curious people, we were traveling to a sanatorium for lung problems so we could recover.

After they were driven in a small delivery truck to the village of Douvaine, eight km. away, the children received their original German identification card, and the fake papers were taken. To prevent Swiss customs and border guards from sending the group back when they arrived, the children had now been instructed by their guardian, "we should say ... we came from very distant cities in the north of France." In the courtyard of the Catholic parsonage of Douvaine, the group was picked up at ten o'clock in the evening, "by two completely unknown men". "We had to be completely silent, to go in one group, and to carry the youngest among us in various ways. The road led through fields that offered some protection, by high-growing corn plants, and also by shrubbery, but it lay on a hill, for we could see the lake of Geneva reflected, and on the horizon, one could see the dimmed lights of the city of Geneva. "

Having arrived at a high barbed wire fence at the frontier, the unknown leaders pushed the 25 children under the barbed wire and disappeared. The children, who, according to the instructions, climbed a hillside behind the fence, reached and crossed a stream, and then "broke down really muffled jubilation." The group eventually encountered in the middle of the night a gendarme. Hanna Meyer-Moses: "We faithfully focused on the purposeful narratives that were given to us ... we had to be keen to give the same answers always. They drove us to a detention center in the city. "The twenty-five Jewish children were safe on July 29, 1943.

From Geneva, Hanna and Susanne Moses, who had been unable to communicate since their departure from Couret in April 1943, were able to correspond again with their parents in Gurs. The last news from their parents was dated May 12, 1944.



Hanna (r.) and Susanne Moses in Bern. The image was created a year after the successful flight over the French-Swiss border. At this time, they still did not know the fate of their parents.

Their parents went to the last camp, called Center d'Accueil in Reillanne, Provence. From there Betty Moses was deported shortly afterwards to Drancy and on May 30, 1944 to Auschwitz. Nathan Moses died immediately after the departure of his wife in Reillanne in a hospital, specially reserved for the "refugees and Indo-Chinese workers", in Marseilles. The death of lawyer Nathan Moses (born 1886) and his wife Betty (born 1889) was later set to May 31, 1944.

Encounter – An Attempt to influence history

This Chronicle of "The Jewish community of Kirchen" appeared in two editions in 1978. Except for some damage in the cemetery, which was never resolved, reparations negotiations by Jewish citizens of Kirchen in the 50s, and sporadic visits of former Kirchner Jews to their place of birth, (visits to their homes and real estate), there was little public interest in the Jewish history of the village up to this point. The publication of this book coincided with two momentous events in history. First, the movie, "Holocaust" produced in the United States in 1979. The mass murder of the Jews and the fate of two Berlin families was described for 428 minutes aiming at willing German viewers. The film sparked great concern in the audience and sparked fundamental discussions and conversations in addition to rejection.

The second regional event coinciding with this book publication was the publication of especially fierce letters in the two daily newspapers "Badische Zeitung" and in "Oberbadisches Volksblatt" discussing the name change of the primary and secondary school in Efringen-Kirchen, as the "Hermann Burte school". The poet and painter Hermann Burte lived in Efringen-Kirchen from 1946 to 1958. He was known as a writer of Alemannic German verses. His other works have not been widely read, for example "Wiltfeber, the eternal German". They contained an anti-Semitic spirit.

In his time in Efringen Kirchen the public honored Burte. The street on which he lived at the time, was named after him and in 1958 he became an honorary citizen of Efringen-Kirchen. Now, eighteen years after his death, the naming of the school for him is controversial.

Very soon, in the discussion about the naming of schools, the discrepancy between the terrible stories of the Jewish community's experiences described in this book and the desire for a school bearing the name of Hermann Burtes began to be discussed.

Günter Schöning, for example, wrote in the Oberbadisches Volksblatt on April 17, 1978: "Burte cannot be a model for today's generation. Anyone who wants to debate this should first read two books: "Wiltfeber, the eternal German" by Hermann Burte and "The Jewish Community of Kirchen" by Axel Huettner. After studying the two books, I do not think it is compatible with the basic law of this country to maintain the name of Hermann Burte as the name of a school."

On February 6, 1979, the school superintendent rejected the name. President Rolf Kindler pointed out the fate of the Jewish community of Kirchen. Not least because of this, a "formal prohibition" had also occurred.

When the town council of Efringen-Kirchen once again advocated the continuation of the name "Hermann-Burte School", an action of "conscience and atonement" took place on the day of the traditional "Ruländer-Schoppens" (annual ceremony of Hermann Burte Society). Instead there was a "worthy public commemoration ceremony for the forty Kirchen Jews murdered by the National Socialists". At the center of the ecumenical celebration, which was presented by Rev. W. Meier, Blansingen, Rev. H. Keller, Istein, and Rabbi Dr. N.P

Levinson, "there was a documentary discussion about the spirit of Burtes and the book of Axel Huettner, "The Jewish Community of Kirchen " was made available.

The action group cancelled its planned silent march. They did not come to the feared discussion with participants of the two events.

This discussion about the school name school in connection with the described history of the Jewish community of Kirchen brought to Efringen Kirchen important impetus for a meeting of former Jewish fellow citizens with the inhabitants of Efringen-Kirchen.

Soon after the municipal administration of Efringen Kirchen contacted the Baden State Rabbi Dr. N.P. Levinson. They proposed issuing an invitation to the surviving Jewish citizens of Kirchen. Other places had good experiences doing this. Ads were placed in various Jewish newspapers, like "Israelitisches Wochenblatt" (Zurich), "Jüdische Rundschau" (Basel), "Construction" (New York), "Jews in Germany" (Düsseldorf). These ads expressed an interest in an encounter in Efringen-Kirchen.

The survivors identified were:

Denise and Siegfried Leder-Braunschweig, Basel

Hans Bloch. Mayor in Israel and grandson of Max Bloch

Alfred Bloch, Basel, grandson of Herz Bloch

Dr. K. E. Bloch, Lucerne

Herbert and Margarethe Bräunlin, Haltingen

Alfred Rosenberg and wife Alice née Bloch, United States

Johanna Marque-Braunschweig and Arnold Marque with son and daughter-in-law, United States

Sophie Kessler-Braunschweig and daughter Linda White, United States.

After intensive discussions, this group of persons came to visit from the June 12, 1983 to June 26, 1983 in Efringen-Kirchen. The program envisaged the primary and secondary school visit, encounters with the population, talks with students in Bürgeln, Breisach, Sulzburg, Freiburg, Worms, Heppenheim, and Heidelberg. Two services, one in the synagogue of Freiburg and the others in the Church of Christ, Kirchen, demonstrating the wide Ecumenical aspect of this visit. In the greeting in the Evangelical Municipal House of Kirchen, Mayor Dierkes addressed the invited Jewish guests.

"Maybe they no longer wanted to enter the country that has inflicted so much suffering them." Mayor Dierkes said further: "we have not come together at today's ceremony, to discuss the former terrible events, to assign blame or to perhaps open old wounds again... we are now gathered first and foremost with our former Jewish fellow citizens to reach towards reconciliation and to ask understanding. This is for us... the easier, as they (men and women in Kirchen) at that time lived together in great harmony with you... We are... at the present time with the permanent threat of war, hatred and the resentment more than ever called to seek the understanding of the people, and understanding between peoples. I

beg you, dear guests, forgiveness, reconciliation and understanding; I hope and believe that there is willingness to take the outstretched hand of understanding."



The guests in front of the Town Hall in Efringen-Kirchen 1983. Front row: Sophie Kessler-Braunschweig, Alfred Ludwig Rosenberg, Ellen Wascou, Arnold Marque, Anneliese Wascou Weil, Hans Bloch. Back row: Irene Bloch, Linda Brightbill-Kessler, Johanna marque-Braunschweig, Hannie, Jules Leder.

Regional Rabbi Dr. N. P. Levinson concluded his speech with the comparison between the migration of Jacob to Haran on which he did not stop in Jerusalem, "Is it possible, that I passed to the place where my ancestors prayed, without lingering there?" and said this was the situation of the Kirchen Jews now returning.

"Dear guests, most of you have passed this place before. We all know the reasons. We understand you. There will also be those who will never enter Germany. But you have come. It is like a miracle that you came to this place, and you can pray at the graves of your fathers and mothers." "The eternal optimists have come back." A daily newspaper took up this sentence of the Rabbi.

"Eternal optimist came back" *Headline "Badische Zeitung" of June 25, 1983 with image*

Caption: Hopeful words and moving discussions at the reception of the former Jewish fellow citizens.

A good start for a new mutual understanding was made with the Jewish guests. Two plaques were placed reminiscent of this new beginning. One was placed by the visiting Jewish citizens in the Hall of the Town Hall in Efringen-Kirchen. It stated: "In grateful appreciation for the spirit of reconciliation and proven generous hospitality by the municipality of Efrinqen Kirchen, June 1983. Signed: Sophie Kessler-Braunschweig, Arnold Marque, Johanna marque-Braunschweig, Bernard Marque, Carol Marque, Alfred Ludwig Rosenberg, Alice Rosenberg-Bloch, Linda White, Hans Bloch.

The second panel is located on the outer side of the wall of the Jewish cemetery of Kirchen. It was donated by the local administration. On the panel is an image of the burning bush, a bush that was not destroyed by fire.

THE MEMORIAL TO OUR JEWISH FELLOW CITIZENS AND THEIR SYNAGOGUE IN KIRCHEN

The year 1988 is the 50th anniversary of the pogrom from 9/10. November, 1938, commemorating the site of the synagogue, built in 1831, which was already obsolete in Efringen-Kirchen. On the evening of November 9, 1988, the so-called Reichskristallnacht occurred in Kirchen, and after that an inconspicuous memorial plaque was attached at the synagogue site on the nearby water tower. The following text is on it:

"In memory of the synagogue of our Jewish community, built in 1831, which stood only fifty meters to the east. On November 9, 1938, this sacred place was desecrated, devastated and later removed. From 1736 to the years after 1933, Jews and Christians lived in peaceful communion with each other in Kirchen. From 1933, our Jewish fellow-citizens began on the road of persecution, suffering and death. In memory of her and the desecration of her synagogue. The citizens of the municipality of Efringen-Kirchen November 9, 1988"

There were more public events in Efringen-Kirchen in October 1990 in memory of the deportation of the Baden and Palatine Jews, who were victimized in the Robert Wagner campaign of October 22, 1940.

Rev. W. Maganga, from Blansingen, and Rev. A. Hardman, from Wollbach, designed the exhibition about the Jewish expulsion.

The political community was invited to a silent March. The Social Democratic Party local association and District Association conducted a lecture event in the "old school" at the end of the silent march. The event included historian Markus Möhring and the autobiographical testimony by Margot Wicky Schwarzschild, a survivor of Gurs.

The invitations to survivors and families of the Jews living in Kirchen were issued in April and December 1990, as well as in March and April 1991.

As the municipality Efringen-Kirchen emerges from the event, contact was made with the former Jewish fellow citizens who visited in the year 1983 and should be maintained.

From May 14 to 28, 1991, the following persons came to Efringen-Kirchen at the invitation of the municipality:

Hans Bloch, Israel; Irene Bloch, United States; Margret and Herbert Bräunlin, Haltingen; Sophie Kessler-Braunschweig and daughter Linda Brightbill, United States; Jules and Hannie Leder, Israel; Siegfried Leder, Basel; Johanna and Arnold Marque Braunschweig, United States; Alfred Ludwig Rosenberg, United States; Rachel Dombrowski-Braunschweig, United States. Sophie Kessler came accompanied by her Karlsruhe-born friend Anneliese Wascou-Weil with her daughter Ellen Wascou.

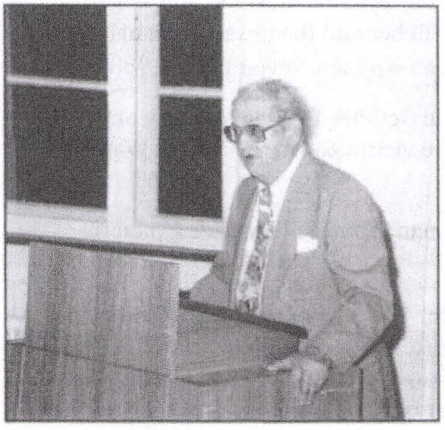
A working group had prepared the program for guests, free time for private invitations and visits to Breisach, Sulzburg, and excursions to the Southern Black Forest, Alsace and North-Western Switzerland.

Taking care of the guests lay in the hands of Mayor Horst Dierkes, main office manager, Walter Silbereisen, and senior teacher Wolfgang Weller.

The "evening of encounter", which took place in the crowded hall of the old school on the May 21, 1991. In addition to many interested citizens of the municipality also foreign guests such as: District Rabbi Soussan, the district administrator, mayors and pastor from neighboring communities all attended.

In representation of the suddenly ill writer Ingeborg Hecht, two Freiburg students Joscha Zmarzlik and Christian Reck presented the musical accompaniment of Yiddish songs.

Some guests gave their impressions about the new relationship with the old country in greetings and speeches. Alfred Ludwig Rosenberg, the last full-time religious teacher in Kirchen, spoke for many when he said: "We lived the past, we must build the future. Today is the first day of my future."



Words of thanks by the former religion teacher and last Cantor of the Jewish community of Kirchen Mr. Alfred Ludwig Rosenberg.

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As a descendant of many of the people named in this book, I had a particular interest in reading it. Although I learned German from my parents who moved from Kirchen to the United States before I was born, I failed to master the language. With the help of friends and the translation programs from Google and Microsoft, I was able to provide this translation of Axel Heuttner's thorough and interesting history of the Jewish community in the village of Kirchen, Germany. The original work in German was published in an edition of 1,500 copies and is of interest to a small group of people. But, I believe this book deserves a greater audience, because Axel Heuttner so skillfully weaves the history of a minority (Jewish) population in a small village in southwestern Germany (Baden) with the broader currents of German history. It becomes clear how events far away affected this small community. My ancestors lived in this community for many generations. My conclusion is that the Holocaust did not occur in a vacuum and that Jews suffered throughout their time in this village. Nevertheless, after all that occurred, it is heartening to see how most of the residents of Kirchen learned from the experience and how they reached out to the survivors to begin to build relationships. This book is a tribute to that outreach. Ann Arbor, Michigan, USA, 2017

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