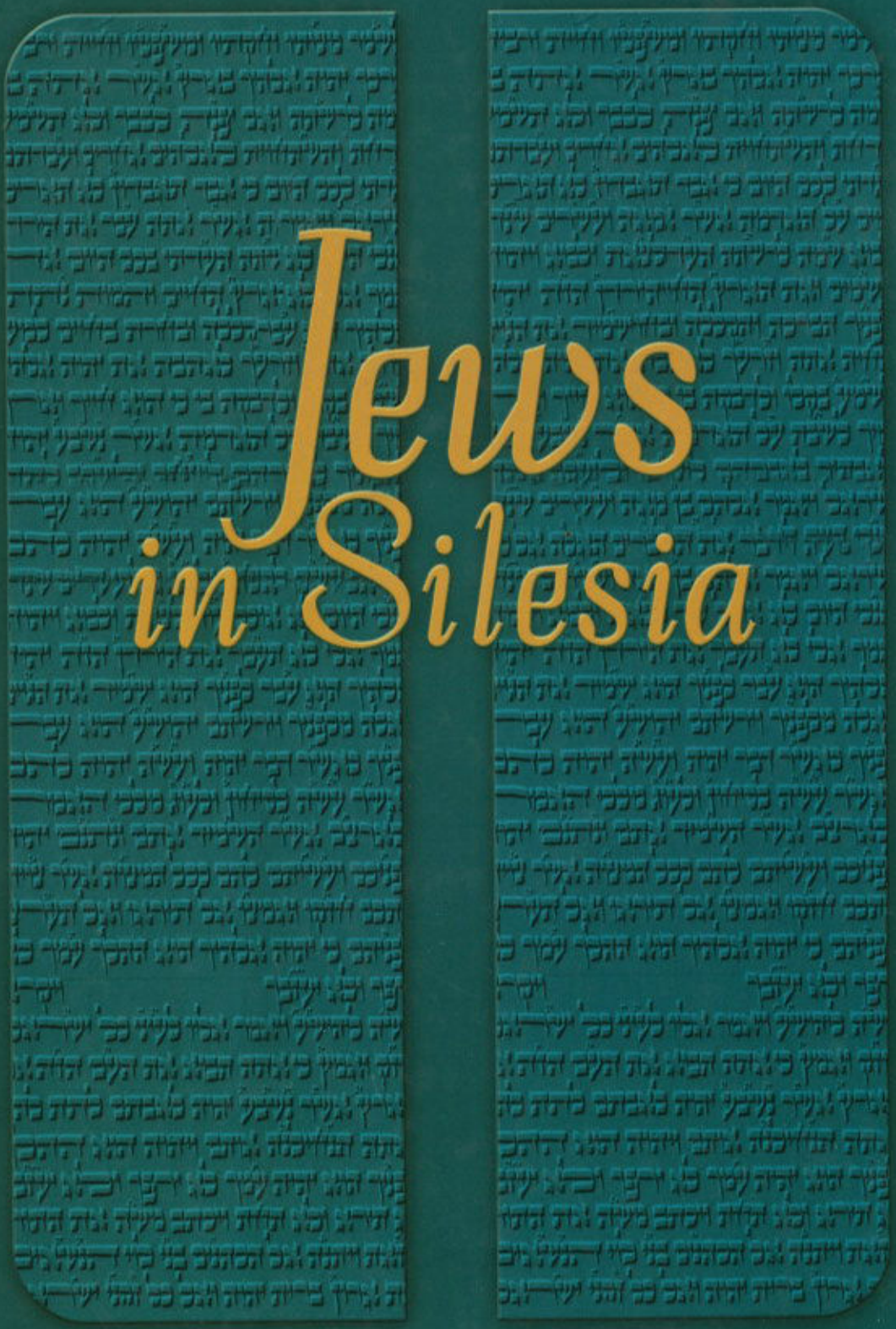


# Jews in Silesia

Księgarnia Akademicka

# JEWS IN SILESIA

edited by

**Marcin Wodziński and Janusz Spyra**

Digitized by Project Zikaron
Touro University-NY Libraries
www.zikaron.tourolib.org
2024




KSIĘGARNIA AKADEMICKA
UNIVERSITY OF WROCŁAW, RESEARCH CENTRE FOR THE CULTURE AND LANGUAGES OF POLISH JEWS
MUZEUM TĚŠÍNSKA

CRACOW 2001

© Copyright by University of Wrocław
© Copyright by Księgarnia Akademicka 2001

Translations
*Rafał Kosowski*
*Marcin Wodziński*
*Jan Nehrebecki*
*Aleksandra Zelińska*
*Skřivanek Co. Ltd, Ostrava*

Proof-reading
*Sarah Cozens*

Technical Editor
*Agnieszka Kuczkiewicz-Fraś*

Cover design
*Jacek Szczerbiński*

**ISBN 83-7188-410-9**

Digitized by Project Zikaron
Touro University-NY Libraries
www.zikaron.tourolib.org
2024

**KSIĘGARNIA AKADEMICKA**
ul. św. Anny 6, 31-008 Kraków
tel./ faks 43-127-43, 422-10-33 w. 11-67

e-mail: akademicka@cicero.law.uj.edu.pl
http://www.ch.uj.edu.pl/ksiegarnia.html

Druk wykonano w Zakładzie Poligraficznym w Krakowie, ul. Kopernika 31

# JEWS IN SILESIA

UNIVERSITY OF WROCŁAW RESEARCH CENTRE FOR THE CULTURE AND LANGUAGES OF POLISH JEWS

**in co-operation with:**

MUZEUM TĚŠÍNSKA
ZEMSKÝ ARCHIV V OPAVĚ
STIFTUNG HAUS OBERSCHLESIEN

**This publication has been funded by the Foundation for Polish-German Co-operation which is subsidised by the Federal Republic of Germany**

# PREFACE

This volume is the outcome of a three-day conference entitled 'The History and Culture of Jews in Silesia', which was held in May 2000 at the University of Wrocław. The organisers of the conference were: the Research Centre for the Culture and Languages of Polish Jews, the University of Wrocław in co-operation with the Těšin Museum (Muzeum Těšínska) in Český Těšín, the Regional Archives in Opava (Zemský Archiv v Opavě), and Upper Silesian Foundation in Ratingen (Stiftung Haus Oberschlesien Ratingen). This volume contains almost all the papers and contributions from the Conference (only one participant did not make his paper available for publication) and – we can assume – this is a true reflection of the state of research on the past of the Jewish community in Silesia. Undoubtedly, the reader will notice the scarcity of works devoted to the history of the Jewish culture in Silesia, even though both the title of the conference and the request for papers pointed to the culture as the area of research of foremost significance to the organisers. The predominance of studies of the post-emancipation period is particularly evident. Only two of the lectures and two archival contributions were devoted to medieval and early-modern history. However, the most distinguishing feature of this volume is the lacuna of synthetic studies and of works touching upon broader subject areas of the history of the Jewish community in Silesia. It would appear that even ten years after the spectacular revival of research into the Silesian Jews, research is still confined to the stage of fundamental factographic studies, the identifying of sources, contributions and modest attempts at local research. Nevertheless, the rapid development of scholarship in certain areas (the history of the Holocaust in particular) and, in recent years, the history of the post-War period, is a very positive indication. Another positive aspect is the recognition of the significance of archival materials. The reports which deal with the contents of particular archives, groups or even archival units, constitute a considerable part of this work. Thus, we hope that work in previously neglected research fields will equally advance, and that soon it will be possible to put together a comprehensive synthesis of the history of the Jews in Silesia. Recognition of this potential was one of the intentions of the conference organisers.

We hope that this volume will contribute to the achieving of this goal, thanks both to the co-operation that exists between the Czech, German and Polish centres studying the history of the Silesian Jews (which was another of the organisers'

intentions) and to the contribution to the expansion of our knowledge that the articles contained in this volume represent.

Finally, we would like to thank all those who assisted us with the preparations for the Conference, and later in the publication of this volume: above all Professor Jerzy Woronczak and Professor Karol Jonca, the scholarly patrons of the Conference; and Sarah Cozens and Professor Leon Chameides, whose thorough scrutiny of the post-Conference volume helped us to avoid numerous oversights. We also express our gratitude to all those who are not mentioned here, but who assisted us in subsequent stages of work on the Conference and the post-Conference volume.

University of Wrocław
December 31 2000

Marcin Wodziński and Janusz Spyra

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface ..... 5

Table of contents ..... 7

Abbreviations ..... 10

**Jerzy Woronczak**
Introduction ..... 11

## I. MIDDLE AGES AND EARLY MODERN TIMES

**Mateusz Goliński**
Jews in Medieval Legnica – Their Location in the Municipal Area ..... 17

**Janusz Spyra**
Conversion of Jews in Cieszyn Silesia
in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries ..... 33

## II. FROM THE EMANCIPATION TO THE HOLOCAUST

**Małgorzata Śliż**
The Number and Distribution of the Jewish Population in the Area of
Austrian Silesia According to the Census of December 31 1900 ..... 59

**Jacek Proszyk**
A History of Jewish Social Welfare in Bielsko 1860-1939 ..... 67

**Halina Dudała**
Jews in Upper-Silesian Grammar Schools in the Second Half
of the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century ..... 79

**Marcin Wodziński**
'Walking in the Steel Boots of Faith...' Anti-Semitic Journalism
in the Voivodship of Silesia 1922-1939 ..... 99

**Aleksandra Namysło**
The Religious Life of Katowice Jews in the Inter-War Period ..... 125

## III. NAZISM – ANTI-SEMITISM – THE HOLOCAUST

**Marek Maciejewski**
Silesian Nazi Nationalism and Anti-Semitism 1921-1933 ..... 141

**Karol Jonca**
The Final Solution to the 'Jewish Problem' in the Silesian Province 1940-1945 ..... 159

**Alfred Konieczny**
The 'Schmelt Organisation' in Silesia ..... 173

**Mečislav Borák**
The situation of the Jewish Population in the Territory of Czech Silesia during the Occupation 1938-1945 ..... 181

**Ewa Kozerska**
Pius XI and German Anti-Semitism ..... 193

**Małgorzata Hasiewicz**
Cardinal Bertram and the German Episcopate's Attitude towards Nazi Anti-Semitism before 1933 ..... 201

## IV. POST-WAR SILESIA

**Bożena Szaynok**
Jews in Lower Silesia 1945-1950 ..... 213

**Andrzej Nowak**
The Jewish Settlement in Chojnów 1945-1950 ..... 229

**Ewa Waszkiewicz**
The Religious Life of Lower-Silesian Jews in 1945-1968 ..... 239

**Wojciech Jaworski**
Jewish Religious Communities in Upper Silesia 1945-1970 ..... 247

## V. CULTURE AND LANDMARKS

**Karel Müller**
Jewish Seals in Austrian Silesia in the Eighteenth Century ..... 267

**Jerzy Woronczak**
The Jewish Cemetery in Biała (Zülz) ..... 281

**Jan Paweł Woronczak**
The Cemetery of the Jewish Community in Wielowieś ..... 289

**Jaroslav Klenovský**
The Jewish Landmarks of Opava Silesia ..... 299

**Magdalena Ruta**
In Quest of Identity – Kalman Segal ..... 307

## VI. ARCHIVAL RESOURCES

**Stefi Jersch-Wenzel**
Inventory of Archival Resources for the History of Jews in the Polish Archives (the Former East Prussian Provinces 1722-1945) – a Research Project ..... 321

**Miloš Kouřil**
Emigrés from Prudnik and the Jewish Community in Osoblaha ..... 327

**Lenka Matušíková**
Registers of Jewish Communities in Austrian (Bohemian) Silesia 1784-1949 ..... 331

**Pavel Šramek**
Archival Resources on Jewish Associations and Corporations in the Opava Area ..... 339

**Mirosław Sadowski and Tomasz Scheffler**
From the Studies of the Death Rate of Jewish People in Wrocław in the Period of Nazi Deportations 1941-1944 ..... 345

**Mirosław Sadowski and Tomasz Scheffler**
Some Studies of Nazi Euthanasia in Wrocław in the Period of the 'Final Solution of the Jewish Problem' ..... 375

**Janusz Oszytko**
Jewish Matters in the 1930s in the Archives of the Opole Gestapo ..... 385

## VII. REMINISCENCES, MISCELLANEA

**Leon Chameides**
Rabbi Kalman Chameides – One of the Last Spiritual Leaders of Katowice. A Tribute ..... 401

**Petr Beck**
Samuel Scharf of Orlová ..... 417

**Ruth Atzmon-Cohn**
This is the Story of those Times ..... 421

**Peter Chmiel**
Contemporary German Research on the History of Upper-Silesian Jews ..... 423

Indexes ..... 431

List of illustrations ..... 467

# ABBREVIATIONS

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| AAN | = | Archiwum Akt Nowych [Archives for New Deeds and Certificates] |
| AGWŻ | = | Archiwum Gminy Wyznaniowej Żydowskiej w Bielsku-Białej [Archives of the Jewish Community in Bielsko-Biała] |
| APBB | = | Archiwum Państwowe w Katowicach, Oddział w Bielsku-Białej [State Archives in Katowice, Bielsko-Biała branch] |
| APC | = | Archiwum Państwowe w Katowicach, Oddział w Cieszynie [State Archives in Katowice, Cieszyn branch] |
| APK | = | Archiwum Państwowe w Katowicach [State Archives in Katowice] |
| APO | = | Archiwum Państwowe w Opolu [State Archives in Opole] |
| APW | = | Archiwum Państwowe we Wrocławiu [State Archives in Wrocław] |
| JV | = | "Jüdisches Volksblatt" |
| JWW | = | "Jüdische Wochenpost mit Wirtschaftsblatt" |
| KŻ | = | Komitet Żydowski [Jewish Committee] |
| MAP | = | Ministerstwo Adminstracji Publicznej [Ministry of Public Administration] |
| UGGIK | = | "Urzędowa Gazeta Gminy Izraelickiej w Katowicach" |
| UWŚ | = | Urząd Wojewódzki Śląski [Office of the Silesian Voivodship] |
| WKŻ | = | Wojewódzki Komitet Żydowski [Voivodship Jewish Committee] |
| ZAO | = | Zemský Archiv v Opavě [Regional Archives in Opava] |
| ŻIH | = | Żydowski Instytut Historyczny [Jewish Historical Institute] |

**Jerzy Woronczak**

# INTRODUCTION

The subject of this conference – 'The history and culture of Jews in Silesia' – is as interesting and important as it is complex. There are two factors causing a researcher of any period in the history and culture of that region enormous difficulties: the first is the number of changes in Silesia's political dependence that have occurred in the course of history; the second is the question of the co-existence and intermingling of Czech, Lusatian, German, Polish and Jewish populations in that area. Simultaneously, however, the significance (and attractiveness) of Silesian subject-matter attracts increasing numbers of Czech, German and Polish researchers, as well as Jewish scholars, to overcome these difficulties. For a complete and cohesive picture to be created, contacts between respective scholarly circles must be both ongoing and authentic and this will ensure an exchange of information. The situation, though, is rather difficult. Speaking frankly, research on Silesian Jews is developing in the Czech Republic, Germany and Poland on an independent basis, with little knowledge of the progress and achievements of colleagues in neighbouring countries. A common problem for all the researchers from the above-mentioned countries is their lack of familiarity with Yiddish and Hebrew sources, as well as the literature of those languages. I find it difficult to judge the extent to which Israeli scholarship takes into consideration Central-European research achievements in the area of Silesian Jews. Thus, because international scholarly conferences are an effective means of integration, this meeting (which is not the first in Wrocław) is a welcome opportunity – *Viva sequentes!* However, no other forms of contact and co-operation should be overlooked.

The nature of this conference is more international than other such meetings previously held in Wrocław. Although there is still a predominance of Polish participants, more than 31% of our attendees are not Poles, which, in my opinion, is a sign of a greater degree of the type of co-operation which will take place between the three countries in the near future. The range of subject-matter covered in the conference is wide: from Jewish medieval settlement to Jewish emigration to Silesia within the framework of the great migration of nations after the last War. The number of lectures on anti-Semitism and the various techniques of Nazi homicide is significant,

as are a number of opinions on the social and cultural life of the Jewish population. There is a treatise on inter-religious relationships, several works on demography as well as a discussion on the state of our research and of the characteristics of some monuments. Some of the opinions expressed will help to correct erroneous views among some scholars; some will touch upon subjects, which up until now have been neglected or omitted. Others will provide updates on their as-yet not completed research, and it is anticipated that the discussion will not only correct inaccuracies and fill gaps in participants' knowledge, but will also form a basis for new research subjects and for new co-operative ventures.

I have permitted myself to mention existing problems and I have also attempted to define the subject-matter of the conference. Thus, I will dare to propose some new research directions, although I should mention my 'professional divergence', because as far as Polish philology is concerned, I have been both a researcher and the editor of some resources and in terms of Jewish studies, I have performed a very similar function – as the cataloguer of Jewish tombstones.

Allow me to begin with our epigraphic requirements. Undoubtedly, Jewish tombstones constitute very valuable documentation for the historian, the cultural expert, the art historian, and even for the theologian. Simultaneously, those monuments lack their own custodians. Their maintenance is beyond the means of monument restorers, the administrative authorities and the police. Consequently, even the most vigilant protection of the cemeteries from people will not prevent the tombstones from being destroyed by the onslaughts of nature, which is exacerbated by man's industrial activity. Tombstone inscriptions which at present can be read only with difficulty, in a year's time might be half erase, while in several years' time they may be reduced to a pile of limestone gravel. Therefore, the proposal is to completely document existing Jewish tombstones as soon as possible; in as complete a form as possible; incorporating all material, and that this concern not only the old monuments, as we are dealing with a dead, a murdered culture, and all which is left can be deemed to be an archaeological monument. Such documentation should be carried out in the most precise and competent manner. A destroyed tombstone is one that will never be read again.

There is another issue, although it is not connected with the sources. On the premise that nineteenth or twentieth century pre-War researchers into Jewish-related subject-matter had access to a wider range of sources, there is often the erroneous assumption made that the modern scholar, with fewer sources to draw upon, is confined only to exploiting his predecessors' work, and thus can only expand upon interpretations of the facts presented therein. This conclusion is valid only if another, silent assumption is made; namely, that an honest and positivistic researcher has exploited all the existing sources. One can easily guess that this is not always the case.

I present you with an example. Johannes Chrząszcz and Israel Rabin, when dealing with the history of Biała Jews, had an opportunity to draw upon sources which no longer exist. These they used thoroughly. However, they did not take the mortgage books of the Prudnik court into account. They might have known that the

founding regulation was passed in Biała as late as 1835, but they did not take into account the meticulousness of the civil servants of the time, who demanded documents dating back to the seventeenth century, which provided evidence of the communities' property and therefore they included them in the files. Hence the idea of searching the mortgage books and files as part of source research, and not only in relation to the cemeteries. The mortgage data can also provide information about other real estate owned by the community; the sums not paid at the purchase or the possible sale, as well as the amount of the charges due can be a source of information about the community's financial situation at a given time. That same idea also has relevance for Jewish social organisations.

I shall provide you with another example. In the plan of above-mentioned Biała, which was made in 1811, the Jewish district, comprising 1/3 of the town's area adjacent to the castle, was marked by the surveyor. Knowing that in 1789 an enormous fire destroyed the town, difficulties will obviously be encountered in relation to its earlier history. However, if from the church inspection of 1688 it can be learned that there was a Jewish cemetery encircled by a wooden fence outside the town, that Jews occupied 1/3 of the town's area and owned a wooden synagogue, and that the brick synagogue, opened in 1794, was erected on the site of the former building, one can conclude that in 1688 the Jewish part of the town was located in the same area as in 1811. Generally speaking, although in modern times the Church played a lesser role as the decisive factor in policies affecting the Jews, it nevertheless had reason to monitor the situation continually. Microfacts registered after church inspections (not only those in print) should be heeded by anybody working on this documentation.

The above two examples have been quoted as evidence of the existence of the types of sources which have hardly been used, and which should be made accessible for studies of Jewish history. However, it is an unfortunate fact that access to known sources can be difficult because good documentation of archives is sadly lacking. Admittedly, a lot of work has been done so far, a lot is being done, and one such project will be discussed in this conference, but needs in this area are still considerable. For example, there are considerable resources on Silesian Jews kept in Israeli archives, libraries and museums (or are they unknown in Poland?)

As far as bibliographies of works in print are concerned, the situation has been improving. In 1995 the *Bibliographie zur Geschichte der Juden in Schlesien* by Margret Heitmann and Andreas Reinke was published, and in the near future an extensive bibliography by Marcin Wodziński will be published, which will supplement the above-mentioned work. However, there is still a demand for further bibliographical work which, among other things, would deal with the contents of individual magazines and papers. As it is a known fact that Jews in Europe (but not only in Europe) were the most migratory population element, a comprehensive exploration of the history and culture of Silesian Jews demands that the outlined proposals be carried out, even if only in relation to the Jews of the Czech Republic, Germany and Poland. May this conference serve that purpose!

# I.

# MIDDLE AGES AND EARLY MODERN TIMES

**Mateusz Goliński**

# JEWS IN MEDIEVAL LEGNICA – THEIR LOCATION IN THE MUNICIPAL AREA

Old and spacious Legnica (Liegnitz), a castle centre dating back to tribal times: from the thirteenth century one of the most important ducal abodes and one of the largest Silesian cities. This city ranks among that type of multi-stage urban plans where the complexity of the layout allows the researcher to assume there have been consecutive phases of development, both of a post-charter and early-urban nature. Almost inevitably, such considerations concern the aspect of the location of the Jewish community. The above-mentioned circumstances, both politically and economically, automatically allow us to assume that the Jewish community was here as early as within the early-urban, or at least the thirteenth century agglomeration, in the pre- and early-charter phases, even though the presence of Jews in Legnica before the fourteenth century has yet to be confirmed by any source! The latter is an extremely important circumstance which must not be forgotten, particularly bearing in mind the fact that in Legnica one is dealing with a genuine past-bound projection of a situation that would occur later on, which complies with some theoretical assumptions concerning Jewish settlements in medieval Poland. We do encounter a specific type of feedback here, as the hypothetical history of the Jewish settlement in Legnica was presented later on as a model for such settlements in Poland. Thus in the pre-charter stage, the Jewish settlement is thought to have been established in the direct vicinity of the ducal castle, and would become Jewish St.[1] in the post-charter phase (as in Wrocław, Poznań or Płock). Any possible divergences in this vision revolve around the point in time in which a given settlement was created. For example, Theodor Schönborn and Władysław Dziewulski had no doubts that in 1241 this settlement existed next to the castle on its south-eastern side, and recently Rafał Eysymontt wrote about the handover to the Jewish people of the former marketplace area – which lay north of the city, near the castle and the southern branch of Black Water –

[1] See M. and K. Piechotkowie, 'Skupiska żydowskie w strukturze przestrzennej miast dawnej Rzeczypospolitej', *Studia Polonica Historiae Urbanae* 1 (1996) 175.

'soon' after the granting of the charter[2]. When exactly that charter was granted has yet to be investigated[3].

Nevertheless, facts based on confirmed sources concerning this issue only come to light in the fourteenth century. Those facts indicate the existence of a 'Jewish town near Legnica'. On Black Water (*in civitate Judeorum prope Legnize super aquam nigram*) there was a mill with an estate, the crop annuity of which was sold to the knight Hoyer von Prittwitz (*Oyger de Pretyze*) by Prince Bolesław III on September 30 1317. There were also other estates, from which a 2 Mark annuity was granted to the daughter of knight Merbota von Hayn (February 2 1334)[4], on the day she entered the Convent of St. Claire. We cannot confirm on the basis of that information whether that 'Jewish town' was actually located in the direct vicinity of the castle. Sometimes such a choice of location comes from identifying the town with the fifteenth century Jewish St.[5], which was actually confirmed as being near the castle, and which was a separate ducal jurisdiction, outside the municipal area (which will be discussed further). A distinct connection with the castle – the abode of the ruler, the guarantee of protection for the Jewish people – supports the theory of the early origins of the Jewish settlement. The latter particularly hinges on the definition of the settlement as a 'town', thus on emphasising its separateness. This was not a characteristic of Jewish districts in Silesian towns late in the Middle Ages, where religious divisions were unknown. Such separateness can be noted in the old, thirteenth century centres, as it is believed that such ethnic settlements existed within the boundaries of early-urban agglomerations.

As has been generally accepted since Arnold Zumwinkel's research, the mill on Black Water of 1317 mentioned above was identical to the mill on the same river, bought by Prince Wenceslaus in 1361 'to meet the needs of his court'. That building – associated with the southern tributary of Black Water – has not yet been found, this being the result of demolition of the fortifications. The location of the *Molendinum Nigre aque* was a mystery even in the mid-fifteenth century, and even for the expert Ambrosius Bitschen, who cautiously quoted the then popular opin-

---

2 T. Schönborn, 'Die Stadtwerdung von Liegnitz in ihrer Bedeutung für die deutsche Ostlandbewegung', in id. (ed.), *Liegnitz. 700 Jahre eine Stadt deutschen Rechts* (Breslau, 1942) 4-5; W. Dziewulski, 'Legnica', in *Studia z historii budowy miast polskich* (*Prace Instytutu Urbanistyki i Architektury*) (Warsaw, 1957) fig. 1; R. Eysymontt, 'Rozwój przestrzenny i architektura', in S. Dobrowolski (ed.), *Legnica. Zarys monografii miasta* (Wrocław-Legnica, 1998) 91.

3 See M. Goliński and R. Żerelik, 'Kontrowersje wokół lokacji Legnicy', *Szkice Legnickie* 15 (1994) 9-33.

4 F.W. Schirrmacher, *Urkunden-Buch der Stadt Liegnitz und ihres Weichbildes bis zum Jahre 1455* (Liegnitz, 1866) No 57; *Regesten zur schlesischen Geschichte. Codex Diplomaticus Silesiae*. Vol. 18 and 29 (Breslau, 1898-1923) No 3716, 5300; A. Zumwinkel, 'Die Stadt Liegnitz im Mittelalter', *Mitteilungen des Geschichts- und Altertums-Vereins zu Liegnitz* 2 (1906-8) 12; Eysymontt, 'Rozwój przestrzenny' 91.

5 Piechotkowie, 'Skupiska żydowskie' 175.

ion that the mill had been located near the castle, at the place where the Tum Gate was erected (*circa castrum, ubi nunc valva summi est edificata*)[6]. The gate which led up to the so-called Tum (the collegiate island), that is, the above-mentioned structure, was located along a narrow stretch of the city walls between Głogów Gate and the castle, adjoining the area that belonged to the duke himself. However, Legnica's historian, Arnold Zumwinkel, claimed that according to the annuities list of St Peter's church, Black Water Mill was the structure *sito in ciuitate Legnicz prope curiam domini archidiaconi.* The Archdeacon's house was located in the middle of the Tum, the collegiate island, north of the castle[7]. Here we have a radical divergence, which would be crucial if it could be proven that the above-mentioned mill in the 'Jewish town' is indeed the subject of discussion.

Both confirmed and alleged changes in the topography of medieval Legnica's suburbs, the lack of accuracy in describing the location of the mill on Black Water or another connecting water-course (researchers have pinpointed as many as three tributaries of that river that cut through the northern suburbs) obviously make it impossible to define the borders of the 'Jewish town near Legnica', which were known to hold the city within its confines only in the first half of the fourteenth century. The absence of any information regarding any special role this Jewish settlement performed suggests caution when it comes to drawing any conclusions about the area of that settlement. At the same time, the fact that the area called the 'Jewish town' in the 1380s was not a separate jurisdiction, but was subordinate to municipal judicial authorities must not be ignored. Otherwise, there would not have been any recordings in the municipal jury books (*libri scabinorum)* concerning the transfer of ownership of houses and inheritances *yn der iudenstat* (1385), including those situated *vor dem glogawisschen thore* (1388)[8]. Thus, at that time, the 'Jewish town', which was situated in its entirety or partly in front of the Głogów Gate, constituted a normal municipal suburb, the status of which had nothing to do with the legal exclusiveness of the fief (lasting until 1447) located within its walls, where Jewish St. was located (this will be discussed further in this treatise). The old name of the neighbourhood was used for the sake of tradition. The period and circumstances in which the suburb was taken over by the townspeople remain unknown, however, it is possible to examine the outcome of this situation. A systematic search of the local registers preserved from 1380 can provide an answer to the question of whether any Jewish property was recorded there, and what happened to it.

Otherwise, we will be subject to the same speculations and misunderstandings on the matter, as was the case with Legnica's Jewish cemetery. The question seems quite simple on the basis of the facts that are known to us. A source of 12 April 1345

---

6 Zumwinkel, 'Die Stadt Liegnitz' 27; A. Zumwinkel (ed.), 'Bitschens Geschossbuch der Stadt Liegnitz vom Jahre 1451', *Mitteilungen des Geschichts- und Altertums-Vereins zu Liegnitz* 7 (1918-9) 230.

7 Zumwinkel, 'Die Stadt Liegnitz' 27, 31; Dziewulski, 'Legnica' fig. 1.

8 Zumwinkel, 'Die Stadt Liegnitz' 12.

confirms the existence of the cemetery; simultaneously, it mentions the cultural aspirations of the local Jews, who marked their graves with tombstones bearing appropriate inscriptions, as was the case in other large Silesian towns as well. At that time, Princes Wenceslaus and Ludwig, eager to compensate for losses borne by the townspeople because of municipal privileges granted to Mikołajowice (Nikolstadt), formally consented to the confiscation of those tombstones, which allegedly were appropriated to erect the city walls (*plenam auctoritatem et licentiam, lapides de cymiterio Judeorum abducere pro structura muri civitatis*). In this they preceded a similar concession made by King John Luxembourg to the citizens of Wrocław (Breslau)[9]. For practical reasons, the cemetery had to continue to function (as in the case of Wrocław's cemetery), and as it was an established and well-known landmark, it became a point of reference by which to locate buildings in the open space of the suburbs. Thus, on April 29 1439, Duchess Elisabeth documented the sale of Nicklos Storketel's property to Ambrosius Bitschen (*Pichczen*), the 'property and grange' called *Storkettil,* situated near Legnica, on Black Water (*Schwarczenwasser*) and located near the Jewish cemetery (*bei der Juden Begreppnisz*), while the garden was situated between that cemetery (*Juden Kirchhoffe*) and the bridge on the river mentioned above[10]. Although the tax roll of 1451 does not mention the cemetery at all, it is rather accurate in specifying the above-mentioned purchase by Ambrosius Bitschen, i.e., 'the grange called *Storketil* and another grange near the ducal well together with its gardens and all the adjoining items' that constituted the fief property. They were located on the northern edge of the suburb before the Głogów Gate (*Ante valvam Glogoviensem*), on the left bank of the northern branch of Black Water, that is, beyond the last bridge from the city (*Ultra aquam et pontem extremum*), near the ducal fulling-mill, probably on the left-hand side of the main road, as 'in the direction of the water' on the right-hand side there was a cluster of allotments next to the high road, on which a rent for the benefit of the city was imposed[11].

The location of the cemetery hinges on a combination of both descriptions: 1) in the area around the ducal property; 2) in the suburb nearest to the town, where Jews were proved to have dwelled; to the castle; and primarily to the above-mentioned 'Jewish town'; 3) outside the suburban development zone, among the allotments and next to the high road to Głogów (Glogau), no further than 750 metres from the Głogów Gate; 4) not on the river itself, but at some distance, e.g., in the allotments area, beyond the marshland. All these points can be regarded as being in accordance with possible notions on the subject. The sole element lacking is information concerning the location of the hill; but this has been supplemented by the early twentieth-century historian, Zumwinkel, who – following his own hunches – locates the Jewish cemetery on the Pottery Hill (*Töpferberg*).

---

[9] Schirrmacher, *Urkunden-Buch* No 138; M. Brann, *Geschichte der Juden in Schlesien*. Vol. 1 (Breslau, 1896) 47-8.

[10] Schirrmacher, *Urkunden-Buch* No 662; Brann, *Geschichte* 34.

[11] Zum Winkel (ed.), 'Bitschens Geschossbuch' 222-4.

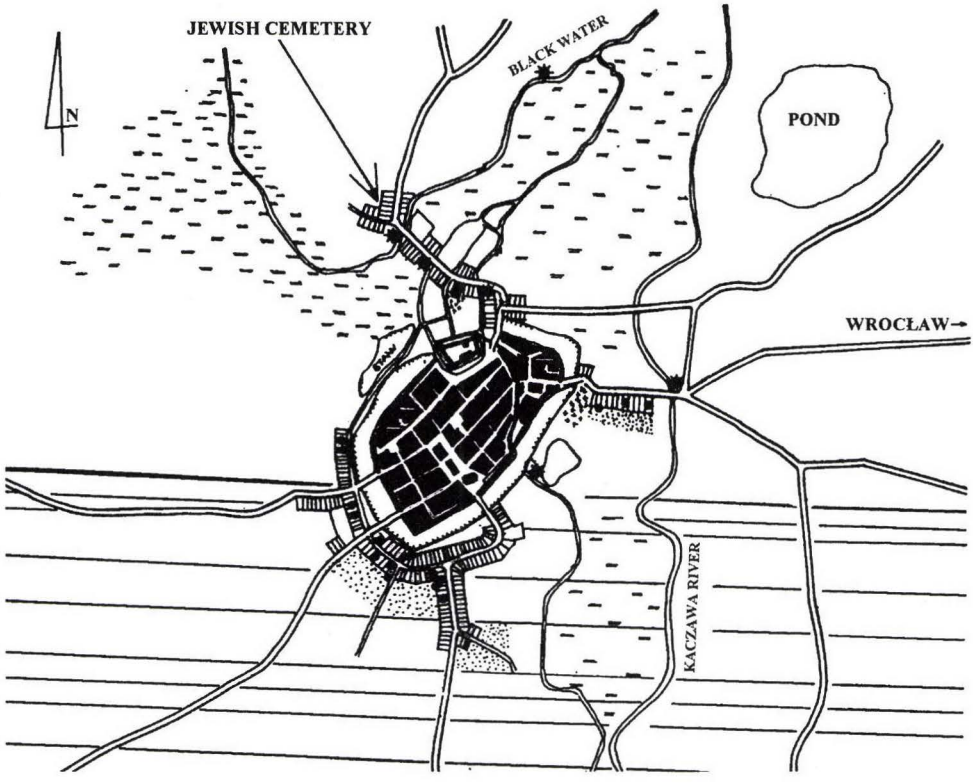



Fig. 1. Reconstructed location of the Jewish cemetery according to 1451 sources. Reconstruction of the inner-town structure – J. Pudełko, 'Zagadnienia urbanistyczne średniowiecznej Legnicy w świetle spisu czynszowego z roku 1451. Próba rekonstrukcji parcelacji', *Kwartalnik Historii Architektury i Urbanistyki* 16/4 (1971), fig. 5.

In his time, this was north of Bruchstraße (possibly No. 2a), near the railroad[12]. The search would have ceased at that point, had it not been for the fact that this researcher forwarded a hypothesis that the cemetery had been relocated. The supposed first cemetery, the one that was confiscated in 1345, could have been connected in terms of location with the old settlement – the 'Jewish town'. It might well have been liquidated in 1348, when Prince Wenceslaus I (he himself being a 'suspect' as an accomplice in the events of 1345) was reported to have founded the collegiate church of the Holy Sepulchre 'on the allotment in the suburb in front of

[12] Zumwinkel, 'Die Stadt Liegnitz' 13; M. Wodziński, *Hebrajskie inskrypcje na Śląsku XIII-XVIII wieku* (Wrocław, 1996) 41.

the city'. The demolished cemetery would have been situated within the Tum, an island between the tributaries of Black Water, which the group of collegiate buildings occupied[13]. Setting aside the fact that the 'Jewish town' (at least part of it) belonged to municipal and not ecclesiastical territory, it has to be admitted that potentially the situation just described could have existed. But there is no evidence for that. What is very interesting, though, is that Zumwinkel's idea was adopted by another researcher, Marcin Wodziński, a scholar known to be highly critical of a similar attempt to 'multiply' the number of Jewish cemeteries in Wrocław[14].

When discussing the location of the late-medieval Jewish centre within the municipal area, one can change perspective a little to start with the tax roll of 1372 (which was somewhat incorrectly defined by the nineteenth-twentieth century archivist as a rough copy referring to the area of the so-called Lower Town)[15]. One of the entries in the book concerns the collection route for the so-called *exactio* (Geschoss) tax. The route began at the south-western edge of Castle St. (*platea castri*) – i.e., around the corner from the town square – passing along its long, northern frontage, then across the Kaczawa River, where the so-called *noua plantatio* stood, and back to Tanner St. (*platea cerdonum*) and to Castle St., from north-west to south-east along its southern frontage (*aliud latus*), and into Middle St. (*media platea*)[16]. Thus we can cease our walk along the city streets with the author of this description, as the Jewish centre discussed was confined to the area just described. The vast majority of buildings (i.e., nine out of ten) owned by Jews listed in tax rolls were located along the middle stretch of the northern frontage of Castle St., and they formed a compound row of buildings divided by just two allotments belonging to Christians. Because of the context of the municipal neighbourhood, I list the former and the latter together, with Jewish items in bold print (the numbering of the allotments is mine, starting with the first item on the list):[17]

---

[13] Zumwinkel, 'Die Stadt Liegnitz' 13, 31-2.

[14] Wodziński, *Hebrajskie inskrypcje* 40-1; id., 'Średniowieczny cmentarz żydowski we Wrocławiu', *Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny Sobótka* 49/3-4 (1994) 341-4.

[15] Archiwum Państwowe we Wrocławiu, Oddział w Legnicy, Akta miasta Legnicy, II 667 (former: A 1088).

[16] Presumably this is a part of the usual route of the tax collectors, as reconstructed by Janusz Pudełko on the basis of the 1451 register (id., 'Zagadnienia urbanistyczne średniowiecznej Legnicy w świetle spisu czynszowego z roku 1451. Próba rekonstrukcji parcelacji', *Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki* 16/4 (1971) fig. 1). The only significant difference is the reconstruction of the road in the north-eastern part of the town, between Głogów Gate and the Holy Cross Cloister.

[17] Archiwum Państwowe we Wrocławiu, Oddział w Legnicy, Akta miasta Legnicy, II 667, p. 1r-v.

**Platea castri**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| [19.] | *Hannus Schirwicz* | *4g*[rossi] |
| | *Heynrich tartschener* | [added] |
| [20.] | *Nicklos Czegenbart* | *3g* |
| [21.] | ***Episcopus Judeorum*** | ***5g*** |
| [22.] | ***Jordanynne***[18] | ***5qv***[artae] |
| [23.] | ***Joseph iudeus*** | ***5qv*** |
| [24.] | *Albertus Brotspyser* | *7g* |
| [25.] | ***Helias iudeus*** | ***5qv*** |
| [26.] | ***Noyel iudeus*** | ***5qv*** |
| [27.] | ***Smerlyn iudeus*** | ***3g*** |
| | *Hanns schulchars* | *1g* [deleted] |
| [28.] | ***Schabdey iudeus*** | ***5qv*** |
| [29.] | ***Mossche iudeus*** | ***5qv*** |
| [30.] | *Albrecht blude* | *5qv* |
| [31.] | *Cuncze rote* | *2g* |
| [32.] | ***Jacobus iudeus*** | ***3g*** – [an addendum noting his non-payment of the full amount of the tax] |
| [33.] | *Hensil koler* | *3,5g* |

A solitary Jewish allotment was also situated on the southern side of Castle St.[19];

**Aliud latus**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| [60.] | *Mathias Cuprifaber* | *5,5 scot[i]*[20] |
| | *Nicolaus Cuprifaber* | 2g |
| [61.] | ***Merkil iudeus*** | **7,5g** |
| | *Hanns Wygil* | 5g |
| [62.] | *Nitsche Heyder* | *5g* |
| | *Hanco Opetz* | *1g* |

[18] That is, the widow Jordan, presumably a Jewess. The name Jordan appears quite frequently among Silesian Jews in the fourteenth century, e.g., Jordan of Legnica, the richest Jewish inhabitant of Wrocław in 1345. See M. Brann, *Geschichte der Juden in Schlesien* (Breslau, 1896-1917), Appendix 3, XXI-XXII. His wife, mentioned in the protection letter in Wrocław in 1358, was Hadas – see J. Gilewska-Dubis and K. Bobowski (eds.), *Regesty śląskie*. Vol. 4 (Wrocław-Warsaw, n.d.) No. 97. Another Jordan, a financier and a banker of the duke of Legnica can be found in Świdnica's documents in 1380 – see M. Goliński, 'Ze studiów nad żydami świdnickimi w średniowieczu', in K. Matwijowski (ed.), *Z historii ludności żydowskiej w Polsce i na Śląsku* (Wrocław, 1994) 26.

[19] Archiwum Państwowe we Wrocławiu, Oddział w Legnicy, Akta miasta Legnicy, II 667, p. 2r. The book was known to Zumwinkel ('Die Stadt Liegnitz' 13), though he mentioned only eight Jewish plots altogether.

[20] Medieval currency: 1 *marca* (Mark) = 24 *scoti* = 48 *grossi* (gros) = 96 quartae (quarter).




Fig. 2. Jewish property on Castle St. according to the tax roll of 1372. Modified reconstruction of J. Pudelko, 'Zagadnienia urbanistyczne średniowiecznej Legnicy w świetle spisu czynszowego z roku 1451. Próba rekonstrukcji parcelacji', *Kwartalnik Historii Architektury i Urbanistyki*, 16/4 (1971) fig. 5.

One characteristic is that there was an unnamed 'Jewish Bishop', most likely a rabbi, a scholar, regarded as the head of the religious community[21], among the owners of buildings in Castle St., i.e., the area within municipal jurisdiction subject to municipal taxes. This concentration, or rather, restriction of Jewish buildings to a specific part of the municipal area excludes incidental purchases – such as investments or interceptions of liens. There is no doubt that this is a Jewish dwelling place. The above-mentioned description from 1372 is, to date, the longest known list of Jewish community members from the same period in medieval Legnica. It is sufficient to say that Marcus Brann, the author of a monograph on the history of Silesian Jews, managed to connect just seven or eight people to that city (plus two incorrectly), living there over the span of more than a century (1345-1453)[22]. Of the above-mentioned, he probably was aware of just one person. According to the 1397 report, Elias (*Helias*) of Legnica belonged to the group of major creditors of the city of Wrocław. He loaned 9 thousand threescore Prague gros (gr) to the city council. One of the financiers was *Schabdeie judynne* (1389) of Legnica, whose name can be connected with the *Schabdey iudeus* of our list[23]. As we do not know the situation at that time of the adjoining allotment, outside the municipal jurisdiction of Jewish St., it is difficult to determine the total number of allotments owned by the Jews. In 1379 in Świdnica (Schweidnitz), a town comparable to Legnica in terms of size and importance, some 36-38 (6%) entries in the tax records within the city walls were associated with Jews[24]. However, this is not an ideal comparison, as Świdnica was a destination point for Jewish migration from other Silesian towns, Wrocław in particular.

From what can be ascertained from another surviving tax roll, made for members of the city council elected in 1414, the above-mentioned Jewish settlement did not exist at that time. Only two houses owned by Jewish people can be encountered along the whole of Castle St. (*plathea castri*). They were located around the middle stretch of the northern frontage, and there is no reference to the amount of any dues next to their owners' names. With regard to the neighbouring allotments, our sources provide the following information:[25]

---

[21] See the rules governing the election of a 'Jewish bishop' in the statutes handed down by the Świdnica duchess Agnes to the Jewish community of Świdnica, March 21 1370 – Goliński, 'Ze studiów' 31.

[22] Brann, *Geschichte* Appendix 3, XXXI, XXXIII, XXXIX, LXI: Hannus, Jekil, Schabdeie, Abraham, Elias (Helias), Oser with mother Lazar (maybe mother-in-law – Lazarynne) and Mosche.

[23] Ibid. XXXIII, XXXIX.

[24] Goliński, 'Ze studiów'19.

[25] Archiwum Państwowe we Wrocławiu, Oddział w Legnicy, Akta miasta Legnicy, II 668 (former: 1088a), p. 22-3.

*domus Nicolai mertins 5g*
*Hannus syboth 1,5g*
*Petir kottewicz 3,5g*
***pueri Abrah[am]e***
***Abraham Judeus***
*domus Pauli thamme 2,5g*
*Michil happhener*
*Hanns Molner de domo*

The mention of Abraham and his sons' ownership was retained in local onomastic tradition, and is supported by the last of the tax rolls for 1451. However, this time both estates appear in the context of new names of neighbours:[26]

***Prima que fuit puerorum Abrahe judei, dat 17,5 gr***
***Secunda, que fuit Abrahe Judei, dat 35 gr***
*Schilchin 17,5gr*
*Petir frederich 17,5 gr*
*Niclas landman 17,5 gr*, etc.

The ordinals 'first' and 'second' beside both items are a clear reference to the preceding note, which advises that the area (*aree seu pecie*), by which the territory of the Carthusians monastery was enlarged, paid the tax like all the other estates within the municipal jurisdiction. That note was a stipulation ensuing from another document, which exempted the house belonging to the monastery (*Domus Carthusiensium*) from tax. This house was located in the parallel Jewish St. (*platea judeorum*) and had the status of ducal fiefdom (*feudum*)[27].

The transfer of ownership of the last two Jewish houses in Castle St. to monastery property does not seem to be attributable to the sheer coincidence of their being next to the group of buildings in Jewish St, which was owned by the monastery. The monastery's property consisted of allotments (the number of which remains unknown), a garden and the above-mentioned house[28] (for the inhabitants of the monastery grounds, this house, located outside the city walls, might have been a fugitive house).

There remains one fundamental question: whether the ever-decreasing Jewish ownership in Castle St. from 1372-1451 was a reflection of a broader process aimed at the total liquidation of their ownership in Legnica; or whether it was moving out of the municipal area into ducal jurisdiction. The correct answer to this question seems to come from an event which has been confirmed by sources from around the mid-fifteenth century. On the strength of a decision documented

[26] Zumwinkel (ed.), 'Bitschens Geschossbuch' 214.
[27] Ibid.
[28] Ibid. 213.

on December 7 1447, Duchess Elisabeth handed over to the city all control, judicature and rights (*alle vnd igkliche vnsere herschaft lehen, freyheyt, obirste vnd nedirste gerichte vnd all andir vnsere gerechtikeytten*) hitherto wielded over Jewish St. and the other city fiefs located 'in front of' the castle (*in der judengassen vnd allen vnd igklichen burgklehen vor vnserm schlosz*)[29]. The estates located in that area were primarily defined as *die judenschule mit ihrem schulhofe vnd schulbodem dorczu gehorende,* that is, the estate that had a synagogue, and further it is described as *all andir hofreyten doselbst vff beyden seiten vor unserm schlosz in vnsirer genanten stat kegenenander gelegen zcu unserm burgklehen gehorende.* The powers of the municipal authorities were limited only by the constraints of obeying orders previously issued by the duchess to the owners of the *gebawten erben, hewsern vnd hoffen* ibidem, who were the Carthusians monks, the two *Pantener* brothers (vel *Pantenawer*), the Jew *Mosche*, the master *Jacob* and *Stenczil Mewrer*[30]. The above-mentioned secular persons maintained their privileges for life; only the monks, as already mentioned, could be granted them in perpetuity, which was in accordance with the document issued on the occasion of their interception of the house once owned by the late Hans *von der Newkirchen.* The latter must have been Hans *Czedlicz* (Zedlitz) of Nowy Kościół (Neukirch), from 1437 ducal *capitaneus* of Legnica. The interception must have taken place after January 1 1423, when Ludwig II founded the Carthusian Monastery near Legnica[31].

That the privileges primarily applied to exemption from municipal taxes was stated in the above-mentioned tax roll from 1451. Apart from the real estate located in Jewish St., which was mentioned in the list, no details of any tax can be found. The following cites the real estate in the order in which it appears in the source, assuming the following route of the tax-collector on the basis of Janusz Pudełko's research: the northern frontage of Jewish St. (*Platea Judeorum*) – the southern frontage thereof (*Aliud latus platee Judeorum*) – its extension (*ex opposito*) as far as the eastern edge of the southern frontage of the Coal Market (*Aliud latus fori carbonum*)[32].

---

[29] Schirrmacher, *Urkunden-Buch* No 725; Zumwinkel (ed.), 'Bitschens Geschossbuch' 213; Zumwinkel, 'Die Stadt Liegnitz' 14.

[30] Brann (*Geschichte* Appendix 3, LXI) falsely classified master Jacob and Stenczil Mewrer as Jews.

[31] See R. Żerelik, *Katalog dokumentów przechowywanych w archiwach państwowych Dolnego Śląska.* Vol. 9 part 1: *Archiwa książęce i drobne akcesje (1401-1500)* (Wrocław, 1997) No 319; Zumwinkel, 'Die Stadt Liegnitz' 54-55; Eysymontt, 'Rozwój przestrzenny' 99.

[32] Pudełko, 'Zagadnienia urbanistyczne' fig. 1; Zumwinkel (ed.), 'Bitschens Geschossbuch' 213.

**Platea Judeorum**

***Mosschil Judeus*** – [who paid the tax recorded in the cash book]
*Area*
*Domus panthenawern* – [exempted from tax for life]
***Synagoga Judeorum***
*Lorencz Schulcz parchener*
*Stenczlaw mewerer*

**Aliud latus platee Judeorum**

*Area*
*Lawsenstorch*
*Domus ianitoris*
*Aree et ortus Carthusiensium*
*Domus Carthusiensium*
*ricus*[33]

**Ex opposito**

***Mosche Judeus***
*Area domini Johannis olim militis*
*Area olim domini Hinrici olaw*
*Aree alie*

The above information indicates that the synagogue, also called the 'Jewish school', was not the only estate the tax status of which was not defined directly in the document of 1447. Apart from an insignificant number of *areae* unconnected with any person or institution, there were a few other people like the craftsman Laurence Schultz; Lawsenstorch, an anonymous doorkeeper, the former (?) Knight Johann; but the master Jacob is no longer mentioned there[34]. Given the above-mentioned circumstances (just as in the tax list of 1451 new people appeared, who had not been mentioned in the register of 1447), it would appear that it is impossible to automatically regard *Mosschil* and *Mosche* as the same person, although the latter is known in historiography. He was one of the Jewish financiers to never regain their estates. Not only was he detained in Wrocław in 1440 owing to a forged letter of debt, but also his name is mentioned in five letters of unsettled

[33] According to reconstruction by Pudełko ('Zagadnienia urbanistyczne' 4) there is only one plot missing.

[34] Possibly the same as *Meister Jacob mewer*. At that time he had two houses on the southern side of the Coal Market, thus in the vicinity of Jewish St. – Zumwinkel (ed.), 'Bitschens Geschossbuch' 213-4.

debts (including two, which were Duke Ludwig's debts) and those letters were confiscated in 1453 in the royal cities of Silesia[35]. Nevertheless, the odds are that in the mid-fifteenth century, at the time the area of the former Jewish settlement was handed to the city, there were only three non-neighbouring estates owned by the Jews: *Mosche*'s estate, the synagogue and *Mosschil*'s property. That *Mosche* was mentioned as early as 1447 in a document as the owner of a built-up allotment within the hitherto existing Castle fief, and then in a tax roll of 1451 as the disposer of a tax-free estate at the western edge of the southern frontage of Jewish St. (the place of which might well be ranked among the Coal Market addresses) did not change the fact that from the point of view of the city authorities he legally registered his property at a later stage, possibly expecting future persecution to befall the Jewish people. In the jury book of 1453 a statement of the hitherto unknown Jew *Lasar* was recorded, concerning the sale of a house with the allotment *offim kolmargkte* to *Mosche*. The latter must have come from Jawor (Jauer), which was mentioned beside his name, as it was *Mosche jude vom Jawr* who, in the presence of the jury appointed for the 1454 term of office, ceded his house and allotment in the Coal Market to *Nickil Reycheln*[36]. This was not the first cession of a formerly Jewish allotment in that area. The allotment, located in the near neighbourhood, according to the information of 1451, which once had belonged to Heinz *Olaw,* called a lord, was undoubtedly identified as the allotment on which the house given as fief by Duke Ludwig II to Knight Heinz of Oława (*Heyncze von der Olaw*) on August 4 1420 stood. It is of considerable significance because the estate formerly belonged to the Jew Abraham, who was certainly the owner of parallel allotments in Castle St[37].

One of the issues discussed is the size of Jewish allotments in relation to the municipal neighbourhood. According to the latest of the tax rolls I have drawn upon, the former allotment belonging to Abraham was outstanding for its size. The annual *exactio* (Geschoss) tax of 35 gros referred to one-half of half the original settlement's allotment size, the so-called *curia.*

The above examples of the neighbouring estates, including those owned by Abraham's sons, relate to the allotments which were charged at 17.5 gros, equal to one-quarter of the *curia* unit, which dominated the stretch of Castle St. under discussion. Closer to the town square, properties were larger – one-half of the *curia.*[38]

---

35 Brann, *Geschichte* Appendix 3, LXI.

36 Zumwinkel, 'Die Stadt Liegnitz' 13.

37 Schirrmacher, *Urkunden-Buch* No. 519; Brann, *Geschichte*, Appendix 3, XXIX. The letter of protection of Wenzeslaus and Ludwig issued on August 7 1410 for the Jews of Legnica and Złotoryja (Goldberg) mentioned Abraham of Złotoryja, his cousin Ozar, brother-in-law Abraham and his servant Mosche – Żerelik, *Katalog* No 62.

38 See Pudełko, 'Zagadnienia urbanistyczne' table 1 and fig. 4. A note made by Eysymontt on the measurements of the plots on „Castle St. [i.e., formerly Tanner St. – MG] inhabited by the Jewish people" seems to be based on some misunderstanding. See R. Eysymontt, 'Prze-




Fig. 3. Property defined as Jewish or formely Jewish in the tax roll of 1451. Modiefied reconstruction of J. Pudełko, 'Zagadnienia urbanistyczne średniowiecznej Legnicy w świetle spisu czynszowego z roku 1451. Próba rekonstrukcji parcelacji', *Kwartalnik Historii Architektury i Urbanistyki* 16/4 (1971) fig. 4.

miany pierzei ulicznych w miastach śląskich na podstawie źródeł pisanych, kartograficznych i ikonograficznych', *Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej* 47/1-2 (1999) 86.

These proportions, so clear in 1451, are not a reflection of the situation of a few dozen years before. Although in 1414 no tax burdens on Jewish property were in evidence, still the situation of the time can be ascertained from the above-mentioned items on the list relating to the Christian neighbourhood. Only two of them met the standard set for one-half of the *curia* and one-quarter of the *curia* in the so-called open streets, i.e., assessed at 35 and 17.5 gros per year. The others of those quoted were 24.5, 21 and 10.5 gros per year[39], although formally they were not typical; they could have been found in some of the so-called 'closed streets' (like Baker St.), thus they must have originated from some unrecognised standard for allotment size established for a given city zone[40]. The difference between the data of 1414 and 1451 could have been the result of changes in layout, which had occurred over that period, e.g., in the aftermath of the restoration after the fire which destroyed that part of Legnica in 1438[41]. Thus the information concerning the taxation of the allotments in 1372 seems all the more interesting. Of the nine Jewish estates in the northern frontage of Castle St., one ('the bishop's') was assessed as one-half of the *curia* (35 gros per year), no less than six were assessed as one-quarter of the *curia* (17.5 gros), while two belonged to an unrecognised standard (21 gros). At the same time, all the other allotments from the Christian neighbourhood along the above-mentioned stretch, apart from one-quarter of the *curia*, consisted of 'non-typical' allotments (28 gros; 24.5 gros; 21 gros; 14 gros; 7 gros), as if the standard from another type of street was being applied. However, the largest Jewish estate in Castle St. was located on its southern side – *Merkil* owned three-quarters of the location *curia* (52.5 gros), but in his neighbourhood, beside 'non-typical' allotments, there were large buildings – half of the *curia*, or even more than one full *curia* (77 gros).

The history of the Jewish community in Legnica over 1453-4 – presumably a time of trials, martyrdom and exile for the local Jews because of the famed John of Capistrano trial in Wrocław – remains little known. However, according to research carried out by Zumwinkel, based on the ownership transfer deeds registered in the jury books (*libri scabinorum*) the dramatic events of that period did not, as happened in Wrocław and Świdnica, put an end to the permanent presence of Jews in the city. Some of them returned. Three events quoted by the above-mentioned researcher, which occurred in the third quarter of the fifteenth century, show some

---

[39] Before 1436 *exactio* (Geschoss) tax was divided into seven instalments, to be paid in five terms i.e., during the third week of Lent, on St. Walpurgia, St. John (2 instalments), St. Michael (2 instalments), and Christmas (Zum Winkel [ed.], 'Bitschens Geschossbuch', 205-6). Thus, the registers noted only one part, which should be multiplied by 7 to calculate the proper tax payable in the year 1451. In the register of 1372, each term is marked with a special graphic sign: $_{o}\backslash^{o}$ O □ ∇ *dt*, which is crossed out after the whole tax is paid. In the tax roll of 1414, abbreviations were used: *W et Jo et M et N et dt*, supplemented by some obscure additional one to six circles, which are then also crossed out.

[40] Pudełko, 'Zagadnienia urbanistyczne' table 2.

[41] Zum Winkel (ed.), 'Bitschens Geschossbuch' 214.

shift in preferences towards purchasing estates in the western part of the city – from purchasing in Jewish St. to purchasing in the Coal Market. In 1457 the purchase by the Jew *Moysche* of a house located on the castle moat (*of deme burggraben*), opposite the coppersmith's (*koppirsmede*), from Hans Meißener was registered. According to Zumwinkel, this could be the corner of the Coal Market together with the so-called side-street, where in 1451 there was an empty site after a fire that had destroyed some small houses (*domicule*). That marginal corner of the city, situated not very far from a brothel and a prison, bears an obvious similarity to Wrocław's Jewish St. In 1460 the city council sold to *Ysaac* an empty allotment in Jewish St. (*hofestat in der juden gassen*) designed for development. As it was stated, that allotment was located near old *Mosche*'s house (*bey des alden Moschen hawse*). This time the purchase constituted a return 'to one's roots'. It is most likely that in 1451 that allotment was an empty space (*area*) located between *Mosschil*'s and the *Panthenawers*' houses on the northern frontage (which could be an argument against the assumption that *Mosche* and *Mosschil*'s are two different people). In 1466 Jorge Katcz reported the sale of a house and allotment in the Coal Market (*off dem kolmargkte*), situated near *Salmon*'s property, to the Jew Abraham. The latter, Niclas Salmon, indicates the southern frontage of the st.[42].

Thus, it can be seen that the process of ousting the Jews by the townspeople was not unilateral. However, compensating for that trend, at least partly, caused the translocation of the Jewish community, which, during the fourteenth and fifteenth century, was migrating slowly, if not directly, from west to east.

[42] Zumwinkel, 'Die Stadt Liegnitz' 13-4; Zumwinkel (ed.), 'Bitschens Geschossbuch' 213.

**Janusz Spyra**

# CONVERSION OF JEWS IN CIESZYN SILESIA IN THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

Conversion is as old a phenomenon as religion itself, even among Jews, who have generally been considered very closely attached to the religion of their ancestors. In modern Europe, Jewish conversions were mainly to Christianity. There were a number of motivating factors, in addition to compulsory baptism, that included administrative, economic, financial, and other pressures; career advancement, and sometimes a sincere conviction of the superiority of Christianity over Judaism[1].

Jewish conversion to Christianity in Cieszyn Silesia can be traced back to the time of the last Cieszyn duchess, Elisabeth Lukretia (1625-1653) because it was during her reign, that births were first recorded in St. Mary Magdalene Parish in Cieszyn (the first entry is dated 1628) and have been preserved. These birth registers form the basis of this article. Metrical books from other parishes were only randomly examined, because an investigation of all the 29 parishes that have such books from the 17th and 18th centuries is beyond the author's scope[2]. Additional information was found in the files of a number of administrative bodies. Their importance lies in the fact that decisions made in individual cases often began the process of legislation in the topic under discussion.

The first recorded conversions of Jews are connected with the court of duchess Elisabeth Lukretia[3]. In December 1636, two unnamed Jews were baptised in Cieszyn and given the Christian names of John and Alexander. A year later (November 29, 1637), a Jew named Simon was baptised and received the name An-

---

1 See G. Kisch, *Judentaufen. Ein historisch-biographisch-psychologisch-soziologische Studie* (Berlin, 1973) 22-37.

2 For the years 1628-1700, the author checked well preserved indexes to baptisms certificates St. Mary Magdalene Parish in Cieszyn and for the years 1700-1800, all baptisms certificates (vols. VIII-XIV).

3 J. Spyra, 'Die Juden in Teschener Schesien (bis Anfang des 18.Jh.)', *Oberschlesisches Jahrbuch* 9 (1993) 41-66; J. Spyra, 'An outline of the history of Jews in Cieszyn Silesia' in J. Spyra (ed.) *In the Shadow of the Skoczów Synagogue* (Bielsko-Biała, 1998) 9-26.

dreas. The godfather of all three, was Maximilian Pröckel von Procksdorf, the chamberlain and adviser of the Dutchess' court. Elisabeth Lukretia herself was the godmother to John and Simon, while her stewardess fulfilled that role for Alexander[4]. This shows the significance attached to the baptising of Jews in those days but it is not clear whether these were local Jews. It was only in August 1639, that a Jew, specifically described as "Judeus Tiess", was baptised. Unfortunately, his name is not recorded but after his baptism, he was named John Jacob [Joannes Jacobus]. In the same month, another Jew was baptised with the name of Christophorus[5].

It is difficult to know whether these few baptisms were the result of a plan or perhaps were the personal initiative of the Prince's chamberlain, von Procksdorf, since he is mentioned as the godfather in three of the baptisms. No other conversions were registered during the reign of the last Cieszyn Duchess. Until her death, Elisabeth Lukretia supported her court Jew, Jacob Singer, who was a toll collector in Cieszyn for many years[6]. After Jacob's death, his duties in Cieszyn were taken over by one of his sons, Samuel. In 1655, he had a legal dispute with Moses Lazarowic, an itinerant Jewish dyer from Głogów who lived in Singer's home in Cieszyn for a few months. In the second half of the year, Moses moved to Racibórz where he was arrested, on Samuel's request, and charged with an attempt to swindle Samuel out of money that Samuel paid him for abandoning his plan to convert. Moses, who was meanwhile baptised in Racibórz and adopted the name of Andreas Lazarowic, in turn charged Samuel Singer with attempted intimidation and revenge by Jews including even death, if he did not abandon his plans for conversion. The claims in the dispute, which dragged on until 1670, were financial, but it is important to note that the local Cieszyn authorities decisively supported Samuel Singer[7]. Thus support for "their" Jew took priority over conversion of a Jew to Catholicism. This case also brings into focus the issue of real or imaginary threats by Jews against their co-religionists who decided to abandon the religion of their ancestors. This issue would arise quite often in the years to come.

Great changes took place in the political position of the region and in its internal politics after 1653, when the Cieszyn Piast dynasty ended. The new rulers of the principality, the Habsburgs, tried to return it as rapidly as possible to Catholicism from the Protestants who were still strong in the area. The Jesuit Order, established in Cieszyn in 1670, led the battle to strengthen Catholicism and there-

---

4 *Book of Baptisms* (MCh), Vol. I, 151, 152, 164.

5 *Ibid.*, Vol. I, 187, 188. The instigator of the both baptisms seems to have been army captain Andreas Oberstreck since he is mentioned as the godfather in both cases.

6 Spyra, 'Die Juden' 47-50; J. Spyra, 'Książęce i cesarskie przywileje dla żydowskiej rodziny Singerów z Cieszyna', *Pamiętnik Cieszyński* 7 (1993) 112-124.

7 Archiwum Państwowe w Katowicach, Oddział w Cieszynie [State Archives in Katowice, Cieszyn Branch], (referred to in the present study as APC), Akta miasta Cieszyna (AMC), sign. 471 p. 13; APC, Komora Cieszyńska (KC), sign. 263/2.

fore, at least in the beginning, did not exert much effort in converting Jews. The number of Jews in Cieszyn Silesia was still quite small, since the law that prohibited them from settling there was still in effect[8]. Of course conversions continued to take place, even outside Cieszyn. For example, on February 27, 1658, the son of local Jews, Moses and Rifke, was baptised in Fryštat and given the name, John Matthias [Johann Matthias]. The godparents were John Charles Lipowski and a countess from Vrbno[9]. Until the beginning of the 18th century, conversions were, however, sporadic[10] and not much is known about the converts. There were also occasional conversions in Cieszyn Silesia of residents from other regions. The best known of these was that of Isaac Wolf from Krnov who was associated with the Emperor's court and took on the name of Charles Rosenzweig. In 1702, his son, on the recommendation of the court, was given, for a short period of time, a lease on the sale of alcoholic beverages in the Cieszyn Chamber area[11].

The situation changed in the 18th century because in 1713 Emperor Charles VI issued the Edict of Tolerance, which allowed Jews to settle in Silesia on condition that they pay a special tax. As a result, the number of Jews increased rapidly; in the third decade of the 18th century and during that period about 60 Jewish families lived in Cieszyn Silesia[12]. Another reason that Catholic institutions at the time showed more interest in converting Jews was that the Habsburgs, under pressure from King Charles XII of Sweden, partially recognised the Protestants in 1707. In 1709, Cieszyn Protestants built a church and organised a Protestant community around it. This, with the aid of administrative orders, considerably limited opportunities for Catholic priests to influence the Protestants and therefore increased their interest in converting Jews. Competition between the two Christian faiths sometimes led to rivalry for Jewish souls. In May 1710, the Cieszyn deacon, Twaruszka, baptised a 23 years old Jew, who took the name, John Peter Farnicki.

---

8 Spyra, 'Die Juden' 51-57. For the re-introduction of Catholicism into Cieszyn Silesia in the second half of the 17th century, see: K. Radda, 'Urkundliche Beiträge zur Geschichte der Protestantismus im Herzogtum Teschen bis zum Toleranzpatent', in *IX Programm der k.k.Staats-Realschule in Teschen am Schlusse des Schuljahres 1881/82* (Teschen, [1882]) 1-7; O. Wagner, *Mutterkirche vieler Länder. Geschichte der Evangelischen Kirche im Herzogtum Teschen 1545-1918/20* (Wien-Köln-Graz, 1978) 27-60.

9 Zemský archiv v Opavě (ZAO), Matriký, F-IV-1 (baptisms certificates Fryštat, Vol. 1, 1652-1731) 51.

10 In addition to the cases cited in the index to the Books of Baptisms in Cieszyn during the years 1641-1708, there were no other cases of conversion of Jews found until 1706. The index may, however, be incomplete.

11 M. Grunwald, *Samuel Oppenheimer und sein Kreis* (Wien-Leipzig, 1913) 304, 323 (in return for agreeing to be baptised). See B. Brilling, 'Zur Geschichte der Juden in Österreichisch-Schlesien 1640-1737', *Judaica Bohemiae* 4 (1968) 109, n. 36. Cieszyn Chamber [Komora Cieszyńska, Teschner Kammer] was management of private Habsburg's goods as Dukes of Cieszyn on area of all Cieszyn Silesia.

12 J. Spyra, 'Juden in Teschener Schlesien unter der Herrschaft Karls VI. (1711-1740)', *Oberschlesisches Jahrbuch* 10 (1994) 25-29.

An entry in the book of births shows that he wanted to take "baptismum ritu Haereticorum" but was dissuaded from doing so by Catholic priests[13]. There was also the well known case of 11 year old Barbara, daughter of Isaac, who lived in Górne Cierlicko with Joachim, who leased an inn from George Rusiecki from Eywan. According to priests and officials familiar with the case, Barbara lived next to the parish church and, after hearing the Catholic service, she decided, freely and on her own initiative, to become baptised. She received the first instructions from the local parish priest, Joseph Henner, who informed the authorities. Subsequenty however, the girl came under the influence of a devout protestant, Eva Tluk, from Toszonowice, wife of a landowner in Cierlicko. She ran away from her guardian's house and found refuge with the Protestant nobility, which protected her from attacks by her Jewish co-religionists, who attempted to retrieve her by force[14]. She was then sent to be educated by parson John Muthmann in Cieszyn but was then taken back by force by order of the Cieszyn land Starost, Adam Vaclav Paczyński, the Count of Tenczyn. A week later, she escaped and her Protestant guardians from the Cieszyn nobility helped her to travel abroad. During the investigation, ordered by the state authorities, the protestant nobility defended itself on the grounds that the Emperor never forbade the conversion of Jews to Protestantism. Nevertheless, two of the most involved noblewomen were found guilty and imprisoned for kidnapping the girl, who initially wanted to become a Catholic[15].

The above, is an example of a girl caught between two parties using arguments that were not very religious. That was an exception rather than the rule[16]. In general, if Jews decided to convert, they converted to Catholicism because that was the dominant religion. In the first half of the 18th century, proselytism of Jews in Cieszyn Silesia increased to such a degree that it appears to have been planned. The secular clergy, under the leadership of the Cieszyn deacon, as well as the local orders, led by the now militant Jesuits, took part. Ecclesiastic as well as secular authorities attached great importance to the conversion of Jews, although it appears never to have gained the same importance as the battle with Protestantism. Each baptism of a Jew was performed with ceremony in a parish church in Cieszyn and occasionally in a monastic church, especially one from the Jesuit order. Generally, the Cieszyn deacon himself performed the baptism and the highest local

---

[13] *Book of Baptisms*, Vol. IX (1709-1718) 19.

[14] Attempts by Barbara's co-religionists ceased after a threat by Rusiecki to discontinue Joachim's lease.

[15] The case was described in detail on grounds of the Wrocław files by Oskar Zawisza, *Ogólna historya Cierlicka*, script from 1928 in Książnica Cieszyńska w Cieszynie [Cieszyn Historical Library] (KKC) 47-52. Similar fall compare M. Landwehr von Pragenau, *Geschichte der Stadt Teschen* (Würzburg, 1976) 62.

[16] In the index to the Books of Baptisms in the Jesus Church in Cieszyn, the only Protestant church in Cieszyn Silesia until 1781, there are no entries on baptising of Jews during the years 1709-1807. One should point out, however, that birth certificates contained no information on the religion of baptised individuals.

officials, such as the Cieszyn land Starost, the Regents of the Cieszyn Chamber and their spouses, and representatives of both the Catholic and Protestant nobles acted as godparents. Mass baptisms, although infrequent, occasioned the largest ceremonies. On November 25, 1728, three Jews, Joannes Antonius Dobrowolski, "Polonus" from Grodno (godparents were land Starost Wratislaw de Mitrowsky, Georg Skrbensky from Rudzica, and the count's Praschma daughter); Maximilianus Elias Grzibek (godparents were Baron Charles Skrbensky from Šenov, Bernard Rostek, and Anna von Bees), and Josephus Freywill (godparents were the wife of Cieszyn Chamber Regent Gössinger, Baron George Friderick Bludowski, and Susanna von Blacha)[17] were baptised by the Cieszyn deacon. Special days, around Christmas or other significant church holidays, were usually chosen for baptisms. Converts usually received several new names, often the names of one or more godparents. It is possible, that they also adopted new surnames but this is not noted in the certificates from the first half of the 18th century. Especially noteworthy, is 24 year-old Michael Joseph who was baptised in 1711 and adopted ("ad honorem Matris Dei") the name "Maryański"[18]. Unfortunately, the former names and surnames of converts were often not recorded. In 1729, deacon Świder baptised a Jew in a church in Pogwizdów, outside Cieszyn, and recorded it in the Cieszyn book of births. The baptised Jew, born in Tarnów in Little Poland, adopted the names, John Nepomuk Francis Antonius and a surname, "Pogwizdowski" from the name of the place where he had once lived and worked,[19] a custom that became more prevalent in later years.

Judging from the numerous annotations in the certificates, much attention was given to having the converts absorb the principles of Christianity, a task usually performed by the Jesuits. The period of instruction lasted at least two weeks[20]. It is difficult, however, to believe in the genuineness of these instructions as well as in the sincerity of all the converts[21], since a substantial number of the Jews baptised in the Cieszyn church in the first half of the 18th century, were children. This was, according to the historian of the Cieszyn Jesuits, J. Franek, due to the fact that Jews frequently tried to delay their conversion and, pressured by the priests or

---

17 *Book of Baptisms*, Vol. X 327.

18 *Ibid.*, Vol. IX 47. The entry starts with the comment that the baptism was performed "spontante ex Judaeismo".

19 *Book of Baptisms*, Vol. X 345.

20 It was marked with phrases such as "praeinstructus" (two baptisms in 1711); "bene instructa" (Mary Josepha Sidonia baptised in 1726; Jacob Polaczek from Boskovice, baptised in 1744); etc. In case of Joachim Hirsh (see below) there is a statement that as a catechumen prepares to baptism because "sed prius debet instrui in fide Christiana et catholica". In the birth certificate it was written that "sufficienter prius erat in fide salvifica instructus".

21 In 1727, the Cieszyn deacon baptised the son of Jacob Jackerle "in carcere civico". The baptism was probably performed to help the latter to be released from prison (*Book of Baptisms*, Vol. X 281).

friars, sent their children to be baptised "for the sake of peace". In his opinion, they similarly considered the motivation for the act of baptism itself[22].

As previously noted, the Cieszyn deacon baptised the vast majority of the Jews but Jesuits were behind these conversions and usually gave Catholic religious instruction to Jews preparing for conversion[23]. A list of Jesuit conversions of Protestants includes more than ten conversions of Jews performed in the years 1734-1770[24]. J. Franek states that Jesuits attached great significance to converting Jews with their greatest attention given to the conversion of Jewish leaders, such as members of the Singer family. Indeed, in the first half of the 18th century, we find baptisms in the Ziffer[25] family, who were related to the Singers, and in the family of Jacob Hirschl Jackerle, a grandson of Samuel Singer on his mother's side[26]. In 1737, among the Cieszyn baptisms certificates, there is an entry (Josephus Christophorus Franciscus) about the baptism of the one-and-a-half year old son of Joachim Hirschl. His father is described as a catechism student preparing for baptism. It was probably he, who was baptised the following year and took the name, Joannes Christophorus Hirsch. This must surely have been Joachim, Jacob Hirschl's younger brother who, for many years was a lessee of the Cieszyn Chamber right to sell alcoholic beverages[27]. The metrical records are not specific enough to be certain, but it appears that most of the Jews baptised in Cieszyn during the first half of the 18th century were not members of rich local families. Most were born outside the region and were there as transients or were servants of local Jewish families. The latter perhaps saw baptism as an opportunity to improve their

---

22 J. Franek, *Dzieje placówki jezuickiej w Cieszynie w okresie kontrreformacji* (typescript of doctor's thesis; Cieszyn, 1939) 136-37.

23 When the deacon did not perform the baptism, it was performed by Jesuits (in 1726, Elias Pichler and Joannes Chitrecius; in 1744, Josef Roller; in 1772, Ch. Brusch). In the case of 24 year old Joseph Adam [Ziffer] in 1711, it is specified that the baptism was performed in the Jesuit church with the special dispensation of the deacon and bishop commissar.

24 Liber Conversorum ab Heresi Luther. ad Fidem Catholicam per Missionem Casaream Societatis Jesu ab Anno 1720 idq. Ecclesia residentia eiusdem Societati Teschinensi, manuscript in KKC, Szersznik collection, DD V 41. Some baptisms mentioned here (from 1753 and 1754) were not included among the birth certificates in St. Mary Magdalene parish.

25 In 1711, Joseph Adam Czepherer, undoubtedly the same as Ziffer. For more about that family see below.

26 The daughter of Jacob Jackerle (noted in baptisms certificates as Jakelowski) was baptised in 1726 and his son in 1727 (*Book of Baptisms*, Vol. X 249, 281). About Jacob Hirshl see J. Spyra, 'Zarys dziejów ludności żydowskiej w Cieszynie i okolicach' in J. Spyra (ed.) *Żydowskie zabytki Cieszyna i Czeskiego Cieszyna* (Cieszyn, 1999) 11-12.

27 *Book of Baptisms*, Vol. XI (years 1733-52) 93, 105.

social standing. Some may have chosen Cieszyn for their baptism in order to separate themselves from their Jewish surrounding[28].

In 1739, the Jesuits won a great coup by converting Jacob, the son of Moses Singer, then the family patriarch, and spiritual leader of Cieszyn Jews, to Catholicism[29]. Jacob's conversion is described in detail in the chronicles of the cloister of the Order of St John of God in Cieszyn. The chronicle states that in October of the past year, Jacob himself brought his two daughters (8 and 3 years of age) to the cloister. They were placed under the care of the dyer, Konderla, taught the essentials of Christianity by Father Francis Ochotski and then, with their parents' consent, were baptised[30]. Shortly, they influenced their father and convinced him also to be baptised. After two weeks of instruction by Ochotski, Jacob Singer was baptised with due ceremony by the Cieszyn deacon on February 24, 1739, and took the name of Matthias Jacob Christopherorus. His godparents were von Pfütschner, regent of the Cieszyn Chamber, as well as members of the local nobility. On the occasion of his baptism, Jacob made a votive offering to the altar of the Jesuit St. John of Nepomuk church[31]. The Book of Births thereby stresses the voluntary nature of his conversion, but other circumstances make it almost certain that the reasons for his decision were not only religious. For Jacob Singer, who, from an early age was active in economic and trade affairs, was indebted for more than 600 florins at the time, mainly to Christian widows or other "noble" individuals whom he promised to be baptised. He did not keep his promise and, in November 1738, was incarcerated in the town prison for his debts. He was released thanks to his father, Moses, who presented the court with a contract with his son's creditors (signed on November 20, 1738) whereby he took responsibility for his son's debts and agreed to repay them within a year. In exchange, Jacob renounced his portion of his inheritance. He left prison without fulfilling his promise to adopt Christianity and without an inheritance. After adopting Catholicism, he again broke his promise and, after

---

[28] In 1768, a 14 year old Jewish girl from Cieszyn was baptised in Klimkovice (German Königsberg) in Opava Silesia and adopted the name Mary Anna (J. Röder, 'Judentaufen während der letzten Regierungsjahre Maria Theresias', *Sudetendeutsche Familienforschung* 8 (1935/36) 145).

[29] About Moses Singer see: Spyra, 'Outline of History' 10-11. His death in 1742, was registered in the *Book of Deaths* kept by St. Mary Magdalena parish in Cieszyn (Vol. II, 438).

[30] Both daughters of Jacob and Anna Singer, Eufrosina Catherine (aged 7) and Anna Mary Felicitas (aged 3), were baptised on November 20, 1738 (*Book of Baptisms*, Vol. XI 132). See Continuatio Protocolli Conventus Teschinensis, Pars IIItio, manuscript in the archives of Order of St John of God in Cieszyn, 4 89-90.

[31] *Book of Baptisms*, Vol. XI 146; Franek, *Dzieje placówki jezuickiej* 136, 185.

Moses Singer's death in 1742, started a long lasting dispute with his stepmother and his siblings to retrieve his part of the inheritance[32].

Public registers do not contain data on baptisms of any other of Singer's direct descendants but there were conversions in families related to them. In 1742, a daughter of Jacob Hirschl who was considered a privileged Jew was baptised and took the name of Mary Theresa Barbara. In 1739, the son or relative of Jacob Oppenheimer, Moses Singer's son-in-law, was baptised and adopted the names Franciscus Phillippus Christophorus[33]. Of the many conversions of that time, one should mention the baptism of the 20 year old daughter of Israel Löbel, a rich innkeeper from Skoczów, who was baptised in Cieszyn in 1744 and adopted the names Mary Theresa[34].

It is appropriate to mention the part played by the Order of St John of God which started to be active in Cieszyn, mainly in caring for the ill, at the beginning of the 18th century. Occasionally, some of their patients were Jews and the brothers used the opportunity, especially if patients were dying, to baptise them. For example, in 1744, a 16 year old Jewish boy from Strumień was baptised with the consent of his parents and adopted the name Bernard. After receiving the sacraments, he died the following day exactly at one in the afternoon while the "Ave Maria" was being sung. So reported the cloister chronicler[35].

Other orders, such as the Benedictines from Orlova located on the territory of the feudal state (*status minores*) Roj, were also active in Cieszyn Silesia trying to convert Jews to Christianity. Their contribution appears to have been the conversion of 46 year old Jacob Austerlitz, a member of a Rabbinic family "in Judaismo et scriptura scientiam in Bohemia, Ungaria, Moravia et Silesia plurimum estimatum". He was baptised on August 15, 1747 by the Orlova prior, Otmar I Borzeck, and took the name, Benedict Dominicus. His godparents were the owner of *status minores* Roj, Charles Ludwig, Count Gaschin, and Countess Pauline Oppersdorf[36]. Jacob stayed in Orlova as a teacher for the children of Abraham Ziffer, who had been a inn-keeper for 20 years. The following year, on June 30, 1748, Abraham Ziffer was also baptised and adopted the names John Benedict. He was baptised

---

32 APC, AMC, sign. 490, fol. 129v-133, 155-160; J. Spyra, 'Żydowska księga gruntowa z Cieszyna (tzw. Jüdisches Grundbuch) z XVIII w. ze zbiorów Archiwum Państwowego w Cieszynie' in I. Panic (ed.) *Ojczyzna wielka i mała* (Cieszyn, 1996) 83-93.

33 *Book of Baptisms*, Vol. XI 154, 253. The child was described as the son of Jew Oppenheimer from Moravia. Jacob Oppenheim introduced himself as a Jew from Germany and the other time as a Jew from Moravia. See Spyra, 'Zarys dziejów' 12.

34 *Book of Baptisms*, Vol. XI 306. See also Brilling, 'Zur Geschichte de Juden' 114; J. Spyra, 'Materiały do dziejów Żydów w okręgach sądowych skoczowskim i strumieńskim do końca XIX w.' in J. Spyra (ed.) *W cieniu skoczowskiej synagogi* (Skoczów, 1994) 7.

35 *Book of Baptisms*, Vol. XI 298. According to Continuatio Protocolli, p. 95, the boy was named Markus and was the son of Löbel and Malka.

36 ZAO, Matriky, Ka-V-3 (Orlova Baptisms), Vol. I (1738-1807) 39.

together with his three children, Marianna, Joseph, and 5 year old Halenca [Helen]. They too were baptised by abbot Otmar and the godparents were the most outstanding and well known noble families: Bludowski, Sedlnicki, Gaschin, Krzidlowski, St. Genois, and Karwieński; half of them, Lutherans[37]. The Ziffer family was the second oldest Jewish family in Cieszyn Silesia, having come there almost at the same time as the Singer family but they were much more numerous. John Benedict Ziffer died in 1751; his Catholic descendants remained prominent for some time in the vicinity of Fryštat[38].

Conversions also took place in other towns and villages of Cieszyn Silesia. For example, the daughter of Isaac was baptised and took the name Mary Josepha in Frýdek on October 1, 1752. The baptism was performed by the deacon of Frýdek, Justus Count Praschma, and the godparents were other members of the Praschma family, the owners of Frýdek *status minores*[39].

Jews tried to protest these conversions. This included the Singer family because we know that in 1737, at the suggestion of the deacon and bishop, the Cieszyn municipality forbade Moses and Jacob Singer and Josef Jacob (son-in-law of Moses) from discouraging Hirshl and his children from adopting the Catholic religion (or rather from undergoing baptism) or to interfere with them in any other way, under penalty of a fine of 100 ducats[40].

Eearlier, Israel Löbel, an inn-keeper in the village of Pierściec, was accused of circumcising the minor son of the local miller, George Gruszczyk. This led to a long, drawn out court procedure that even reached the Superior Office in Wrocław. Israel Löbel was finally cleared by blaming Hirshl, the young son of Isaac Marcus from Drogomyśl. It is not known how the court procedure ended nor is it known whether this was a false accusation or an isolated attempt at converting to Judaism[41].

It appears that in the first half of the 18th century, the number of baptisms of Jews in Cieszyn as in all of Cieszyn Silesia, increased considerably although one cannot state that it was a massive phenomenon. Moravia also had a larger number of baptisms during the same period of time. As a result of numerous and justified complaints from Jews, Emperor Charles VI forbade compulsory baptisms of Jewish children on October 7, 1739[42]. In 1738, he had annulled his own Decree of

---

37 In the same source. For Abraham Ziffer, the son of Joseph see Brilling, 'Zur Geschichte der Juden', p. 114. He is mentioned as a Christian in a list made on 21 June 1749 (ZAO, Kralovský uřád v Opavě [KU], 11/5, box 462, f. 221-223.

38 ZAO, Matriky, Ka-V-11 (Orlova deaths certificates, vol. I, p. 30). On Ziffer see J. Spyra, 'Židovskě rody na Těšínsku, 3: Zifferově', *Těšínsko* 1 (1999)1-3.

39 ZAO, Soubor matrik severomoravskéeho kraje, Fr. VII-2 (Birth Certificates of Frýdek 1700-1756), fol. 195v. In January of the following year, Mary Josepha married Peter Wrana (the same source, Fr. VII-10, Frýdek Marriage Certificates 1700-1784, fol. 86v.).

40 APC, AMC, 40, f. 36. See above footnote 27.

41 APC, AMC, 225, fol. 54; B. Brilling, 'Zur Geschichte der Juden', 108, 31. See Spyra, 'Materiały' 8.

42 J. Röder, 'Judentaufen in Mähren-Schlesien' 143.

Tolerance and ordered all Jews who did not have separate privileges, to be banished from Silesia. The order was, however, not executed because of the Emperor's death in 1740 and because of the outbreak of the Silesian wars as a result of which, the Habsburgs only retained the southern part of the province, the so-called Austrian Silesia. In 1752, Maria Theresa issued an Edict of Tolerance according to which, only 88 so-called tolerated Jewish families could stay in Cieszyn Silesia. They were obliged to obey the principles included in the Jewish right to live in that area and the local authorities made sure that these were obeyed[43].

Conversions of Jews also took place in Cieszyn Silesia during Maria Theresa's reign, as evidenced by entries in the metrical books of St. Mary Magdalena Parish in Cieszyn. The baptised included many Jews originating from Moravia (Holešov, Přerov), Czechia (Aš), Poland (Oświęcim, Będzin), Berlin, and Prague. There were also converts from Prussian Silesia (Wrocław, Mszana), Austrian Silesia (Opava)[44] but most were from local Jewish families (Cieszyn, Bludovice, Bohumin, Boguszowice, Bobrek). Included, were conversions in the Löbel Foltin family. This was a Moravian Jewish family that had lived in Cieszyn Silesia for many years and were rivals of the Singers and the so-called privileged Jewish families related to them. In 1755, a daughter of Löbel Foltin - Esther, wife of Samuel Löbel, was baptised and adopted the name Susanna, and her sister, Eva (Anna Mary), followed suit two years later[45]. The baptisms continued to be carried out by the Cieszyn deacon but townspeople were now more frequently included among their godparents. They sometimes even took an active part in converting Jews but this was a task still mainly performed by priests, especially the Jesuits. During the second half of the 18th century, converts usually adopted names of the towns and villages in which they lived (Bobrecki, Cieszyński, Ropicki, Strażnicki, etc.)[46].

In the 1760's Maria Theresa issued decrees that limited the influence that Catholic priests could have on the lives of Jews. In 1763, it was forbidden to collect fees from Jews on the occasion of their family holidays. In 1769, it was forbidden to force Jews to publicly work on the Sabbath or on Jewish holidays. In November 1759, the Empress forbade the baptism of minor Jewish children against the will of their parents except in case of mortal illness and if a child was

---

43 J. Spyra, 'Juden in Herzogtum Teschen unter der Herrschaft von Maria Theresa (1740-1780)', *Oberschlesisches Jahrbuch* 11 (Berlin, 1995) 67-96, esp. 70-76.

44 The case of Moses (like in "Liber Conversorum"), the son of Samuel Oppenheimer, a Jewish tobacco merchant from Opava, who was baptised in 1767 in Cieszyn (*Book of Baptisms*, Vol. XIII 1124) and adopted the name Ignatz John Francis. About Samuel see ZAO, KU, 11/8, box 473 and J. Spyra, 'Żydzi w Opawie', *Sbornik Opava* 2 (forthcoming).

45 MCh, vol. XII (1752-66) 607, 676. About Löbel Foltin see Spyra, 'Juden' 69, 81, 90-91.

46 This was a common practice outside Cieszyn as well, e.g. on April 19, 1783 Abraham Lazar, a Jew from Vratimov in Cieszyn Silesia was baptised in Paskov in Moravia and adopted the name "Joannes Paskowsky" (ZAO, Paskov Birth Certificates). For a similar situation in Moravia, see Röder, 'Judentaufen in Mähren-Schlesien' 145-146.

abandoned by his parents or guardians[47]. Despite the fact that the first of these situations was especially open to abuse and that the Empress was aware of the irreversibility of baptism, she tolerated them and even legalised them with appropriate decisive legal acts. The baptism of Jewish children following the baptism of their parents, was treated in a similar fashion. Maria Theresa, the Court Chancellery, and the bishop of Wrocław, all stated that, in principle, baptising children against their parents' wishes, was not permissable. Nevertheless, they shared an opinion that children seven years old or older ('the age when Mozart was already composing') could be baptised, even against their parents' wishes. If one of the parents was baptised, his minor children could also be baptised[48].

In 1764, Maria Theresa began working on a definitive position on the forceful baptism of Jews. The opinion of the Court Chancellery was that, in principle, it is not permissable to baptise children against their parents' wishes but that sometimes there is an obligation to do so. If, however, one of the parents, or even one of the grandparents, was baptised, then all the children (or grandchildren) were also to be baptised. In comparison to this point of view, the authorities of Austrian Silesia appear quite benevolent since they suggested raising the minimum age at which Jewish children could be baptised without their parents' permission, to 12 years. The Empress, however, agreed with the opinion expressed by her Chancellery, and all the countries of the monarchy were so informed in a "Generalverordnung" on February 15, 1765. This law continued to prohibit the baptising of Jewish children without consent of their parents but it acknowledged such baptisms as legal and even obliged the Jewish parents to provide an inheritance to such baptized children. The penalty for baptising Jewish children, without their parents' consent, was supporting the child. If, however, the individual in question was poor, the child could be sent to an alms house or orphanage. If one of the parents converted to Christianity, that parent could baptise a minor child, even against the will of the spouse. The order kept the age of seven, as the minimum age when a child could express an independent desire to be baptised[49].

The practical application of this law is evident in the case of Baruch Munk, an inn-keeper from Frýdek, whose 3 year old son was baptised in 1763, without his parents' consent. Rosalie, a 22 year old daughter of a Frýdek middle class man, Nikolas Konick [König], baptised the child because she was convinced that the

---

47 H. von Scari, *Systematische Darstellung der im Betreff der Juden in Mähren und im k.k. Antheile Schlesiens erlassenen Gesetze und Verordnungen* (Brünn, 1835) 94; J. Karniel, *Die Toleranzpolitik Kaiser Joseph II.* (Gerlingen, 1985) [Schriftenreihe des Instituts für Deutsche Geschichte Universität Tel Aviv, Band 9] 296.

48 Karniel, *Die Toleranzpolitik* 297-298. The basis of the discussion was the baptism of the wife of Wolf Katz from Silesia who wanted to baptise her minor children together with herself and against the will of their father. The Katz family was to live in Lichowetz in Silesia but there was no such place. Perhaps the place is called Lipowiec [German: Lippowetz] close to Ustroń.

49 von Scari *Systematische Darstellung* 95; Karniel, *Die Toleranzpolitik* 299-300.

child was mortally ill. The child, however, survived and, in 1765, the girl notified the Frýdek deacon Löhn, of the baptism. Jews, familiar with the laws, stated that baptism performed without a priest or a church, was invalid. The deacon therefore began preparations for an official baptism of the child to take place at Christmas[50] and the authorities (Religious Commission) removed the child, an "unaware Christian", and placed it in the orphanage for Protestants in Ustroń[51]. Indignant, Baruch Munk turned to the Empress in December 1765, with a request for intervention and cited her own prohibition of baptising a child without the parents' consent. An investigation carried out on December 30, 1765 by the local authorities at the request of the court, accepted Rosalie's declaration that she baptised the child in good faith, without informing the local church, so that the child would die as a Catholic ["als ein Engel soll im Himmel kommen"], as credible. It was conceded that Rosalie had indeed broken the law and, as a result, she was sentenced to three days' imprisonment. In accord with the law, she should also have been charged with the cost of the child's upbringing but because she was poor, the Religious Commisson took over the costs. Furthermore, Munk was ordered to give the child's portion of his inheritance to the Ustroń orphanage to be used for the child's education[52].

Since this was not an isolated case, the Empress reiterated, in a decree issued on September 9, 1768, that baptisms performed against the parents' wishes were incompatible with nature and she increased the penalties. Such an unjustified baptism was henceforth punishable by a fine of 1,000 ducats or two years of difficult imprisonment. This included clergymen, who had a responsibility to warn people against such acts. In a separate decree issued on October 18, 1768, the Empress prohibited the baptism of Jewish children in cloisters (unless they were in mortal danger)[53]. These decrees did not improve the situation much. Towards the end of her life, in a Religious Edict issued on August 27, 1778, Maria Theresa tightened the policy towards all religious minorities by forcing the principle of religious unification of all Habsburg countries[54].

It must be added that, in addition to the child of Baruch Munk, other children were also sent to the Ustroń orphanage to be raised as Catholics. These included

---

[50] ZAO, KU, sign. 17/17. Lack of baptism in Book of Baptisms in St. Mary Magdalene Parish in Frýdek in the years 1763-1766.

[51] Radda, 'Urkundliche Beiträge' 28, n. 2 says that the decision on placing the child in Ustroń was taken by the local authorities on 26 November 1765.

[52] Files of that case are to be found in ZAO, KU, sign. 17/17. See also B. Poloczkowa, 'Dokumenty Domu Sierot w Ustroniu', *Pamiętnik Cieszyński* 14 (1999) 103-104.

[53] von Scari, *Systematische Darstellung* 95; Karniel, *Die Toleranzpolitik* 301; M. M. Łobozek, *Archiwum i biblioteka bonifratrów w Cieszynie* (Warszawa, 1995) 65.

[54] Karniel, *Die Toleranzpolitik* 207. Another case of baptism without the parents' consent, was noted in Albrechtice/Olbersdorf in Opavian Silesia (1778-79) and concerned the children of a tobacco merchant, Simon Jüdel (ZAO, KU, 17/17, part C; MZAB, Tribunal moravsky. Civilia 1636-1783, Inv. Nr. 1330).

(1769) three minor children of Frances Gottwill,[55] a Jewish woman from Bytom who was baptised in Opava; three children (1771) of a converted Jewish woman Rosa Gottlob from Bludovice[56]; and the children of Mendel Löbel (1773), a tenant of an inn in Bobrek close to Cieszyn, who was baptised as Dominic Bobrecki. This was the most spectacular conversion to Catholicism at that time since it involved almost all members of this large Jewish family.

Its most important member was Mendel Löbel, the son of Löbel Foltin and brother of the richest Jew of Cieszyn Silesia, Simon Löbel, a lessee of the right to sell alcoholic beverages in Cieszyn Chamber. He, himself, had been a so-called tolerated Jew since 1752 and earned a living by leasing out inns with an alcohol permit in Skoczów, among other places, but spent most of his life in Bobrek near Cieszyn (now a district of Cieszyn) on a farm belonging to the middle class Sarcander family. He was a wealthy Jew with a large family.

Women played a very important role in the decision to undergo conversion. His daughter, Feygele, the wife of Moses Isaac, son of Isaac Moses Holländer, the district inn-keeper in the Suburb of Cieszyn was the first to be baptised (the date and location of the baptism is unknown but she adopted the name, Anna). Next, on March 22, 1773, Leopold Vaclav, son of Mendel Löbel was baptised together with his grandson (Dominic Francis, the son of Feygele)[57]. A month later (April 10, 1773), Mendel Föltin himself was baptised (adopting the name of Dominic Vaclav Adam Bobrecki) together with a few of his children, 18 year old Vincent Joseph Rudolf, 24 year old Anna Josepha, Catherine Josepha, and Mary Josepha, all of whose mothers were Jewish. The godparents were the municipal treasurer, John Scherschnik, Mayor Ignatius Sarcander, and the secretary, Francis Jagosch. Barely two months after his baptism, the 52 year old Dominic Bobrecki married once again, this time to a Catholic, Anna Kaizar. On July 15, 1773, another two of Dominic Bobrecki's daughters, Theresa Anna and Josepha Magdalene,[58] were also baptised. Mendel Föltin, the oldest son, however decided not to be baptised because, as the oldest son, he was entitled to his father's position as a tolerated Jew

---

[55] Radda, 'Urkundliche Beiträge' 28, n. 2. See also Röder, 'Judentaufen in Mähren-Schlesien' 146.

[56] It was Mary Magdalene Rosina, a widow after the Jew Jacob Joachim from Bludovice, who was baptised in Cieszyn on 20 March 1768 together with her two sons, Vincent Charles and Joseph (*Book of Baptisms*, Vol. XIII 1154). See also Poloczkowa, 'Dokumenty' 105.

[57] *Book of Baptisms*, Vol. XIII 1374. The first one adopted the surname "Mendelius". The second, was given the name "Montag" at first but then the name was crossed out and the name "Bobrecki" was entered. He was probably treated as if he didn't have a natural father.

[58] *Book of Baptisms*, Vol. XIII 1376, 1386; *Book of Marriages*, Vol. VI 521. The minor children of Dominic Bobrecki were sent to the Ustroń orphanage on the basis of the decision of the authorities issued on November 19, 1773 (Radda, 'Urkundliche Beiträge' 31, n. 1).

and this was approved by a decision of September 1, 1773. Dominic Bobrecki's son-in-law, Moses Isaac, also decided to remain a Jew and, after the conversion of his wife, he moved to Hungary where he remarried and established a new family. Since there was no divorce proceeding, it apears that conversion was considered equivalent to the spouse's death[59].

There were also other cases where the baptism of Jews complicated the Jewish right to live in Cieszyn Silesia because converts ceased to be tolerated Jews and therefore cesed to have the associated duties (for example paying separate Jewish taxes). This occurred when Jacob Markus, son of a tolerated Jew from Skoczów, Marcus David, was baptised. In 1779, he requested the authorities to transfer his position as a tolerated Jew which he inherited from his father, to Hirschl Löbel, the son of a tavern-keeper, Löbel Gotzel, from Nierodzim. Although it was against the rules because Hirschel was not the oldest son, the request was granted. In 1782, David Pinkus, the son of a deceased tolerated Jew, applied for his father's position. He had a claim to this because he was the second oldest son in the family and the oldest had converted to Christianity. He was however poor and his request was therefore not approved[60].

Considerable changes in the conversion of Jews took place during the reign of the great reformer, Joseph II. On December 15, 1781, he issued a new Edict of Tolerance for Jews in Austrian Silesia, which maintained the system of granting the right to Jews of settling in Cieszyn Silesia and restricting their number to 88 families, but considerably expanded the scope of the positions and duties the Jews could occupy and perform[61]. In 1782 and 1783, he finally prohibited compulsory baptisms of Jewish children as well as the forceful removal of baptised children from their parents. When one or both parents were baptised, the children were given the right to choose which religion they wanted to follow and, more importantly, the ruler recognised that children, whose baptism was compulsory, could return to Judaism since, in his opinion, Christianity was not based exclusively on

---

[59] In 1769, in accord with the Jewish right to live in Cieszyn Silesia, Moses Löbel tried to get consent for the marriage of his oldest son, Foltin Mendel, with Lisa, the daughter of Jochem Marcus from Ropica (ZAO, KU, 11/6, boxes 467 and 468).

[60] In the same source, boxes 469 and 470. In 1781, it was Löbel Scheuer from Melč in Opava Silesia who applied for the place and for consent for his marriage with Lea, the daughter of Samuel Mendel, a tobacco merchant from Bilovec/Wagstadt. Before his request was approved, she became a Catholic so he had to look for a new fiancée with adequate property and, eventually, found one – the daughter of a Jew from Goleszów.

[61] J. Bernardt, *Handbuch der provinziellen Gesetzkunde von Mähren und Schlesien* (Olmütz, 1848) 461-462. On Joseph II's policy towards Jews see L. Singer, 'Zur Geschichte der Toleranzpatente in den Sudetenländern', *Jahrbuch der Gesselschaft für Geschichte der Juden in der Tschechoslovakischen Republik* 5 (1933) 235-311; J. Karniel, 'Zur Auswirkung der Toleranzpatente für die Juden in der Habsburgermonarchie in Josephinischen Jahrzehnt' in P. F. Barton (ed.), *Im Zeichen der Toleranz* (Wien, 1981) 203 and Karniel, *Die Toleranzpolitik* 378 and next.

the act of baptism[62]. However, lower level authorities, including those in Gubernium (administrative unit of Austrian province) which had administered Moravia and the Austrian Silesia provinces since 1783, had a different opinion. An example of this was an "out of pity" baptism performed by a 16 year old servant, convinced about the imminent death of the two and a half year old son of Jakob Löbel, a tobacco merchant from Mistek (also active in Frýdek), in 1783. In defiance of the Emperor's new orders, not only the Bishop curia in Olomouc but also the Moravian-Silesian Gubernium were of the opinion that the baptism fulfilled the requirements of the decrees of 1765 and 1768, and that the child should be removed from his Jewish parents[63]. However, Joseph II issued a circular letter on April 12, 1787, valid for all hereditary countries (except for Galicia), in which he once and for all prohibited compulsory baptisms of Jews, even those facing death, under the penalty of a fine of 1,000 ducats or six months' imprisonment[64].

Joseph II established the age of 18 years as the minimum age when Jews could be baptised, although in 1789, he recognised that if a child was religiously mature and expressed a desire to do so, he could be baptised earlier[65]. Despite this, baptisms of younger children continued after 1789, even in Cieszyn Silesia. For example, the parish priest of Grodziec baptised the daughter of an innkeeper, Benjamin Rosen, from Świętoszówka when she was barely 8 years old. The girl was sent to the Ustroń orphanage[66]. Generally speaking, however, the orders of Joseph II considerably limited the possibilities for abuse on this issue. One should add that the Edict of Tolerance issued by Joseph II, allowed Jewish children and youths to attend public elementary, secondary, and high schools. It took some time before Jews took advantage of this provison; Jewish students first attended the Cieszyn Catholic grammar school only in 1806. An exception was Joseph Teschner, who was baptised and attended that school as early as

---

62 Karniel, *Die Toleranzplitik* 458-462; von Scari, *Systematische Darstellung* 96 (with the precise conditions that have to be met in order for the act of baptism to be recognised as voluntary) and 97-98 (procedure to be followed with children in a baptism of one of the parents).

63 Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv Wien (AVAW), Alter Kultus; Israelitische Kultus, box 7; Karniel, *Die Toleranzpolitik* 463-464.

64 The Moravian-Silesian Gubernium sent a circular letter about the new order on April 26, 1787 (Bernardt, *Handbuch* 444). See also von Scari, *Systematische Darstellung* 97.

65 Bernardt, *Handbuch* 444; Karniel, *Die Toleranzpolitik* 465-466. The court decree dated October 21, 1791 allowed the local authorities to give their consent for baptism at the age of 14 in exceptional cases but each time, consent was required from the Monarch (von Scari, *Systematische Darstellung* 97).

66 AVAW, Alter Kultus, box 7. The same document describes the case of the daughter of Samuel Mendel, a tobacco stock leaseholder in Vitkov in Opavian Silesia, who was baptised in 1782, married against her father's will and then claimed a dowry from her father. On July 26, 1795, Anna Catherine, another daughter of Benjamin and Eva Rosen from Świętoszówka, was baptised in Cieszyn (*Book of Baptisms*, Vol. XIV A (1782-95) 181).

1785. He was from Strumień, the son of Benjamin Elias, and Theresa and was baptised in Cieszyn on March 19, 1784[67].

In 1781, Joseph II also issued an Edict of Tolerance for Protestants, which decisively confirmed their right to exist as an independent religious entity. This reopened the problem of conversion of Jews to the Protestant Church but this is beyond the scope of this article. It is worthwhile, however, to examine one such situation. In 1783, John Kłapsia, a parson from the newly created community of Jaworze baptised a local Jew, Jacob Marcus, in the local church. In concert with a long tradition, Jacob adopted the name Charles George Jaworski, and parson Kłapsia published the speech he delivered during the baptismal ceremony. The speech was printed in Vienna by Christian Wappler[68]. The Vienna press, including the "Wiener Zeitung," reported it and soon, Joseph, Count von Jaworsky learned about it. He was indignant and complained to the Emperor that the fact that a Jew, even a baptised one, adopted a name that sounded like that borne by his family, may cause confusion and harm, not only to him and his brother Gabriel but also to other members of that noble family in Galicia. He demanded that the sale of the brochure cease and that the baptised Jew be forbidden to use the name Jaworski. The Court Chancellery during its meeting of September 1, 1783, supported Count Jaworski's request and, two days later, the Moravian-Silesian Gubernium was asked to prohibit the Jew from using that noble name[69].

Analysis of the appendix of the metrical books shows that about 80 Jews were baptised in St. Mary Magdalene parish in Cieszyn during the 18th century which averages less than one baptism per year. The largest number of conversions took place in the first half of the 18th century and their number in the second half decreased as a result of orders issued by state authorities that forbade baptising of children. Only a portion of the conversions involved local Jews but, for the small number of Jews in Cieszyn and Cieszyn Silesia, each act of conversion was a painful experience.

One might finally ask how a decision to convert to Christianity influenced the lives of those who decided to adopt the new religion. It is impossible to answer such a question in detail because one would have to trace the lives of all converts, which is beyond our capability. Undoubtedly, life became easier for most, but the above mentioned Dominic Bobrecki, for example, remained a leaseholder in the Sarcander farm in Bobrek close to Cieszyn, even after his baptism and his new catholic wife did not raise his social position significantly as she was a tailor's daughter. His son, Vincent, was also an inn-keeper in Błogocice. One of the wit-

---

[67] *Book of Baptisms*, Vol. XIV A (1782-95) 52; APC, K. k. kath. Gymnasium in Teschen, sign. 15.

[68] *Rede bey der Taufe des Karl Georg Jaworsky sonst Jakob Markus genannt am 15. des Brachm. 1783 in dem Bethhause Aug. Conf. in Ernsdorf gehalten* (Wien, [1783]). Comp. L. J. Scherschnik, *Nachrichten von Schriftstellern und Künstler aus dem Teschner Furstenthum* (Teschen, 1810) 100.

[69] AVAW, Alter Kultus; Israelitische Kultus, box 7.

nesses at his wedding in 1774 was Ignatius Daniel Spens von Boden, a hereditary lord of the village but Vincent's new wife, Anna, was the daughter of Paul Kaizar, a common linen-draper[70]. As late as 1776, Vincent Bobrecki was still an innkeeper in Błogocice and a year later, in 1777, he married again, this time to Eva Petrizi, daughter from a well-known Cieszyn middle-class family of Italian origin[71].

At least in one case, the Catholic descendants of the Singer family founded by Matthias Christophorus Singer, baptism led to a significant career for the family. After his baptism, he stayed in Cieszyn, became active in trade and became quite wealthy. In 1745, he was granted city rights and later he became a member of the City Council. In 1748, he bought a large house on the main town square, and subsequently, he bought a manor house located in Bobrek and an inn that he sometimes leased to Jews. His real treasures, however, were his children who showed great talent from childhood. Of his six sons, one was a doctor of law, two were doctors of medicine, and two occupied high posts in the Galician fiscal administration. Four of them were raised to the rank of nobility at the end of the 18th century with the title of "Singer de Wisogurski". Their descendants lived in Galicia, at first as German and then as Polonized Galician nobility, although for a long time, they maintained contact with their native Cieszyn[72].

---

70 *Book of Marriages*, Vol. VI (1746-1782) 501, 521.

71 Inscription about that marriage in May or June 1777 according to the index in *Marriage Certificates*, Vol. VI 581 (the inscription itself is missing because p. 580-81 have been torn out). See 10. Program českého gimnasia v Opavě. Vydan koncem školního roku 1893 (Opava, [1893]) 47.

72 Singer genealogical table was published by F. G. Low, 'Die Teschener Mautpachterfamilie Singer und ihre Nachtkommen', *Oberschlesisches Jahrbuch* 10 (1994) 14-15 (my corrections in 'Einige Bemerkungen zum Beitrag von Francis G. Low, Die Teschner Mautpächterfamilie Singer und ihre Nachkommen 1490-1992', *Oberschlesisches Jahrbuch* 11 (1995) 277-278).

## APPENDIX:
## List of Jews converted to Catholicism in St Mary Magdalene's Parish Church in Cieszyn in the years 1636-1800

Names in the table below are quoted in their original form as in the source; places of birth in their current official form; place names with no country indicated are located in Cieszyn Silesia.

The list is complemented with the information on baptisms that took place in the Jesuit Church which were recorded in the *Liber Conversorum ab Heresi Luther. ad Fidem Catholicam per Missionem Casaream Societatis Jesu ab Anno 1720 idq. Ecclesia residentia eiusdem Societati teschinensi* (manuscript from Książnica Cieszyńska w Cieszynie, Szersznik collection, DD V 41. Later referred to as *Liber Conversorum*)

| no | mch/ vol page | date | family name or other definition of the person before baptism | place of birth | age | name after baptism (family names in bold) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| **vol. 1 (1628-1641)** | | | | | | |
| 1 | 151 | 2.12. 1636 | | | | Joannes |
| 2 | 152 | 19.12. 1636 | | | | Alexander |
| 3 | 164 | 29.11. 1637 | Simon | | | Andreas |
| 4 | 187 | 14.8. 1639 | Judeus Tiess. | | | Joannes Jacobus |
| 5 | 188 | 31.8. 1639 | | | | Christophorus |
| **vol. 8 (1692-1708)** | | | | | | |
| 6 | 156 | 25.3. 1706 | | Strumień | 18 | Maria Josepha |
| 7 | 172 | 6.3. 1707 | Sara | | 20 | Maria Magdalena |
| 8 | 178 | 13.6. 1707 | | | | Joannes Chrystian |
| 9 | 213 | 25.3. 1709 | | | | Josephus Franciscus **Monx [poss. Morr]** |
| **vol. 9 (1709-1718)** | | | | | | |
| 10 | 19 | 18.5. 1710 | | | 23 | Joannes Petrus **Farniczky** |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 11 | 42 | 5.7. 1711 | [Ziffer] | | 24 | Josephus Adamus Ignatius **Czepherer** |
| 12 | 47 | 13.9. 1711 | | | 18 | Michael Josephus **Maryanski** |
| 13 | 193 | 19.9. 1716 | Lia [Lea] | | | Marianna Josepha |
| **vol. 10 (1718-1733)** | | | | | | |
| 14 | 102 | 4.1. 1722 | | Jarząbkowice (Prussian Silesia) | 24 | Joannes Adamus |
| 15 | 153 | 19.10. 1723 | | Litenczicz (Moravia) | | Josephus |
| 16 | 174 | 8.5. 1724 | | Cracow (Poland) | | Joannes Franciscus Ludovicus |
| 17 | 177 | 6.6. 1724 | Eva, daughter of Jakob | Pogwizdów | | Marianna Carolina Clara |
| 18 | 237 | 19.3. 1726 | | | | Maria Josepha Sidonia |
| 19 | 246 | 30.6. 1726 | | | | Jacobus Antonius Nepomucenus **Farnik** |
| 20 | 249 | 5.8. 1726 | daughter of Jacob Jadrzelowski [probably Jackerle] | Brzezówka | | Anna Susanna Clara |
| 21 | 281 | 18.7. 1727 | son of Jacob Jakelowski [Jackerle] | | | Josephus Ludovicus |
| 22 | 327 | 25.11. 1728 | | Grodno (Poland) | | Joannes Antonius **Dobrowolski** |
| 23 | 327 | 25.11. 1728 | | | | Maximilianus Elias **Grzibek** |
| 24 | 327 | 25.11. 1728 | | | | Josephus **Freywill** |
| 25 | 345 | 22.5. 1729 | | Tarnów (Poland) | | Joannes Nepomucenus Franciscus **Pogwizdowski** |
| 26 | 358 | 6.11. 1729 | | | | Anna Maria Josepha |
| 27 | 399 | 4.4. 1731 | | Šenov | | Carolus Franciscus Josephus **Wolff** |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **vol. 11 (1733-52)** | | | | | | |
| 28 | 24 | 25.11. 1734 | | | | Adamus Wenceslaus |
| 29 | 99 | 16.9. 1737 | son of Joachim Hirschl | | 1.5 | Josephus Christophorus Franciscus |
| 30 | 105 | 6.1. 1738 | | | | Joannes Christophorus **Hirsch** |
| 31 | 132 | 20.11. 1738 | daughter of Jacob Singer and Anna | Cieszyn | 7 | Euphrosina Catharina Leopoldina |
| 32 | 132 | 20.11. 1738 | daughter of Jacob Singer and Anna | Cieszyn | 3 | Anna Maria Felicitas |
| 33 | 146 | 24.2. 1739 | Jacob Singer, son of Moyses Singer | Cieszyn | | Matthias Christophorus Jacobus |
| 34 | 154 | 1.5. 1739 | son of Oppenheimer | Moravia | | Franciscus Phillippus Christophorus |
| 35 | 253 | 21.7. 1742 | daughter of Jacob Jackerle | Cieszyn | | Maria Teresia Barbara Catharina[73] |
| 36 | 298 | 27.1. 1744 | | | 16 | Bernardus[74] |
| 37 | 306 | 26.5. 1744 | daughter of Israel Löbel | Skoczów | 20 | Maria Teresia |
| 38 | 315 | 28.10. 1744 | Jacobus, son of Jacob Polaczek and Regina | Boskovice (Moravia) | 20 | Franciscus Josephus |
| 39 | 384 | 30.7. 1747 | | Boskovice (Moravia) | 19 | Joannes Ignatius **Strażnicky** |
| 40 | 410 | 30.8. 1748 | daughter of Hirschel, wife of Löbl | Prague (Bohemia) | | Maria Anna Rosa Dominica Augustina **Christin** |
| **vol. 12 (1752-66)** | | | | | | |
| 41 | | 11.1. 1753 | Josephus | | | Joannes Petrus **Peker** [75] |
| 42 | 562 | 23.9. 1753 | David Herschel | | | Franciscus Josephus |
| 43 | | 23.1. 1754 | Wenceslaus | | | Josephus Teophilus[76] |

[73] Also in *Liber Conversorum* as 17-year-old daughter of Jacob Herschl, a Jewish inn-keeper.

[74] See: note 35 to the text.

[75] Information only in *Liber Conversorum*. Baptised in the Jesuit Church, yet by the Dean of Cieszyn.

[76] Information only in *Liber Conversorum*. Baptised in the Jesuit Church by the Prior.

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 44 | 607 | 23.1. 1755 | Esther, daughter of Löbel Foltin, wife of Samuel Lovel | Hungary | | Susanna |
| 45 | 676 | 8.9. 1757 | Eva, daughter of Löbel Foltin | Cieszyn | | Anna Maria |
| 46 | 704 | 26.7. 1758 | | | | Anna Maria Josepha |
| 47 | 771 | 24.5. 1760 | daughter of Jacob Schlam | Holešov (Moravia) | 18 | Joanna Helena |
| **vol. 13 (1766-1782)** | | | | | | |
| 48 | 112 4 | 31.7. 1767 | son of Samuel Oppenheimer and Ela from Frankfurt | Opava (Austrian Silesia) | | Ignatius Joannes Franciscus[77] |
| 49 | 115 4 | 20.3. 1768 | widow of Joachim | Bludovice | | Maria Magdalena Rosina |
| 50 | 115 4 | 20.3. 1768 | his son | Bludovice | | Vincentius Carolus |
| 51 | 115 4 | 20.3. 1768 | his son | Bludovice | | Josephus |
| 52 | | 28.2. 1768 | Abraham Lebl | Anschensis (Bohemia) | 21 | Joannes Baptista[78] |
| 53 | | 8.9. 1769 | daughter of Isaac Moyses from Wrocław | Cieszyn | 16 | Anna **Breslauerin**[79] |
| 54 | | 14.1. 1770 | Rachel Moysesin, daughter of Simon Moyses | Bohumín | 18 | Barbara Carolina Elisabetha[80] |
| 55 | 126 7 | 22.7. 1770 | daughter of Simon N. | Oświęcim (Poland) | | Maria Magdalena |
| 56 | 134 4 | 6.6. 1772 | daughter of Fabianus Herlinger and Sara | Boguszowice | | Catharina Theresia Marianna |

[77] More detail in *Liber Conversorum*: 1767, 31.VII. Moyses Oppenheimer, born in Frankfurt, son of snuff merchant from Opava; after baptism: Ignatius.

[78] Information only in *Liber Conversorum*. Baptised in the Jesuit Church by the Prior. Added that he left his wife in Prague.

[79] Information only in *Liber Conversorum*: Judaea Anna Breslauerin nata Teschini, ann. 16.

[80] Information only in *Liber Conversorum*. Baptised in the Jesuit Church, yet by the Dean of Cieszyn. Exact birth data: Bogumin, February 2, 1752.

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 57 | 1374 | 22.3. 1773 | son of Mendel Löbel | Bobrek | Child | Leopoldus Wenceslaus Sarcander Mendelius |
| 58 | 1374 | 22.3. 1773 | son of Moyses Isaac and Feigele/ Anna geb. Mändlin | Bobrek | child | Dominicus Franciscus Joannes Montag [corrected to **Bobretzky**] |
| 59 | 1376 | 10.4. 1773 | [Mendel Löbel] | Bobrek | 52 | Dominicus Wenceslaus Adamus **Bobretzky** |
| 60 | 1376 | 10.4. 1773 | his son | Bobrek | 18 | Vincentius Josephus Rudolphus **Bobretzky** |
| 61 | 1376 | 10.4. 1773 | daughter of Mendel Löbel | Bobrek | 24 | Anna Josepha |
| 62 | 1376 | 10.4. 1773 | daughter of Mendel Löbel | Bobrek | | Catharina Josepha |
| 63 | 1376 | 10.4. 1773 | daughter of Mendel Löbel | Bobrek | | Maria Josepha |
| 64 | 1386 | 15.7. 1773 | daughter of Mendel Löbel | Bobrek | | Theresia Anna |
| 65 | 1387 | 15.7. 1773 | daughter of Mendel Löbel | Bobrek | | Josepha Magdalena |
| 66 | 1394 | 20.9. 1773 | | Będzin (Poland) | | Matthaus Josephus **Tieszynsky** |
| 67 | 1475 | 25.12. 1775 | member of Hopinski Trading Company | Berlin (Prussia) | 26 | Joannes Rudolphus Ignatius **Gnadenreich** |
| 68 | 1546 | 8.3. 1778 | | | | Josephus Antonius **Ropitzky** |
| 69 | 1579 | 2.2. 1779 | daughter of Lebel Herschel | Přerov (Moravia) | | Catharina Josepha Francisca |
| 70 | 1607 | 23.11. 1779 | illegit. daughter of Rosina [corr. to Sophia] Woitieschin | neophyta ex Polonia[81] | | Marianna Catharina |
| 71 | 1689 | 16.12. 1781 | daughter of Josephus and Theresia[82] | Mschannae (Bavaria/ Borusica) | | Dorothea Josepha |

[81] She is not recorded as a Jew, yet in the column "denomination" she is not defined "Catholic" or "Protestant."

[82] Father, Josephus, also converted to Catholicism, mother, Theresia, remained Jewish.

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **vol. 14 A (1782-95)** | | | | | | |
| 72 | 44 | 21.12. 1783 | widow of Fejgel Volf | Cieszyn | | Anna Victoria |
| 73 | 44 | 21.12. 1783 | his daughter | Cieszyn | | Josepha Dorothea |
| 74 | 52 | 19.3. 1784 | son of Beniamin Elias and Theresia | Cieszyn | | Josephus Joannes **Teschner** |
| 75 | 81 | 19.12. 1784 | daughter of Jacob Ziffer and Estehr | Cieszyn | | Maria Anna Victoria |
| 76 | 106 | 10.8. 1785 | son of Marcus and Rivka | | | Johann **Filip** |
| 77 | 181 | 26.7. 1795 | daughter of Beniamin Roser [recte Rosen] and Eva | Święto-szówka | | Anna Catharina |
| **vol. XIV A (1796-1812)** | | | | | | |
| 78 | 5 | 26.3. 1796 | son of Jews Lewkowitz and Anna Jakobin | "Kronpolan d" (Poland) | | Johannes |
| 79 | 5 | 24.4. 1796 | son of Baruch David | Sędziszów (Galicia) | | Jakob Frantzischek [sic] |
| 80 | 47 | 26.12. 1799 | daughter of Levi Kößler | Hlučin (Prussian Silesia) | | Josepha Anna |

# II.

# FROM THE EMANCIPATION TO THE HOLOCAUST

**Małgorzata Śliż**

# THE NUMBER AND DISTRIBUTION OF THE JEWISH POPULATION IN THE AREA OF AUSTRIAN SILESIA ACCORDING TO THE CENSUS OF DECEMBER 31 1900

Statistical and demographic studies are very significant for historical research. The facts and figures show the condition of a given community at a certain point in its history. An analysis of the various rates can show interesting relationships between them, and thus it can point to the connections occurring in reality. A comparison of statistical data from a variety of periods is the most reliable method of monitoring the changes taking place in a given community.

Those comments are also relevant to the relatively small Jewish community in Austrian Silesia. At the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, after years of complex development, the Jews who lived in that area were able to avail themselves of all the privileges granted by a state which was governed on constitutional principles, and they were living their religious life within legal structures approved by the state. This situation substantiates attempts to describe the Jewish community based on the analysis of statistical data.

Features of the region and society of Austrian Silesia in this article have been based upon material in the publication of the Central Statistical Agency in Vienna, *Gemeindelexikon der im Reichsrate Vertretenen Königreiche und Länder bearbeitet auf Grund der Ergebnisse der Volkszählung vom 31 Dezember 1900*[1]. Volume 11, published in 1906, is devoted to Silesia. It includes the results of the 1900 census, supplemented by materials from other official sources.

In the late nineteenth century, Austrian Silesia was one of the crown lands of Austro-Hungary, the capital of which was Opava. Its area of 5,147 sq. km. was inhabited by 680,422 people. It was noted among other Austrian lands for its high population growth[2] and for its high population density of 132.2 persons per sq. km.

---

1 The materials included in the *Lexicon* were elaborated by Prof. Franz Rausch.

2 K. Zamorski, *Transformacja demograficzna w Galicji na tle przemian ludnościowych innych obszarów Europy środkowej w drugiej połowie XIX i na początku XX w.* (Cracow, 1991) 26-9.

Austrian Silesia was made up of two separate territories: Cieszyn Silesia[3] and the Opava region, which were divided by a part of Moravia. Hence the official name: The Duchy of Upper and Lower Silesia. The Opava region constituted the larger part of the province (about 56% of the Duchy's area), while Cieszyn Silesia comprised the remaining 44%[4]. Although both areas constituted one administrative unit, there were considerable differences between them, which were evident, for example, in economy. At that time Cieszyn Silesia was undergoing intense industrialization, which apparently failed to encompass the Opava region. There were also major differences in population density. Cieszyn Silesia had 161.8 persons per sq. km. in 1900, while in the Opava region there were 108.2 persons per sq. km.

Administratively, Austrian Silesia was divided into eight counties (administrative districts) and three cities with their own statute (the statute granted the first degree of authority for state administration to the authorities of those cities), which performed the function of administrative authorities of the second instance. The counties of Jeseník (Freiwaldau), Krnov (Jägerndorf), Bruntál (Freudenthal), Opava-region (Troppau), Bílovec (Wagstadt) and the statutory city of Opava belonged to Opava region, while the counties of Bielsko-region (Bielitz), Cieszyn (Teschen), Fryštát (Freistadt) and the statutory cities of Bielsko and Frýdek (Friedek) belonged to Cieszyn Silesia. The counties were divided into the 2-4 so-called judicial districts (Gerichtsbezirk), the total number of which was 27.

Austrian Silesia was divided into 498 administrative communities and the 585 cadastral communities[5]. According to the *Lexicon*, there were three statutory cities, 26 towns and 10 minor towns (*Markt*, *Markt Stadt*) in the area of the city. On average, an Austrian-Silesian town was inhabited by a population of 4,128.3. It must be emphasised that the official division of municipal settlements (such units as statutory cities, towns and minor towns were distinguished) was not always compatible with the status quo, because of intensive economic growth. Sometimes localities which had village status were, in fact, municipal in character, e.g., in 1900 Karviná (Karwin) was classified as a village community although it was inhabited by 14,326 people, or Šunychl (Schönichel, now a part of Bohumín) which had a population of 4,305.

---

[3] Cf. J. Spyra, 'Główne kierunki rozwoju demograficznego ludności żydowskiej na Śląsku Cieszyńskim (do 1939 r.)', *Prace historyczno-archiwalne* 5 (1997) 189-193.

[4] M. Myška, 'Rozwój demograficzny Śląska Cieszyńskiego w drugiej połowie XIX w.', *Przeszłość demograficzna Polski* 14 (1983) 155.

[5] The cadastral communities – also defined as tax communities, as opposed to administrative units, were formed for taxation purposes. Their boundaries were determined on the basis of land tax cadastres.

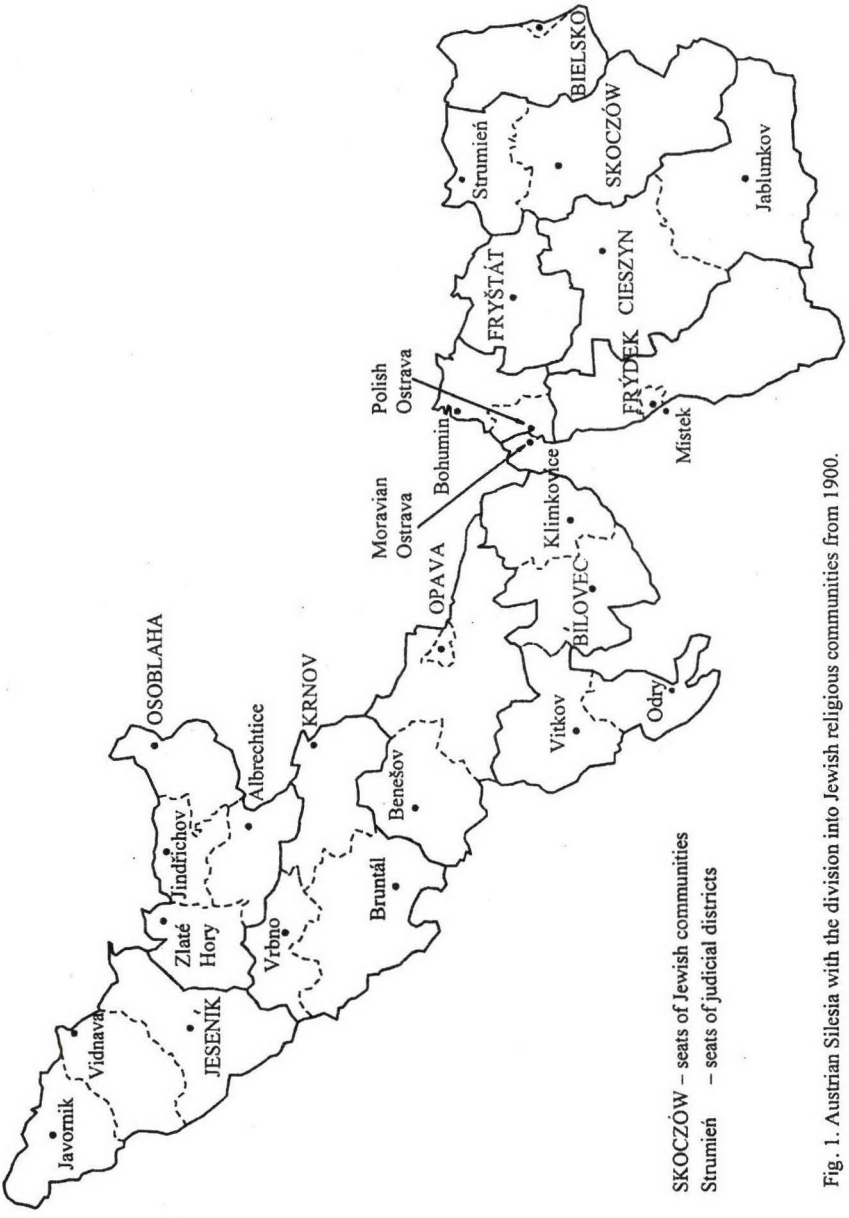



Fig. 1. Austrian Silesia with the division into Jewish religious communities from 1900. (Prep. by Janusz Spyra)

In 1900 11,988 followers of the Mosaic religion lived in the area of Austrian Silesia[6]. They constituted almost 1% of all the Jews who lived within the area of

[6] The Jews, on the basis of regulations applying in the Habsburg Monarchy, constituted a religious, rather than a national group. For more details, see G. Stourzh, 'Czy Żydzi w dawnej Austrii uznawani byli za narodowość?' in *Ze sobą obok siebie przeciwko sobie:*

Austrian part of the Empire[7] and 1.8% of that land's population. Of this, 22.2% (2,664) dwelled in the Opava region, and 77.8% (9,324) in the Cieszyn part. In the Opava region, the followers of the Mosaic religion constituted 0.8% of the entire population, while in Cieszyn Silesia the percentage of Jews was 2.5% of the inhabitants. The basic administrative unit for followers of Judaism was a Jewish religious community (*Israelitische Kultusgemeinde*). Its main task was to satisfy basic religious needs, and it also represented the interests of its members to the state authorities. The principles on which the religious community was to function were defined by the law of March 21 1890, which stated that membership of religious communities was obligatory for followers of the Jewish religion[8].

In 1900, there were 10 Jewish religious communities in the area of Austrian Silesia. They were located in the following cities: Bielsko, Cieszyn, Fryštát, Jeseník, Frýdek, Osoblaha (Hotzenplotz), Krnov, Skoczów, Opava and Bílovec[9]. The Frýdek Jewish religious community also encompassed the area of the Místek judicial district in Moravia. The Jews living within the Bohumín judicial district (1,523, or 12.7% of all Austrian-Silesian Jews) were members of the Jewish religious community in Moravian Ostrava.

In 1900 an average Jewish religious community in Austrian Silesia had 1,088 members (the numbers vacillated between 135 and 3,104)[10]. The most populous community in Bielsko was home to almost 26% of all the Jews living in Austrian Silesia. The second most populous community was in Cieszyn (2,280 members). Other communities were: Opava (1,216), Fryštát (1,010), Frýdek (996), Skoczów (826), Krnov (657), Bílovec (497) and Jeseník (159). The least populous was the

---

*Polacy, Żydzi, Austriacy i Niemcy w XIX i na początku XX wieku* (Cracow, 1995) 70-107. No questions on nationality were included in Austrian census forms. It may be worth mentioning that Yiddish, the language typically spoken by Austrian-Hungarian Jews, was not registered. See T. Gąsowski, 'Austriackie spisy ludności z lat 1869-1910', *Przeszłość Demograficzna Polski* 13 (1981) 37-48.

7 In that year, 1,224,896 Jews lived in the Austrian part of the monarchy. See T. Gąsowski, 'Jewish Communities in Autonomous Galicia: Their Size and Distribution' in A. Paluch (ed.), *The Jews in Poland*. Vol. 1 (Cracow, 1992) 209 tab. 2.

8 *Reichsgesetzblatt für die im Reischsrathe vertretenen Königreiche und Ländern* 57 (1890) 109-113. See J. Michalewicz, *Żydowskie okręgi metrykalne i żydowskie gminy wyznaniowe w Galicji doby autonomicznej* (Cracow, 1995) 13-28.

9 The information included in the *Lexicon* was limited to the names of the Jewish religious communities' abodes; their area was determined in the decree of the Ministry for Religions and Enlightenment of December 12 1892 (*Landes-Gesetz- und Verordnungsblatt für das Herzogthum Ober- und Nieder-Schlesien* 1 (1893) 1-2). See J. Spyra, 'Organizace židovských náboženských obcí v Rakouském Slezsku na zakladé zákona z 21. března 1890' in *Židé a Morava. Sborník příspívkú přednesených na konferenci konané 11. listopadu 1998 v Kroměříži* (Kroměříž, 1999) 17-25.

10 The Frýdek community was considered to include members dwelling in the Moravian part (415). The Jews from the Bohumín judicial district, which belonged to the community in Moravian Ostrava, were not included.

Jewish religious community in Osoblaha (135), which had only 1,1% of all the Jews living in Austrian Silesia. Jewish religious communities in Cieszyn Silesia were generally more numerous than those in the Opava region (the only exception was the Opava community)[11].

**Distribution of the Jewish population in counties, statutory cities and judicial districts of Austrian Silesia in 1900.**

| Administrative district | Judicial district | Area in sq. km. | Population density persons per sq. km. | Population | Jewish population | Percentage of Jewish population in relation to the overall population | Percentage of Jews in Austrian Silesia |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bielsko city | Bielsko city | 5.0 | 3,339.4 | 16,597 | 2,460 | 14.8 | 20.5 |
| Bielsko Region | Bielsko region | 205.0 | 138.5 | 28,400 | 644 | 2.3 | 5.4 |
| | Strumień | 145.0 | 102.0 | 14,775 | 260 | 1.7 | 2.2 |
| | Skoczów | 408.1 | 79.4 | 32,418 | 566 | 1.7 | 4.8 |
| Frýdek city | Frýdek city | 10.2 | 888.4 | 9,037 | 326 | 3.6 | 2.7 |
| Cieszyn | Frýdek region | 422.1 | 99.4 | 41,981 | 255 | 0.6 | 2.1 |
| | Jablunkov | 381.2 | 76.0 | 28,987 | 207 | 0.7 | 1.7 |
| | Cieszyn | 349.1 | 177.7 | 62,044 | 2073 | 3.3 | 17.3 |
| Fryštát | Fryštát | 223.9 | 279.5 | 64,056 | 1010 | 1.6 | 8.4 |
| | Bohumín | 132.5 | 536.3 | 71,059 | 1523 | 2.1 | 12.7 |
| Bruntál | Horní Benešov | 196.9 | 103.9 | 17,661 | 53 | 0.3 | 0.4 |
| | Bruntál | 281.7 | 82.0 | 23,090 | 101 | 0.4 | 0.8 |
| | Vrbno | 113.0 | 79.9 | 9,034 | 9 | 0.1 | 0.1 |
| | Jindřichov | 92.3 | 99.8 | 9,218 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Krnov | Osoblaha | 127.0 | 97.4 | 12,364 | 77 | 0.6 | 0.6 |
| | Krnov | 181.0 | 148.7 | 26,888 | 547 | 2.0 | 4.6 |
| | Albrechtice | 132.1 | 90.9 | 12,003 | 31 | 0.2 | 0.3 |
| Opava city | Opava city | 10.9 | 2,451.7 | 26,748 | 1047 | 3.9 | 8.7 |
| Opava Region | Opava region | 328.7 | 117.1 | 38,489 | 116 | 0.4 | 1.0 |
| | Odry | 111.1 | 90 | 9,999 | 57 | 0.5 | 0.5 |
| | Vitkov | 202.2 | 77.6 | 15,687 | 73 | 0.5 | 0.6 |
| Bílovec | Klimkovice | 151.1 | 127.0 | 19,190 | 210 | 1.1 | 1.7 |
| | Bílovec | 200.4 | 108.0 | 21,644 | 157 | 0.7 | 1.3 |
| Jeseník | Jeseník | 264.5 | 111.9 | 29,601 | 133 | 0.4 | 1.1 |
| | Javorník | 162.2 | 81.1 | 13,161 | 10 | 0.1 | 0.1 |
| | Vidnava | 180.4 | 88.9 | 16,026 | 16 | 0.1 | 0.1 |
| | Zlaté Hory | 129.3 | 79.4 | 10,265 | 27 | 0.3 | 0.2 |

[11] It may be worth mentioning that the size of the Jewish communities in Austrian Silesia was lesser than the communities in neighbouring Galicia, as an average Galician community numbered 3,116 people (from 300 to 45,000 people). See Michalewicz, *Żydowskie okręgi* 99.

The number of followers of the Mosaic religion in individual administrative areas of Austrian Silesia is shown in the Table above. The Table shows that the Jewish population was greatest in the mentioned counties of Cieszyn and Fryštát, and in the statutory city of Bielsko. Around 21% of Austrian-Silesian Jews were concentrated in the two counties: 20.5% of all the followers of the Mosaic religion lived in Bielsko. Only 12% of Jews lived in the Bielsko-region county. Jewish populations in the other counties were far smaller. The least populous group was that of the Jews in the administrative district of Bruntál, which comprised a little more than 1% of the entire Jewish population.

The Jews' population percentage varied in individual counties and statutory cities. The largest percentage of Jewish people in the population was found in the statutory cities (between 3.6%-14.8%). As far as counties are concerned, the percentage was considerably lower. In Cieszyn Silesia, which had a much lower number of followers of the Mosaic religion than the Opava region, the ratio vacillated around 2%. The Jews constituted a considerably lesser part of the inhabitants of the Opava region. In the counties of Krnov and Bílovec it was around 1%, while in the remaining three counties of the Opava part, including the administrative district of Opava-region, Jews constituted less than 0.5% of the population.

A far greater diversity in the distribution of the Jewish population can be noted in an analysis of judicial districts. In this context, the largest Jewish centre in Austrian Silesia would be Bielsko, as that was the town where one-fifth of the followers of the Mosaic religion from Austrian Silesia lived. The judicial districts of Cieszyn (17.3%) – including the town of Cieszyn (the Jews who lived in Cieszyn constituted 13.9% of the entire population) – Bohumín (nearly 13%) and Opava (around 9% of the population) followed. The groups of Jews dwelling in the other judicial districts were much smaller[12].

The highest percentage of Jews in the population could be found in the neighbourhood of Bielsko (around 7%). The next highest percentage was found in the Cieszyn judicial district – 3.3% (including Cieszyn). The lower, although still relatively high, ratio (around 2%) was in the judicial districts of Skoczów, Strumień, Bohumín and Fryštát, which belonged to Cieszyn Silesia, as well as the neighbouring Opava and Krnov from the Opava region. Of 10 judicial districts in which the Jewish population constituted over 1% of the inhabitants, as many as seven belonged to Cieszyn Silesia. In a larger number (17) of the judicial districts within Austrian Silesia, the percentage of followers of the Mosaic religion among the population was lower than 1% with the exception of the Jablunkov judicial district, they all were located within the Opava region. The percentage of Jewish people in individual districts seemed to be related to their economic situation: the areas inhabited by the largest numbers of Jewish people – Bielsko, Cieszyn, Bo-

[12] Jews did not live in the judicial district of Jindřichov.

humín, Krnov and Opava – were significant for their economy[13]. In those areas, industry was developing, e.g., in Bielsko the textile industry, and in the neighbourhood of Bohumín and Fryštát the coal and chemical industry[14]. Population density in those areas was also higher[15].

The basic administrative units were rural and municipal communities. On average, an administrative community in Austrian Silesia had 24.1 followers of the Jewish religion. For 213 administrative communities within Opava region the ratio was only 12.5 people, while in the 283 communities of Cieszyn Silesia, that ratio was 32.9 people. Those ratios varied for more numerous cadastral communities. On average, a tax community was inhabited by 20.5 Jews. In the area of the Duchy of Cieszyn (257 cadastral communities), that ratio was 36.3 people, thus it was lower than the due percentage of administrative communities. As far as the Opava region is concerned, an average cadastral community (328) was inhabited by only 8.1 people.

A noteworthy and characteristic feature of Jewish settlement is the tendency to concentrate in towns. That phenomenon could be noted in Austrian Silesia, too. In 1900, 7,459 Jews lived in the 39 municipal areas, which amounted to 62.2% of all Austrian-Silesian Jews[16]. They constituted 4.5% of the entire municipal population. There were considerable differences between the various categories of municipal units. More than half (51.4%) of the Jews belonging to that group inhabited the three statutory cities. 45.4% lived in the other towns and the remaining population dwelled in minor towns. The statutory cities were inhabited by the highest percentage of the Jewish population – on average 7.3%. Jews constituted on average 3.6% of the population in the towns of Austrian Silesia, and only 1.3% in the minor towns.

In the Opava region the towns were inhabited by as many as 80.8% of all the Jews, but this was only 2.3% of the total number of the towns' inhabitants. 48.6% of that group of Jews lived in Opava (3.9% of the population). 50.3%, or 1.7% of the local population lived in the other towns. The minor towns were inhabited by only 1.0% of Jews (0.5% of the entire population). There were no Jews in the two towns (Janov [Johanestahl] and Zulová [Friedberg]), and in the group of eight minor towns located in that area, Jews lived only in three of them: Hradec (Grätz), Velka Poloma (Großpohlom) and Třebovice (Strzebowitz). In Cieszyn Silesia,

---

[13] In the judicial districts which had a higher percentage of Jewish people, in each of them, on average, there were many estates of large landed property (ratio 44,8) and factories (21,9), while in the districts of a lower percentage of Jewish people, 20,7 and 5 on average.

[14] M. Myška, 'Rozwój demograficzny' 160-1.

[15] The population density of the judicial districts which included more than 1% of Jewish people on average was 199,3 person per sq. km. (from 79,4 to 536,3). In the districts where the percentage of Jewish people was lower the population density was 90,4 persons per sq. km (from 76 to 111,9).

[16] In 1910 the towns in Austrian Silesia were inhabited by 24,4% of the entire population.

62.2% of the Jewish population lived in towns, and they constituted 7.6% of the whole population. 52.5% of the Jews (9.6% of the inhabitants) dwelled in both the statutory cities of Cieszyn Silesia, Bielsko and Frýdek. 43.4% of that group of Jewish people (7.4% of the towns' population) lived in other towns, while the remaining 4.1% of people lived in minor towns (1.5% of the population).

37.8% of all the Austrian-Silesian Jews (4,529) lived in the rural areas. They comprised 0.8% of the rural population. The majority of them – as many as 88.9% – lived in the locality of Cieszyn Silesia. The Jews who lived in rural communities of that area constituted 37.8% (4,017), while in Opava region there were 19.2% (512). As far as Cieszyn Silesia is concerned, over one-half of the Jewish population (66.5%) lived in localities inhabited by major groups (between 33[17] and 418). These were mainly industrial localities or were located near the industrial centres. The largest Jewish centre of population – 418 people – was in Šunychl. Small groups of Jews living in the Opava region in municipal colonies constituted a tiny percentage of the population. On average 8.2 people lived in each of the communities inhabited by them (62). The size of those groups vacillated between 1 and 26 people. Only Svinov (Schönbrunn) was an exception, and 96 Jews dwelled in that town. However, it was situated in the neighbourhood of Moravian Ostrava[18].

In conclusion, it should be stated that in the area of Austrian Silesia the Jewish population was relatively small in 1900. That community numbered 11,988 people, which constituted only 1.8% of the entire population. The major part of that group (more than 3/4) dwelled in Cieszyn Silesia, which was the eastern part of the crown land. The majority of Jews (62.2%) lived in those centres which had the status of towns and minor towns, and constituted 4.5% of the total population. One-third (32%) of all the Jews lived in the three so-called statutory cities (Bielsko, Opava and Frýdek). They were notable not only for a considerable number of Jewish settlements, but also for the higher percentage of Jewish population in relation to the entire population. Very few Jews settled in the rural areas. In the Opava region, which to a great extent was agricultural in character, there were hardly any Jews in the rural communities, and over 80% of the Jewish population dwelled in towns and minor towns. Jews preferred areas characterised by intensive economic growth. There were 10 religious communities in 1900 in the area of Austrian Silesia, the largest of which had 3,104 followers of Judaism, while the smallest of them – the declining Osoblaha community – had only 135 members.

[17] On average, in the communities of Cieszyn Silesia there were 32,9 Jews.

[18] Finally it was incorporated into the large industrial agglomeration that Ostrava had become (K. Jiřík, B. Pitronová (eds.), *Dějiny Ostravy. Vydáno k 700. výročí založení města* (Ostrava, 1967) 655-661). In 1900 there were three large factories in Svinov.

**Jacek Proszyk**

## A HISTORY OF JEWISH SOCIAL WELFARE IN BIELSKO 1860-1939

There were many Jewish mutual aid societies and institutions in Bielsko. The most important of these was the Jewish community around which religious and social life was centered. It was officially established in 1865, although Bielsko Jews considered themselves to be an independent Jewish community long before that. A few years afterwards, a Jewish community, primarily responsible for Jewish community life in the nearby town of Biała, was also formed in Lipnik-Biała. The two communities worked closely together in social welfare matters, but this paper will not deal with the Biała community because it belonged to Galicia, and not to Silesia.

The major responsibility of the organized Jewish communities was to provide for their members' religious needs by developing and maintaining appropriate institutions, in accordance with civil-legal regulations. In addition to its other activities, the Jewish community maintained funds as well as other charitable services for the support of the poor. Its members were entitled to benefits, including health care, financial help, and other community resources. The Social Welfare Committee of the Jewish Community was responsible for establishing the means for solving the problems of the poorest segment and for preparing lists of poor people for the municipal authorities and for the board of the Jewish community which distributed money from charitable funds. Jewish communities also organized and supervised other societies with religious and charitable aims. Examples of such organizations, called for in the community statutes, included a *Talmud Tora*, *Chevra Kadisha*, and *Bikur Cholim*[1]. Before Jewish holidays, especially before Purim and Passover, the community organised fund-raising activities and food collections for the poor. In autumn, money was collected to buy potatoes for the poorest families[2]. The Social Welfare Society also included a section whose task it was to prepare unemployed clients for employment[3].

---

1 *Statut Izraelickiej Gminy Wyznaniowej w Bielsku* (Bielsko, 1930).

2 *Tygodnik Żydowski* 15/16 (1939) and 15/13 (1939).

3 *Tygodnik Żydowski* 15/10 (1939) 3.

In 1938, the Jewish community exerted a major effort to assist Jews forcibly displaced from Germany who found their new place of residence in Zbaszyn. This included medical assistance, clothing, food and money. The displaced Jews were regularly visited by lawyers, doctors and other volunteers from the Bielsko Jewish Community, including M. Rosner, Hans Machauf, Grete Färber, Maurycy Popiół, Dr. David Silberschein, Dr. Hirsch Leibel, Dr. Ehrenberg, Dr. Weinreb, Grubner, Zygmunt Arzt, Edward Feuerstein and many others[4].

### 1. Assistance for the Indigent

The social welfare organizations carried out their statutory functions mainly by collecting and distributing money. The main burden for helping the poor fell on the Social Welfare Section of the Jewish Community. In the 1930s, they were much helped by the Jewish Society of Help and General Charity in Bielsko, which was established on September 10 1935 in response to worsening Jewish material circumstances resulting from the economic crisis. The Society's headquarters were located at 26 Mickiewicz St. and its leaders included: Karol Nichtenhauser, Józef Bienenstock, Ernest Werber, Brunon Langfelder, Izydor Obständer[5]. Other active organizations included the Interest-Free Loan Fund, the Gemilat Chesed[6], and the Bielsko branch of the Benevolent Society for Poor Jews from Galicia which collected funds to help the poor Jews originating from Galicia[7].

Part of the charitable expenses for the poor were often covered through endowment funds established by people of means. Such an endowment fund could be established by a special letter, later validated by representatives of the municipal authorities, the town treasury, and, at times, the Jewish community. The annual interest from such an endowment fund would be distributed according to the benefactor's wishes, as expressed in the fund letter. The benefactor often indicated the exact date when the money was to be distributed; sometimes it was the anniversary of the date of the death of the benefactor or one of his relatives. Forty-two of the approximately 60 such Jewish endowment funds, active during Austrian times and in the interwar period, specified that the interest was to be used for the benefit of the poor. Often, Jews who established the fund would stipulate the number and religious affiliation of the recipients. In Cieszyn Silesia it was a common practice to stipulate that the income of the funds was to be used not only for the benefit of coreligionists but also for poor members of other religions. As a result, poor Catholics and Protestants also benefitted from these Jewish funds. An example of this was an endowment fund established by the long-time Chairman of the Jewish community, Salomon Pollak, which stipulated that the income was to be distributed every year on July 21 to 13 Jewish, Catholic and

---

4 *Tygodnik Żydowski* 14/38 (1938) 3 and 14/41 (1938) 1.

5 APK, Prezydium Wojewódzkiej Rady Narodowej w Katowicach, Urząd Spraw Wewnętrznych, 464 I.

6 *Tygodnik Żydowski* 15/27 (1939).

7 APBB, Akta Miasta Bielska, 1041.

Protestant charitable institutions. Other funds with this aim were founded; among others, by: Juliusz Baum (1873), Fryderyka Baum (1880), Ignacy Baum (1870), Karl Förster (1894), Julia Friedheim (1891), Julius Hoinkes (1906), Jakub Krisner (1892), Jakub Kuffner (1891), Albert Pollak (1918), Adolf Pollak (1892), Wilhelm Schäffer (1893), Oscar Schäffer (1907), Erich Schäffer (1920), and Bertha Wiedmann (1902)[8]. There were, of course, also endowment funds whose income was intended exclusively for Jews. Most often, these were intended for the poor, but also for the rabbi, cantor, or for synagogue maintenance. Examples of such funds were those established by Babetta Blumenthal, Samson Hein and Joanna Unger (1899), Samuel Fränkl (1903), Dawid Höniger (1898), Albert Kraus (1909), Josef Mandel (1884), Josef Perl (1918), Maurycy Perl (1910), Adolf Pollak (1894), Bernhard Pollak (1918), Jakub and Mojżesz Riesenfeld (1891), Heinrich Zygmund Schäffer (1901), and Joachim Wiedmann (1816). The well-known opera singer, Selma Kurz, established a fund whose intended beneficiaries were her own family (1909)[9].

Fewer such endowment funds were established during the interwar period than during Austrian times but there were many more one-time donations made to the town treasury for restricted or non-restricted charitable purposes. The following are examples: On December 22 1926, Ignacy Loewenberg donated 50 zl. to the town treasury for the benefit of the poor, regardless of their religious affiliation, in gratitude for voluntary work performed by Johann Prohaska and Oskar Nitschmann for Loewenberg's company. On March 10 1928, Dr. Hans Deutsch donated 100 zl. to the town treasury for the town's poor. The money was given to Dr. Mika to be distributed among the poor by the Social Welfare Section of the Bielsko Municipality. On December 6 1928, Feliks and Pawel Riesenfeld donated 100 zl. to the Town Treasury for the benefit of the poor in honor of their deceased mother, Gabriela Riesenfeld[10].

Another important form of aid in Jewish society was support for poor Jewish brides and this was carried out by the Bielsko-Biała charitable organization "Hachnusas-Kallah". Using collected money as well as income from the Sidonia and Ignatz Riesenfeld Fund (1894), this organization gave the poor bride a dowry, a wedding dress, paid the synagogue wedding tax, and provided other help connected with establishing a family. The organization was founded on March 23 1913, had its headquarters in the building of the Jewish Community, and its leaders in 1913 included Löbel Bleicher, Hermann Barber, Markus and Jakub Wilchfort, Moritz Grubner, Simon Hirschberg, Adolf Brandstadter, Heinrich Springut, Abraham Löwy, Adolf Bester, Jakub Mückenbrunn, Emanuel Rund, and Salomon Süsskind[11]. Another endowment fund was the Bernard and Regina Deutsch Fund (1887) established in order to help poor daughters from the founders' family. The fund specified the amount to be given as a dowry to poor brides as 1,000 guldens or 500 guldens. If the

[8] APBB, Akta Miasta Bielska, 128, 366, 411, 1098, 1099, 1100, 1207

[9] APBB, Akta Miasta Bielska, 128, 364, 366, 367, 1099, 1207, 1908. The Wiedmann Fund was founded in 1816 but was activated only in 1885.

[10] APBB, Akta Miasta Bielska, 365.

[11] APBB, Akta Miasta Bielska, 128, 1053.

founders' descendants did not use the interest from the fund for a period of 30 years, it was to be used for the benefit of poor and decent girls regardless of their religious affiliation[12].

**2. Assistance for Orphans, Widows and the Aged**

Orphans, widows, and the aged were not well provided for materially during Austrian times. There was, therefore, a need for voluntary organizations to fill this void. Charitable institutions were especially active in helping orphans and widows following World War I. The Salomon Pollak Fund was created at that time and its income was to be used each year, among other things, for the care of Jewish orphans and for the support of Catholic and Protestant orphanages[13].

However, endowment funds alone would not solve the problems of this population if there were no institutions in which they could be properly cared for. The most important institution of this type was the Jewish Home for Orphans and the Aged in Jaworze, near Bielsko. That house was locally known as the Simachowicz Fund out of respect for and gratitude to Berthold and Anna Simachowicz who in 1916 donated their hotel in Jaworze to the Bielsko Jewish community to be used as a children's home[14]. Berthold Simachowicz was a long-standing member of the board of the Jewish community in Bielsko-Biała, as well as a member of the board of the town of Bielsko. The Jewish Women's Charitable Organization in Bielsko was officially registered as the owner of the mortgage on the house because this organization had proved its competence in charitable work over a 55-year period[15]. But, despite its excellence and experience, the burden of maintaining the orphanage proved too overwhelming a task for one organization, so a number of charitable organizations from the Jewish community combined forces and appointed a committee to manage the orphanage. This committee consisted of three representatives from the Jewish Women's Charitable Organization in Bielsko, as well as representatives from the board of the Jewish community in Bielsko, the Jewish Humanitarian Society B'nai B'rith in Bielsko, Mr. and Mrs. Berthold and Anna Simachowicz, and Dr. Markus Steiner, the Rabbi of the Jewish Community in Bielsko. In order to carry out its mission efficiently, the committee cooperated with the Society for the Saving of Abandoned Jewish Children in Vienna, the Central Committee for the Care of War Orphans in Lwów, and the Society for Saving Abandoned Jewish Children in Galicia and Bukovina. Thanks to their combined efforts, in a very short time they were able

[12] APBB, Akta Miasta Bielska, 128, 411, 1207.

[13] APBB, Akta Miasta Bielska, 128, 1099.

[14] AGWŻ, Akta Sprawy Fundacji Simachowicza w Jaworzu, W.K.Z-I-131/98.

[15] Sąd Rejonowy w Bielsku, Wydział Ksiąg Wieczystych, lwh 294, Jaworze Cadastre Community, entry on 24 December 1916 for the benefit of Israelitischen Frauen Wohltätigkeitsverein in Bielitz.

to overcome many difficulties, to divide the financial burden of running the institution among themselves, and to use the orphanage for its intended purpose[16].

The rebuilding project went smoothly and on May 20 1917 the orphanage was formally opened and 60 orphans were accommodated. On that day, a special train had to be sent to Jaworze to bring participants to the opening ceremony. The local newspapers reported the event in detail and these reports make us realize that the opening of the orphanage was one of the most important events for the Jewish community of Bielsko and its surroundings. It is worth quoting a fragment from one of the publications: *This coming Sunday will represent a milestone in the history of humanitarian efforts of this Jewish Community because on that day, the orphanage and the house of social welfare will be transferred, with due ceremony, to the Jewish Community. (...) A beautiful and suitable house that will serve their needs forever has been established for children in need and for the forsaken aged thanks to the humanitarian efforts of the Jewish Community and its representatives*[17].

Simon Thieberger was the first director of the orphanage, which employed seven other people. The children's ages ranged from 6 to 14 years. In 1918, there were 79 children housed in the orphanage (43 boys and 16 girls); in 1920 – 60 children, and in 1921 – 72 children. In those years, the children were mainly war orphans. The children were taught religion by Alexander Weiss; were sent to the local public school in Jaworze, and were taught a trade[18]. In the 1930s, Jewish social needs necessitated the establishment of a home for the aged next to the Jaworze orphanage. In addition to fulfilling its charitable functions, the orphanage also made one room available to serve as a synagogue for Jews living in Jaworze and Jasienica[19].

The Society of Jewish Disabled Soldiers, Widows and Orphans was also very active during the interwar period in raising funds for the needs of its members. In 1939, the society had 70 members and was headed by Henryk Fabiszkiewicz[20].

### 3. Assistance for School-Aged Youth

Bielsko Jews attached great importance to the education of their children and therefore established the Jewish Public School on Krasiński St. Endowment funds and an organization that offered free meals were also established in order to provide help for children from poor families. Foundations that gave scholarships to needy and deserving children included those established by Samuel Braunberg (1883), Bernhard and Regina Deutsch (1887), Józefina Dub and Paula Schäfer (1908), Dr. Bernhard Ichheiser (1890), and Dr. Izrael Izydor Löewy[21].

---

16 *Israelitischer Humanitätsverein B'nai B'rith in Bielitz 1889-1919* (Bielsko, 1919).

17 *Silesia* 115 (1917) 5.

18 *Silesia* 70 (1918) 4; AGWŻ, Akta Sprawy Fundacji Simachowicza w Jaworzu, WKŻ-I-131/98.

19 *Israelitischer Humanitätsverein.*

20 *Tygodnik Żydowski* 15/29 (1939).

21 APBB, Akta Miasta Bielska, 128, 367, 411, 1207.

Other foundations supported school-aged youth in a different way. The first of these was the Bielsko-Biała Jewish Association of the Free Table (the so-called Freitischverein)[22]. The Association was established on December 20 1897 by a special committee that prepared the statutes and started preparatory work. The Jewish Humanitarian Society of B'nai B'rith in Bielsko reserved the right to supervise the association and each year delegated two of its members to the board of the association. On April 2 1898, their statutes were accepted by the Silesian Country Government in Opava. The Association of the Free Table proved to be a real blessing for young students. They received substantial and healthy meals but, in addition, their educational progress was monitored; as a result of which they became motivated to constantly improve. It is estimated that between 1898 and 1939, approximately 8000-9000 students were provided for by this system. Often, students who benefitted from this assistance later became staunch supporters of the association. The organization's accomplishments can be attributed, first of all, to the fact that its management was very energetic and always conscious of the organization's aims. From its founding until 1906, the Association of the Free Table was chaired by Dr. Ludwig Reich; from 1906, by Dr. Josef Steckel and in the interwar period by Julius Deutsch (1926-1928) and Bruno Pollak (1929-1931)[23]. The board of the association consisted, among others, of: Osias Schmelz, Max Eber, Richart Glücklich, Samuel Tugendhat, Josef Münzer, Dr. Abraham Plessner, Dr. Samuel Landau, Jakob Schanzer, Fritz Goldreich, Julius Deutsch, Siegfried Adler and Julius Drancz[24]. The Association of the Free Table was very popular and had more than 400 members. The association and its achievements became a model for similar associations in Bielsko and the vicinity. A Catholic Association of the Free Table was subsequently established in Bielsko and members of the boards of both associations remained on friendly terms[25]. The association was located in the building of the Jewish community on Mickiewicz St. Its kitchen was run by two sisters, Emilia Krantz-Scharf and Karolina Krantz-Koblitz and, after their death, by the daughters of Emilia Scharf, Hani and Nina[26].

Another important institution that supported poor children was the Rest Home Association, later known as the Jewish Summer Colony[27]. During a meeting of the Jewish Humanitarian Society, B'nai B'rith in Bielsko on September 18 1901, Alfred Breuer encouraged the establishment of a Jewish rest home in Bielsko. A committee was appointed to launch the necessary initial preparations. In 1903, a founders'

---

22 APBB, Akta Miasta Bielska, 469, original name was: "Bielitz-Biała'er Israel. Freitisch-Verein".

23 W. Jaworski, *Ludność żydowska w województwie śląskim w latach 1922-1939* (Katowice, 1997) 134.

24 APBB, Akta Miasta Bielska, 1042.

25 *Israelitischer Humanitätsverein.*

26 APBB, Akta Miasta Bielska, 314 and memoirs of Marianna Merc, 'Aby nie zostały zapomniane', in J. Polak and J. Spyra (eds.), *Żydzi w Bielsku, Białej i okolicy. Materiały z sesji naukowej odbytej w dniu 19 stycznia 1996 r.* (Bielsko-Biała, 1996).

27 APBB, Akta Miasta Bielska, 469.

meeting of the organization was held with the active participation of representatives from the various segments of the Jewish community, during which Prof. Eduard Feuerstein was elected chairman of the association. In the same year, six children were sent to a health resort; in 1904, eight children; and in 1905, the association was able to send 16 children to a health resort or for a summer holiday. Sick children were sent to a health resort, while weak and anemic children were accommodated in the Bielsko vicinity. In 1905, a Women's Division, headed by Lilly Korn[28], was added to the "rest home" and became an inseparable part of the association. In 1906, the association sent 22 children, in 1907, 26, and in 1908, 30 children. As difficulties in finding proper accommodation increased, it became increasingly more urgent for the association to purchase its own facility. A fund-raising campaign, started by Rabbi Dr. Markus Steiner and Prof. Eduard Feuerstein, soon enabled the purchase of an appropriate property. On November 29 1908, a ceremonial opening of their own home, located in Lasek Cygański (Gypsy Forest)[29], was hosted by the association with the participation of many Bielsko citizens. The interior of the house was decorated by the Women's Division. Thanks to the purchase of the house, a greater number of children could holiday there each year. In 1909, the house accommodated 36 children; in 1910, 37; in 1911, 39; and in 1912, 46 children. The children in the house were under the care of Miss Tochten, while Martha Huppert and Dora Löw were in charge of personnel. In 1913 the association had 220 members[30]. The house was added on to in 1914 thanks to the Heilpern Family Fund when an addition was built in memory of Erna Singer, a member of the Women's Division, by her parents, Mr. and Mrs. Heinrich Heilpern. The new room was named after the deceased and her portrait, as well as a marble commemorating plaque, were placed on one of the walls. In the same year, a new kitchen and bathroom were built and the Jewish architect, König, prepared the necessary architectural specifications, free of charge. The rest home was now very attractive and was surrounded by beautiful gardens and a large playground. In 1913, 54 children were sent to the rest home. During World War I, despite many difficulties, arrangements for holidays were made for 40 individuals. From 1919, the association guaranteed holidays for 50 children[31]. Members of the association included: Evelina and Theodor Pollak, Rosa Schöngut, Martha Schmelz, Adolf Treibl, Jan König, Dr. Josef and Berta Stekel, Markus Neumann, Moritz Braunberg, Karl Riesenfeld, Siegmund Wachtel, and Dr. Landau[32]. Endowment funds or significant donations for the benefit of the association were made by, among others: Salomona Pollak[33], Eskompte & Wechselbank from Bielsko-Biała, Siegmund Schöngut, Eveline and Theodor Pollak, and Jan König[34].

---

28 *Bielitz-Bialer Anzeiger* 2685 (1913) 2.

29 Recreational District of Bielsko – Olszówka Dolna.

30 *Bielitz-Bialer Anzeiger* 2685 (1913) 2.

31 *Israelitischer Humanitätsverein.*

32 *Bielitz-Bialer Anzeiger* 2685 (1913) 2

33 APBB, Akta Miasta Bielska, 128, 1099.

34 *Bielitz-Bialer Anzeiger* 2685 (1913) 2

During the interwar period, the "rest home" was called the Jewish Summer Colony. Each summer, about 25-30 Jewish children spent their holidays there recommmended by the Jewish Public School in Bielsko amongst others[35].

**4. Assistance for the Sick**

The statutes of the Jewish community included a provision for the community to provide medical care for its members. Communities often employed physicians or formed associations to care for the sick. In Bielsko, there existed the Association for the Care of the Sick, "Bikur Cholim". The aim of the association was to financially support sick members who needed help, by granting them interest-free loans. The association nursed the sick and financially supported their families, supplied professional medical help, bought medicines, and paid for nurses. The association derived its income from members' contributions, donations, gifts, and grants from the Jewish community and the municipality[36]. The Jewish Association for Aid and Care for the Sick, was established before 1892 on similar principles. In 1911, the leaders of the association included: Salo Rittermann, F. Rabinowitz, and Karl Nichtenhauser[37].

One of the most important associations engaged in helping the sick was the "Chevra Kadisha" organization which mainly concerned itself with the terminally ill and with burying the dead. In a way, this was an elite organization headed by the most respected members of the Jewish community. The name itself, "Chevra Kadisha" means *Holy Society* in Aramaic and it was often referred to as the Funeral Archonfraternity. In Bielsko this society was called "Chevra Kadisha – Society for Support of the Sick and Burial of the Dead"[38]. The society "Chevra Kadisha" was under the supervision of the board of the Jewish community and its aim was *performing deeds of love towards one's neighbors and deeds of charity for the living and the dead.* These consisted of visiting the sick, nursing the sick, supporting impoverished members in the case of illness, and burying the dead. Each year, during the month of Adar (February), there was a general assembly of the society members; who were individually invited. After a memorial service, the invited members were given an annual report by the society board. The duties of the society consisted of visiting and nursing the sick. If a member of the community fell ill, members of the board were required to visit him regularly and often, according to the wishes of the sick person or his family, to speak to him and encourage him, to improve his spirits, and to bring him comfort and consolation. If the illness became more severe and life threatening, members of the board or other members of the society better acquainted with the family were to advise the sick, in a delicate way, to prepare his last legal will and testament and, if he so desired, to recite penitential prayers and to summon any person the dying individual wished to see. It was the task of the board to provide,

35 APBB, Akta Miasta Bielska, 314, 405.

36 APBB, Akta Miasta Białej, 909

37 APBB, Akta Miasta Bielska, 285, 469, 1018

38 APBB, Akta Miasta Bielska, 469, 1041; APK, Wojewódzka Rada Narodowa w Katowicach, Urząd Spraw Wewnętrznych. 48 II; AGWŻ, Akta Stowarzyszenia Chewra Kadisza.

at the request of the sick, appropriate nurses to care for both men and women. A poor sick member was assured by the society of receiving free medical care and medication. The board was also obliged to provide financial support. When the society was in a good financial state, these benefits were paid to non-society members who were members of the Jewish community and, if possible, were extended to Jewish transients in Bielsko. As soon as the chairman of the society was informed of an impending death, he was to send members of the society to the home to recite the appropriate prayers. At least one of these had to be a member of the board in order to assure that tradition and law were maintained and, in case of death, that two people maintained a constant vigil over the body. Members of the society would then prepare the body for the funeral according to custom. If a person died without leaving a son, and the family did not make alternative arrangements, the society was responsible for saying the prayer for the dead and arranging for the mourning period. Four times a year, following the memorial service, the board sent a collector with a money box from house to house to give members of the community an opportunity to make a contribution[39]. During the interwar period, the society was led by: Ludwig Langfelder (1920-1924), Salo Wexberg (1924-1928), Filip Feiler (1928-1933), Adolf Wachtl (1933-1934), and Ignatz Marmor (1934-1936). Rabbi Marcus Steiner and Prof. Eduard Feuerstein were honorary members[40].

There were two endowment funds in Bielsko whose income was designated for the benefit of the "Chevra Kadisha": the Salomon Pollak Fund (1910) and the Róza and Moritz Baum Fund (1868). There were also many funds that financed the nursing of the sick and their rehabilitation. Examples of these include the Benzion Barmaper Fund (1909), the Dr. Izydor Löewy Fund (1898) which supported the poor and bed-ridden, regardless of their religion, and the Hermann Thuretzky Fund (1915) which helped convalescents and the chronically ill and financed their hospitalization[41].

### 5. Jewish Women's Charitable Association

In the middle of the 19th century, when the Bielsko male Jews attempted to organize a legally recognized independent Jewish Community, their wives established in 1860 the Jewish Women's Charitable Association whose goal was to help the poorest and most needy individuals[42]. It is a very interesting organization, especially since the Jewish Community in Bielsko was only officially registered five years later. In addition, it was organized at a time when women did not play a prominent role in public life. The existence of such an organization in Bielsko testifies to the liberal religious attitudes of its members. On November 18 1898, the Women's Association established a fund whose annual income was designated to help poor Jewish orphans.

---

39 AGWŻ, Akta Stowarzyszenia Chewra Kadisza.

40 Spyra, '*Cmentarz żydowski w Bielsku*', in Polak and Spyra (eds.), *Żydzi w Bielsku* 135 and Jaworski, *Ludność* 133.

41 APBB, Akta Miasta Bielska, 128, 404, 411, 1207.

42 *Statuten des Israelitischen Frauen Wohltätigkeitsverein in Bielitz* (Bielsko, 1898).

Its scope was later expanded to include aid for others in need[43]. The board of the association was responsible for distributing the income. The aim of the association was to aid the poor by giving them alms in the form of money, food, or other items, or by their gainful employment. The poor were supported on a permanent basis (if the poor person was accepted as a charge of the association) or on a temporary basis (by specific forms of help)[44].

In 1914, the association had about 300 members and its leadership included Fanny Brüll, Sophie Riesenfeld, Berta Steiner, Hedwig Pollatschek, Paula Korn, Eveline Pollak while its members included: Margarete Schäffer, Josefine Klein, Berta Goldschmied, Regina Polatschek, Julie Schäffer, Josefine Schmetterling, Josefine Bachrach, Julie Fränkl, Rosa Deutsch, Flora Perl, and Berta Schmelz. Two members of the Jewish community sat on the board of the association as supervisors. At various times, these included Rabbi Dr. Marcus Steiner, Dr. Sigmund Markusfeld, Moritz Braunberg, Dr. Siegmund Robinson, Ludwig Langfelder, and Sigmund Pollak[45].

The association derived its income from contributions by its members, donations, bequests, interest on securities, interest on savings, and from gifts by the Bielsko Savings Bank and the Bielsko Municipality. Money was distributed for a variety of charitable purposes and part of it was allotted to the Social Welfare Section of the Jewish community to be distributed to the poor. Money was also used by the association to buy coal for the poor; to aid them with living expenses; to purchase and distribute clothing; to cover the educational and school clothing expenses of poor pupils; to aid orphans; to support a shelter for the aged and for young girls which was managed by Rosalia Tisch; to support children's homes, the Red Cross, and the Widows' and Orphans' Fund; to help the sick and women in childbirth; and for training adolescent girls in a trade.

The Jewish Women's Charitable Association used its influence to press for the establishment of a home for orphans and the aged. This became a reality when the Simachowiczes from Jaworze donated their hotel for that purpose. Then, the association assiduously helped in the day to day running of the house and was even registered as the owner in the land and mortgage register.

### 6. The Jewish Humanitarian Association B'nai B'rith in Bielsko

This was an exclusive association, a member of the Jewish Union of Humanitarian Associations B'nai B'rith, which existed in Bielsko from 1889 to 1939. It had a philanthropic character and its membership consisted mainly of educated and rich representatives of the Jewish community. Because of its unconventional traditions and even rites, the association could be considered a kind of order or organization with some characteristics of the freemasons[46].

---

[43] APBB, Akta Miasta Bielska, 128.

[44] *Statuten.*

[45] AGWŻ, Akta Sprawy Fundacji Simachowicza w Jaworzu, WKZ-I-131/98.

[46] *Archiwum Związku Żydowskich Stowarzyszeń Humanitarnych "B'nei B'rith" w Krakowie (1892-1938)* (Cracow, 1994) 9.

The Bielsko Lodge was the first on Austro-Hungarian territory and was therefore named "Austria". The official inauguration of the Bielsko Lodge, named the "Humanitarian Association Austria B'nai B'rith" took place on September 1, 1889 with much fanfare. Very soon after its establishment, it was influential in the opening of other lodges – "Solidarność" in Kraków, "Union" in Pilzno, and "Silesia" in Opava. The aim of the association was to form charitable institutions but to achieve this, all its members had to be induced to co-operate and work together. Public lectures were organized for that purpose and attempts were made to establish a Jewish library in order to make Jewish history, Jewish existence, and Jewish literature accessible to members of the community and to transient young people. The idea, supported by the members of the association, became a reality and the library was opened, partly thanks to a rich collection of books left as a legacy by the well-known Bielsko collector, Salomon J. Halberstam (1832-1900). The library was popular in the local community and helped to broaden the horizons of the young. Similar co-operation with the Jewish community defined the direction in social welfare. Since a need for the reorganization of social welfare had been recognized for years, it was not difficult to gain the co-operation of all the institutions that aided the poor to agree to reorganize and create a central body that would aid the poor in a proper and reasonable manner. This central body, which controlled all of Jewish social welfare, consisted of a board, known as "The Board for Aiding the Poor", composed of representatives of the Jewish community, the Chevra Kadisha Association, the Jewish Women's Charitable Association, and the Humanitarian Association Austria B'nai B'rith.

World War I created an especially serious challenge for the "Austria" Association because the town and its vicinity was the first place of refuge for the enormous number of refugees fleeing westward from imperilled and conquered areas. Immediately, a special committee, headed by the then president Prof. Feuerstein and Dr. Oskar Schanzer, was formed as part of the organization. The assistance lasted from 1915 to 1916 and was, to a large degree, financed by the association and its members. Dr. Schanzer himself took care of all matters connected with the legal protection of the refugees. When, in the second half of 1916, the next stream of refugees from eastern Galicia appeared in Bielsko and, at the same time, the returning stream of refugees from the war camps, the association organized new and broad-based aid and, thanks to co-operation from the entire Jewish community, it was possible to collect thousands of crowns each month. This was used to stem poverty, first of all for those refugees who decided to settle in Bielsko and to guarantee them a regular, monthly stipend. In addition, legal protection was provided[47]. The association was also responsible for the formation of other charitable organizations including the "Free Table" Association, the "Rest-House" Association, and the Simachowicz Fund social welfare home[48].

---

[47] *Israelitischer Humanitätsverein* and APBB, Akta Miasta Bielska, 469, 1015.

[48] *Israelitischer Humanitätsverein.*

Following World War I, the name "Austria" was changed to "Ezra". Meetings of the Bielsko lodge took place every Monday in their headquarters at 6 Dabrowski St. In 1937 the association had 87 members[49].

**Conclusion**

This article presents an outline of the charitable activities of institutions created by the Bielsko Jewish community between 1860 and 1939. The Jewish community was characterized by a high degree of sensitivity towards the poor and the sick stemming from Jewish religious principles. In conformity with tradition and religious laws, the Bielsko community supported organizations whose aim was to help the sick and the needy, to grant interest-free loans, to guarantee each poor Jewish child a religious education, and to organize and pay for decent funerals. Bielsko Jews actively participated in the social, political, and economic life of the town. They were members of the town council, and chaired departments of the municipality. Many Jews worked for the municipal social welfare committee and, during the interwar period, many of them were social workers. They created charitable organizations and institutions which satisfied the needs of poor Jews in the town. There were also two extraordinary periods. The first was the period of World War I when the number of widows and orphans suddenly increased. The response of Jewish philanthropists was immediate and resulted in the house for Jewish orphans established in Jaworze. The second, was during the 1930s with an influx of Jewish refugees from Germany, Austria and annexed Czechoslovakia. Despite the difficulties in meeting all the needs, reports in the press from that period give an indication of the great devotion with which the Bielsko Jewish community tried to help the refugees. The general level of services rendered by the Jewish charitable organizations was high which resulted in part from the wealth of the town's inhabitants who could support the organizations with high contributions.

A quotation from a brochure published by the Bielsko Jewish Humanitarian Association B'nai B'rith in 1919 can serve as a good summary of the present article[50]: *But these ideas are for us, Jews, nothing new, nothing special. Charity is an old Jewish tradition which was always and everywhere cherished by Jews so, according to the Jewish way of looking at life, it is something normal and ordinary.*

---

[49] *Książka Adresowa Członków związku żydowskich stowarzyszeń humanitarnych "B'nei B'rith" w Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej w Krakowie* (Cracow 1937).

[50] *Israelitischer Humanitätsverein.*

**Halina Dudała**

# JEWS IN UPPER-SILESIAN GRAMMAR SCHOOLS IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE NINETEENTH AND EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY

The number of Jewish youth studying in Upper-Silesian grammar schools was closely connected with the number of the Jewish population dwelling in the Opole District [Regierungsbezirk Oppeln]. In 1910 Jews constituted a mere 0.8% of the entire population of the province (Catholics: 90.6%, Protestants: 8.5%)[1]. Jewish youth in the nineteenth century Upper-Silesian grammar schools, in comparison with the number of Protestant youth, and particularly to Catholics, were very much in the minority. Data from the Prussian Statistical Office inform us that in 1901 there were 117,863 secondary school students, of whom Jewish students constituted 3,171, or 2.7%[2]. However, there were exceptions to that rule. In the Gliwice grammar school in the 1890/91 school year, the numbers of Protestant and Mosaic students were equal. But in the period of the first 20 or so years from the time the school was established, the number of Jewish students was much higher than that of the Protestants and almost comparable (in consecutive forms) to the number of Catholic youth. The climax came in the 1878/79 school year, when the numbers of students attending the grammar school in Gliwice were the following: 233 Catholics, 188 Jews and only 72 Protestants[3]. Similarly, in the 1876/77 school year in the Bytom grammar school, the number of Jewish youth definitely outnumbered Protestant students.

I have scrutinised 12 of the total 35 grammar schools in the Opole District in 1874, and this analysis focuses upon the number of students completing a given school year. The data, despite their incompleteness, appear to be interesting, as

---

1 S. Michalkiewicz (ed.), *Historia Śląska.* Vol. 3: *(1850-1918).* Part. 2: *(1850-1890)* (Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków-Gdańsk, 1976) 58.

2 *Statistisches Jahrbuch für den Preußischen Staat* 1 (1903) 159.

3 *Jahresbericht des Königlichen katholischen Gymnasium zu Gleiwitz, womit zu der am 29. April 1891 stattfindenden fünfsiebenzigjährigen Stiftungsfeier der Anstalt ergebenst einladet der Direktor Wilhelm Ronke* (1891) 29-30.

they show dominant trends in the process of the rapid educational advancement characteristic of the Upper-Silesian Jewish community in the nineteenth century.

## 1. Students-number, social background, university courses

The most exhaustive data, from 1866-91, concern the Gliwice grammar school. At that time, Catholics there constituted 50.7% of the students, Protestants 16.2% and Jews 33.1%[4]. In the period analysed, 89 Mosaic students graduated from the school (157 Catholics, 5 Old-Catholics, 48 Protestants). The majority of them chose to study medicine (37), while 27 students chose to study law. The remaining graduates would study banking (5), mathematics (5), various philologies (4), natural sciences (2), philosophy (2), theology (2) as well as engineering (1) and history (1). Complete data for Jewish candidates studying for the school-leaving certificate at the Gliwice grammar school in the years of 1866-91 are presented in the Appendix.

Catholics attending the Królewska Huta (now Chorzów) grammar school in 1877-1907 constituted 50.9% of the total number of students, Protestants 27.4% and Jews comprised 21.7%, whereas the numbers of Jewish students vacillated greatly: from 40.2% in the 1877/8 school year to 10.8% in 1899/1900, and in 1906/7 it increased to 12.3%[5]. The number of Jewish graduates from the Królewska

---

[4] In 1866/7 – 342 Catholics, 100 Protestants, and 165 Jews, 1867/8 – respectively 309, 95, 178, 1868/9 – 267, 73, 163, 1869/70 – 261, 68, 154, 1870/1 – 240, 53, 147, 1871/2 - 240, 51, 135, 1872/3 – 186, 50, 125, 1873/4 – 176, 45, 125, 1874/5 – 176, 49, 129, 1875/6 – 187, 59, 135, 1876/7 – 205, 67, 163, 1877/8 – 236, 70, 179, 1878/9 – 233, 72, 188, 1879/80 – 233, 81, 175, 1880/1 – 227, 82, 161, 1881/2 – 241, 82, 177, 1882/3 – 259, 83, 152, 1883/4 – 240, 77, 139, 1884/5 – 239, 72, 123, 1885/6 – 223, 54, 124, 1886/7 – 220, 58, 107, 1887/8 – 207, 65, 84, 1888/9 – 182, 61, 79, 1889/90 – 187, 52, 75, 1890/1 – 210, 66, 70. *Jahresbericht des Königlichen katholischen Gymnasium zu Gleiwitz, womit zu der am 29. April 1891 stattfindenden fünfsiebenzigjährigen Stiftungseier der Anstalt ergebenst einladet der Direktor Wilhelm Ronke* (1891).

[5] *Königliches Gymnasium zu Königshütte O.-S. Jahres – Bericht* 19 (1896); 22 (1899); 24 (1901); 25 (1902); 26 (1903); 27 (1904); 28 (1905); 29 (1906); 30 (1907); 34 (1911); 36 (1913). See also data from other grammar schools: *III. Jahresbericht über das Schuljahr 1902/1903* 3 (1903); *Jahresbericht über das Schuljahr von Ostern 1906 bis Ostern 1907* (1907); *8. Jahresbericht des Gymnasiums zu Zaborze O. S. (Schuljahr 1907-1908)* 8 (1908); *XXXVIII. Jahresbericht über das Königliche Gymnasium zu Kattowitz. Ostern 1909* 37 (1909); *XXXIX. Jahresbericht [...] Ostern 1910* 39 (1910); *40. Jahresbericht [...] Ostern 1911* 40 (1911); *Jahresbericht des Königl. Katholischen Gymnasiums zu Oppeln für das Schul-Jahr 1889-90* (1890); *Elfter Jahresbericht des städischen katholischen Gymnasiums zu Beuthen O.-S. über das Schuljahr 1876-1877, durch welchen zu den am 10. August stattfindenden Schlussfeierlichkeiten ergebenst einladet Dr. Hermann Wentzel, Direktor* 11 (1877); *Jahresbericht des Königlichen Realgymnasiums zu Tarnowitz über das Schuljahr 1907/1908 erstättet vom Direktor E. Groetschel* (1908); Ibid. (1909); Ibid. (1910). *Jahresbericht des Königlichen Gymnasiums zu Neustadt Ob.-Schl. über das Schuljahr 1893/94, durch welchen zugleich zu der am 20. März stattfindenden Schlussfeier*

Huta grammar school was 45, the majority of whom came from merchant families. The two most popular university courses among the graduates were medicine and law. Medicine was chosen by 16 graduates of the Królewska Huta grammar school, while 19 decided to study law. Six students continued in their fathers' professions and chose commerce. In two cases, banking was chosen, and only one person chose construction engineering. The tendencies evident in those two secondary schools were borne out by statistical data gathered for other Upper-Silesian grammar schools. Even if the surviving data is fragmented, and it represents only a few years of a school's activity, the trend was for the Jewish students usually to be from merchant families and most often to choose medical or legal studies at university. This was true of the Opole grammar school, where A-level examinations were taken by three Jewish students only in the 1889/90 school year. Two of them came from merchant families and they chose medicine, while the third – the son of a distillery owner – decided to study law[6].

Apart from the dominant trends in choices of university courses (medicine and law) Jewish youth were also interested in such fields as banking, natural sciences, chemistry, engineering, classical and oriental philology, modern philologies, building engineering, history and, only in sporadic cases, theology. These tendencies were evident until 1914. Of eight Jewish graduates taking A-level examinations in 1906 and 1907, who attended the pro-grammar-school in Zaborze, four chose medical studies, three decided to study law, and one chose commerce.

An analysis of the social backgrounds and the university courses chosen by Jewish graduates in the Katowice grammar school in 1908-11 yielded similar results.

## 2. Textbooks

Jewish students, like their Protestant and Catholic schoolmates, used the appropriate coursebooks to learn the principles of their own religion. These were the following: Levy, *Biblische Geschichte für die israelitische Jugend* (forms 6-4) (Królewska Huta, Strzelce Opolskie, Kluczbork); Levy, *Spruchbuch* (Kluczbork); Auerbach, *Kleine Schul- und Hausbibel* (forms 3-1) (Królewska Huta); Auerbach, *Lesestücke aus den Propheten und Hagiographen* (Katowice); Auerbach, *Biblische Erzählungen* (forms 4-6) (Katowice); Sondheimer, *Geschichtlicher Religionsunterricht* (part 1 and 2) (Mysłowice); Kayserling, *Handbuch der jüdischen*

*des Schuljahres ergebenst einladet der stellv. Direktor des Gymnasiums Dr. August Jung* (1894), Ibid. (1902); *Jahres-Bericht das städischen Progymnasiums i. E. zu Myslowitz O.-S. Schuljahr 1900/1901* (1901); *Jahresbericht des Königlichen Progymnasiums i. E. zu Rybnik O.-S. Schuljahr 1909-1910* (1910); *Festschrift zur Errinerung an das fünfzigjahrige Jubiläum des Realgymnasiums zu Neisse am 8. Oktober 1882* (1882).

[6] *Jahresbericht des Königl. katholischen Gymnasiums zu Oppeln für das Schul-Jahr 1889-90* (1890) 32.

*Geschichte und Literatur* (forms 1-3) (Katowice); Herxheimer, *Glaubens- und Pflichtenlehre* (Strzelce Opolskie), *Ethik des Judentums* (Tarnowskie Góry) as well as Cassel, *Leitfaden für die Unterricht der jüdische Geschichte und Literatur* (Kluczbork)[7].

On the basis of analysed reports taken from Upper-Silesian grammar schools, it can be stated beyond any doubt that unlike Catholic and Protestant students, Jewish students were unable to find any relevant reading matter to expand their knowledge of their religion in their school libraries (this refers to both the students' and the teachers' libraries). The only exception was the library at the Królewska Huta grammar school. In the teachers' library in the 1901/02 school year there was a publication devoted to the history and geography of Assyria and Babylon[8]; in the 1905/06 school year students could use the publication *Herodianischer Tempel und Plan des alten Jerusalem*[9], and in 1906/07 the work *Die christliche Religion mit Einschluss der israelitisch-jüdischen Religion*[10].

It seems, though, that the numerous Jewish socio-cultural societies must have been helpful in this respect for students of the Mosaic faith, as they were active within individual religious communities, like the Bytom Talmud-Torah-Verein, which came into being in 1815 as the Mischnajoth-Verein; the aim of which was the improvement of religious knowledge and support (including financial assistance) for the most capable and diligent Jewish students[11]. A similar function might have been performed by the Verein für Förderung jüdischen Wissens established by Rabbi Jacob Cohn in Katowice in 1873, as well as the Verein der Jugendfreunde which came into being in 1871[12].

### 3. The system of scholarships

The system of scholarships and financial assistance for outstanding students (not only Jewish students) was widespread in Upper-Silesian grammar schools. It

---

7 H. Dudała, *Edukacja historyczna mieszkańców Górnego Śląska w latach 1848-1914* (Warsaw, 1998) 148-9.

8 *Königliches Gymnasiums zu Königshütte O.-S. XXV. Jahres-Bericht durch welchen zu der am 19. März 1902 stattfindenden Schlussfeierlichkeit ergebnest einladet der Direktor Professor Prochasel* 25 (1902) 37.

9 *Königliches Gymnasiums nebst Realschule zu Königshütte O.-S. XXXIX. Jahres-Bericht, mit welchem zu der am 4. April 1906 stattfindenden Schlussfeierlichkeit ergebenst einladet der Direktor Professor Prochasel* 29 (1906) 37.

10 *Königliches Gymnasiums nebst Realschule zu Königshütte O.-S. XXX. Jahres-Bericht mit welchem zu der am 27. März 1907 stattfindenden Schlussfeierlichkeit ergebenst einladet der Direktor Professor Prochasel* 30 (1907) 37.

11 M. Kopfstein, *Geschichte der Synagogen-Gemeinde in Beuthen O.-S.* (Beuthen, 1891) 47-8.

12 J. Cohn, *Geschichte der Synagogen-Gemeinde Kattowitz O.-S. Festgabe anläßlich der Einweihung der neuen Synagoge am 12. Sept. 1900* (Kattowitz, 1900) 44.

may be worth mentioning here that the scholarships founded by the wealthy Jews were often granted not only to Jewish youth. In 1891 at the Gliwice grammar school, Isaac Froelich founded a scholarship (Froelich-Stiftung) of 200 Marks for a capable student of any faith. In the Opole grammar school in 1869 the merchant Samuel Schlesinger from Gliwice, in honour of the memory of his deceased son, founded the Hugo Schlesinger-Stiftung Scholarship of 300 Marks for a student of the Gliwice grammar school, while the Jubiläums-Stiftung, which had existed since 1866 in the Gliwice grammar school, was connected with the Jewish religion[13]. In the Opole grammar school there was also the H. Schlesinger-Stiftung for two Jewish students[14], while the school year of 1889/90 saw the establishment of the Hermann Schlesinger und Minna Schlesinger–Stiftung Scholarship for a Jewish student, and a scholarship funded by the Pringsheim family from Opole (H. Pringsheim'schen-Stiftung) to help two students: a Catholic and a Jew.

From 1899 at least, at the Królewska Huta grammar school, there was the Goldstein-Stiftung and the Anna-Hammer-Stiftung[15]. In the 1910/11 school year, the scholarship from Goldstein-Stiftung was granted to the son of a rabbi, Ernst Daniel Goldschmidt[16]. Scholarships of this type existed in those Upper-Silesian grammar school which did not conduct any lessons in religion because of the low number of Jewish students. Thus, although in the 1901/0 school year only three Jewish students attended the grammar school in Prudnik, there were as many as four scholarships founded by wealthy Jewish citizens from Prudnik: the Emanuel Fränkel-Stiftung (a factory owner), the Herman Fränkel-Stiftung (Persian consul), Albert Fränkel-Stiftung (commercial counsellor) and Abraham Fränkel-Stiftung (commercial counsellor)[17].

## 4. Syllabuses for teaching the Jewish religion in relation to history teaching

In the second half of the nineteenth century in the Prussian educational system the dominant type of school was a classical grammar school of the Herbart type. The courses lasted for nine years, and the emphasis in teaching was placed on Latin and Greek as well as modern languages. Almost half of the lessons every week were devoted to the teaching of those particular languages, and history les-

---

[13] *Jahresbericht des Königlichen katholischen Gymnasium zu Gleiwitz, womit zu der am 29. April 1891 stattfindenden fünfsiebenzigjährigen Stiftungsfeier* (1891) 25-7.

[14] *Jahresbericht des Königlichen katholischen Gymnasiums zu Oppeln* 31. *Jahresbericht des Königl. katholischen Gymnasiums zu Oppeln für das Schul-Jahr 1889-90* (1890) 35.

[15] *Königliches Gymnasiums zu Königshütte O.-S. XXII. Jahresbericht* 22 (1899) 21.

[16] *Königliches Gymnasiums zu Königshütte O.-S. XXXIII. Jahresbericht* 33 (1910) 28.

[17] *Jahresbericht des Königlichen Gymnasiums zu Neustadt Ob.-Schl. über das Schuljahr 1901/1902* (1902) 42-3.

sons also served that very purpose[18], as the reader should remember that in the period discussed, the teaching of history at all levels of the Prussian educational system was required to be the vehicle for teaching loyalty and patriotism towards the state. The subject of history perceived and taught solely in this manner was functional for the Prussian *raison d'état*. Thus, Jewish youth had the same syllabus in all subjects as Catholic and Protestant youth.

Simultaneously, the only area of distinct diversity among grammar school youth was the question of religion. In religious studies, it was not only catechism that was taught, but also the history of the Mosaic religion or the history of the Catholic or Protestant church. Religion, because of the historical education elements which were present in it, was becoming another source (apart from history itself) of historical education for Upper-Silesian youth. Thus, there were three methods of imparting historical knowledge in nineteenth-century Upper-Silesian grammar schools, and the syllabuses studied by Catholic and Protestant youth differed from that of Jewish students.

An analysis of the teaching of the Mosaic religion in more than a dozen Upper-Silesian grammar schools indicates that it was internally divided into three components: the *biblische Geschichte*, the *Religionslehre* as well as the *jüdische Geschichte*. In lower forms (*sexta*, *qvinta*, *qvarta*) emphasis was put almost entirely on biblical history combined with the reading of relevant passages from the *Bible*. In higher forms (*secunda*, *prima*), however, the history of the Jews – particularly in Europe – was discussed, although exceptions to that rule would occur.

Thus in the 1876-7 school year, in the Bytom grammar school, the syllabus taught by the Bytom Rabbi, Dr Ferdinand Rosenthal, in the highest form (*prima*) included a 'systematic description of the teaching of religion combined with the reading of selected passages from the Bible and the Fathers'. In the more junior form (*secunda*), the following subjects were discussed: the Talmud, its content and significance; schools in the countries of the Euphrates; the sects of the Caraites, Maimonides, Yehuda Halevi; mysticism and the kabbala, the Joseph Caro ritual code and an analysis of the selected Psalms.' In the junior forms teaching focused primarily on biblical history. The following subjects were taught: review of biblical history; the reading of Deuteronomy (*tertia*), 'biblical history from Samuel until David; the reading of Leviticus, Deuteronomy' (*qvarta*), 'biblical history from the revelation until Samuel' (*qvinta*) as well as 'biblical history from the creation of the world; God at the time of the Sinai revelation; the reading of Genesis'[19].

The Mosaic religious classes' syllabus in terms of history was particularly extensive at the Królewska Huta grammar school. The lectures were given by the long-time Rabbi of Królewska Huta, Dr Salomon Goldschmidt. In the upper forms

[18] W. Czapliński, A. Galos and W. Korta, *Historia Niemiec* (Wrocław-Warsaw-Cracow, 1990) 589.

[19] *Elfter Jahresbericht des Städischen katholischen Gymnasiums zu Beuthen O.-S. über das Schuljahr 1876-1877, durch welchen zu den am 10. und 11. August stattfindenden Schlussfeierlichkeit ergebenst einladet Dr. Hermann Wentzel, Direktor* 11 (1877) 1-8.

he devoted his lessons almost entirely to 'the history of Jews in Germany, Poland and in the East from the first half of the fourteenth century until the end of the eighteenth century'; ethics classes (*Pflichtenlehre*), duties towards others and towards oneself (*prima*); and 'the history of Jews in Spain and the prime period of their literature from Maimonides'[20]. In the following years some minor changes to the syllabus of the history of Jews in this framework occurred. In the 1898/9 and 1900/1 school years in the senior forms, Dr S. Goldschmidt discussed 'the history of Jews in Germany from the end of the eighteenth century until modern times' (*prima*) and 'the history of the Jews in France and Germany until the fifteenth century and a continuation of the history of the Jews in Spain from the death of Maimonides until exile'[21]. In the 1901/2 school year, a series of lectures on 'the contemporary history of the Jewish nation' was repeated; however, in the junior form (*secunda*), a new series of topics appeared: 'the history of the Jews in the Middle Ages with particular emphasis on the golden age of their literature in Spain'[22].

It seems that the scope of national history taught within the subject-matter of Jewish religious studies classes depended on the teacher. Usually, in all forms of a grammar school biblical history was almost inevitably taught together with topics relating to the moral code. For example, this was the case in the Gliwice grammar school. From 1849 until 1884 Mosaic religion was taught by Rabbi Dr Hirschfeld, and from autumn 1884 by a rabbi from Gliwice, Dr Wilhelm Munz[23]. In the 1881/2 school year, religious studies in individual forms encompassed 'the history of the Jews from the destruction of the Sanctuary until the epoch of the gaonate', 'teaching of faith and ethics' as well as ' biblical history from Joshua until the destruction of the first sanctuary'[24]. The situation was similar at the municipal programmar-school in Mysłowice, where the local rabbi, Dr Norden, taught 'Jewish

---

[20] *Königliches Gymnasium zu Königshütte O.-S. XIX. Jahres-Bericht erstättet vom Direktor Dr Feit* 19 (1896) 18.

[21] *Königliches Gymnasium zu Königshütte O.-S. XXII. Jahres-Bericht erstättet vom Direktor Dr. Feit* 22 (1899) 9-10; *Königliches Gymnasium zu Königshütte O.-S. XXIV. Jahres-Bericht durch welchen zu der am 28. März 1901 stattfindenden Schlussfeierlichkeit ergebenst einladet der Direktor Professor Prochasel* 24 (1901) 9.

[22] *Königliches Gymnasium zu Königshütte O.-S. XXV. Jahres-Bericht durch welchen zu der am 19. März 1902 stattfindenden Schlussfeierlichkeit ergebenst einladet der Direktor Dr. Prochasel* 25 (1902) 20.

[23] *Jahresbericht des Königlichen katholischen Gymnasium zu Gleiwitz, womit zu der am 29. April 1891 stattfindenden fünfundsiebzigjährigen Stiftungsfeier der Anstalt ergebenst einladet der Direktor Wilhelm Ronke* (1891) 32.

[24] *Jahresbericht des Königlichen katholischen Gymnasiums zu Gleiwitz für das Schuljahr 1881/82, womit zu der am. l April abzuhandelten Schlussfeier alle Gönner und Freunde der Anstalt ergebenst einladet C. Nieberding, Direktor, Ritter des rothen Adlerordens 3. Klasse mit der Schleife und Königl. Hohenzollernschen Hausorden* (1882) 17.

history from Joshua until the death of David' in the 1900/1 school year and a review of biblical history from the creation until the death of Moses'[25].

At the Zaborze and Strzelce Opolskie grammar schools emphasis was placed by local rabbis on the systematic teaching of what was almost entirely biblical history. In 1900/4 Jewish religion in Zaborze was taught by Rabbi Dr Saul Kaatz. His syllabus consisted of the following: 'biblical history from the creation of the world until the death of Moses; from Joshua until the Babylon enslavement; God and His revelations; the Ten Commandments; prayer; festivals and days of prayer; the prophet'[26]. It was only in 1904 that Dr Kaatz introduced *jüdische Geschichte*. He discussed 'the history of the Jews from the end of the gaonate epoch (sixth to ninth centuries) until the crusades', 'the history of the Jews from the crusades until the end of the Middle Ages' and 'the history of the Jews from the origins of the Mishna until the end of the gaonate epoch'[27].

Elements of *jüdische Geschichte* also appeared in the Mosaic syllabus at the Tarnowskie Góry grammar school, taught by the local rabbi, Dr Gradenwitz. In addition to 'introduction to synagogue liturgy' and ' biblical history' there was also 'Moses Mendelssohn and his times' as well as 'the history of the Jews from the end of the gaonate epoch until their exile from Spain'[28]. At the Kluczbork grammar school in the 1898/9 school year, the teacher of the Mosaic religion, Bach, lectured on 'biblical history; sources of knowledge of God; the problems of the human soul and synagogue rites' as well as on 'the geography of Palestine'[29].

The significance of *jüdische Geschichte* taught within the framework of religious studies can only be perceived in the context of the history-teaching syllabuses in Prussian grammar schools. Until the late 1880s the history of ancient Rome and Greece predominated in those programmes. History was now taught as a subject separate from religious studies, but was always combined with geography. By decree of May 1 1889, Emperor Wilhelm II ordered that detailed syllabuses be prepared, particularly in the field of religion and history. In accordance with the

---

[25] *Jahres-Bericht des städtischen Progymnasiums i. E. zu Myslowitz O.-S. Schuljahr 1900/1901* (1901) 12-17.

[26] *Progymnasium zu Zaborze O.-S. in der Entwickelung begrieffen I. Jahresbericht über das Schuljahr 1900/1901* 1 (1901) 4-7; *Progymnasium zu Zaborze O.-S. in der Entwickelung begrieffen II. Jahresbericht über das Schuljahr 1901/1902* 2 (1902) 6-9; *Progymnasium zu Zaborze O.-S. in der Entwickelung begrieffen III. Jahresbericht über das Schuljahr 1902/1903* 3 (1903) 5-8.

[27] *Progymnasium zu Zaborze O.-S. in der Entwickelung begrieffen 5. Jahresbericht über das Schuljahr 1904/05* 5 (1905) 6-10.

[28] *Jahresbericht des Königlichen Realgymnasiums zu Tarnowitz über das Schuljahr 1907/1908 erstättet vom Direktor E. Groetschel* (1908) 4-13; *Jahresbericht des Königlichen Realgymnasiums zu Tarnowitz über das Schuljahr 1908/1909 erstättet vom Direktor E. Groetschel* (1909) 9; *Jahresbericht des Königlichen Realgymnasiums zu Tarnowitz über das Schuljahr 1909/1910 erstättet vom Direktor E. Groetschel* (1910) 8.

[29] *Königliches Gymnasium zu Kreuzburg O.-S. Ostern 1899. Jahresbericht vom Direktor* (1899) 21-7.

Emperor's decrees, the teaching of history was to place special emphasis on the contemporary history of the State of Prussia. In comparison with 1890, the proportions were significantly reversed: the history of Germany predominated, particularly the history of Brandenburg-Prussia, and it was only supplemented, in a significantly limited manner, with the history of ancient Rome and Greece[30]. In the area of religious studies, Jewish (and Catholic) students gained a far broader historical education than in the school syllabuses, which very often did not adhere to the ideological guidelines of the originators of the Prussian grammar school in the late nineteenth century. The role of the teachers was all the more significant.

## 5. The teachers

In the majority of Upper-Silesian grammar schools, as has been mentioned above, the Mosaic religion was taught by local rabbis. It was unusual to have secular teachers teaching this subject. In Bytom in 1867-87, classes were conducted by Rabbi Dr Ferdinand Rosenthal[31]; in 1889-1924 another rabbi, Dr Max Kopfstein (1856-1924)[32]; in Zaborze – Rabbi Dr Saul Kaatz (1900-7)[33]; in Katowice – Rabbi Dr Jacob Cohn and his assistant Dr Braunschweiger (1908-11); in Tarnowskie Góry - Rabbi Dr Gradenwitz (1908-13); in Gliwice - Rabbi Dr Hirschfeld (1849-82), then Dr Mattersdorf (replacing Dr Hirshfeld from 1882 until 1884), then Rabbi Dr Wilhelm Munz (from 1884); in Opole - Rąbbi Dr Wiener (1870-90); in Rybnik – the teacher Goldschmidt and the teacher Levy (1909-10); in Królewska Huta, Max Böhm (1877-86), Walter Isidor (1886-91), Rabbi Dr Salomon Goldschmidt (1891-1913); in Mysłowice - Rabbi Dr Norden (1900-1); in Strzelce Opolskie – the teacher Simon (1908-9); in Kluczbork – the teacher Bach.

Grammar school teachers of the Mosaic religion, both secular and rabbis, gained their qualifications mainly at the Jewish Theological Seminar (Breslauer Jüdisch-Theologisches Seminar) which was established in Wrocław in 1854,

---

30 Dudała, *Edukacja historyczna* 141-9.

31 Dr Ferdinand Rosenthal (1838-1921) was a Rabbi in Bytom in 1867-1887, he later held a post in Wrocław as assistant rabbi. See M. Kopfstein, *Geschichte der Synagogen-Gemeinde in Beuthen O.-S.* (Beuthen, 1891) 42; M. Łagiewski, *Wrocławscy Żydzi 1850-1944* (Wrocław, 1994).

32 'Oberrabiner Dr M. Kopfstein', *Mitteilungen des Beuthner Geschichts- und Museumsvereins* 6 (1924) 74-5.

33 Dr Saul Kaatz, born January 5 1870 in Great Poland, took over the post of rabbi in Zabrze in 1895 and held it until 1942, i.e., the time he was deported to a concentration camp. Cf. D. Waleryański, *Z dziejów społeczności żydowskiej na Górnym Śląsku na przykładzie Zabrza* (Zabrze, 1990); J. Knosalla, *Geschichte der Stadt Hindenburg O/S.* (Katowice, 1929) 129.

thanks to the foundation-related activities of Jonas Fraenckel (1773-1846)[34]. It provided a modern, university training of rabbis and teachers. Institutions of this type, which were established later in Berlin (1870), Budapest (1877) and Vienna (1883), followed the example of the Wrocław model. The Seminar was open until 1938 and during its 84-year history it educated 723 students. Studies in the Jewish Theological Seminar in the rabbinical studies faculty lasted seven years, while studies in the teaching faculty lasted three years[35]. Many Upper-Silesian rabbis were graduates from that university, including the above-mentioned Dr Ferdinand Rosenthal, Rabbi of Bytom in 1857-87, who later on held office in the Orthodox branch of the religious community in Wrocław[36]. The graduates also included Dr Marcus Brann (1849-1920), in 1885-91 Rabbi of Pszczyna – an outstanding expert on the history of Jews in Silesia and lecturer at the Wrocław Seminary and keeper of the Seminary's library[37]. The teachers of Jewish youth were not only religious teachers. In many cases they were outstanding personalities both in Jewish intellectual circles, and in the local, German ones as well. Dr M. Kopfstein was one of the co-founders of Bytom's Historical and Museum Society (Beuthner Geschichts-und Museumsvereins) and the author of a work devoted to the history of the Jewish community in Bytom[38]. Equally outstanding was the former Rabbi of Bytom (1854-64), Dr Jakob Jecheskel Levy (Lewy) (died in 1864), an expert on the Talmud and the author of 'Kritisch-talmudisches Lexicon' (Bd. I, Wien 1863)[39]. The analysis of grammar school reports shows some facts concerning the philosophy of life of Upper-Silesian rabbis, as it is known that the scope of the Jewish enlightenment which began as early as the eighteenth century (Haskala) encompassed the intellectual elite of the Silesian Jews. Wrocław, with Rabbi Abraham Geiger, became one of the most important centres of these changes[40].

Undoubtedly, Dr F. Rosenthal (the Bytom grammar school) and Dr Daniel Fraenckel (the Pszczyna grammar school) represented the Orthodox option, as both of them ended up in Wrocław as rabbis of the Orthodox branch of the community.

---

34 *Jahresbericht des jüdisch-theologischen Seminars "Fraenckelscher Stiftung"* (1856) 1; I. Rabin, 'Jonas Fraenckel', in *Schlesische Lebensbilder des 17. bis 19. Jahrhunderts*. Vol. 3 (Breslau, 1928) 195-202.

35 Łagiewski, *Wrocławscy Żydzi* 8-9.

36 Ibid.

37 Ibid.

38 'Oberrabiner Dr M. Kopfstein' in Ibid 75.

39 'Lewy Jacob Ezechiel (1814-1864)' in F. Heiduk, *Oberschlesisches Literatur-Lexikon* Vol. 2 (Berlin, 1993) 109.

40 'Abraham Geiger' in *Schlesische Lebensbilder*. Vol. 1: *Schlesien des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Breslau, 1922) 263-6. J. Kichler, 'Wrocławskie lata Abrahama Geigera', in K. Matwijowski (ed.) *Z historii ludności żydowskiej w Polsce i na Śląsku* (Wrocław, 1994) 99-103.

We can assume, however, that the Tarnowskie Góry grammar school teacher, Dr. Gradenwitz, was closer to the liberal movement. He devoted religious studies classes to the person of Moses Mendelssohn and his times. Also, the Rabbi of Królewska Huta, Dr Salomon Goldschmidt, seems interesting, as he introduced a broad syllabus of lectures on the history of Jews in Germany, France, Spain and Poland.

### 6. Summary

The biographies of the Jewish graduates from Upper-Silesian grammar schools represent a perfect example of the history of German Jews at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. They point to great diversity in Jewish spheres in respect of political, religious attitudes, or – on a broader scale – life philosophies.

Albert Norden, born in Mysłowice in 1904, was the son of Mysłowice's rabbi and a grammar school teacher. After completing grammar school in 1920 he was involved in the activities of the Communist Party of Germany, after World War II he was the editor of *Deutschlands Stimme*. In 1949-53 he was chief of the Central Bureau for Press and Information. From 1952 he was professor of contemporary history at Humboldt University in Berlin. From 1953 he fulfilled the duties of the chief of the 'Committee for German Unity.' From 1955 he was a member of the Socialist Unity Party (SED) Central Committee and the Secretary of Propaganda, and from 1958 a member of the Political Bureau. He was the first person to forward a thesis on the existence of the two German nations. He died in Berlin in 1982[41].

Son of the Rabbi of Królewska Huta, the above-mentioned Dr Salomon Goldschmidt, Ernst Daniel Goldschmidt was born in Królewska Huta in 1895. After completing grammar school in his home town, he completed philosophical studies in Wrocław and Berlin, where he defended his doctorate as an expert on the incunabula in 1925. In 1936 he emigrated to Palestine, and from 1962 he worked in the National and University Library in Jerusalem. He died in 1972. He was the author of several scientific treatises[42].

Albert Lewkowitz, graduate of the Bytom grammar school in 1903, originally came from Miasteczko Śląskie (born in 1883). After completing grammar school in Bytom, he started a course in philosophy at the University of Wrocław, where he obtained his PhD in 1910. In 1914-38 he was an assistant professor at the Jewish Theological Seminar in Wrocław, and from 1939 he taught in the Jewish Theological Seminar in Amsterdam. In 1943-4 he was a prisoner in KL Bergen-Belsen. After the War he worked as a lecturer in Haifa. He died in 1954. He was the author of several publications in the field of philosophy and pedagogy.

---

[41] 'Norden Albert', in Heiduk, *Oberschlesisches* Vol. 2 168-70.

[42] 'Goldschmidt Ernst Daniel', in Heiduk, *Oberschlesisches* Vol. 1 (Berlin, 1990) 126.

Julius Lewkowitz, graduate of the grammar school in Bytom and the older brother of Albert, was a rabbi in Berlin from 1913 and an author of philosophical treatises[43].

Georg Kantorowsky (born in 1883), who originally came from Wodzisław Śląski, was a graduate of the Jewish Theological Seminar in Wrocław and a student of philosophy at the University of Heidelberg: in 1912-17 he was rabbi in Berlin-Neukölln. In 1940 he emigrated to China, where he was Rabbi of Shanghai from 1949. He died in San Francisco in 1972[44].

The Deutsch family, from which several rabbis came, had been connected with Upper Silesia from the beginning of the nineteenth century. The eldest was Israel Deutsch (born in 1800 in Biała – died in 1853 in Bytom), an outstanding expert on the Talmud, and from 1829 Rabbi of Bytom. David Deutsch, was the rabbi in Mysłowice from 1838 and from 1845 in Żory (born in 1810 in Biała, died in 1873 in Żory), and a representative of the neo-orthodox current. Immanuel Deutsch from Nysa (born in 1829 in Nysa, died in 1873 in Alexandria) was probably related to the Deutsch family. He was a graduate of the Nysa grammar school, an outstanding expert on the Orient, from 1855 he worked in the Library of the British Museum in London[45].

I could provide numerous other examples of biographies of better or less known representatives of the Upper-Silesian Jewish community. They point to the unusual intellectual and professional potential of its members. Moreover, their professional and political careers provide information about the deep divisions of a religious nature, which affected the Jewish community at the time discussed[46]. Edith Stein, a Jewess from Wrocław, whose family originally came from Upper-Silesian Lubliniec, in her diaries wrote that 'in the spheres of the Jewish bourgeoisie a "double morality" was often practised (...) while "...the ritual of festivals would lose its value because (...) only the mother and younger children performed it in a pious manner. The brothers, who were supposed to say prayers instead of the father who had passed away, did it in a disregardful manner"'[47]. Thus Edith Stein described the religious atmosphere prevalent in her own family. It seems, though, that she grasped the features typical of a wider phenomenon, or a certain religious (life-philosophy) turmoil which affected the German Jews in the late nineteenth century, and which was connected, among other things, with liberal-progressive Judaism. It is merely a hypothesis, but if it can be accepted, we can

---

[43] 'Lewkowitz Albert', in Heiduk, *Oberschlesisches* Vol. 2 101; 'Lewkowitz Julius', Idem. 101.

[44] 'Kantorowsky George', in Heiduk, *Oberschlesisches* Vol. 2 22.

[45] Idem. Vol. 1 62-3.

[46] K. Schwerin, 'Die jüdische Bevölkerung in Schlesien nach der Emanzipation', in G. Rhode (ed.), *Juden in Ostmitteleuropa von der Emanzipation bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg* (Marburg, 1989) 91-2.

[47] E. Stein, 'Dzieje pewnej żydowskiej rodziny', in id., *Pisma*. Vol. 1 (Cracow, 1982) 64, 67.

believe, to some extent at least, the more astonishing biographies such as that of Albert Norden.

References in those biographies to the problem of nationality in Upper Silesia seem equally important. In 1921 Marcus Brann described the specific situation of Upper-Silesian Jews in the following words: 'A Jew in Upper Silesia always stands between a German and a Pole. For a Pole, due to his constantly different faith, he will be a doubly hateful German. For a German, repeatedly he appears as a descendant of an alien race, an intruder (...) Thus an Upper-Silesian Jew is devoted to his fatherland (*Heimat*), devoted to the land from his birth, as he lived his formative years there and he will only leave it unwillingly under the duress of circumstances'[48].

[48] M. Brann, 'Die Bedeutung der Juden für die Geschichte und Kultur Oberschlesien', in *Oberschlesien ein Land deutscher Kultur* (Gleiwitz, 1921) 95.

## Appendix

### Jewish graduates of the Gliwice grammar school 1866-91

| The year of A-levels | Full name | Place of birth | University course chosen | Actual profession |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **1866** | Josef Stroheim | Gliwice | Banking | |
| **1866** | Simon Wachsner | Żory | Medicine | |
| **1867** | Simon Borinski | Żory | Medicine | Doctor of medicine in Chojnów |
| **1868** | Emanuel Deutsch | Żory | Theology | Rabbi |
| **1868** | Max Kaiser | Gliwice | Medicine | Doctor of medicine in Berlin |
| **1869** | Carl Reich | Wodzisław | Medicine | Doctor of medicine in Wrocław |
| **1869** | Siegfried Wolff | Dobrodzień | Medicine | Doctor of medicine in Berlin |
| **1870** | Wiliam Loewenfeld | Wrocław | Law | Lawyer in Berlin |
| **1871** | Max Gärtner | Mysłowice | Medicine | Doctor in Wrocław |
| **1871** | Julius Hahn | Gliwice | Law | Estate judge in Oleśnica |
| **1872** | Isidor Silbergleit | Gliwice | Law | Lawyer and writer in Berlin |
| **1873** | Otto Schlesinger | Królewska Huta | Law | Associate judge and the owner of noble estate in Schönaich (Piękne Kąty or Sieciechów) |
| **1873** | Heinrich Glogauer | Sokolec | Law | Lawyer in Rybnik |
| **1873** | Alfred Kuznitzki | Mysłowice | Law | Merchant in Toruń |
| **1873** | Eugen Lustig | Gliwice | Law | Lawyer in Gliwice |
| **1873** | Georg Schlesinger | Gliwice | History, Law | Doctor of law and associate judge in Berlin |
| **1874** | Max Kuznitzki | Mysłowice | Law | Associate judge in Nysa |
| **1874** | Emil Chrzelliter | Gliwice | Philology, Law | Lawyer in Berlin |
| **1874** | Ernst Langer | Gliwice | Mathematics, Medicine | Doctor of medicine in Berlin |
| **1875** | Ernst Kaiser | Gliwice | Law | Lawyer in Bytom |
| **1876** | Richard Freund | Gliwice | Law | Doctor of law and associate judge in Berlin |
| **1876** | Albert Karfunkel | Gliwice | Law | Lawyer in Magdeburg |
| **1877** | Georg Poppelauer | Gliwice | Medicine, Law | Lawyer in Gliwice |
| **1877** | Georg Schüller | Zabrze | Mathematics, Law | Lawyer in Gliwice |
| **1877** | Oskar Winskowitz | Gliwice | Medicine | Doctor of medicine in Bierutów |
| **1878** | Hugo Freund | Tarnowskie Góry | Medicine | Doctor of medicine in Berlin |
| **1878** | Richard Kalmaus | Środa Śląska | Law | |
| **1879** | Georg Becker | Gliwice | Theology, Law | Division officer in Brzeg |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **1879** | Salo Bermann | Gliwice | Medicine | Doctor of medicine in Gliwice |
| **1880** | Moritz Kochmann | Mysłowice | Medicine | Doctor |
| **1880** | Jacob Wollner | Gliwice | Law | Division officer in Wrocław |
| **1881** | Moritz Gross | Gliwice | Medicine | Doctor of medicine in Ulicko |
| **1881** | Salo Grünthal | Woźniki | Medicine | Doctor of medicine |
| **1882** | Max Hahn | Gliwice | Law | Associate judge |
| **1882** | Fritz Bluth | Chełm Wielki | Medicine | |
| **1882** | Emil Kochmann | Gliwice | Medicine | Doctor |
| **1882** | Max Lubowsky | Gliwice | Medicine | Doctor in Berlin |
| **1882** | Emil Morgenstern | Bytom | Law, Medicine | |
| **1882** | Siegmund Rahmer | Gliwice | Medicine | Doctor in Berlin |
| **1883** | Georg Schlesinger | Gliwice | Medicine | Doctor in Katowice |
| **1883** | Richard Schlesinger | Gliwice | Law | |
| **1883** | Arthur Werner | Gliwice | Philology, Medicine | Doctor in Wrocław |
| **1883** | Otto Koslowsky | Gliwice | Banking , Medicine | Doctor |
| **1884** | Karl Fraenkl | Gliwice | Banking , Medicine | Doctor |
| **1884** | Siegfried Klempner | Kazanów | Medicine | Doctor in Radwanice near Głogów |
| **1884** | Adolf Kochmann | Gliwice | Natural sciences, Mathematics | |
| **1884** | Georg Lubowski | Gliwice | Building engineering | Construction manager in Berlin |
| **1884** | Georg Mattersdorf | Mysłowice | Law, Medicine | Doctor in Hennersdorf |
| **1884** | Ernst Schlesinger | Gliwice | Engineering | Mechanical engineer |
| **1884** | Victor Schlesinger | Gliwice | Medicine | |
| **1884** | Max Troplowitz | Gliwice | Natural sciences, Medicine | Doctor in southern Germany |
| **1884** | Hugo Wiener | Gliwice | Law | Division officer in Gliwice |
| **1884** | Max Glaser | Zabrze | Medicine | Doctor in Wrocław |
| **1885** | Georg Krebs | Gliwice | Mathematics, Medicine in Lipsk | |
| **1885** | Emil Zimmermann | Pszczyna | Medicine | Doctor in Woźniki |
| **1885** | Salo Kaiser | Gliwice | Commerce | Merchant in Wrocław |
| **1885** | Atrhur Schlesinger | Gierałtowice | Building engineering, Medicine | |
| **1886** | Emil Baumgardt | Węzłowiec (Katowice) | Mathematics | |
| **1886** | Leopold Ebstein | Strzelce Opolskie | Modern languages, Medicine | Doctor |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **1886** | Paul Frey | Tarnowskie Góry | Commerce, Banking | |
| **1887** | Artur Blumenfeld | Lubliniec | Medicine | |
| **1887** | Max Fränkl | Gliwice | Modern languages, Philosophy | |
| **1887** | Felix Münzer | Berlin | Banking | |
| **1888** | Arthur Blumenfeld | Gliwice | Medicine | |
| **1888** | Leopold Brieger | Gliwice | Law | |
| **1888** | Eugen Heidenfeld | Gliwice | Medicine | |
| **1888** | Josef Sachs | Schönlanke | Law | |
| **1888** | Fritz Schlesinger | Wirek (Katowice) | Medicine | |
| **1889** | Max Grunwald | Zabrze | Philosophy | |
| **1889** | Max Guttmann | Bytom | Medicine | |
| **1889** | Georg Kochmann | Gliwice | Law | |
| **1889** | Ernst Lubowski | Gliwice | Medicine | |
| **1889** | Samuel Neumann | New York | Law | |
| **1889** | Ottokar Schottlaender | Królewska Huta | Medicine | |
| **1890** | Georg Böhm | Zaborze | Law | |
| **1890** | Emil Cohn | Zabrze | Medicine | |
| **1890** | Isidor Fraenkel | Miechowice | Law | |
| **1890** | Karl Hamburger | Gliwice | Building engineering, Medicine | |
| **1890** | Richard Schottlaender | Królewska Huta | Law | |
| **1891** | Richard Huldschiner | Gliwice | Medicine | |
| **1891** | Victor Lubowski | Gliwice | Law | |
| **1891** | Samuel Winkler | Gliwice | Medicine | |
| **1891** | Bruno Zernik | Gliwice | Law | |

**Source:** *Jahresbericht des Königlichen katholischen Gymnasium zu Gleiwitz, womit zu der am 29. April 1891 stattfindenden fünfsiebenzigjährigen Stiftungsfeier der Anstalt ergebenst einladet der Direktor Wilhelm Ronke* (1891) 31-42.

**Jewish graduates of the Królewska Huta grammar school 1880-1913**

| The year of A-levels | Full name | Date of birth | Place of birth | Father's profession /address | University course/actual profession |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **1880** | Max Bloch | 1860 | Zakrzów (Koźle) | | Medicine/doctor in Bytom |
| **1880** | Hugo Wurm | 1859 | Królewska Huta | | Law/lawyer in Berlin |
| **1882** | Isaak Steinhardt | 1861 | Mysłowice | | Medicine/doctor in Królewska Huta |
| **1883** | Siegfried Wachsmann | 1864 | Gliwice | | Medicine/doctor in Berlin |
| **1883** | Max Loebinger | 1862 | Lipiny | | Law/director of an insurance company |
| **1883** | Max Münzer | 1863 | Tarnowskie Góry | | Medicine/doctor in Wrocław |
| **1884** | Ludwig Steiner | 1864 | Vienna | | Law/lawyer in Berlin |
| **1884** | Eugen Graetzer | 1864 | Zawodzie (Katowice) | | Merchant in Berlin |
| **1885** | Salo Münzer | 1866 | Tarnowskie Góry | | Merchant in Lubeka |
| **1886** | Emil Eisner | 1867 | Zabrze | | Medicine/doctor in Racibórz |
| **1886** | Salo Friedmann | 1864 | Roździeń (Katowice) | | Medicine/doctor in Bytom |
| **1888** | Julius Hayn | 1870 | Kępno (Poznań) | | Law/lawyer in Berlin |
| **1890** | Hans Steinitz | 1872 | Katowice | | Law/lawyer in Gliwice |
| **1891** | Joseph Boronow | 1872 | Królewska Huta | | Dentist in Wrocław |
| **1891** | Martin Stern | 1872 | Żory | | Merchant in Gubin |
| **1892** | Paul Görke | 1872 | Królewska Huta | | Law/judge in Opole |
| **1892** | Max Görke | 1873 | Królewska Huta | | Medicine/doctor in Wrocław |
| **1894** | Reinhold Kutner | 1874 | Komorzno (Kluczbork) | | Medicine/doctor in Wrocław |
| **1895** | Alfred Bloch | 22.09. 1876 | Katowice | Merchant/ Królewska Huta | Medicine/doctor in Berlin |
| **1897** | Emil Guthertz | 1878 | Świętochłowice | | Law/court official |
| **1897** | Leo Leschinzer | 1876 | Królewska Huta | | Medicine/doctor in Wrocław |
| **1898** | Alfred Badrian | 1878 | Hajduki Wielkie | | Law/court official |
| **1898** | Arthur Stern | 1879 | Żory | | Medicine in Freiburg im Breisgau |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **1899** | Ismar Goldstein | 18.09. 1880 | Lipiny | Merchant /Lipiny | Law/court official |
| **1899** | Emil Koratkowsky | 05.10. 1877 | Królewska Huta | Królewska Huta | Law in Kiel |
| **1901** | Siegfried Fränkel | 03.09. 1882 | Królewska Huta | Merchant/ Królewska Huta | Law in Berlin |
| **1903** | Berhardt Görke | 30.09. 1884 | Królewska Huta | Sanitary adviser/ Królewska Huta | Law |
| **1903** | Sally Hamburger | 27.06 1882 | Królewska Huta | Merchant/ Królewska Huta | Law |
| **1902 R** | Eugen Freund | 04.10. 1885 | Hajduki Nowe | Merchant/ Hajduki Nowe | Oberrealschule |
| **1903** | Salo Koslowsky | 17.01. 1883 | Królewska Huta | Merchant/ Królewska Huta | Medicine |
| **1903** | Ernst Pick | 07.11. 1884 | Koźle | Merchant/Koźle | Law |
| **1903** | Eugen Wolff | 20.07. 1882 | Królewska Huta | Hotel owner/ Hajduki Nowe | Law |
| **1903 R** | Adolf Friedländer | 23.11. 1887 | Królewska Huta | Merchant/ Królewska Huta | Banking |
| **1903 R** | Maximilian Keins | 28.04. 1887 | Królewska Huta | Merchant/ Królewska Huta | Oberrealschule |
| **1903 R** | Fritz Keins | 16.07. 1885 | Wirek | Hotel owner/ Wirek | Construction engineering |
| **1905** | Erwin Goldstein | 08.11. 1885 | Chebzie | Merchant/ Królewska Huta | Law |
| **1905 R** | Hans Goldstein | 01.03. 1888 | Królewska Huta | Merchant/ Królewska Huta | Commerce |
| **1905 R** | Alexander Steinitz | 14.12. 1887 | Królewska Huta | Merchant/ Królewska Huta | Commerce |
| **1905** | Erich Seidler | 15.06. 1887 | Królewska Huta | Merchant/ Królewska Huta | Law |
| **1907** | Bruno Markiewitz | 16.07. 1887 | Królewska Huta | Merchant/ Królewska Huta | Law |
| **1910** | Helmuth Steinhardt | 26.09. 1891 | Namysłów | Doctor/ Królewska Huta | Commerce |
| **1911** | Walter Fränkel | 18.05. 1892 | Bytom | Railway dispatcher /Chorzów Batory | Banking |
| **1912** | Herbert Zellner | 02.01. 1893 | Lipiny | Merchant/Lipiny | Medicine |
| **1913** | Fedor Gotthelf | 17.05. 1893 | Królewska Huta | House owner/ Nowe Hajduki | Law |
| **1913** | Joseph Preuss | 12.04. 1894 | Katowice | Hotel owner /Królewska Huta | Medicine |

**R = Realschule**

**Source:** *Königliches Gymnasium zu Königshütte O.-S. XXVI. Jahres-Bericht durch welchen zu den am 1. April 1903 stattfindenden Schlussfeierlichkeit ergebenst einladet der Direktor Profesor Prochasel* 26 (1903) 21-29; *Königliches Gymnasium* 27 (1904) 31-2; *Königliches Gymnasium* 28 (1905) 32; *Königliches Gymnasium* 29 (1906) 35-6; *Königliches Gymnasium* 30 (1907) 36; *Königliches Gymnasium ergebenst einladet der Direktor Prof. Dr. Michalsky* 34 (1911) 26-7; *Königliches Gymnasium* 36 (1913) 20.

**Jewish graduates of the Zaborze grammar school 1906-7**

| The year of A-levels | Full name | Year and place of birth | Address | Father's profession | University course/actual profession |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **1906** | Walther Kochmann | 06.03.1888 Dresden | Zabrze | Banker in Zabrze | Law |
| **1906** | Leopold Schutz | 24.09.1886 Zabrze | Zabrze | Merchant in Zabrze | Medicine |
| **1906** | Karl Grünwald | 05.12.1884 Zabrze | Zabrze | Merchant in Zabrze | Medicine |
| **1906** | Kurt Stern | 21.01.1887 | Zabrze | Merchant in Zabrze | Medicine |
| **1907** | Ernst Brauer | 17.06.1887 Toszek | Zabrze | Merchant in Zabrze | Commerce |
| **1907** | Friedrich Kochmann | 04.10.1888 Zabrze | Zabrze | Merchant in Zabrze | Law |
| **1907** | Friedrich Glaser | 12.08.1888 Zabrze | Zabrze | Merchant in Zabrze | Law |
| **1907** | Paul Friedländer | 25.04.1888 Zabrze | Zabrze | Travelling salesman in Zabrze | Medicine |

**Source:** *III. Jahresbericht über das Schuljahr 1902/1903* 3 (1903) 15-7; *7. Jahresbericht über das Schuljahr von Ostern 1906 bis Ostern 1907* 7 (1907) 15-6; *8. Jahresbericht des Gymnasiums zu Zaborze O. S. (Schuljahr 1907-1908)* 8 (1908) 27.

**Jewish graduates of the Katowice grammar school 1908-11**

| The year of A-levels | Full name | Year and place of birth | Address | Father's profession | University course/actual profession |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **1908** | Siegfried Hamburger | 02.02.1891 Katowice | Katowice | Merchant Katowice | Mathematics |
| **1908** | Karl Spitzer | 19.09.1890 Katowice | Katowice | Merchant Katowice | Law |
| **1910** | Ernst Böhm | 04.09.1890 Zaborze | Zaborze | Merchant Zaborze | Medicine |
| **1910** | Hugo Goldmann | 12.08.1890 Szopienice | Katowice | Merchant Katowice | Medicine |
| **1911** | Josef Altmann | 27.02.1893 Rybnik | Rybnik | Merchant Rybnik | Law |
| **1911** | Hans Kapauner | 26.05.1893 Koźle | | Merchant Wrocław | Law |
| **1911** | Herbert Grabowski | 06.08.1892 Katowice | Katowice | Merchant Katowice | Commerce |

**Source:** *XXXVIII. Jahresbericht über das Königliche Gymnasium zu Kattowitz. Ostern 1909* 38 (1909) 13; *XXXIX. Jahresbericht [...] Ostern 1910* 39 (1910) 14; *40. Jahresbericht [...] Ostern 1911* 40 (1911) 13.

**Marcin Wodziński**

# 'WALKING IN THE STEEL BOOTS OF FAITH...' ANTI-SEMITIC JOURNALISM IN THE VOIVODSHIP OF SILESIA 1922-1939

In 1922, when the independent Polish press of the Voivodship of Silesia came into being, there was already a rich and abundant history of anti-Semitic publications in Upper Silesia. Ill-disposed statements towards the Jewish people were published in 'Gwiazdka Cieszyńska' (Cieszyn Star), 'Przegląd Polityczny' (Political Review), 'Dziennik Cieszyński' (Cieszyn Daily), 'Pszczółka' (The Bee), 'Katolik' (The Catholic) or 'Polak' (The Pole), and by the end of the 1870s anti-Semitic brochures in Polish that were published by the daily 'Schlesische Volkszeitung'[1], addressed 'primarily to the people of Upper Silesia' would appear. But anti-Semitic rhetoric present in major Silesian papers before 1922, although it often raised the local issues of the so-called 'Jewish Question', was not one of the crucial factors shaping their ideological identity. Very often the target of anti-Semitic texts was not the Jewish community at all but 'Jews and Masons', i.e., all political opponents.

This kind of 'traditional anti-Semitism' was also present in the Polish press in Silesia after 1922. Verbal attacks on the Jewish population of Upper Silesia were made by almost all centre and right wing periodicals, e.g., by 'Powstaniec' (Insurgent), 'Polska Zachodnia' (Western Poland) – a paper favouring the *Sanacja* block, the separatist 'Głos Górnego Śląska' (Voice of Upper Silesia), the Christian-

---

[1] J. B., *O żydzie szachlerzu, (po niemiecku "Der Schacherjude") o takim, co ci zastąpi, niepuści, a nie sprzedasz, nie kupisz, jak może i skórę wyłupi. Napisał ... podług Gazety Szląskiej-Ludowej (Schlesische Volkszeitung) Nr. 242 od 19 Października 1879.* (N.p., [1879]); A. Kulik, *O szynkarzu żydowskim a po niemiecku: "Der Schnapsjude". Napisał ... we Wrocławiu. Tłumaczone na polskie przez J. B. Separatny oddruk z Nru 230 "Gazety Szląskiej Ludowej" (Schlesische Volkszeitung) od 5. Października 1879* (N.p., [1879]); *Trzej pomocnicy Izraela, po niemiecku: ("Die 3 Collaboranten für Israel") podług niemieckiej gazety "Schlesische Volkszeitung" Nr. 253, dnia 1. listopada 1879 roku szczególnie dla ludu górnośląskiego przełożył na język polski L. (górnoślązak)* (N.p., [1879]).

democratic 'Polonia', the Catholic 'Gość Niedzielny' (Sunday Guest), or the national-democratic 'Goniec Śląski' (Silesian Office-boy). In the second half of the 1930s, 'Polonia' committed itself to 'Korfanty's traditional anti-Semitism'[2], and thus became a target for numerous press disputes[3]. Similarly, the 'Polska Zachodnia' and 'Powstaniec's policies hardened.

However, it was not the widely circulating, opinion-influencing papers that ultimately shaped the face of Upper-Silesian anti-Semitic journalism during the interwar period in Poland. The most crucial factor for shaping that picture was the rise of a strictly anti-Semitic press, i.e., one that deemed the motive of fighting Jewry to be the sole or most crucial and dominant subject. These were the papers, which introduced a specific, local character into Upper-Silesian anti-Semitic journalism; these were the papers, which, at critical stages, provided vociferous support for society's anti-Semitic riots; these were the papers which were met with an extreme reaction from the embattled Jewish community in Polish Silesia.

The first anti-Semitic paper appeared in Katowice in 1928, when a branch of the all-Polish anti-Semitic Society for the Development of National Life [Towarzystwo Rozwoju Życia Narodowego] called Development was established there. The founder of the Katowice branch of Development as well as of the paper published by that society was a well-known publicist and social activist, Alojzy Mach. Initially the intention of the society was to publish a monthly titled 'Wrogowie Ludu' (Enemies of the People), which was to reveal the names of the people who supported Jews, even those who did their shopping at Jewish shops. Simultaneously, they wanted to publish the so-called 'Złota Księga' (Golden Book), the aim of which was to present people of merit who fought Jewry. However, for reasons unknown, that particular plan was set aside and in September 1928 Alojzy Mach published his brochure 'Action! Upper Silesia is being deluged by Jews' (*Do czynu! Górny Śląsk tonie w żydowskiej powodzi*). The next month, the Catholic Bookshop and Printing House in Katowice, the brochure publisher, agreed to extend credit and began printing the fortnightly publication of the Society for the Development of National Life. And such is the origin of the four-year existence of the first and most important Upper-Silesian anti-Semitic paper 'Do czynu!' (Action!)[4].

However, from the first issue, published on November 1 1928, the paper had a different investor. 'Do czynu!' continued to be published until April 1929 as the

---

2 M. Wadyas, 'Dwa antysemityzmy śląskie', *Tygodnik Żydowski* 14/7 (1938) 1-2.

3 See, eg., M. S. Gĕshuri, 'Yĕhude Misloviz lĕ'or `iton antishemi (miqìzat historya politit)' in id. (ed.) *Seifer Sosnoviz un Zaglembyer umgegent. In andenk fun di barimte yidishe kĕhiles in Sosnoviz un Zaglembye vos zenen umgekumen durch di nazishe merder in di yorn 700-705 (1940-1945)* (N.p., 5758 [1998]) 438; See also *Nasze Jutro* 1 (1938) 4; *Front Polski Zbudzonej* 5/17 (1937) 4.

4 See E. Długajczyk, *Oblicze polityczne i własnościowe prasy polskiej w województwie śląskim 1922-1939* (Katowice, 1990) 118; L. Posłuszny, 'W Imię Boże!', *Do czynu* 1/1 (1928) 1.

organ of the Voivodship Citizens Committee For the Protection of Upper Silesia From the Jewish Deluge [Wojewódzki Komitet Obywatelski dla obrony Górnego Śląska przed zalewem żydowskim], and then as the organ of the Silesian Union for Social Self-defence 'Action' [Śląski Związek Samoobrony Społecznej "Do czynu"][5]. Both organisations were created by Mach and were inseparable from the paper. The fate of the bi-weekly (later a monthly) and its twin organisations, is a series of confiscations, court trials, in-fighting and private wars of the chief editor. It was one of these crusades against the leaders of the Union of Merchant Societies [Związek Towarzystw Kupieckich] and the Society of Polish Independent Merchants in Królewska Huta [Towarzystwo Samodzielnych Polskich Kupców w Królewskiej Hucie] – Mach's former allies – that resulted in the decline in the paper's prosperity. From mid-1931 onwards the number of merchants advertising in 'Do czynu!' decreased rapidly, and the following year the paper came to a complete standstill. The fall of 'Do czynu!' did not mark the end of the anti-Semitic press in the Voivodship of Silesia. Quite the contrary. From the beginning of the 1930s onwards, there was a proliferation of fascist and national-radical papers in Katowice and their fundamental nature and most important task was to fight Jewry. Mach was right when he said that to a considerable extent they were shaped by 'Do czynu!' Of the numerous fascist papers, it was 'Błyskawica. Organ Narodowo Socjalistycznej Partii Robotniczej' (Lightning. The Organ of the National-Socialist Worker's Party), published from August 1933 that stood out, particularly for its anti-Jewish phobia. In 1934, the position of editor of 'Błyskawica's was taken over by Józef Jaxa Chamiec, a former member of the Christian-democratic party and a monarchist[6], at that a keen follower of Hitler and a bigoted anti-Semite. He took the fascist party's bulletin – already vehemently anti-Semitic – to extremes. 'Błyskawica', modelled on the German 'Stümer', came into conflict with the law after publication of its first issue. Intervention by the board of the Jewish Community in Katowice caused frequent confiscations[7]. Ultimately, the duty editor, Chowański, was imprisoned for nine months[8]. Further radicalisation and verbal assaults on the Jewish people resulted in repressive measures being taken by the police, and eventually the paper closed. The lives of other anti-Semitic periodi-

---

5 In April 1929 the Voivodship Citizen Committee For the Protection of Upper Silesia From the Jewish Deluge was transformed into the Silesian Union of Social Self-defence 'Action'. As organisers claimed the transformation took place in order to 'give a broader organisational scheme to the movement'. Some comments in the paper (e.g. *Do czynu* 2/8 (1929) 1-3, No 17/8 (1929) 3) prove however, that the real reason was a conflict in the Organisation and competition for leadership.

6 Długajczyk, *Oblicze polityczne* 185.

7 UGGIK 2/39 (1933) 5; *Błyskawica* 1/5 (1933) 4: 'Four issues – three confiscations'. See also Y. Khrust, 'Ha'antišemitiyut', in Y. Khrust, Y. Frenkel (eds.), *Qaṭoviẓ. Pĕriḥatah ushqu`atah shel haqĕhila hayĕhudit. Sefer zikaron* (Tel-Aviv, 1996) 59-61.

8 UGGIK 3/56 (1934) 2; JWW 1/15 (1934) 1 (here detailed report); *Błyskawica* 2/7 (1934) 6.

cals adhering to the fascist ideology were equally short, namely 'Polska Błyskawica' (Polish Lightning), 'Jedna Karta' (The Only Page), and then 'Polska Karta' (Polish Page), 'Warta' (Guard), and 'Nasza Polska' (Our Poland). Of those papers, 'Front Polski Zbudzonej. Pismo bojowe nowej Polski' (The Front of Awakened Poland. The Fighting Paper of New Poland) had the longest life. It was controlled by Józef Kowal-Lipiński, a buffoon-like führer from Lipiny, founder of the National-radical Healing Movement [Narodowo-Radykalny Ruch Uzdrowienia], for whom 'Front Polski Zbudzonej' was a propaganda organ[9]. However, among fascist papers Kowal-Lipiński's periodical was quite unique, as its anti-Semitic rhetoric was, relatively speaking, of a milder character, despite the headpiece slogan: 'We struggle for work and bread, de-Judaisation of Poland, and for the well-being of our citizens'.

Of the extremely rightist papers which did not identify themselves openly with the fascist ideology, the most anti-Jewish was the weekly 'Narodowiec' (The Nationalist), the organ of the All-Poland Camp [Obóz Wszechpolski] from Katowice, published in 1937-1939. It was confiscated on a number of occasions – starting with the first issue – for its inciting readers to riot. Thus, in the course of time, the paper modified the violent character of its anti-Semitic assaults, yet its basic policy – the hostility towards Jewish people – remained unaltered[10].

The programme of 'Kuźnica. Pismo narodowo-radykalne' (The Smithy. National-radical Paper) was very similar in its anti-Semitism. The editor, Paweł Musioł, was a well-known journalist and social activist. This periodical could not be considered to be strictly anti-Semitic, because the Jewish subject matter – although evident in each issue – was not the key theme. However, the paper's frequent references to the so-called Jewish Question and the unusually radical solutions proposed in relation to those conflicts placed 'Kuźnica' together with its full-time 'Jewish expert', Alojzy Targ, very close to 'Narodowiec' or 'Błyskawica'. It survived until 1939[11].

Neither the accusations levelled against the Jewish community, nor the proposed solutions to the Jewish question were similar in the above-mentioned papers. Nevertheless, it is astonishing that the negative portrayals of Jews presented in those various periodicals have a lot in common – this being partly the result of their drawing upon more general and commonly accessible anti-Jewish literature (with *The Jewish Soul in the Light of Talmud* – Dusza żydowska w świetle Talmudu – by Andrzej Niemojewski, and *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*[12]). In

---

[9] See E. Długajczyk, *Sanacja śląska 1926-1939. Zarys dziejów politycznych* (Katowice, 1983) 263-5, 330.

[10] Długajczyk, *Oblicze polityczne* 179.

[11] On *Kuźnica* see Z. Hierowski, *Życie literackie na Śląsku w latach 1922-1939* (Katowice, 1969) 170-1; E. Długajczyk, *Sanacja* 262-3, 331; Długajczyk, *Oblicze polityczne*.

[12] Niemojewski was a favourite author and a teacher in the field of anti-Semitism of Alojzy Mach (See e.g. *Do czynu* 2/5 (1929) 1-3, 2/23 (1929) 1-2); *Narodowiec* from 1 (1937)

part it also stems from a lively exchange of motives and even of the publicists themselves among the magazines[13]. In the following paragraphs, I will focus on the picture common to all the above-mentioned papers.

The first, most often repeated and most decidedly articulated accusation against Jewish people was that of economic harm. This fact can otherwise be well understood as the economy was the sole realm of factual – not ideological – conflicts between Poles and Jews in interwar Poland. This fact, however, does not mean, that the picture of those relationships presented in the anti-Semitic press was even vaguely true. Quite the contrary. The only exception to that rule is a moderate economical analysis published in 'Kuźnica' by Andrzej Michna[14]. This eminent activist from the co-operative movement pointed to an excessive concentration of Jewish people in some trades (mainly in agencies and commerce), and he recommended that the co-operative movement oust them from that sphere, so that they could be distributed more evenly over a wider range of trades. Although this article was not at all favourable towards the Jews, it was severely criticised by the editorial 'Jewish expert', Alojzy Targ, who accused Michna of damaging behaviour and capitulative tendencies. Alojzy Targ's diagnoses of the Jewish community were more critical, although not supported by any arguments. 'The appallingly significant influence the Jews have on our economy', especially on industry and commerce, was 'undoubtedly related to the speculative character of the Jewish psyche'. As he stated, there were areas where Jews made up as much as 80% of a town's population, and the Polish peasant was forced to sell his hard-earned goods to them. In Chorzów there was not one Polish menswear concern[15]. In some industries, Jewish ownership constituted nearly 100%, although the author was unable to quote any statistics[16]. Identical 'arguments' can be found in other papers. According to 'Błyskawica' all insurance companies – but one – were taken over by Jewish capital (a very popular motive in other papers, too), similarly 'Jewish-

No 14 printed full text of the *Protocols...*, also *Błyskawica* referred frequently to the text.

13 It may be worth mentioning that the picture of the Jewish community is very similar, but not identical, in the national-democratic press in the period 1928-1939 studied by O. Bergmann, *Narodowa Demokracja wobec problematyki żydowskiej w latach 1929-1939* (Poznań, 1998), or in the Polish press of the Pomerania Voivodship analysed by R. Michalski, *Obraz Żyda i narodu żydowskiego na łamach polskiej prasy pomorskiej w latach 1920-1939* (Toruń, 1997). The difference undoubtedly can be attributed to the fact that both authors focused on the opinion-influencing political periodicals of high circulation and not on a strictly anti-Semitic press.

14 A. Michna, 'Żydzi a spółdzielczość', *Kuźnica* 1/10 (1935) 2-5.

15 A. Targ, 'Jeszcze w sprawie żydowskiej', *Kuźnica* 2/1 (1936) 5-6; id., 'Dwie mniejszości narodowe. I. Żydzi', Ibid. 1/2 (1935) 7-10.

16 The highest numbers Targ managed to find were for the wool industry (54%), the toy industry (52%), embroidery and lace-making (50%) – See A. Targ, 'Walka z żydostwem', *Kuźnica* 2/7-8 (1936) 10-11.

infected' were Katowice's confectioneries. Outside Silesia, Gdynia was the city most threatened by the Jews, who focused their massive economic attack right on that town. The Jewish held 75% of shipping companies, 90% of fruit importing concerns, all retail sales concerns, the entire fish industry, especially herring production, and Jews in their insolence did not stop short of intending to build a synagogue in Gdynia.[17] According to 'Kuźnica', the production of soap and razors was under greatest threat, as also were corset-making, tailoring and fashion[18]. According to Mach, Jews had taken over the Polish coal trade, customs agencies, house-to-house sales, and shoemaking[19]. It was Jewish house-to-house trade in particular – rather than the worldwide depression 'which the Silesian press, subservient to Jews and others, constantly foists onto us'[20] – that was the reason for Poland's economic collapse. 'Do czynu!', 'Narodowiec', 'Błyskawica' and 'Kuźnica' published lists of recommended Christian firms and lists of the Jewish ones. These kind of accusations almost inevitably accompany a similar scenario: apart from the company favoured and trusted by the paper's staff, all other firms are accused of either being Jewish or of co-operating with Jews. From the very beginning Jewish and Christian polemists have detected here a form of dishonest competition rather than ideological warfare[21]. In addition, 'Do czynu!' would sell blank spaces in its *Christian Firms Index* as paid advertising slots.

According to anti-Semitic authors, one of the most effective means of economic warfare waged by Jews on Poles was to oust them from the learned professions. The most threatened were the Bar, medicine, and, to a more limited extent, teaching and the movie industry. Alojzy Targ proved that Jews made up 50% of Warsaw's Chamber of Attorneys and 80% of Warsaw's applicants to the Bar. The same could be said about medical professions. The statistics were even worse in provincial areas. It was a direct means of demoralising the Polish people, as the learned professions provide many opportunities to create an effect on the Christian population, and 'the morality of the Jewish minority is proverbially poor'. Jews even influenced legislation in relation to the Bar, in order to gain for themselves the most advantageous conditions[22]. The number of Jewish lawyers was so great

---

17 *Błyskawica* 1/8 (1933) 7; 2/3 (1934) 4; 2/4 (1934) 4, 6; 2/5 (1934) 3, 2/6 (1934) 6, 2/9 (1934) 2 etc.

18 *Kuźnica* 4/24 (1938) 8; 5/3 (1939) 6.

19 *Do czynu* 1/1 (1928) 3, No 1/2 (1928) 1-2; 2/15 (1929) 3, No 2/21 (1929) 2 etc.

20 *Do czynu* 4/49 (1931) 1.

21 See e.g. Sztrubel, 'Panu Machowi, red. "Do Czynu", brukowemu pismu w odpowiedzi', *Polska Zachodnia* 5/53 (1930) 5; 'Machowe baje i paszkwile. O metodach "żydożercy" słów kilka', *Polska Zachodnia* 6/189 (1931) 6.

22 A. Targ, 'Walka z żydostwem. Żydzi w adwokaturze i medycynie', *Kuźnica* 2/9 (1936) 4-5. See also *Kuźnica* 3/11 (1937) 2; 'Zażydzenie biur filmowych', Ibid. 5/1 (1939) 6; 'Żydowskie kwiatki i kwiateczki', *Do czynu* 2/10 (1929) 3, 'Kasa Chorych w szponach żydowskich', Ibid. 4/45 (1931) 1-2; A. Mach, 'Jak nas leczy Kasa Chorych. Czy warto

that the Nazis' hatred towards Jews was justifiable: in Opole province (Bezirk Oppeln), in 1937 after the regulations of Geneva Convention expired, 40 Jewish notaries were dismissed. Jewish doctors ousted Polish ones, gained access to health-insurance companies by means of bribery, and even their charities and free treatment of the sick were aimed at gaining publicity. And the proof? Jews don't do anything for free![23]

As we find out from the magazines discussed, the Jewish presence in the economy was dangerous not only because they displaced Poles and took away from them their means of support. Economic anti-Semitism was 'the most honest form of positive patriotism', as 'each Polish penny – given to a Jew – sells Poland into Jewish economic slavery'[24], and 'the struggle for changing the ownership relations [i.e. against the Jews] is a struggle for true independence'[25]. Jewish products were always of lower quality, which made them seemingly cheaper than those made by Christians, at the same time they were worth much less. This spoiled Polish trade-marks abroad. Similarly, Jews were also directly responsible for numerous financial frauds and the corruption of Polish merchants, craftsmen and industrialists. For example, the works committees in Silesian factories and coal mines issued shopping vouchers valid in Jewish shops only, for which they were lavishly bribed by the Jewish shopkeepers. Jews legally bought smuggled goods at customs, and then – having obtained the appropriate certificates – over several years were able to sell contraband goods in their shops. They were also notorious for employing people without appropriate documents, for smuggling all manner of goods abroad, for runing illegal businesses in Silesia, and most important of all, for dishonest tax practices[26]. Reports on Jewish fraud filled the columns of all above-mentioned and many other papers, sometimes creating an opportunity for more general comments, but more often the newspapers confine themselves to 'everyday' information, where major emphasis was placed on the fact that the fraud was committed by a Jew[27]. The

studiować medycynę? Czy się żydom kalkuluje ofiarowanie łapówek?', Ibid. 4/46 (1931) 1-3; 'Jak wynaradawia się Polskę', *Błyskawica* 1/3 (1933) 4.

[23] [A. Mach,] 'Najeźdźcy żydowscy w zawodzie lekarskim na Śląsku! Akademicy! W nasze szeregi!', *Do czynu* 2/13 (1929) 1. See also *Kuźnica* 3/18 (1937) 2.

[24] *Błyskawica* 2/6 (1934) 6.

[25] *Kuźnica* 3/3 (1937) 1.

[26] See e.g. *Błyskawica* 2/5 (1934) 8, *Do czynu* 2/15 (1929) 3; 2/4 (1929) 3; 1/1 (1928) 3; 2/6 (1929) 2; 1/2 (1928) 1; 2/1 (1929) 4, 2/2 (1929) 3; 2/20 (1929) 1-2; 4/51 (1931) 4.

[27] See e.g. *Goniec Śląski* 5/47 (1925) 6 on Będzin Jewish merchants; *Goniec Śląski* 5/85 (1925) 5 on 'numerous Jewish cheats'; *Narodowiec* 1/17 (1937) 3: 'Metody żydowskie w walce o swój stan posiadania'; *Do czynu* 2/19 (1929) 2: 'Żydzi nawet na pluskwach robią interes'; *Do czynu* 2/21 (1929) 3: 'Oszustwa "Famety"'; *Do czynu* 3/39 (1930) 1-4: 'Milionowe oszustwa podatkowe'; *Do czynu* 4/43 (1931) 1-2: A. Mach, 'Fałszowane "gdanskie" koniaki Schmalenberga'; *Do czynu* 4/43 (1931) 1-2.

editor of 'Do czynu!' was an expert not only in unmasking Jewish hoaxes within the Voivodship of Silesia, but he also organised a number of intervention campaigns, e.g., the above-mentioned action against Jewish house-to-house trade and against their collusion with works committees, against Menczel's commerce firm, against Jewish traders cheating with weights and measures[28] or Jewish embezzlements in real estate agencies in Katowice. In particular, the latter action shows the mechanism behind and the real motives for Mach's efforts[29]: in 1923 Mach began applying for a flat in Katowice, but the chief of Housing Office, Luschwitz, did not want to grant him his request because – according to Mach – he was a German and a sworn enemy of all Poles. After the refusal, a disappointed Mach organised a demonstration against the municipal authority's housing policy. As a result, on February 11 1924 Luschwitz lost his job. Mach's situation did not improve, however, as he fell into disfavour with mayor Górnik and was allocated a meagre 9sq. m. "cubbyhole". Four years later, having become the editor of 'Do czynu!' he resumed his efforts. From the first issue he began a campaign against 'the Silesian law for the protection of tenants – against that invidious Jewish conspiracy', which – according to his words – was solely for the benefit of Jews. Eventually, in 1930, he had his own way: he found premises occupied by a Jewish company – a curtain warehouse – which had not completed all the necessary formalities, thus he was allocated that flat and personally evicted the tenants. Mach boasted at the time at the radical methods he employed when disposing of that curtain firm, and that he managed to dispose of that firm 'without any human casualties'. From that point the 'housing campaign' would suddenly disappear from the columns of 'Do czynu!'.

---

[28] *Do czynu* 2/1 (1929) 2; 'Dlaczego mąka, sól i cukier u żydów są tańsze?', *Do czynu* 2/1 (1929) 3. Mach stated that Jews used Russian pounds in Silesia (400g) instead of Prussian ones (500g), thus they cheated the oblivious Silesian people.

[29] A. Mach, 'W jaki sposób zdobywa się mieszkanie w Katowicach i Król. Hucie bez grubego odstępnego? Bezdomni i nieszczęśliwe rodziny, gnieżdżące się w maleńkich izdebkach, uważnie czytajcie! Kto tęskni za feldfeblami z Magistratu katowickiego? Jak się na mnie pomściły te feldfeble?', *Do czynu* 3 /29(1930) 1-3; 'O sądownictwie na Górnym Śl.', *Do czynu* 4/44 (1931) 2. See also 'Urzędy Mieszkaniowe i żydzi', *Do czynu* 2/16 (1929) 2-3; 'Nędza mieszkaniowa a żydowski handel domokrążny na Śląsku', *Do czynu* 2/21 (1929) 2; A. Mach, 'Brońmy ustawy o ochronie lokatorów, bo żydostwo powyrzuca nas, katolików, na bruk! Całe ulice w Katowicach i Król. Hucie znalazly się w posiadaniu żydowskich kamieniczników, którzy uprawiają lichwę mieszkaniową i usuwają chrześcijańskich lokatorów! Mimo ustawy o ochronie lokatorów, żydowscy kamienicznicy robią dobre interesy! Jak Izrael Gleicher szykanuje i maltretuje chrześcijańskich lokatorów', *Do czynu* 3/31 (1930) 1-2; A. Mach, 'Jak major rezerwy i znany działacz społeczny, p. sędzia Podolecki, przegrał sprawę w Urzędzie Rozjemczym. Szwindel z ożenkiem żyda Goldberga. Ustawa o ochronie lokatorów monopolem panów Bohoniuków, Dzięciołów i Kaźmierczyków. Czy nowy Sejm Śląski przystąpi do nowelizacji haniebnej ustawy o ochronie lokatorów? Czy żydostwo w dalszym ciągu będzie nam rabowało mieszkania?', *Do czynu* 3/33 (1930) 1.

According to anti-Semitic journalists, the examples of Jewish economic frauds they quoted were clear proof of a specific inclination of Jews to crime. This was allegedly confirmed by other 'typically Jewish offences', such as an assault by a Jewish gang on the jewellers shop in Mysłowice, an attack by a Jewish fighting squad on Christian tenants, scuffles provoked by nationalist activists, rapes committed on Catholic women, numerous smuggling activities that were uncovered, receiving of stolen goods, forging of documents, etc.[30] Ultimately, there were accusations of a white slave trade[31], the desecration of Catholic sanctuaries (information published in 'Goniec Śląski' on a church being broken into by Jews right before Easter was particularly telling) and of murders committed on Christians. In the latter example, well-known cases of manslaughter were quoted and these resulted in anti-Semitic riots, e.g. the pogrom in Przytyk and Brześć (Brest), or the riots in Bielsko in September 1937[32].

Inclination to crime was often mentioned in anti-Semitic papers as a typical feature of the Jewish psyche. A significant percent of anti-Semitic journalism dealt with descriptions of 'the Jewish soul'. A typical Jew was attributed with all manner of negative characteristics, but the authors did not concern themselves with the

---

30 'Prowokacje ze strony żydostwa wobec lokatorów chrześcijańskich w Król. Hucie', *Do czynu* 2/4 (1929) 4; 'Skłonności pogromowe zaobserwowane wśród żydostwa w Król. Hucie', *Do czynu* 2/5 (1929) 3; 'Drugi wielki wiec protestacyjny w Król. Hucie przeciwko gromadnemu najazdowi żydowskiemu na Ziemie Śląska', *Do czynu* 2/8 (1929) 1-3; A. Mach, 'Jak w bajce «Z tysiąca i jednej nocy»', *Do czynu* 2/22 (1929) 1-3; *Do czynu* 3/27 (1930) 3; A. Mach, 'W stalowych butach wiary, wytrwania i woli wmaszerowała nasza ideologia do północnej części Król. Huty p. Gabryś prezesem Koła. Ks. Kwapuliński, kapłan robotników, patronem Koła', *Do czynu* 3/30 (1930) 1-2; *Do czynu* 3/31 (1930) 2, 3/39 (1930) 1-4; 4/50 (1931) 1; *Front Polski Zbudzonej* 5/15 (1937) 3-4; 'Do czego uzyto bóżnicy', *Błyskawica* 1/5 (1933) 4; 'Na marginesie położenia żydów w Polsce', *Błyskawica* 1/7 (1933) [second edition after confiscation] 1; 'Jak żydzi okradają skarb państwa', *Błyskawica* 1/8 (1933) 6; 'Żydzi na poległych lotnikach chcą zrobić majątek', *Błyskawica* 1/12 (1933) 5; 'W Mysłowicach polała się krew żydowska', *Błyskawica* 2/7 (1934) 6; 'Znowu żyd pobił Polaka', *Narodowiec* 1/17 (1937) 2 [here accounts of Jewish dishonesty are especially numerous].

31 Eg. 'Dziewczęta śląskie masowo wychodzą "za mąż" za żydów!', *Do czynu* 2/13 (1929) 2; A. Mach, 'Handel żywym towarem', *Do czynu* 4/47 (1931) 1-2. In the first of the texts Mach stated that Jews took Polish girls to foreign brothels, and some were taken even to 'Brazil's capital city – Buenos Aires.'

32 Ten co zawsze, 'Rykoszetem. O barwach śląskich i niewinnych barankach żydowskich oraz co o nich napisał Pana Ligoniowy przyjaciel', *Front Polski Zbudzonej* 5/8 (1937) 6-7; *Front Polski Zbudzonej* 5/18 (1937) 1. On anti-Semitic riots in Bielsko see J. Zyndul, *Zajęcia antyżydowskie w Polsce w latach 1935-1937* (Warsaw, 1994) 48. Also Jewish press in Polish Silesia reported events of the riot, see e.g. J. N., 'Pokłosie wrześniowego tygodnia', *Tygodnik Żydowski* 13/35 (1937) 2; 'Deklaracja Radnych Żydowskich m. Bielska w sprawie zajść złożona na posiedzeniu Rady Miejskiej w Bielsku w dniu 29. września 1937 r. przez r. prez. Zygmunta Arzta', Ibid. 13/36 (1937) 1; 'Proces o zajścia antyżydowskie w Bielsku', Ibid. 13/45 (1937) 1.

reliability or credibility of their descriptions. Frequently one would read about Jews who were arrogant, impertinent, hypocritical, corrupt and fixated on gold. 'Isn't Judas Iscariot, with the purseful of silver, for which he sold his Master, the embodiment of the average Jewish soul? At the end of the Sabbath Jews pray: Money is the power of my strength!'[33] Simultaneously, they were characterised by 'the utmost insolence typical only of the Jewish race', they had a general tendency towards hysteria; they were envious, weak in the political realm and unable to understand many basic terms. At the same time they were said to be unusually cunning. 'They easily succumb to demoralisation. It is enough to look through any court annals to become convinced that the largest percentage of schemers, frauds, usurers and fictitious bankrupts are recruited right from among Jews. As a matter of fact they represent the most degenerated and corrupt social stratum'[34]. According to that author, the Jewish psyche had 'undoubtedly a speculative character', and 'the arrogance and playfulness of that minority are beyond belief.' Others added that 'the soul of that nation is utterly unfamiliar to our soul, what we believe they condemn, what we despise they respect... contemporary Jews are characterised by their cruelty and ruthlessness – together with all those shortcomings like dishonesty, etc., that we know so well'[35]. 'We all know that every Jew is deceitful, mendacious, fraudulent.' Very often we can read that 'after all, those people have not the faintest idea of any noble passions, of the struggle for the homeland, chivalry, patriotism, commitment, ideals'[36], because for them 'such terms as honour, honesty, chivalry, nobleness, etc., are as vague as philosophy for a horned bull'[37]. Among anti-Semitic authors, only Józef Kowal-Lipiński would admit that Jews have a right to nobleness, but he also stated that almost all of them are unutterably demoralised: 'Almost every Jew, even the noblest one, has a lot of venom with which he can involuntarily poison the most eminent national sacredness, at the same time they desire to sanctify utter filth. In our state there is no room for the poisoners of souls and characters!'[38] The most acute tirades against the Jewish soul – undoubtedly inspired by Niemojewski's work – were delivered by Mach, who would devote much effort to creating 'analyses' of the Jewish personality, and he concluded that Jews had surprisingly few positive features, but had adopted all the flaws of the nations they had lived among.

Asked for the reasons for so defining the Jewish psyche, the authors of the discussed works basically gave two answers. The first reason was religious distinctiveness, the other race. Sometimes in 'Kuźnica' considerations pointing to historical factors responsible for some Jewish characteristics were printed, but this type of in-depth analysis lay on the margins of anti-Semitic journalism. The papers referred to

---

33 'Kardynał Książę Biskup Puzyna a kwestia żydowska', *Do czynu* 2/1 (1929) 1-3.

34 A. Targ, 'Dwie mniejszości narodowe. I. Żydzi', *Kuźnica* 1/2 (1935) 7-10.

35 Polak, 'Poznajmy nasze mniejszości narodowe', *Warta* 2/1-2 (1934) 3.

36 'Czy my istotnie jesteśmy wrogami żydów?', *Błyskawica* 2/6 (1934) 3; 2/3 (1934) 5.

37 A. Mach, 'Moje wspomnienia', *Do czynu* 2/3 (1929) 1.

38 'Nasze stanowisko wobec żydów', *Front Polski Zbudzonej* 5/2 (1937) 6.

explicitly aim at providing unambiguous answers, which blurred the responsibility for the situation depicted and all place the blame at the feet of the Jews.

Where racial motives were concerned, the concept featured in the literature of 'Jewish experts' long before any racist or Nazi ideas had come into being, and in early publications in the national-democratic sphere it lacked the pseudo-scientific racist meaning that would be given later on[39]. However, in anti-Semitic papers published in the Voivodship of Silesia from 1928 on, the concept of 'race' could be found from the very beginning in a sense similar to the hitlerite frame of reference. Political commentators in fascist papers in particular, with their gaze fixed firmly on Nazi Germany copied anti-Semitic racial rhetoric. Sometimes their racial statements adopted a falsely anxious tone, but more frequently we encounter direct attacks on the 'hostile' and 'inferior' Jewish race. Those passages of anti-Jewish journalism most often resort to obscenity, latrine-like and pornographic descriptions, something at which Józef Jaxa Chamiec and Alojzy Mach 'excelled'. According to those authors, as well as others, the blending of Polish and Jewish races, even if they only dwell in the same area, can result in a weakening and – in extreme cases – degeneration of the Polish nation. Any contact with the Jews was seen to be dangerous, as it 'introduces the Jewish pestilence into our veins. It poisons the collective soul of the nation with the venom of its atavism and crime'[40]. Such degenerated Poles, according to the discussed writings, were philo-Semites, and Józef Jaxa Chamiec did not stop short of innuendo to say that their mothers and grand-mothers 'must have played around, and such a poor specimen is a spiritual cripple'[41]. Sexual intercourse between Christians and Jews was a necessity for the latter, as, in compliance with natural laws, degenerated nations must die out, and 'Jews are such a nation...They are rescued by just one thing! Jewish women like mating with Christians! It refreshes their race!'[42] In order to protect the Polish nation from the destructive mixing with the Semitic race, the referred publicists willingly accepted the political thesis of national democracy, which stated that the Slavonic minorities dwelling in the Republic of Poland – and also Germans, Lithuanians and Tartars – should be assimilated; however, Jews should not be. Even those Jews who theoretically had assimilated, and had even been baptised, also were perceived to pose a grave threat, as their racial features had not been effaced. 'Does a she-cat, giving birth in a stable – give birth to colts or kittens? To kittens, of course! The same can be said of Karl Marx – to us he will always be a Jew, although his father converted from the Talmudic religion to Protestantism'[43].

---

39 Interesting comments on racist terminology in the early publications of Polish national democracy have been published by T. Kulak and K. Kawalec, 'Endecja wobec kwestii żydowskiej', in W. Wrzesiński (ed.), *Polska myœl polityczna XIX i XX wieku*. Vol. 8: *Polska – Polacy – Mniejszości narodowe* (Wrocław, 1992) 121-38.

40 'Rozdziobią nas kruki, wrony!...', *Błyskawica* 2/10 (1934) 3.

41 'Dziennikarzom szabes-gojom do albumu', *Błyskawica* 2/7 (1934) 4.

42 A. Mach, 'Moje wspomnienia... cz. 2', *Do czynu* 2/3 (1929) 1-4.

43 *Błyskawica* 2/2 (1934) 3.

Ideological declarations repeatedly placed an emphasis on the dissimilarities between the two approaches: the approach to racial minorities to assimilate, and approach to Jews, who should be driven out of Poland.

Supporting the thesis of the Jewish race's distinctness, the papers referred to repeatedly quoted 'proofs'. One of the most frequent 'proofs' hinged on pointing to similarities between 'Semite features' and the characteristics of rats or bedbugs. Very often they resulted in grotesque portraits of Jews which were supposed to prove their physical and moral inferiority. The following is a description of how a typical Jewish character was supposed to look: 'Smell of sweat, onion and radish with goose lard, sonorous and harsh voice and, above all, unbelievable impudence, inborn insolence, arrogance and a willingness to humiliate other people – such is their true character.'[44] Some features of the Jewish race were seen to be particularly bothersome to the Polish. In one of the grammar-schools in the Eastern Borderlands a teacher of the Polish language had terrible headaches during lessons in Jewish classes, and the pain would go away immediately after she left the school. Why?

> Obviously, Jews' bodies give off a strange smell, the effect of which on a Pole and Catholic is like that of poison gas! A Jew might be unseen by a Pole and Catholic, but he makes them feel something strange around, an alien body! The very nature of our Polish and Catholic soul defends us from Jews! Merciful God – knowing what annihilation might come on the Christian culture from the warring Jewish race – bestowed us with this sense of smell as a means of self-defence! [...] If any scientific research were to prove that only those Jews who live in Poland give off that strange poison gas – as that researcher in the Eastern Borderlands defined it – we can only presume that Great Providence – with its power to foresee what grave Jewish danger threatens our nation – bestowed us with that strange and subtle sense of smell to warn us of an approaching to a Jew[45].

The arguments of distinctness and religious hostility appeared far more frequently than those concerning racial subject matter, probably because of the greater social significance of those slogans. 'What can be said of Jews? [...] It is not a Christian nation. Moreover, this nation is hostile towards Christianity and opposes the basis of the Christian faith in every respect. The Jewish faith is not the same faith that was professed in the Holy Land before Jesus Christ came in to the world [...] The essence of the contemporary Jewish faith is hatred for whatever is not Jewish (for so called goys i.e. non-Jews) and the total exclusiveness of that

---

[44] *Do czynu* 1/1 (1928) 3. See also 'Jak obrońca żydostwa wschodniego p. Kwiatek grozi patrjotom polskim na Śląsku więzieniami!?!', *Do czynu* 1/4 (1928) 3.

[45] A. Mach, 'Moje wspomnienia... cz. 2', *Do czynu* 2/3 (1929) 1-4.

Opłata pocztowa uiszczona ryczałtem. | Cena pojedyńczego egzemplarza 30 groszy.

Rok 1. | Katowice, dniá 1-go listopada 1928 roku | Nr. 1.




**Organ Wojewódzkiego Komitetu Obywatelskiego**

*Wydawcy: Alojzy Mach i Leon Posłuszny imieniem Wojewódzkiego Komitetu Obywatelskiego* | *Pod redakcją Alojzego Macha*

Redaktor przyjmuje w środy, piątki i soboty od godziny 3 do 6 popołudniu. Rękopisów nie zwraca się. Przedruki artykułów dozwolone z podaniem źródła | Dwutygodnik | Pismo do nabycia we wszystkich kioskach, księgarniach polskich, w Katowicach zaś w szczególności w Księgarni Katolickiej, ulica św. Jana nr. 14.

Adres Redakcji i Administracji: Katowice, ul. Marszałka Piłsudskiego 58, telefon 13-30. — Prenumerata miesięczna gr. 60, kwartalna zł. 1.80, roczna zł. 7.20. Administracja czynna codziennie oprócz niedzieli i świąt od 10 do 13 i od 15 do 19.

Kupcy i rzemieślnicy, którzy życzą sobie, aby pewne sprawy były opublikowane, niechaj sami nie trudzą się pisaniem. W każdej chwili niech zadzwonią na numer telefonu 13-30. Redakcja wydeleguje swogo przedstawiciela. celem poczynienia stosownych notatek. Również celem wpisania tekstu do „Skorowidza firm chrześcijańskich.“

# W Imię Boże!

Z górą 6 lat mamy zmarnowanych za sobą. Żydostwo wschodnie — Bóg wie skąd — z terenów b. Kongresówki, Małopolski, a nawet Kresów Wschodnich, wdzierało się na Śląsk, nie spotykając tu na najmniejszy opór. Jeszcze przed 2 miesiącami zdawało się, że społeczeństwo polskie i nadal pozostanie bierne wobec tej zmory, która — uwijając się w chałatach od chaty chłopskiej do domku robotniczego — ubożyła systematycznie i celowo kupiectwo i rzemiosło polskie na Śląsku, zagrażając w najwyższym stopniu naszym interesom państwowym i narodowym.

I zebrało się najprzód kilku ludzi, potem kilkunastu i poczęło obmyślać środki zaradcze. Powstał z siedzibą w Katowicach *Wojewódzki Komitet Obywatelski dla obrony Górnego Śląska przed zalewem żydowskim.* Początkowo tylko 2 ludzi, niżej podpisany i p. red. Mach, zdecydowało się wystąpić nazewnątrz, reprezentować wśród światła dziennego dążności i cele Wojewódzkiego Komitetu i z otwartą przyłbicą stanąć w poprzek zachłanności żydostwa wschodniego wobec Ziemi Śląskiej. Ofiarnością kilku ludzi, a właściwie dzięki kredytom uzyskanym w Drukarni Katolickiej — jako pobudkę do czynu — wydaliśmy odezwę do ludu polskiego na Górnym Śląsku: „*Do Czynu! Górny Śląsk tonie w żydowskiej powodzi.*“ Dzięki różnym pomysłom i energji, odezwa ta dotarła do najmniejszych zakątków Górnego Śląska. Treść odezwy stała się tematem rozmów niemal w każdym polskim i katolickim domu, prezesi organizacyj polskich poczęli ją odczytywać na zebraniach i posiedzeniach.

Co zdziałała odezwa, najlepszym dowodem jest głos p. Bartkowiaka, urzędnika kolejowego, na posiedzeniu Powiatowego Komitetu Obywatelskiego w Rybniku, który w ożywionej dyskusji oświadczył: „*Panowie! Wy pojęcia nie macie, jakie wrażenie na nas, kolejarzy, zrobiła odezwa, gdy synek każdemu z nas ją doręczył. Niechaj te moje słowa zachęcą was do dalszej wytrwałej i nieustępliwej walki w obronie kupca, rzemieślnika, urzędnika i tych mas ludu polskiego na Górnym Śląsku.*“

Serce nam rosło wtedy, ale mieliśmy lęk, czy troski materjalne nie załamią rozpoczętej akcji, czy kupiectwo i rzemiosło polskie na Górnym Śląsku zdobędzie się na wysiłek zbiorowy i pewną ofiarność dla dobra swego, dla dobra dzieci naszych, Narodu, Polski i Śląska!

Jakże rosło serce nasze, gdy doszły nas wiadomości, że np. w powiecie Rybnickim na zebraniach towarzystw polskich zapadają uchwały, by na każdych drzwiach w domu chłopa, urzędnika i robotnika górnośląskiego znalazła się karta z napisem: „*Wstęp domokrążcom żydowskim wzbroniony!*“

I czy praca nasza miała skończyć się na odezwie, w dodatku niezapłaconej? Nie chcąc z wielu zrozumiałych względów posługiwać się listami składkowemi, ustaliliśmy na posiedzeniu Wojewódzkiego Komitetu Obywatelskiego wydać *Egzemplarze Pamiątkowe* odezwy, ponumerowane i posiadające ustaloną cenę. Te *Pamiątkowe Egzemplarze*, które powinny się znaleźć w domu każdego zamożniejszego kupca i rzemieślnika śląskiego, do dnia dzisiejszego znalazły zaledwie kilkunastu [illegible], co nie mogło pokryć ani małej cząstki tych wydatków i zobowiązań, jakie mamy do tej pory.

Reprezentantom Komitetu, tym jałmużnikom dla sprawy społecznej, niektórzy z pośród kupiectwa nawet zgotowali nad wyraz upokarzające przyjęcie. Nie mogę na tem miejscu nie napiętnować pewnego fabrykanta likierów z okolic ulicy Opolskiej i pewnego hotelarza z okolic ulicy Marjackiej. Pierwszemu nie dziwimy się, bo osobnik ten przez swoje małżeństwo jest spokrewniony z żydami, to też na coś innego zdobyć się nie mógł. Zresztą, gdybyśmy byli wiedzieli, że pan ten, uchodzący za patrjotę polskiego, ma teściów, szwagrów i t. d. żydów, wcalebyśmy go swoją osobą nie zaszczycali.

Dziwimy się natomiast hotelarzowi, który w wieku XX przyjął nas z takiemi manierami, jak kuchcik ze statku korsarskiego w wiekach średnich.

Inni znów nie skąpili nam „dobrych“ rad. Doradzali odwiedzić adwokatów, inżynierów, lekarzy — słowem wszystkich, tylko nie ich!

Na szczęście były to tylko wyjątki. Większość zrozumiała celowość akcji ze strony *Wojewódzkiego Komitetu Obywatelskiego dla obrony Górnego Śląska przed zalewem żydowskim.* Byli tacy, którzy osobiście zaofiarowali swój współudział w pracy i pomoc materjalną.

Nie upadając na duchu, po rozkolportowaniu odezwy, postanowiliśmy wystąpić z nowym czynem. Tym czynem wielkim, to pierwszy numer naszego dwutygodnika „Do Czynu!!!“ Bo tylko czynem możemy przeciwstawić się żydostwu i tylko wielkim czynem zbiorowym możemy uwolnić Śląsk od tej plagi, jaką jest napływowe żydostwo dla Śląska.

Pismo to jest organem *Wojewódzkiego Komitetu Obywatelskiego*, ale właścicielem jego jest całe polskie społeczeństwo na Śląsku! Bo tylko przez masowe zaprenumerowanie tego pisma, utrzyma się ono przy życiu i spełni swoje zadania. Niechaj tedy nie będzie Polaka na Śląsku, w którego domu nie byłoby „Do Czynu“! Niechaj nie będzie kupca i rzemieślnika polskiego, którego warsztatu pracy nie byłoby w „*Skorowidzu firm chrześcijańskich na Górnym Śląsku*“.

Pierwszy numer ukazuje się w objętości 4 str., następny numer powinien mieć najmniej 6 str.

*Do Czynu! W Imię Boże!*

*Leon Posłuszny,*
Prezes Wojew. Komitetu Obywatelskiego
dla obrony Górnego Śląska
przed zalewem żydowskim.

# Najkrótsza droga do zwalczenia żydowskiego handlu domokrążnego na G. Śląsku.

Handel domokrążny, — uprawiany na Górnym Śląsku przez chałaciarzy, przybywających z całej Polski — okazał się poprostu plagą, która niszczy nasz organizm gospodarczy, społeczny i państwowy, a może spowodować katastrofalne następstwa dla naszych interesów narodowych i państwowych w b. bliskiej przyszłości.

Robotnik, urzędnik i chłop górnośląski stają się ofiarami oszustw żydowskich, obdarzających lud nasz niesłychaną tandetą, kupiec i rzemieślnik polski — na Śląsku tak słaby i materjalnie i liczebnie — ubożeje z dniem każdym, **a Państwo i Naród ponoszą nieobliczalne straty.** To też czas najwyższy, aby całe społeczeństwo polskie oraz czynniki rządzące przystąpiły do wytępienia tej plagi, **do wyrwania jej z gruntu śląskiego z korzeniami.**

**Zbliża się listopad i grudzień.** W miesiącach tych Wojewódzki Sąd Administracyjny rozpatruje nowe wnioski w sprawie patentów wędrownych. To też nie wątpimy, że Woj. Sąd Administracyjny, stając w obronie interesów gospodarczych i narodowych polskiej ludności na Górnym Śląsku, nie **wyda ani jednego patentu wędrownego chałaciarzom, pochodzącym z innych dzielnic Polski, a urzędy skarbowe, wsparte energją władz policyjnych uporządkują stosunek domokrążców żydowskich do ich obowiązków względem Skarbu Państwa.**

Mamy bowiem do zanotowania fakta następujące: Istnieje w Katowicach przy ul. Św. Jana 8 np. firma tekstylna pod nazwą Hutterrer i Feld, żydków z Tarnowa, **utrzymująca wyłączne stosunki z chałaciarnią domokrążną.** Donoszą nam, że każdy chałaciarz, który nie otrzyma patentu wędrownego, zgłasza się do tych żydków tarnowskich. Żydki Hutterrer i Feld wydają owym chałaciarzom odpis swego świadectwa przemysłowego, potwierdzonego przez Magistrat, pełnomocnictwo do zbierania zamówień po pobraniu kaucji, zaopatrują ich w karty legitymacyjne dla podróżujących, na zasadzie czego wolno im zbierać zamówienia dla firmy.

Tymczasem zamiast czekać na zamówienia, Hutterrer i Feld wydają chałaciarzom towar i ci

**Kto otrzyma pierwszy numer „Do Czynu“ pocztą, niechaj zaraz sobie zamówi, bo następnego nie dostanie.**

Title page of the first issue of *Do czynu* daily (from the collection of the Jagiellonian Library in Krakow).

nation'[46]. Anti-Semitic journalists proved that the Talmud taught Jews' to hate Christianity. To substantiate this claim, with its first issue 'Błyskawica' started publishing prepared talmudic 'quotations', in an attempt to prove that the Talmud requires the Jewish people to treat Christians like dogs and carrion, to pray for the goys' annihilation, that it commands then to kill disobedient children, that the precepts referring to non-Jewish women are identical to commandments concerning non-kosher meat, etc.[47] It was this aspect of anti-Jewish propaganda, together with quotes from non-existent talmudic passages, that invoked the wrath of Silesian Jewish communities, caused requests for confiscation and subsequent court trials that resulted in the total collapse of 'Błyskawica'. In his Easter appeal, Józef Jaxa Chamiec called for a boycott of Jewish shops, as Jewish goods would profane the Easter table: 'Do you know that the closer you are to a Jew, the farther you stray from God! [...] Don't you dare have any consecrated Easter food bought at Jewish shops on your table! Whoever buys at Jewish shops is not worthy to be called a Christian, nor to be called a Pole!'[48]

Although they were delivered in a more skilful manner, the religious arguments quoted in 'Do czynu!' were very similar. According to Mach, 'the festival of Rejoicing of the Law is so zealously celebrated by Jews only because the law lets them commit every lawless act towards the unchosen nations.'[49] Quoting Niemojewski and the Rev. Kruszyński he also proved that the Talmud – 'that veritable Thieves' Code' commanded them to rob Christians (particularly in house-to-house trade), seemingly allowed them to accept the Christian faith and Christian names in order to cheat goys, and placed a curse on Jews who bought anything from Christians, etc. Jews, even when cheating in trade, did so not because of their thirst for profit, but because of their religious hatred for Christianity. That is why Marks invented socialism – to destroy Christianity. A Jew, 'when trying to undermine the existence of a state, or when spreading demoralisation is nearly always driven by religious motives which are aimed at bringing decay into Christian living; the struggles for which he considers to be a form of moral perfection'[50]. The Jewish religion taught its followers ritual cruelty. Bolshevik murders, identified with

---

[46] Polak, 'Poznajmy nasze mniejszości narodowe', *Warta* 2/1-2 (1934) 3. See also: 'Psychologia katów czerezwyczajki', *Do czynu* 2/14 (1929) 1-3: "Hatred is the principal element of the Jewish soul".

[47] *Błyskawica* 1/6 (1933) 5; 2/1 (1934) 5; 'Religijne księgi żydowskie winny uledz [sic] konfiskacie', *Błyskawica* 1/3 (1933) 3; 'Żydzi a kobiety chrześcijańskie', Ibid. 1/4 (1933) 4.

[48] 'Rodacy!', *Błyskawica* 2/12 (1934) 2.

[49] 'Pan Ojwaj-man w roli generalnego dyrektora na Śląsku. Nowela', *Do czynu* 1/3 (1928) 2.

[50] A. Mach, 'Godny następca spuścizny księdza Wawrzyniaka na Śląsku', *Do czynu* 3/41 (1930) 1-2; 'Drugi wielki wiec protestacyjny w Król. Hucie przeciwko gromadnemu najazdowi żydowskiemu na Ziemie Śląska', Ibid. 2/8 (1929) 1-3; 'Najeźdźcy żydowscy w zawodzie lekarskim na Śląsku! Akademicy! W nasze szeregi!', Ibid. 2/13 (1929) 1.

Jewish crimes, provided numerous examples of this. A series of articles devoted to the subject appeared in 'Do czynu!' together with the speeches of Leśnobrodzki, a former tsar's general, and at the time the articles appeared, a Catholic priest[51]. As Mach stated, one can also find numerous examples of other acts of religious aggression committed by Jews against the Catholic Church: in the Soviet Union Catholics were forbidden to attend church services, Catholic priests were persecuted (but nothing was mentioned about Russian Orthodoxy), and in Poland – especially in Silesia, where the struggle was most intense – the Protestant churches and sects were supported. During the Lent balls were organised to provoke Catholics, religious symbols were profaned, churches raided, in schools views opposing the Catholic Church's dogmas and questioning its authority were propagated. They taught, among other things, that human beings descend from apes, or that some African tribes accepted Catholicism, as 'the Catholic faith is pompous, and its terms appeal to the Negroes in the strongest manner'[52].

Religious reasoning was quite confused in some of the above-mentioned papers, as frequently it was connected with the Jewish plan to conquer the world, which sometimes was presented as being the result of the Mosaic religion (Jews endeavour to rule the world because their religion tells them to do so), and sometimes Judaism is a mere tool to attain that goal, a type of secret statute forming part of the Jewish conspiracy. Similarly, their alleged hatred for Christianity was attributed to pure fury and religious fanaticism, and sometimes it stemmed from the fact that Catholicism and the Catholic morality stood in the way of the Jewish quest to conquer the world. It appeared, however, that none of these inconsistencies concerned the authors. The editor of 'Narodowiec' simply identified both factors: 'A Jew is a devil, a tempter, who wants to subjugate you in the same way he subjugated the Russian nation. Polish worker! – Do not believe a Jew. Remember that he is an enemy of the Polish nation and the church'[53].

---

[51] A. Mach, 'Rytualne okrucieństwa Dory Kapłan. Według opowiadań Ks. Leśnobrodzkiego', *Do czynu* 2/15 (1929) 1-2; id., 'Podobny los spotkał 1279 kapłanów. Według opowiadań ks. Leśnobrodzkiego', Ibid. 2/16 (1929) 1-2; id., 'Inne okrucieństwa Salo Blumenfelda. Według opowiadań ks. Leśnobrodzkiego', Ibid. 2/18 (1929) 1.

[52] A. Mach, 'Czyby p. Bander pochodził od... małpy?', *Do czynu* 3/37 (1930) 2; 'Antykatolicka propaganda w miejskim gimnazjum żeńskim w Król. Hucie, szerzona przez żyda Bandera, truciciela młodych dusz i serc dziewczęcych! Pod groźbą ekskomuniki zjazd Duchowieństwa śląskiego zabronił kupowania u żydów! List pasterski papieża "dla tem skuteczniejszego poskromienia żydowskich nadużyć"! Głos biskupa chełmskiego: Kto kupuje u żydów, podlega grzechowi śmiertelnemu, który rozgrzeszyć może tylko biskup! Wielki wstyd dla p. Spaltensteina, odpowiedzialnego burmistrza Król. Huty!', Ibid. 2/23 (1929) 1-2; See also: 'Splugawienie Krzyża przez żydów w Delatynie', Ibid. 2/10 (1929) 1; 'Żydostwo walczyć z religią nie przestaje!', Ibid. 2/11 (1929) 3; 'W bóżnicy katowickiej nawołują do bojkotu firm chrześcijańskich!?!', Ibid. 3/33 (1930) 2.

[53] 'Robotniku polski!', *Narodowiec* 1/1 (1937) 5.

The Jewish plan of conquering the world and the means thereof occupied the minds of authors of the anti-Semitic press to a considerable degree, and that great Machiavellian plan was described in detail in all the referred periodicals. Here is Józef Jaxa Chamiec's version:

> The symbolic viper of pan-Judaism attempted to gird the world, tighter and tighter every day. The conspirators were triumphant... everything was going according to plan and the words of the 3rd Protocol were coming into force: 'Today we can inform you that the achievement of our goal is just a few steps away! We need only to cover a little distance for the entire road we have made to be held tightly in the circle of the symbolic viper that represents our nation. When that circle is closed, all states will be grasped, as though by powerful pincers". Indeed... According to the advice of the Jewish fortune-tellers and prophecies, dating back as far as two thousand years, that plan was slowly being fulfilled. The First Stage fell on 429 BC in Greece, where, in the days of Pericles – the viper of pan-Judaism started to gnaw at Greece... and it destroyed its power. The Second Stage – Rome in the days of Emperor August, shortly before the birth of Christ the Lord. Here Jews completed their mission and Rome collapsed. The Third Stage – Madrid in the time of Charles V (1552). The Fourth Stage – Paris in 1700, in the reign of Louis XIV. The Fifth Stage – London, from 1814, after the defeat of Napoleon. The Sixth Stage – Berlin, 1871, after the war between Germany and France. The Seventh Stage – Petersburg, from 1881, where Jews achieved their aims. And the Eighth Stage – From the East the symbolic viper of pan-Judaism creeps into Warsaw and already... already... it started to suffocate Poland... while... Mussolini in Italy and Hitler in Germany broke that symbolic ring. A breath of fresh air blew all around the world and the Christian world breathed a sigh of relief. It was from the Eternal City, from Rome, that the prophet of national ideology started proclaiming to the entire world: the secular ideology of fascism! 'Outrage! We're bankrupts!' Jews cry out and they see... that their conspiracy has been uncovered! They have the war! The viper of pan-Judaism shrinks away and retreats. May it be for ever! This depends upon the intellect of Christian nations![54]

Other periodicals expressed this in quite a similar manner, and all fascist papers took credit for the loosening of 'the great spider's pincers squeezing the world'[55]. Until this stage, Jews had managed to entirely conquer Russia and Spain. With information concerning plans to rule the world, we often can find a statement that the world is being ruled by the 300 richest Jews with Eduard Rotschild from Paris as a leader. That Jewish super-government is said to consist mainly of German Jews, so it is clear that the German nation, in trying to defend itself, had to get

[54] 'Żmija panjudaizmu', *Błyskawica* 2/3 (1934) 3.

[55] 'Wynurzenia Nahuma Sokołowa', *Polska Błyskawica* 1/2 (1933) 1.

rid of the Jewish yoke. The struggle of fascism against 'the Jewish pestilence' was presented as a cosmic war of good against evil, and behind the censor's ban on writing inciting to violence, bloody inferences were evident.

One can read that the range of means employed by Jews in order to conquer the world – particularly in Poland and Silesia – was really impressive: among other things there was sport, which 'makes thinking obsolete'; democracy ('demo-Judeocratic Seymocratics'); the German-Jewish alliance; weakening the physical core of the nation or weakening its moral foundations, with references to economic dominance and the struggle against religion in pride of place. The principal means of conquering the world was Freemasonry, presented in accordance with an established formula setting out the Jewish conspiracy against Christian church and nations. As examples of Jewish Masonic lodges Alliance Israelite Universelle and B'nei Brith, particularly the lodge Michael Sachs from Królewska Huta were mentioned: 'You are Jews from the lodge of Michael Sachs, Satan's organisation, the forge of treason for our nation; for European culture you are like the bands of Atilla, Tamburlaine and Genghis-Khan' featured most frequently[56].

Another Jewish tool was Communism and other subversive revolutionary movements. This very popular motive was commonly present in all the centrist and rightist papers from the interwar period, as well as in serious organs of the political press. But the *par excellence* anti-Semitic periodicals outdid them in the strength of their expression and frequency of references. Communism was not only used by Jews to conquer the world, but they invented it, and it was an indication of the perfidy of their souls. 'It is generally known that bolshevism and Bolshevia are the creatures of Jewish genius. The perplexed Russian nation, instead of achieving paradise on earth – as it was promised – was subjugated by the dreadful yoke of Jewish slavery'[57]. Almost all people were the agents of Jewish communist propaganda: house-to-house traders, all the Polish Socialist Party, Jewish political parties, and even kahals (Jewish Communities), which acted as communist branches. All the leftist groups liquidated by the police were purely Jewish. Jews increased unemployment artificially to increase social discontent, and to draw the disorientated Polish people into the communist web. In the Soviet Union, Jews put their own people in all the positions of power, in the secret service and almost all offices (83%): 'Surely, you Jews cannot deny your contacts with communism'[58].

Yet another means of controlling the world was to take over real estate. By means of economic expansion Jews could seize more and more of the nation's land and subjugate Christians, by bribery they could obtain the best business premises and flats. In 3 Maja Street, as well as in Mariacka, Młyńska, Stawowa and other

---

[56] 'Jaczejka "Alliance Israelite Universelle" w Król. Hucie!?!', *Do czynu* 2/1 (1929) 4-5. See also: 'Kardynał Książę Biskup Puzyna a kwestia żydowska', *Do czynu* 2/1 (1929) 1-3; 'Szczegółowe informacje o masonach w Król. Hucie!', Ibid. 2/5 (1929) 4; 'Przybudówki kryptomasonskie', *Kuźnica* 4/5 (1938) 6.

[57] *Do czynu* 2/5 (1929) 5.

[58] 'Komuniści a żydzi', *Błyskawica* 1/6 (1933) 5.

streets in Katowice, no more than 1-2 residential buildings belonged to Poles (again Mach's favourite motive). The situation was the same in Królewska Huta. In some neighbourhoods, e.g., in Eastern Małopolska and in Silesia, Jews purchased large estates. In Bohemia, Rotschild himself owned a quarter of all real estate. Hungarian Jewry controlled a third of the entire country. In Galicia 35% of the land belonged to Jews, and another 35% was leased by them. According to anti-Semitic political commentators, the increase in Jewish ownership in Poland was so great, that they dared to say, "Here, we have health resorts for Jews, and nothing but cemeteries for the goys!'[59]

The last of Jew's weapons in their struggle for control of the world was the press. The well-known accusation of Jews having too great an influence on the press was commonly made by the above-mentioned anti-Semitic periodicals as a convenient argument in press polemics. The editors of 'Narodowiec', 'Kuźnica', 'Front Polski Zbudzonej', and particularly 'Do czynu!' stated that all press attacks came from the 'Jewish-infected' press and thus did not merit an answer: 'For a Polish enemy of Jews, Jewish calumnies are scars of honour!'[60] The editor of 'Błyskawica' was delighted at the de-Judaisation of the press during the Third Reich. Other political commentators also agreed that it was necessary to destroy the alleged Jewish domination of the press. According to Mach, the eleventh commandment of the Mosaic religion was: 'Thou shalt not tolerate any alien press over you, so that thou mayest rule long over goys'[61] and even if Jews were not yet the owners of all newspapers, they would have no difficulty using their money to break into them. No wonder, then, they attempted violent attacks aimed at disinformation, and which for some time had been particularly frequently directed against Poland.

In the conspiracy theory concerning the Jewish plan for conquering the world it was the Polish Commonwealth that played an eminent role. Poland was the target for Jewish attacks for two reasons: firstly, for centuries it had stood in the way of their desire to conquer the world, and because faith had thwarted their plans; secondly, Jews had an unfounded hatred for whatever was Polish. While Poles shed their blood, Jews schemed with the invaders, served as spies and traitors. Despite their pro-Polish declarations they ran a hostile campaign in the press, they opposed Poland's independence, struggled for treaty resolutions that were disadvantageous to Poland, questioned Poland's sovereignty, and during the war with Soviet Russia they would desert and join the enemy forces. They had always demanded special privileges, and in everyday life they resorted to small anti-Polish provocations: Altmann, the chairman of the Jewish community in Katowice, did not want to rent his flat to a Pole; the Jew Szlamkowicz would spit at the shop-window belonging to Borzek, a Pole, and he called him 'a Polish pig'; the Flussmans' maid was beaten up and shed blood and was imprisoned when she wanted to

[59] '«Dla nas uzdrowiska – dla was cmentarzyska»', *Do czynu* 1/2 (1928) 2.

[60] A. Mach, 'Żyd ubliżyć mi nie może!', *Do czynu* 2/9 (1929) 1-2.

[61] 'Kardynał Książę Biskup Puzyna a kwestia żydowska', *Do czynu* 2/1 (1929) 1-3.

go to church. The Jew Norman shot a Pole named Wanat in Bielsko (this incident resulted in the riots in Bielsko in September 1937). In the most obvious way Jews showed their disdain towards Polish peasants and Poland when they created a pogrom in Przytyk[62].

It was the province of Silesia where anti-Polish demonstrations by Jews were worst, according to Upper-Silesian political commentators. The Jewish deluge of Silesia was one of the favourite subjects of that press and was given a specific, local form. A lot of the above-mentioned accusations were illustrated by examples taken from Silesia, and Mach, Jaxa Chamiec, Targ and others tried to convince their readers that, having conquered eastern and central Poland, Jews had attacked Silesia – their next target. Thus the defence of Silesia assumed a broader, all-Poland, even universal significance. In those reports, Silesia was presented as the arena of a deadly clash between the cosmic powers of evil (i.e. Jews) and good (i.e. Polish anti-Semites). This struggle, then, assumed religious characteristics.

The 'Jewish stormy offensive' began in 1922, after Poland took over control of the lands of Silesia. Before that, 'Polish people in Silesia did not know a true Jew nor his real face...no one would speak of that dreadful danger which would threaten the Silesian Land in the form of the Jewish onslaught. Silesian people saw a handful of Jews in Silesia, who did not significantly differ from the Prussian invader in respect of appearance, lifestyle, or any other matter'[63]. Taking advantage of the lack of experience of the Silesian people and their inborn goodness, Jews launched a violent attack on Silesia, and in a few years' time they gained control over trade and crafts in many towns of Upper Silesia. They were assisted in their intentions by the weakness of Polish merchants, who were unable to take immediate possession of trade posts abandoned by Germans in 1922. As a result, Jews conquered 100% of wholesale trade and many other areas[64], including the criminal demi-monde, prostitution and the white slave trade. At the time, Jews bought up property thus consolidating their ownership, and thus changing Silesia into Judeo-Silesia'[65] and changing Katowice into Żydowice (Pol. Żyd – a Jew)[66]. Jews particularly deluged such big towns as Królewska Huta and Katowice. According to different reports by anti-Semitic papers, the Jewish population in the Voivodship of Silesia amounted to 50,000 or even 100,000 inhabitants, and still 'the four million members of their talmudic army' were being displaced from Będzin, Sosnowiec or Chrzanów to Upper-Silesian towns and villages. Mach even stated that apart from Buczacz in Galicia, Królewska Huta was the most Jewish-infected town

---

[62] See e.g.: Ten co zawsze, 'Rykoszetem. O barwach śląskich i niewinnych barankach żydowskich oraz co o nich napisał Pana Ligoniowy przyjaciel', *Front Polski Zbudzonej* 5/8 (1937) 6-7.

[63] *Do czynu! Górny Śląsk tonie w żydowskiej powodzi!* (Katowice, 1928) 3.

[64] *Handel i rzemioslo na Śląsku musi być polskie* (Katowice, [1931]) 1-2.

[65] 'Drugi wielki wiec protestacyjny w Król. Hucie przeciwko gromadnemu najazdowi żydowskiemu na Ziemie Śląska', *Do czynu* 2/8 (1929) 1-3.

[66] 'Katowice czy Żydowice', *Narodowiec* 1/1 (1937) 3.

in Poland. Official statistics, placing the number at 18,942 Jews in the entire Voivodship of Silesia[67] were unconvincing for anti-Semites, as they maintained that many Jews merely disguised themselves as converts bearing Polish names.

It seems that such a large number of reports concerning the Jewish thread to Silesia resulted from well-recognised public opinion, which was generally ill-disposed towards Jewish immigrants. Silesian people did not like the German language (i.e. Yiddish), nor the exotic clothes of the strangers, but it was primarily their activity in trade which made them very strongly competitive in relation to Christian merchants and craftsmen. Anti-Semitic papers quoted numerous resolutions passed by Silesian organisations that opposed the influx of Jews to Silesia as well as their business activity. Among these protesting, the following were mentioned: the National Economic Action in Silesia (Narodowa Akcja Gospodarcza na Śląsku), the Polish Western Union in Katowice (Polski Związek Zachodni w Katowicach), the Katowice branch of the Central Union of Young Villagers (Centralny Związek Młodej Wsi), the Union of Silesian Insurgents (Związek Powstańców Śląskich), the Central Union of Upper-Silesian Academicians (Centralny Związek Akademików Górnoślązaków), the Union of Wielkopolska Insurgents (Związek Uczestników Powstań Wielkopolskich), the Christian Union of Upper Silesian Polish Independent Merchants (Chrześcijański Związek Samodzielnych Kupców Polskich Górnego Śląska), National Organisation of Women (Narodowa Organizacja Kobiet), the Silesian branch of the Association of the Participants of the Independence Movement 'Embers' (Stowarzyszenie Uczestników Ruchu Niepodległościowego 'Zarzewie'), the Union of Polish Restaurateurs, Café Owners and Hotel Owners of the Voivodship of Silesia (Związek Polskich Restauratorów, Właścicieli Kawiarni i Hoteli województwa śląskiego), the Hallerite Movement (Związek Hallerczyków), the Association of Catholic Husbands (Stowarzyszenie Mężów Katolickich), the Society of College Teachers (Towarzystwo Nauczycieli Szkół Wyższych), and obviously, both of Mach's organisations: the Voivodship Citizen Committee for the Protection of Upper Silesia from the Jewish Deluge (Wojewódzki Komitet Obywatelski dla Obrony Górnego Śląska przed zalewem żydowskim), and the Silesian Union of Social Self-Defence 'Action' (Śląski Związek Samoobrony Społecznej "Do czynu"), and all fascist parties and organisations.

It is interesting that anti-Semitic journalists repeatedly placed strong emphasis on the fact that their aversion was primarily directed at the Orthodox immigrants from the east and not at well-mannered Jews, many generations of who had dwelled in Silesia and had assimilated with the German culture. It seem even more strange and illogical that the majority of anti-Semitic papers in Upper Silesia man-

[67] According to the census of 1931. See *Statystyka Polski*, Seria C, Zeszyt 54: *Drugi powszechny spis ludności w dn. 9.XII 1931 r. Mieszkania i gospodarstwa domowe. Ludność. Stosunki zawodowe. Województwo śląskie*, Warsaw 1937, p. 26-7; *Śląskie Wiadomości Statystyczne. Miesięcznik wydawany przez Śląskie Biuro Statystyczne przy Śląskiej Radzie Wojewódzkiej* 3/2 (1936) 34-7; 4/2 (1937) 36-40.

aged to combine their aversion to Jews with anti-German feelings in a rather skilful manner, by pointing to the alleged age-long alliance between the two nations. 'Only the blind cannot see the alliance between the Jewish and Germans in Silesia', 'a Jew and a German... two brothers!', 'Germany does not have more faithful sons than us – Jews'[68]. Jews participated in elections together with Germans, voted for German electoral candidates as opposed to Polish ones, and in Katowice they made a coalition with Germans in the city council, campaigned for the Germans, financially supported the German press in Silesia, co-operated with German industry, and Jews and Germans together cheated the Polish treasury: 'Why should 'Polish Jews' boast that they come to Silesia to work for Poland, when we know that they come to make 'geschefts' [deals]; that they make deals with Germans only and are delighted to speak German when doing so'[69]. Jews deliberately germanised the Silesian people, by using 'the corrupted Gypsy-German speech', which constitutes the Jewish language, in contacts with Polish labourers or peasants[70]. The latter argument in particular was raised frequently as use of 'this deformed German speech' was seen to thwart any campaign for the propagation of the Polish language and culture by Polish organisations in Silesia. Even anti-German manifestations by Jews, which took place during the hitlerite persecutions, were interpreted by the anti-Semitic press in terms of thwarted love. Likewise, Jewish appeals for a Polish-Jewish coalition to boycott German goods were perceived as mere attempts to have Poles settle Jewish deals. Besides, the anti-Semitic papers continuously reported secret agreements between Germans and Jews, the negotiation attempts made by the Berlin rabbinate, and secret agreements between Jews and Germans. One famous example of such accusations was the alleged promise Jews made to Hitler; that in return for his ceasing to persecute Jews in Germany they would give him Polish Pomerania[71]. That information caused a very vehement reaction on the part of the Mosaic community in Katowice, whose efforts led to the confiscation of 'Błyskawica', the publisher of that article. Similar slanders continued, but after 1935 the censorship no longer reacted to such articles.

The above-discussed picture of the Jewish apocalyptic threat induced anti-Semitic political commentators seeking new methods for 'the final solution to the Jewish Question'. In the fascist papers referred to and in Alojzy Mach's bi-weekly triumphant optimism was the dominant feature. Both fascists and Mach stated that the rise of their movement heralded the end of Jewish expansion and the beginning of a glorious, new age. In a short story printed in 'Do czynu!' we can read about an

---

[68] A. Mach, 'Jak w bajce «Z tysiąca i jednej nocy»', *Do czynu* 2/22 (1929) 1-3; A. Mach, 'Germania nie ma wierniejszych synów niż my, żydzi', Ibid. 3/28 (1930) 1.

[69] See '«Żydostwo śląskie»', *Polska Zachodnia* 3/253 (1928) 3. See also polemics: 'Żydostwo śląskie a «Polska Zachodnia»', *Przegląd Śląski* 1/2 (1928) 2.

[70] For the languages spoken by Upper Silesian Jews and polemics on the subject, see M. Wodziński, 'Ideologia i język. Językowe wybory górnośląskich Żydów w XX wieku' *Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny Sobótka* 55/3 (2000) 407-425.

[71] S. Niebudek, 'Zmieniające się czasy', *Błyskawica* 1/1 (1933) 2-3.

old good nobleman who was 'intrigued by a beautiful, fascinating picture in 'Action'... Reading the first page, he sighed with relief and uttered: 'At last, the sun has begun to rise in Silesia!... The brave Silesian people have begun to awaken from their lethargy!'[72] Similarly, according to 'Błyskawica', the rise of fascism forced 'the viper of Judaism' to retreat, and 'Front Polski Zbudzonej' openly called itself a dawn of liberation.

It is interesting that the first and most important of Silesian anti-Semitic papers, 'Do czynu!', had never come forward with any programme proposing a solution to the 'Jewish question'. Mach's postulates were confined to ousting Jews from the Voivodship of Silesia, and he was not concerned about the situation in other provinces. Hints that in a few years' time, the Silesians, having managed to expel all Jews from their province, would be able to help the people of Małopolska and other Poles in driving out Jewry from the Republic of Poland, 'e.g., to Palestine' appeared only marginally. The basic means Mach sought to use to attain that goal was total economic, social and cultural isolation of the Jewish people on the basis that most often it was the merchants and craftsmen who did not have the required licences. Mach also postulated a massive police action as well as severe administrative repression. First of all, all goods belonging to illegal Jewish traders were to be confiscated and they were to have been expelled from the Voivodship of Silesia with no right of return. The relevant offices were to grant Jews no trade nor craftsmanship concessions within the province, and the town administrations were not to allot them any accommodation or business premises. To support the economic boycott of Jewish firms 'Do czynu!' published registers of those companies, and it published an 'Index of Christian Firms'. According to Mach, the boycott campaign had to be backed simultaneously by propaganda to enlighten the people of Silesia. Leaflets, magazines, exhibitions of Polish goods had to show that Polish products were actually cheaper and better than Jewish ones, that Jews often cheated on weight, and their products were second-rate. At the same time, 'Do czynu!' published 'rebukes' addressed to Polish firms and physical persons co-operating with Jewish businesses, or even buying at the Jewish shops. The paper promised a payment of 50 zl. for a photo of every Polish woman entering a Jewish shop. Mach took full credit for the campaign to inform about the Jewish threat and attempted to call himself the chief arbitrator. At the time of the municipal elections in 1929, he stated that the political parties opposing with the Jewish deluge of Silesia would be granted a 'morality certificate' issued by him personally and that they could apply to him for one. This was a clear attempt – even if a failed one – to gain some control over the political scene in Silesia.

Physical violence played an important role in the policy of both the paper and the organisation 'Do czynu!'. Although it is impossible to find any out-and-out call for a pogrom or for beating up Jews either in 'Do czynu!' or any other anti-Semitic

[72] [A. Mach,] 'Z winy drukarza. Nowela', *Do czynu* 1/1-2 (1928).

papers, that can only be attributed to severe censorship[73]. That does not mean that radical slogans were unknown to them. From the late 1920s on, ever more out and out threats aimed at the Jewish people could be perceived. Mach repeatedly boasted of assaults, by himself or his followers, on various Jews from Katowice, and, for example, he reported on his fight against a Jewish newsagent from 'Kattowitzer Zeitung' or on the eviction of the curtain warehouse mentioned previously. He frequently made obvious hints calling for violence, he openly favoured pogroms and anti-Jewish riots. He described and fully approved of a robbery committed by one of his followers on a Jewish tailor; he advised that Jews be driven out of Katowice's streets by means of rods or ice-axes, he was delighted at police persecutions against the orthodox Jewish people. According to him, the students rioting in Lwów in 1929 had a full right to 'self-defence'[74]. It was with great amusement and approval that he described the assault of Rybnik's anti-Semites on Jewish market stalls. The latter report was very typical of his reports supporting violence, where the absurdity of the situation was so marked that the reader could have no doubts whatsoever that the incidents were of a different nature. According to Mach, Jews came to a fair in Rybnik December 9 and wanted to put up their stalls as early as the evening, but they did not obtain consent from the police as the fair was to begin on December 10 at 8.00 a.m., and last till 4.00 p.m. In compliance with a police regulation the railway began to issue the transported goods to the Jewish visitors as late as at 8.00 a.m. the next day, so the Jewish merchants were only able to have their goods laid out on display by 10.00 a.m., whereas the Christian booths had already been set up at the most convenient spots. In the afternoon, drunken farm youths surrounded the Jewish stalls and called for a boycott. The police did not intervene. When eventually the youths started fighting, they managed to upset a dozen or so stalls with Jewish goods. 'The footwear got scattered all over the place, and the crowd started to match pairs and run away with them. When the Jews stopped scuffling with the drunken youths, their footwear was scattered all over Rybnik. Of course, the police did intervene vigorously, but by the time they got to the place there was not a soul there. On this occasion they wrote an official report against the Jews, because they were aware that the merchants at the market had not obeyed local regulations.' In another place, a few youths tipped over a Jewish glass and porcelain booth, and when the police arrived they wrote a report blaming the Jewish merchant, as it was already after 4.00 p.m.[75]

---

[73] The editor of *Błyskawica* claimed: 'We, National socialists, are very careful to avoid calling for a boycott of Jewish merchants, so that we should not run a risk of confiscation. With great care do we avoid any radical slogans so that we should not be accused of inciting people to riot. – See 'Religijne księgi żydowskie winny uledz [sic] konfiskacie', *Błyskawica* 1/3 (1933) 3.

[74] A. Mach, 'Katolicka młodzież lwowska stanęła w obronie tylko tej wiary, którą wyssała z mlekiem swych prawowiernych matek!', *Do czynu* 2/12 (1929) 1-2.

[75] *Do czynu* 3/24 (1930) 2.

Similar, openly absurd descriptions of innocent Polish anti-Semites, who 'by chance' had beaten up a Jew or who had had to defend themselves from an unprovoked act of Jewish aggression can be found in other papers, too. The tone of approval for violence harmonised with threats, which were particularly frequent in fascist periodicals, especially in 'Błyskawica'.

'Błyskawica's' and the National-Socialist Worker's Party's solution to the 'Jewish Question' was as simple as their overall policy: 'We regard all Jews, Jewesses and Jewlings as Palestine's citizens and give free foreign passports to them. But those Jews who would like to stay in Poland – let them stay but let them buy special cards for every year that they linger in our country. Such a card would have to cost a few hundred złoty. Jews, as harmful foreigners, would not be able to assume any important social or government positions. Jews would not be liable to military service, but the Jewish Community would have to pay 1,000 złoty for each conscript to the treasury for the fund for fighting 'poisonous gases'. Real estate taxes for the right to run trade and industrial plants, as well as workshops, should be 5 times as high for Jews as those paid by Christians. A civil servant, unlawfully assisting Jews in their swindles will be punished in a court martial by capital punishment'[76]. The ultimate solution would have been the total and immediate expulsion of Jews from Poland, but because of national disunity at the time, it was impossible, so in the interim, the idea was to create such conditions as to force the Jewish people to leave the Republic of Poland on their own volition. Jews had to be isolated from Polish society, their economic foundations destroyed, their trade and craftsmanship taken from them, and Poles had to be separated from the poisonous influences of Jewish culture. A good example to follow was that of Hitler's Germany. The editors of 'Błyskawica' presented their policy as being free of any hatred for Jews: 'Far be it from us, members of the National-Socialist Worker's Party, to feel any hatred. Moreover, we like and respect part of the Chosen Nation, namely those Jews... who emigrated from Poland and settled in Palestine'[77]. At the same time, the authors of 'Błyskawica' felt affinity for the anti-Jewish actions conducted by the Arabs in Palestine, and thus they proved the psychical and racial inferiority of Jews. Similar inconsistencies characterise the authors of 'Front Polski Zbudzonej', 'Narodowiec', 'Warta', 'Polska Błyskawica', 'Do czynu!' and even the much more serious 'Kuźnica'. All those papers, seemingly supportive of Jewish emigration to Palestine, unequivocally favoured the Arabs in their struggle against the Jews. In my opinion, it is a clear proof of the instrumental character of a ritual hatred for Jews. It illustrates that anti-Semitic extremes were more a form of struggle for a place on the broadly based political scene than an attempt to find a solution – or at least name the real social problems of interwar Poland.

The opinions of nearly all the other fascist papers were very similar to views of 'Błyskawica'. None of them were able to work out an original programme for

[76] Józek [Jaxa Chamiec], 'Dookoła naszego programu', *Błyskawica* 2/1 (1934) 1-2.
[77] 'Czy my istotnie jesteśmy wrogami żydów?', *Błyskawica* 2/6 (1934) 3.

the 'Jewish Question', so they merely repeated all those popular slogans of the rightist parties, simply adding clarifications to them. The editor of 'Warta' held that 'there is only one way to avoid a collapse: complete separation from Jewish influences, which is to ask them to leave our country. If there is anyone we want to expel from Poland, it is primarily the Jews. It would be best to make each and every one of them leave Poland. We can do it in good conscience. Jews are a nomadic people, who do not put down roots in any place, and who can be plucked out in a painless manner'[78]. 'Polska Błyskawica' called for a solution of the 'Jewish Question' on the international arena, as the Jewish conspiracy was a universal threat, not only for Poland. All Jews were to be immediately resettled in Palestine, and this was to be done as soon as possible, as 'further approval of the present status quo, especially in Poland, can be disadvantageous, particularly for Jews themselves, as society might be forced to defend itself by all accessible means.'[79] We can only speculate that those 'accessible means' included physical violence, as well. Polish society was to help Jews make up their mind, on the one hand by supporting Zionist organisations and on the other by totally boycotting Jewish trade and crafts. Relatively speaking, the most moderate paper, 'Front Polski Zbudzonej' frequently adopted a tone of concern and pointing to the fiasco of Poland's colonial plans due to the financial crisis, called for new methods to be found to 'make the Jewish people emigrate'. Józef Kowal-Lipiński stated that Jews should not be beaten up or persecuted: 'we just demand them to leave Poland as soon as possible'[80]. The ideological declaration of his New Poland devoted a lot of effort to the 'Jewish Question', underlining the need for special legislation, which could isolate Jews so that they could not have any influence on Polish cultural and economic life: 'In relation to race, nation, and morality Jews constitute foreign matter in the Polish Nation. The Jewish Question is a problem both of economy and morality. The effective fight with Jewry is a fight for the nation's bright future. The Nation aiming at unity must get rid of Jewry or reduce their number to such a minimum so that they cannot play any role in the Nation's life whatsoever. To attain this aim we should make Poland's life more dynamic and create legislation that allows us, as soon as possible, to get rid of any Jewish influence on culture and economy; however, this should be done without any undertone of racial or religious hatred, which is incompatible with Christianity, with the spirit of our Nation and the spirit of mankind'[81].

---

[78] Polak, 'Poznajmy nasze mniejszości narodowe', *Warta* 2/1-2 (1934) 3.

[79] 'Rezolucja Partii Narodowych Socjalistów uchwalona w dniu 17.XI.33 na posiedzeniu Obwodowego Zarządu PNS na Śląsk i Zagłębie Dąbrowskie w Katowicach', *Polska Błyskawica* 1/2 (1933) 3.

[80] 'Nasze stanowisko wobec żydów', *Front Polski Zbudzonej* 5/2 (1937) 6; 'Żydzi a emigracja', *Front Polski Zbudzonej* 5/2 (1937) 3-4.

[81] 'Ideologia "Nowej Polski". Deklaracja ideowa działaczy grupujących się koło "Frontu Polski Zbudzonej", ułożona przez Józefa Kowala-Lipińskiego, twórcy R.R.U. i prezesa

The strongest version of the Jewish programme was formulated by 'Narodowiec', which constantly called for compulsory emigration of Jews to Madagascar, the only alternative to 'voluntary' emigration could be their expulsion: 'Jews must emigrate to Madagascar! And if they do not want to, we will help them'[82]. The programme article published in the first issue reads as follows: 'Jewry understand that the fight that is going on now is a fight to the death, that the result of that struggle will be decisive not only for the maintenance of Jewish influence in Poland, but its outcome will also determine whether Jewry survives in Poland or is annihilated'[83]. The Holocaust added too literal a point to these words.

Probably the programmes discussed in 'Kuźnica' are the most interesting, as the paper attempted to attribute to them the essence of serious studies. I have already mentioned the co-operative scheme forwarded by Andrzej Michna. That idea was criticised as being pessimistic by the authors of 'Kuźnica', as Michna's plan assumed that the Jewish people would stay in Poland. Subsequent articles published in 'Kuźnica' defined the 'Jewish Question' in a stronger manner. For example Edward Handke[84] believed that it was impossible to immediately expel all the Jewish people from Poland both because of their number and their economic significance. Emigration would have to take 20-30 years, based on the optimistic assumption that more than 100,000 people would leave the country every year. It was not seen as desirable to force people into emigration (by means of pogroms), as it would degrade the Polish nation and make Poland's international situation worse, hence such a policy could cause the Jews to become a dangerous factor in the case of a military conflict. It would also be difficult to maintain a uniform economic pressure (boycott) for such a long period of time. Thus the only solution was legal normalisation. According to Handke, compulsory emigration could be confined to one generation, for example, 18-year-olds, because they are energetic, willing to explore the world, and unable to take any major capital with them. 'To make sure the 18-year-olds emigrate, they would have to be kept in cultured concentration camps at their families' expense till they leave the country'. In this way 60,000 people would leave every year, and after 20 years there would be zero population growth. After 30 years we could abolish the emigration law and the old people would die off. Schools would be rid of Jews in five years' time, and the learned professions in 20 years' time.

The schemes forwarded by Alojzy Targ – 'Kuźnica's' 'Jewish expert' who dealt with the 'Jewish Question' most often – went even further. Solving the problem of the Jewish minority in Poland entailed serious social and economic reforms, similar to those carried out in the Third Reich. First and foremost, major and medium Jewish capital had to be expropriated, next laws needed to be made to pre-

głównego Centralnego Związku Zawodowego Polskiego', *Front Polski Zbudzonej* 5/8 (1937) 8.

82 'Żydzi na Madagaskar', *Narodowiec* 1/33 (1937) 2.

83 'W służbie Polski Narodowej', *Narodowiec* 1/1 (1937) 1.

84 E. Handke, 'Jaki charakter nadać emigracji żydowskiej?', *Kuźnica* 3/1 (1937) 4.

vent Jews from buying agricultural and municipal estate, Polish merchant and craftsmanship institutions would have to be given organisational support, and a broad co-operative campaign would need to be carried out. The next stages would entail a total ban on university studies for Jews, a legal ban on taking over the learned professions and on settling in the western provinces – especially in Silesia, which is the most threatened region of all – where Jews seek optimal conditions of economic activity. All those restrictions were to force the Jewish people into accelerated emigration, amounting to up to 200,000 people yearly. 'Jews deprived of the means and conditions to live in Poland would have to leave the country. Where will they go if Palestine is becoming less and less attractive as the destiny of Jewish emigration? It is not our problem'.[85] Possibly they could settle in South and North America, Angola, Uganda and partly Biro-Bidgan. Targ was certain that if need be international Jewry would produce enough money to buy a homeland for a host of four-million Jewish emigrants from Poland.

Seemingly, 'Kuźnica's' most important plans turned out to be surprisingly similar to the solutions proposed by fascist propaganda leaflets. Anti-Semitic political commentators were not concerned with the realism of their plans, as their fundamental goal was not solving the 'Jewish Question' – the real problem of social disproportion troubling twentieth century Jewry in Poland. What they were really concerned with was gaining the support of some groups in Polish society through voicing their frustrations. What is worse, is that they were not concerned with the social outcome of their propaganda either. It could be best seen in publications by Alojzy Mach but also in some of the fascist parties' squabbles or papers of the radical right All-Poland Camp. Very soon, anti-Semitic propaganda was unable to control its actions, and the spiral of extremism, unwound in the late 1920s, led to apocalyptic images of a religious war between the satanic powers of Jewry and the 'knights of light' defending Christianity. In such an atmosphere, it was easy to formulate plans to exterminate the Jewish people, and although today it is quite difficult to reconstruct the actual range of such anti-Semitic publications' influence, we can easily guess that the press articles favouring violence also supported the surge of anti-Jewish riots that came in the 1930s. It was there – in the anti-Semitic press – that Silesian Jewish circles saw the driving force of anti-Semitism. The direct result of that surge of hatred was the worsening situation of the Jewish community in the Voivodship of Silesia in the 1930s, and its tragic end – being too literal a realisation of the Upper-Silesian anti-Semitic programme – was wrought by the Second World War and the Holocaust.

---

[85] A. Targ, 'Walka z żydostwem. III. Jak rozwiązać sprawę żydowską w Polsce', *Kuźnica* 2/10 (1936) 3-5. See id., 'Jeszcze w sprawie żydowskiej', Ibid. 2/1 (1936) 5-6; 'Dziś emigranci – jutro uchodźcy', Ibid. 5/1 (1939) 2.

**Aleksandra Namysło**

# THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF KATOWICE JEWS IN THE INTER-WAR PERIOD

Jews were an integral part of Katowice society during the inter-War period. Despite the fact that the number of Jews in the capital of the Voivodship of Silesia was not large, they actively participated in the development of their culture, national identity, and in cultivating Jewish religious traditions. The aim of this report is to present the religious life of the Jews of Katowice in the inter-War period by examining the organisational structure of the religious community and its institutions. The background to this subject illustrates the cultural differences within the local Jewish community and their differing opinions on the role of religion in daily life. The main source of information on the Jews of Katowice is located in archives generated by government departments and kept in the State Archives Office in Katowice. The Polish-German newspaper, *Gazeta Urzędowa Gminy Izraelickiej w Katowicach* (Bulletin of the Jewish Community in Katowice), published between 1932-7, and *Jüdische Wochenpost mit Wirtschaftsblatt*, published in Bielsko in 1934-9 were invaluable in the reconstruction of the religious life of the local Jewish community, since the community's own archives have been destroyed. While these are helpful sources in reconstructing Jewish religious life in the 1930s, the absence of any information from the 1920s makes it impossible to study this subject in its entirety.

During the inter-War period, Katowice was the centre of political, social, and cultural life for the Jewish community in the Voivodship of Silesia, since it had a larger number of Jews than did any other Silesian town. Jews constituted 3.4-6.6% of the Katowice population. These rather large fluctuations resulted from several migration waves: the emigration to Germany in 1922 of those residents who identified with the German national cause; the immigration, despite administrative restrictions, of Jews from the former Kingdom of Poland and Galicia during the in-

ter-War period; and a desperate immigration, mainly of Jews from Germany and Austria, on the eve of World War II[1].

The Jews of Katowice were divided by their diverse customs and cultural backgrounds. Before being annexed to Poland, the greater part of the local Jewish community identified with the German state and culture and they considered themselves 'Germans of Mosaic faith'. In the period of the plebiscite, the Jewish citizens of Katowice, and all of Upper Silesia, unequivocally supported Germany and took all necessary steps to make this region part of Germany. After the annexation, they emigrated in large numbers to that country, but a significant number of Jews, raised in the German culture but nevertheless loyal to Poland, remained and continued to play a leading role in political, cultural and economic life. They remained because of their strong emotional bonds with this region, the fact that they were settled and had solid financial and material ties, and above all, because of the internal cohesiveness of the group. This cohesiveness stemmed from a similar and established opinion as to the role of religion in the life of every Jew, which was influenced by modern religious trends, mainly the Haskala. For them, faith was not the most important element of existence, thus their affiliation with the religious community was mainly formal. The process of their assimilation[2] with the greater local community started well into the nineteenth century, when the town belonged to Germany, and the result of this assimilation was the 'integration' of Jews into local society from whose members they did not differ either in appearance or behaviour. In the early 1930s there was a great migration of German Jews, mainly those who left the area after 1922, to the Voivodship of Silesia as a result of political changes in Germany and an intensification of anti-Semitic acts there. This resulted, in 1938, in there being the largest number of Jewish inhabitants (9,000) recorded in Katowice, some 6.6% of the population. The groups of pro-German assimilated Jews presented their religious and political views in the *Jüdische Wochenpost mit Wirtschaftsblatt* which had been published in German in Bielsko since 1934. Reading that periodical, one notes that they were ardent enemies of the concept of Jewish national revival and opposed the approach taken by the Zionist parties. Their relationship with Poland, their political views and their degree of religiosity defined two trends among the pro-German Jews: radical Germanophiles led by Fritz Reichmann, Hugo Grünfeld and Berthold Kochmann, and the moder-

---

1 W. Jaworski, 'Stosunki demograficzne ludności żydowskiej w województwie śląskim w latach 1922-1939', *Studia i Materiały z Dziejów Śląska* 19 (1991) 217-44.; R.P. Schmitz, 'Die judische Gemeinde zu Kattowitz', in *Kattowitz. Seine Geschichte und Gegenwert* (Dülmen, 1985) 238; *Śląskie Wiadomości Statystyczne* 1937; A. Krysiński, 'Struktura narodowościowa miast śląskich', *Sprawy Narodowościowe* 3 (1936) 225.

2 I am fully aware, that present-day historiography tends to speak of acculturation rather than assimilation. The term "assimilated Jews" is used here purely in the historical sense, i.e., to describe people who refer to themselves as "assimilated".

ates, loyal to Poland, though assimilated to German culture, led by Bruno Altmann[3].

The established Jews of the region, affiliated with German culture during the inter-War period were in sharp conflict with their co-religionists from the Kingdom of Poland and Galicia, who had been migrating in large numbers to the Voivodship of Silesia since the 1920s. The basis of their antagonism was mainly attributable to their differences in philosophy and ideology. The immigrant Jews, mostly orthodox, with their conservative and traditional views, their strong attachment to the religious community, their attire and lifestyle, irritated the progressive, resident Jews[4].

The immigrant group was clearly more numerous, but it was internally divided and had no great unity. Among the 'Ostjuden' there were different, sometimes contradictory, political and social programmes. One active, although initially small, group was the Zionists who would have wanted to control the community and give it a more national character. The nationally indifferent Jews from Galicia, who fought any political and social activity of the community, were in the minority, while members of the Bund (the Jewish Socialist party) affiliated with a Germanophile group of local Jews and openly demonstrated their aversion to the community as a religious institution[5].

The Hassidim, affiliated with the Hassidic centres of Radomsko and Kromołów, constituted a small group[6]. They were supporters of Solomon Majloch Rabinowicz, who had been an Assistant Rabbi in Kromołów in 1913-21; a Rabbi in Kamieńsk in 1921-4; and a rabbi in Zawiercie from 1924 onwards[7].

The organization of a Jewish community was a traditional way of fulfilling those religious duties common to all Jews irrespective of cultural differences. The Jewish Community in Katowice came into being by order of the President of the Opole District [Regierungsbezirk Oppeln] on July 4 1865, and therefore before the official date of the founding of the town on September 11 of the same year. Before that time, Jews living in Katowice took advantage of religious institutions in the synagogue district of Mysłowice, into which they were incorporated on July 23 1847. But the relationship between the communities was strained from the beginning with financial conflicts and the degree of independence granted to recently arrived Jews. The dislike of the Mysłowice community led to feelings of separate-

---

3 APK, UWŚ (Wydział Administracyjny), 1992, f. 270-271; JWW 2/30 (1935) 3; 3/7 (1936) 4.

4 H. Klemenz, 'Erinnerungen an Kattowitz ( 1900-1945)', *Mitteilungen des Beuthener Geschichts- und Museumvereins* 25/26 (1963/64) 85.

5 APK, UWŚ (Wydział Administracyjny), 1992, f. 270-1; JWW 2/37 (1935) 3; B. Reiner, *Wyznania i związki religijne w województwie śląskim* (Opole, 1977) 116, 65.

6 Daily visitors to the Hassidic prayer hall at Mariacka Street numbered 100-150. See JWW 1/7 (1934) 4.

7 JWW 1/7 (1934) 4; J. Abramski, *Zawiercie. Studium monograficzne* (Zawiercie, 1994) 97.

ness and solidarity among the Jews of Katowice and a desire to be independent. In February 1862, the Jews of Katowice submitted a request to the Provincial Office in Bytom requesting permission to establish an independent community. This was strongly opposed by the board of the Mysłowice community, who suggested that, in return for leaving Katowice and the area surrounding it as part of their district, they would lower taxes and give a considerable degree of independence to their "sister community". The Jews of Katowice declined that offer and continued efforts to establish their own community, in which they succeeded in 1865. Initially, the community consisted of the Jewish residents of Katowice and its districts; i.e., Katowicka Hałda and Brynów. In 1872, the Jewish inhabitants of Załęże and Ignacew; in 1876, Jewish inhabitants of Dąb; and two years later, those who lived in Józefów and the region of Hohenlohehütte, were gradually added. In 1884, the Jews from Bogucice and Zawodzie, who had thus far belonged to the Mysłowice community were also incorporated[8].

The organisational structure of religious Jewish community life in the formerly German part of the Voivodship of Silesia was regulated by the Prussian law of July 23 1847 and by local statutes, which regulated the procedure and scope of activity of community institutions, financial issues, laws governing the election of community leaders, and the rights and duties of its members in detail. Between 1922 and 1939, the Jewish community in Katowice was governed by two sets of bylaws. The first, passed in October 1913, was a revision of the first community bylaws of 1881, and then the community was governed by the new bylaws, ratified by the Voivode of Silesia on July 18 1930. These reflected the changing social and political situation in Upper Silesia as well as changes in culture and customs within the community. Legislative authority was entrusted to the Assembly of Representatives. Initially, it was composed of 15 members and four deputies but in 1928, because of an increase in the number of Jewish inhabitants of Katowice, the number of representatives was increased to 19. In 1930, another three members were added. Representatives were elected for a six-year term. Initially, votes were cast for individual candidates but a revision in the 1930 bylaws called for an election every five years for a list of candidates. The community's governing authority, the community administration, was vested in a board of seven members and two deputies, elected by at least 10 representatives every six years. A revision of the 1930 bylaws increased the number to nine members and their term of office was five years[9].

Internal frictions within the community were due to differences of opinion about the character and function of community institutions and they caused a lasting factionalism among local Jews which obstructed co-operative efforts and

[8] J. Cohn, *Geschichte der Synagogengemeinde Kattowitz O-S. Fastgabe anlassich der Einweihnung der neuen Synagoge am 12. September 1900* (Kattowitz, 1900), Schmitz, 'Die jüdische Gemeinde' 231, P. Maser and A. Weiser, *Juden in Oberschlesien*. Vol. 1: *Historischer Überblick. Jüdische Gemeinden (I)* (Berlin, 1992) 113-5.

[9] APK, UWŚ (Wydział Administracyjny), 1992, f. 328-75.

common enterprises. In the late 1920s, the local Zionist organisations, enjoying ever greater support, actively began to transform the community into a nationalist society. The first stage in carrying out these plans was to try to gain control of the community, a task made difficult by the still stable and undisturbed hegemony of those resident Jews connected with German culture. Their dominant position in the community administration and in the assembly of representatives was due to their long-standing leadership of communal institutions, originating from the time when the town was still part of Germany, as well as their material well-being. For this reason, the conflict between the long-time residents and the newly arrived Jews expressed itself primarily in the appointment of positions in community management. The actions of the Zionists were favoured by the administrative authorities who gradually restricted the political and social activity of the pro-German Jews who were still very popular. An example of such efforts is the community administration elections of March and April 1929. Due to a compromise, the community representatives were appointed without an election. Candidates for the community administration included representatives of several cultural groups, but they were mainly from among the members of the old community oligarchy. The radical pro-German supporters of assimilation were represented by active members of the local Masonic lodge, Dr Fritz Reichmann and Isidor Schündler; moderate supporters of assimilation from the pro-German cultural group were represented by Georg Künstlinger and Berthold Kochmann; Joseph Margules represented the religiously indifferent Galician Jews; and the General Zionists were represented by Alfred Müller and Dr Bruno Freund. The election, won by the pro-German Jews, was not acceptable to the Voivode of Silesia and on April 3 1929 he annulled the elections and appointed his own community administration led by Bruno Altmann. This new board was composed mainly of moderate pro-German assimilationists loyal to the State of Poland. The next elections, held on February 7 1932, also confirmed the popularity and dominance of the pro-German assimilationists. Of 800 eligible members, 675, or 85%, voted in the elections. An overwhelming victory was won by the radical and moderate pro-German assimilationists, who were united under the name 'General Voters Association for the Maintenance and Development of Communal Institutions' [Ogólne Zrzeszenie Wyborców Celem Utrzymania i Rozbudowy Instytucji Gminnych] led by Leo Kaufmann. They were voted for by 323 voters and received 10 seats in the assembly of representatives. Dr Künstlinger's list, representing the progressive German Jews, won five seats and was supported by 151 voters. Over 100 people voted in favour of the Zionist lists. Thus, the United List of the Zionist Organisation and Jewish Democracy [Zjednoczona Lista Organizacji Syjonistycznej i Żydowskiej Demokracji], led by Dr Rapoport, won three seats, and Ludwik Żmigrod's list, representing the Association of Upper-Silesian Merchants [Stowarzyszenie Kupców Górnego Śląska], won two seats. The latter was mainly supported by Jews from central Poland, including the Zionists. One seat was won by the list of the merchant, Adolf Hutterer. The results of the elections showed that the Jewish community of Katowice wanted, once again,

to entrust the administration of religious affairs to the pro-German assimilationists and the increasingly popular Zionists. The administration, under the leadership of Fritz Reichmann, was not accepted by Voivode Grażyński. Once again he annulled the elections and ordered a new governmental community administration to be appointed in September 1933, led by Bruno Altmann and Elias Abrahamer, as well as an assembly of representatives, chaired by Samuel Mayer. This community administration lasted until the beginning of the War[10].

The assistance given by the administrative authorities made it easier for the immigrant Jews loyal to Poland to take over positions of power in the community administration. From the mid-1930s on, one can note unrest and a greater factionalism in the Jewish community caused by differing opinions about the role of the community in the political situation in contemporary Poland. An active role began to be played by a group of long-time resident Jews who were removed from positions of authority. In the 'Jüdische Wochenpost', they strongly attacked any efforts undertaken by community authorities, perceiving them as an attack on the assimilated and culturally pro-German character of the community. They accused the local rabbis and the community administration of yielding to Zionist influences and even of disloyalty to Poland. As proof of the Zionist influence on the community, they noted that religious festive occasions were profaned by the singing of political Zionist songs at the end of services in the main synagogue and that there was the requirement, set by the community administration, that candidates for the position of "Oberkantor" (chief cantor) of the main synagogue should be able to read and write modern Hebrew. They strongly attacked the idea of building a Hebrew secondary school and financing it out of the community budget[11]. These differences of opinion, which divided the Jewish community, prevented any possibility of integration or co-operation between those Jews who had been living in the area for a long time and those who had arrived more recently. When representatives of Zionist Jewish circles in the Voivodship of Silesia visited the Voivode of Silesia in January 1929 and requested that he extend to Silesia the decree issued by the President of the Republic of Poland of February 7 1927 which would grant the right to vote in the elections to the Jewish Community to all inhabitants over 21 years of age, irrespective of sex, the authorities of the community, controlled by pro-German assimilationists, strongly protested. The sole areas of co-operation were the organising of charitable events and joint protests against anti-Jewish incidents[12].

The primary task of the Jewish community was to meet the religious needs of its members. It fulfilled this by maintaining institutions especially established for that purpose, which were closely tied to the daily lives of its members. These in-

[10] APK, UWŚ (Wydział Administracyjny), 1992, f. 1, 29, 34, 36, 39, 123, 193, 197, 189, 217; UGGIK 2/43 (1933) 3, 2/42 (1933) 1, 1/2 (1932) 1.

[11] JWW 2/38 (1935) 2, 3/19 (1936) 3.

[12] K. Krasowski, *Związki wyznaniowe w II Rzeczpospolitej. Studium historyczno-prawne* (Warsaw-Poznań, 1988) 190.

cluded the synagogue, prayer houses, the rabbinate, a ritual bath, and the cemetery. The community was also responsible for the organisation and supervision of ritual slaughter, religious education and charitable activities.

The Jewish community in Katowice maintained two synagogues. The older synagogue was built in 1861/1862 by the construction specialist Ignatz Grünfeld and was officially opened on September 4 1862. The main hall of the house of prayer had a seating capacity of 200 men and 120 women which was insufficient for its 500 members. The community was therefore forced to gradually enlarge the synagogue and to organise additional services in rented facilities. In 1890, 175 people submitted a petition to the community administration demanding that efforts be made to build another synagogue. Six years later, the president of the community, Solomon Wiener, announced the commencement of construction of a new synagogue on August-Schneider Strasse (today Mickiewicz St.). The plot of land, with an area of 4,500 sq. m., was to house, in addition to the synagogue, a community centre, a ritual bath, space for ritual slaughter, two small flats for service employees, and a matza bakery. The main sanctuary was to seat 670 men and 450 women. The chief architect was Ignatz Grünfeld, son of the architect of the first synagogue. The synagogue, later known as the 'great' or 'main' synagogue, was designed in the so-called eclectic style, which combined German Renaissance and elements of late Gothic. The synagogue, dedicated on September 12 1900, was one of the most splendid buildings in the town and served the inhabitants of Katowice until September 4 1939 when it was destroyed by the occupying German troops[13].

The Great Synagogue served as a house of worship for nearly all segments of the Jewish community of Katowice. It was a meeting place for Jews connected with German culture and for supporters of the General Zionists. The old synagogue was used mainly by Polish Orthodox Jews. A small number of Hassidic groups had prayer houses on Mariacka and Młyńska St. Members of Mizrachi used a prayer hall on Mariacki St. and followers of Agudas Israel, on the Rynek. In addition, there were many other private prayer halls in Katowice, the largest of which belonged to Joseph Cohn and was located on Plac Wolności. This prayer hall usually accommodated 20-30 people. For those who lived a considerable distance from the Great Synagogue, a prayer hall was maintained on Piłsudski St. In 1937, a new community centre, on Piotr Skarga St. near the Great Synagogue, was completed after two years of construction. It was financed by voluntary contributions and a loan granted by the Workers' Fund [Fundusz Pracy]. It contained a meeting hall for 600 people, a kitchen, a canteen, a slaughterhouse for poultry, and a ritual bath[14].

One of the religious duties of every community was the building and maintenance of a cemetery and its buildings. In the inter-War period, Katowice Jews

---

[13] Maser and Weiser, *Juden in Oberschlesien* 118-9; Schmitz, 'Die jüdische Gemeinde' 235; P. Maser, 'Oberschlesische Synagogen und ihre Gemeinden', *Jahrbuch der schlesischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Breslau* 31 (1990) 230-1.

[14] JWW 1/7 (1934) 4, 1/30 (1934) 5, 3/17 (1936) 5, 3/19 (1936) 3; UGGIK 4/109 (1936) 1.

were buried at the cemetery located on Gartenstraße (today's Kozielska St.), which was dedicated in November 1869, at a ceremony conducted by Rabbi Rosenthal from Bytom. The first funeral at that cemetery took place on February 2 1870. By 1935, almost 2,000 (1936) people found their final resting place there. Every deceased member of the community was entitled to a resting place and the cost of the funeral, grave, and tombstones was set by the communal administration. The community itself was obliged to cover the cost of burial for the poor. From 1927 the community administration no longer charged for funeral expenses or gravesites; although there continued to be a charge for grave maintenance. Beginning in 1930, the cemetery was administered by the Cemetery Affairs Committee of the Jewish community administration[15].

The rabbis were the community's spiritual leaders and organised its religious life. The first rabbi of the Katowice community was Israel Bornstein from Cracow. In 1871, he was succeeded by Dr Jacob Cohn, the organizer of the first heder and author of a treatise on the history of the Katowice Jewish Community. During World War I there were two rabbis, Dr Phillip Haas and Louis Lewin. The latter left Katowice in the latter part of 1925, and he was succeeded on August 15 1925 by Rabbi Dr. Jecheskiel Lewin, who had previously held the position of assistant rabbi in Rzeszów. Rabbi Lewin left three years later to accept a rabbinical position in Lwów. It was felt that the increasing needs of a growing Jewish population in Katowice demanded the services of two rabbis, a situation that apparently existed before World War I. Rabbi Kalman Chameides from the vicinity of Lwów, was appointed on September 1 1928 and Rabbi Dr Mordechaj Vogelmann from eastern Galicia, on November 15 1928. The rabbis were equal in their duties and remuneration[16].

The employing of two rabbis caused quite a controversy within the community. One argument against the employing of two rabbis was the financial one. When, in 1932, the Voivodship accepted the responsibility for employing and remunerating teachers of religion, the rabbis were deprived of these positions and this was used as another argument for the elimination of one rabbinical position. Each year, both rabbis' contracts were renewed with the justification that there was sufficient work for both and a promise that applications would soon be accepted for a single position. Finally, in 1936, the community administration decided to offer both rabbis a life contract[17].

Both rabbis were highly respected and valued, particularly for their great involvement in the community's social and religious life. Rabbi Chameides was the editor-in-chief of the community newspaper, 'Urzędowa Gazeta Gminy Izraelickiej

---

[15] Schmitz, 'Die jüdische Gemeinde' 235, Maser and Weiser, *Juden in Oberschlesien* 120; UGGIK 2/27 (1933) 6, 4/74 (1935) 4.

[16] APK, UWŚ (Wydział Administracyjny), 1992, f. 276-7, 303, 305; APK, Dyrekcja Policji w Katowicach, 180, f. 17, 19; JWW 2/16 (1935) 4, Schmitz, 'Die jüdische Gemeinde' 235.

[17] APK, UWŚ (Wydział Administracyjny), 1984, f. 1-2; JWW 3/4 (1936) 3.

w Katowicach' (Bulletin of the Jewish Community of Katowice) and chairman of the Association of Silesian Rabbis, established on March 8 1934. In the second half of the 1930s, he wholeheartedly devoted himself to the struggle against the growing anti-Semitic threat. He sympathised with the Zionist and the Haluz movements. Rabbi Dr Vogelmann was a respected teacher of the Jewish religion and was chairman of the Society for Air and Anti-Gas Defence [Koło Obrony Powietrznej i Przeciwgazowej] of the community[18].

The rabbis also supervised community philanthropic and welfare activities carried out by foundations and institutions established for that purpose. The Jewish community, irrespective of social or political differences, harmoniously co-operated in the community's charitable associations and institutions and this type of activity was an integral element of their daily lives. The community's philanthropic activities and their co-ordination were under the auspices of the Central Office for Social Welfare, established in 1929 and presided over by Leo Kaufmann. The main tasks of the social welfare office included food and medical assistance for poor families and children, and caring for immigrants arriving in Katowice by helping them to find work and living accommodation. Help was given in the form of money or food and included legal advice. The social welfare office carried out these activities through appropriate community organisations. Especially important during the festival of Passover, was the Pesach Committee, established in 1936 under the leadership of both rabbis and the president of the community, Bruno Altmann. During the festival, Jewish soldiers, war veterans, and prisoners were helped in a variety of ways. Funding for these activities came from many sources within the community. These included single donations, endowments established by wealthy individuals, and bequests. The local Jewish press, in particular the 'Urzędowa Gazeta Gminy Izraelickiej w Katowicach', provides a great deal of information on how the community raised funds for its charitable activities. Special announcements appealed for financial help for children, poor families, and especially for Jewish refugees who came to Katowice from Germany[19]. Direct help for the refugees from Germany was provided by the community's Committee for Aid for Refugees from Germany. In addition to organising demonstrations and protests, the committee repeatedly made substantial efforts to obtain permission from the Silesian authorities for the emigrants to stay in Katowice. The committee was successful in persuading the Katowice Railroad Office not to charge the customary transit and stopping fee; the Customs Office not to charge duty on furniture; and the Immigration Office to provide a certain number of free railway tickets[20].

The community provided free medical care for poor families. Health care and a proper funeral were among the original fundamental obligations of the community's Care of the Sick and Burial Society – Chevra Kadisha. Participation in this

[18] APK, Dyrekcja Policji w Katowicach, 180, f. 17-9; JWW 2/16 (1935) 4; 3/1 (1936) 2, 3/2 (1936) 5; 3/4 (1936) 3.

[19] UGGIK 5/101 (1936) 3.

[20] APK, UWŚ (Wydział Administracyjny), 573, f. 45.

kind of work was considered an honour since helping the sick and the dying, and participating in funerals were deemed to be among the most important of good deeds. Approximately 250 people a year took advantage of free medical and nursing care. The social welfare office had an out-patient department that offered free sunlamp sessions for children. In 1934, the union signed an agreement with the Municipal Office of Katowice, which, in accordance with welfare legislation, was obligated to give free medical help to all those who needed it. This agreement allowed poor members of the Jewish community to receive municipal social welfare on the basis of certificates issued by the community's social welfare office after a thorough investigation into the material conditions of members applying for help. Despite that agreement, the Municipal Office repeatedly refused to help the Jewish inhabitants of the town, questioning the authenticity of those certificates[21].

Support for the needy and sick and performing the last rites for the deceased were the main aims of the Union of Jewish Women, an organisational branch of the social welfare office. Established on December 11 1863, it was one of the first of the community organisations. It brought together single women, married women, and widows. Its first leader was Regina Willner and she was ably assisted by Charlotte Altmann, Rosalie Immerwahr and Laura Schalscha. The social welfare office also oversaw the People's Kitchen, chaired by Paula Kuhn. During the Great Depression, the canteen served about 4,000 meals each month for those unemployed emigrants who were dependent on it[22]. This union was very important during World War I when its members cared devotedly for wounded soldiers, crippled people, orphaned children and lonely widows. During the Depression the organisation arranged for so-called 'pound weeks' where the poor were given food packages and clothes. One method of raising money was by organising dances, concerts, and exhibitions of handicrafts.

The community made special efforts on behalf of needy children. The social welfare office supervised the kindergarten, which, from 1932 on, consisted of two divisions. The poorest children, who made up 70% of all their charges, were provided with good social and educational opportunities and their parents were exempted from any payments or fees. The director of the kindergarten was Ms Stobiecka, and the teachers were Margaret Neumann and Rosa Altmann. Despite the fact that the kindergarten was a religious institution (children were taught prayers in Hebrew), great importance was also attached to the development of manual and physical skills. Tailoring, sewing, model work and gardening were taught and the children were provided with attractive summer holidays. The first summer camp for 98 children was organised in 1933 in Jeleśnia, and three years later, 138 children were able to take advantage of the summer holiday camp[23].

---

21 UGGIK 2/27 (1933) 6.

22 UGGIK 1/9 (1932) 2, 2/27 (1933) 4-5, 3/48 (1934) 2, 3/53 (1934) 2-5, 2/45 (1933) 3; Schmitz, 'Die jüdische Gemeinde' 236.

23 APK, UWŚ (Wydział Administracyjny), 576, f. 202; UGGIK 2/33 (1933) 3, 2/43 (1933) 3, 4/82 (1935) 3-4.

The community was obliged to provide Jewish children with an appropriate religious education and therefore organised classes to teach religion and Hebrew. The Katowice community fulfilled this obligation in two forms. First, it maintained and supervised schools such as a kindergarten, heder and a Hebrew school. It also assured the teaching of Judaism by employing the necessary teachers in public and private, primary and secondary schools of all categories, and it organised seminars and supplementary courses. The most popular type of school maintained by the community was the heder, which was an orthodox type of religious school. The founder of Katowice's heder was Rabbi Jacob Cohn, who established it in 1876. This was an old-style, non-reformed school, a so-called 'Talmud-Torah', which did not teach secular subjects. The heder was attended by boys aged 5-12, and classes were held in the afternoons. Initially, the Katowice heder was meant to be a seven-year school but, because of a lack of funds and space, it was decided to limit it to five years. The language of instruction was Yiddish. Special Talmud classes were provided for very talented children. In 1932, 180 pupils attended the school; in 1933, 145 pupils; and in 1936, there were 147 children. Rabbi Chameides supervised and was the director of the school. There were three teachers, Winer, Seideman, and Stein.

In addition, the community maintained a Hebrew school which had seven forms and in which classes were given in the evening. In 1932, it was attended by about 80 boys and girls. It was formed as a result of dissatisfaction with the heder education by a section of the Jewish community, in particular the more recent immigrants. They accused the community of not instilling in the young people a sense of national identity and a too limited education in the Hebrew language. Therefore, in 1935 the community administration decided to open a Hebrew school in which subjects such as history, Hebrew literature, the geography of Palestine and religion would be taught with Hebrew as the sole language of instruction. The justification for establishing this type of school, which represented a Hebrew-National educational trend, was the hope of counteracting the decay of Jewish culture by creating a new educational system[24].

The Katowice community was also concerned about the education of girls. A Beis Yaacov school was organised as a division of the 'Talmud-Torah' school and was maintained by funding from the community and the parents. The aim of the school was to educate girls in a religious and national spirit. The languages of instruction in the school were Polish and Yiddish. The course of study lasted five years and included reading, writing, grammar, prayers, Hebrew, and Jewish history. It was attended by girls, aged 6-20, and in 1934, it had 140 students.

The Seminary for Jewish Women, established in 1935, prepared people for living in the new Palestinian homeland. Its organisers were Rosa Altmann, Margret Beinhof, and Trude Chameides, the Rabbi's wife. The aim of that institution was to

[24] JWW 1/17 (1934) 4-6, 2/9 (1935) 3, 2/16 (1935) 3, UGGIK 1/14 (1932) 2-3, 2/37 (1933) 2, 4/74 (1935) 1-2, 4/82 (1935) 2, 5/108 (1936) 2.

"provide unprepared Jewish woman with the ability to successfully win the battle for survival and to develop a positive relationship with a new reality ...to deepen her knowledge of Judaism, the history of the Jewish nation, and the principles of the religion, her knowledge of the Holy Land, its spiritual and economic significance..."[25]. The seminary was a modern educational institution for Jewish women, and attached greater importance to practical adjustment to modern life than to religious education complying with traditional customs. In 1936, 250 women attended classes[26].

The community schools, the so-called 'Talmud-Torah' and the girls' division guaranteed religious education and development, but there was also an obligation to provide classes in religion for students attending public primary schools. The state, municipal, and school authorities were responsible for supervising and providing religious education, while the Jewish community was responsible for the selection of suitable teachers. The legislation had been intended to provide for two hours of religious classes a week, but this obligation was not fulfilled in an honest manner in primary schools. Religious instruction was limited to just one lesson a week and children from different classes were often combined. Jewish parents opposed this practice and, through the agency of the Jewish community, sent a memorandum to the Division of Public Education in the Silesian Voivodship Office asking for a remedy. This was carried out in an honest manner only in the Berek Joselewicz primary public school for Jewish children. The general syllabus of that school was the same as for children of other faiths attending primary schools. In addition, the school taught Jewish religion for two periods a week and the Hebrew language. The school was closed on Saturdays and Jewish festivals. The Joselewicz school had six forms and 13 divisions. On average, the school was attended by 620 pupils. As the school shared premises with a Catholic school, classes were held in the afternoons. Other secular primary schools in Katowice were attended on average by a dozen Jewish children, and they constituted about 4.5% of all pupils in the school system[27].

There was no Jewish private secondary school in Katowice. In addition, the Jewish community did not provide any higher religious education in *yeshivot*. Jewish young people attended state-controlled or municipal secondary schools, where they were provided with religious instruction. In 1935, about 70 young Jews were students of the Mickiewicz National Secondary School and over 30 attended the Kopernik Municipal Secondary School. The Girls' Municipal Secondary School on 3-Maja St. was attended by 85 Jewish girls. Only in 1930, did the local committee of the Zionist Organisation, supported by the rabbinate and the community administration, begin to make efforts to establish a Jewish secondary school. The initiator of that undertaking was Dora Moszkowska. In order to attain that goal the Society for

---

[25] UGGIK 5/100 (1936) 4.

[26] UGGIK 1/14 (1932) 3, 4/17 (1935) 2, 4/94 (1935) 4, 5/100 (1936) 4.

[27] UGGIK 1/12 (1932) 2, 1/13 (1932) 3, 4/74 (1935) 1; A. Prażmowski, *Szkolnictwo w województwie śląskim* (Katowice, 1936) 63.

the Jewish Secondary School was established on March 22 1933. The concept of establishing such a type of school aiming at national education was opposed by the anti-Zionist pro-German Jews. Officially, they protested in the local press against financing this school out of community resources, calling this type of school a 'spiritual ghetto'. As a result of those protests, the school was never opened[28].

The community was also concerned about the extramural religious education of its youth. An Association of Jewish Youth was formed in March 1922 at the suggestion of activists of the Katowice B'nai Br'ith Lodge, Concordia. Its members were young people from families who were long-time settlers of Upper Silesia. That organisation proclaimed that its programme was "the source from which Jewish youth could draw knowledge, from which it can acquire the morality and ethics of the Jewish religion. That institution raised youth in the spirit of respect for Jewish tradition, dealt with modern problems, and fought against indolence within its own circles"[29]. In addition, the association tried to acquaint Jewish youth with their own culture and its achievements. The 1930s ushered in a new stage in the development of the Association of Jewish Youth which occurred both as a result of a change in social relationships and a need to make the obsolete forms and approaches used in this organisation more attractive. The organisation, which had formerly been concerned with the religious education of youth, was transformed into a cultural-humanitarian association (for example, it financed the construction of a children's hostel in Rabka; and raised funds for the rebuilding of the burned shelter in Hala Boracza). Young people from families who identified with German culture were replaced by young people from former Galicia and the Congress Poland, who were also associated with Zionist organisations[30]. The fascination of the young people with new ideas, especially nationalist ones, led the Office for the Care of Jewish Youth of the Jewish Community in Katowice to attempt to establish a new youth organisation in 1936, which would compete with the flourishing heHaluz [pioneer] movement. The organisation was to apply scouting methods and to use the Shomer organisations as its model. The aim of its programme was not only to provide religious, moral, and cultural education, but also physical development and practical preparation for life. A lack of information makes it impossible to confirm whether this organisation was, in fact, established during the inter-War period[31].

The Jewish community was able to carry out its obligation to enable members to perform religious functions and to maintain the necessary institutions, thanks to its own budget, the funds for which were raised from an annual levy imposed on its members. According to its statutes, this tax burden was borne by every member living in the community, by Jews who lived outside the community but derived

---

[28] JWW 2/3 (1935) 3, APK, Dyrekcja Policji w Katowicach, 262, f. 8-14, APK, UWŚ (Wydział Administracyjny), 574, f. 123, 190.

[29] UGGIK 1/5 (1932) 4.

[30] JWW 1/5 (1934) 5; UGGIK 1/5 (1932) 4, 1/20 (1932) 3-4.

[31] UGGIK 5/111 (1936) 4.

part of their income from or possessed property within the community, and even those who lived in the community but were no longer members. The latter were obliged to pay for administrative but not religious expenses. The tax rate was set by the assembly of representatives. Approximately 75% of the community's income was derived from direct taxes and the remainder was made up from fees for various individual services. In contrast to other communities, especially those in central Poland, where over 50% of income was derived from fees charged for religious functions (mainly from ritual slaughter); in Katowice this type of income amounted to only 8%[32]. Therefore the budget of this community was considered to be the most democratic since the administration bore the cost of maintaining all religious organisations and there was no additional fee imposed for the many religious services. Religious services, social welfare, and maintenance of the schools constituted the largest expenses for the community[33].

During the inter-War period, Katowice was the centre of Jewish religious and social life in the Voivodship of Silesia. The conflicts and antagonisms that divided the Jews of Katowice; the division between the original settlers rooted in German culture and immigrants with ideas of a national revival, were typical of all the Jewish Communities of Upper Silesia. Their common arena, especially in religious and charitable endeavours, was the organised Jewish community. Despite the factionalism of its members, it remained the most important forum for public and religious opinion for the Jews of Katowice for the entire inter-War period.

[32] UGGIK 1/2 (1932) 1-2.
[33] UGGIK 1/3 (1932) 3, 4/83 (1935) 2.

# III.

# NAZISM – ANTI-SEMITISM – THE HOLOCAUST

**Marek Maciejewski**

# SILESIAN NAZI NATIONALISM AND ANTI-SEMITISM 1921-33

Before proceeding to the main subject of this work, it is important to draw attention to some important issues concerning the rise and development of the Nazi organisation in Silesia. Several stages can be identified in its development in the days of the Weimar Republic and these affected the ideological and propagandistic character of Nazism in Lower and Upper Silesia. It should be stated at the very outset, that its character began to take shape only in the second half of the 1920s, although the Nazis in Silesia, from the dawning of their organisation, used nationalistic, anti-Semitic and anti-republican slogans similar to those used by Nazis in other provinces and federal states of the Reich. It will also be shown in this work, that in the period of the Weimar Republic, the propaganda of the Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeitpartei (NDSAP) and its paramilitary organisations in Silesia (the SA and SS) was characterised by features that were either absent or not particularly emphasised in the Nazi propaganda in other regions of Germany after 1918. The geopolitical location of Silesia, especially its eastern part, made hostility towards Poland and the Polish people, which was sometimes broadened into anti-Slavism, seem like a primitive, or at least an unoriginal feature of NSDAP propaganda. It stemmed from a political assumption, common to all Nazi views, namely nationalism superimposed on a racial background. This factor in Nazi ideology was nothing new in doctrines emerging in Germany after World War I. Even before 1918, so-called Volkism[1] was popularised. Nazi doctrine was added in the 1920s to this ideology, which was imbued with mysticism and characterised by the anti-modernism and anti-liberalism that developed after World War I both in Silesia and in other regions of the Reich. Nazi anti-Semitism, with its volkist origins, which was an integral part of the NSDAP propaganda from the beginning of the party's activity, became noticeable in this period. Anti-Semitism had already be-

---

[1] For a discussion of this ideology see G. L. Mosse, *Kryzys ideologii niemieckiej. Rodowód intelektualny Trzeciej Rzeszy* (Warsaw, 1972); M. Maciejewski, *Ruch i ideologia narodowych socjalistów w Republice Weimarskiej. O źródlach i początkach nazizmu 1919-1924* (Warsaw-Wrocław, 1985).

come one of the most important elements of the program of the party's predecessor, the Deutsche Arbeitpartei, founded in Munich in 1919[2]. Anti-Semitism affected the programme of the NSDAP to an even greater extent beginning in 1920, although it was not expressed in words. The Nazis' hostile attitude towards the Jews was, however, evident in each of the 25 clauses of that document[3].

In time, national-socialist ideology added some primitive racist concepts to its anti-Semitism. These concepts were based on the assumption of the superiority of the German nation, regarded by them to be a racially-pure union (Volkgemeinschaft), to other nations. The principle in Nazi doctrine of the co-existence and inter-dependence of anti-Semitism, racism, and nationalism was clearly reflected in the views presented by Hitler in his *Mein Kampf* in 1925, or a few years later in Alfred Rosenberg's *Der Mythus des 20. Jahrhunderts*. The national-socialist party that developed after World War I, wherever it had branches, utilized the same or similar anti-Jewish slogans which reflected an ideology typical of volkism, where so-called Jewry (Judentum) was perceived as a serious political, economic, and cultural threat not only for Germans but for other Aryans, despite the fact that Jews were regarded as an inferior race. Individual Jews, or all Jewry, was accused of bringing various 'calamities' on Germany, especially at the end stages of World War I and after it had ended, including the military defeat of 1918, the dissolution of the Empire, the rise of parliamentary democracy, the social and economic crisis, etc.[4] This simple pattern also included provisions for eliminating 'the Jewish threat', i.e., solving the so-called 'Jewish Question' (*Judenfrage*) by means of radical restrictions and repressions against Jews. The Nazis did not articulate their more radical demands during the Weimar Republic, as they did after Hitler's *Machtübernahme* and particularly during World War II. It should be noted, that the National Socialists in Silesia generally repeated the same volkist propaganda slogans that were common all over Germany. In this respect, they did not differ from Nazis in other regions of the Reich after World War I. As is evident in relevant sources (archives and the press), members and followers of the NSDAP in Silesia were no more, nor less, anti-Semitic than Nazis in any other locality. A segment of the Silesian Nazis proved to be very radical in social matters, as was evident in their critical view of capitalism, in the slogans included in the name of their party, and their idea of socialism with some nationalistic features. The social radicalism of the NSDAP in Silesia was in any case very often connected, at least in its expression, with anti-Semitism.

---

2 F. A. Six (ed.), *Dokumente der Deutschen Politik*. Vol. 3, part 1 (Berlin, 1942) 283f. See also the document "Deutsche Arbeiter Partei. Grundsätze" in Bundesarchiv Koblenz, Hauptarchiv der NSDAP, NS 26/77.

3 See G. Feder, *Das Programm der NSDAP und seine weltanschaulichen Grundgedanken* (Munich, 1933).

4 For more on this, see Maciejewski, *Ruch i ideologia* 42f. See also the article by J. Katz, '«Die Juden sind unsere Unglück». Reflexionen über ein antisemitisches Schlagwort', *Tribune* 92 (1984) 58-9.

The origin of the national-socialist party in Silesia was connected with its rise and development in Bavaria, the cradle of Nazism after World War I. Silesia, being one of the first provinces of Prussia, became the arena of intensified political agitation carried out by quite a small group of followers of the young Nazi organisation and ideology. They primarily came to Upper Silesia in order to support the local Germans who were struggling for this region to remain part of the Reich (1919-21). Numerous paramilitary organisations adhering to the nationalistic ideology, the so-called Freikorpses, Grenschutz, Selbstschutz, which became notorious for their violence against the Polish people, appeared after World War I in the eastern regions of Silesia. Along with terror, these organisations also intensified their anti-Polish propaganda. In the early 1920s, anti-Semitism, usually linked with anti-capitalism, became an indispensable element of the political activity of some groups, e.g., the Freikorpses. One of the members of these organisations even demanded the immediate dispatchment of 'the largest possible number of Jews to concentration camps'. Disobedience, escape from such a camp, or helping somebody else escape was to be punished by death. The remainder of the Jewish population was to be forcefully deported to Palestine[5]. It is worth noting that Hitler proclaimed similar ideas in the early 1920s. The anti-Semitism of the paramilitary organisations was backed by other volkist groups. The most hostility towards the Jews after World War I was from the Deutschvölkischer Schutz- und Trutzbund. At a meeting of its members in Wrocław in May 1921, Jews were called 'capitalist exploiters' who were oppressing the German nation and scheming with 'International Zionism'.[6] Anti-Semitic slogans had already been spread then and repeated in the propaganda of this and other volkist groups in Silesia, and elsewhere, somewhat later. According to this widespread stereotype, the German entity after World War I, was identified as a 'Jewish republic', while the Treaty of Versailles of 1919 was regarded as an expression of a 'world Jewish conspiracy' (*jüdische Weltverschvörung*). The Silesian Nazis, who at the beginning of the 1920s did not yet have their own organisation but already used the symbols of NSDAP, willingly included this kind of argument in the arsenal of their propaganda slogans.

In 1921, two paramilitary units, Freikorps Rossbach and Oberland, fought for the first time under flags with a swastika in Upper Silesia. Among the members of those fighting squads were many future Silesian activists of the NSDAP, such as Joseph J. Adamczyk, Alfred Hawellek, and Edmund Heines. After the dissolution of the nationalist military organisations by the Prussian government in July 1922, a significant number of the members of these pre-Nazi organisations left Silesia seeking refuge in Bavaria, where the authorities favoured the anti-republican and nationalistic activity of Freikorpses. Some of the leaders of the voluntary squads, who remained in Silesia illegally (such as Gerhard Rossbach and Peter von Heydebreck),

---

5 W. E. Mosse (ed.), *Deutsches Judentum in Krieg und Revolution 1916-1923* (Tübingen, 1971) 471-2.

6 *Schlesische Volkstimme* 21 (1921). See also A. Roth, *Aus der Kampfzeit des Deutschvölkischen Schutz- und Trutzbundes* (Hamburg, 1939) 7f.

assumed responsibility for the propaganda for national-socialism[7]. Because of the ban on the NSDAP, its supporters in Silesia established a secret Nazi organisation, Großdeutsche Arbeitpartei (GDAP). The first local branch of that organisation was formed in Wrocław on December 11 1922[8]. When, at the beginning of January 1923, Prussia also banned the GDAP, members of that party began forming new pro-Nazi organisations (e.g., the Wanderverein 'Kamradschaft' in Zabrze) or joined the ranks of other legal nationalist organisations e.g., the Deutschevölkische Freiheitspartei and the Deutschsoziale Partei. They were successful in their propaganda, especially during the French-Belgian occupation of the Ruhr Basin in 1923. The occupation of that industrial area, so important to Germany's economy, was conducive to the growth of national-socialistic activity in Silesia. In their propaganda, they blamed Jewish financiers for political and military decisions, unfavourable for the Reich, made by the former Triple Entente countries. Some members of Silesian pro-Nazi organisations (including Rossbach and Karl G.O. Hauenstein), participated in the first convention of the NSDAP which was held in Munich, at the end of January 1923[9]. Supporters of national-socialism in Silesia also commenced preparations to actively support the *coup d'état* attempted by Hitler and General Erich von Ludendorff in Munich early in November, 1923. The units of Freishar and Bund Oberland were concentrated in the mining-metallurgic region, awaiting a signal to join in the warfare against the government of the Weimar Republic. Preparations for the putsch were backed by the Silesian Nazis' intensive propaganda campaign. Although its primary target was the government of the Reich, which was accused of inefficiency and betrayal of national interests, it did not lack anti-Semitic slogans. At the end of September 1923, a member of the National Socialists from Wrocław sent a letter to Hitler, in which he praised the leader of the NSDAP for his 'consistent anti-Semitism'[10]. He also supported the intensification of anti-Jewish propaganda in Silesia, because he thought that, because of its geopolitical

---

7 See F. Biały, *Ruch narodowosocjalistyczny w prowincjach śląskich. Początki – postępy – przejęcie władzy* (Wrocław, 1987) 42-4; R. Bessel, *Political Violence and the Rise of Nazism. The Storm Troopers in Eastern Germany 1925-1934* (New Haven-London, 1984) 17; F. Połomski, 'Uwagi o działalności NSDAP na Śląsku Opolskim', *Studia Śląskie* 10 (1966) 127; M. Maciejewski, 'Uwagi o genezie partii narodowych socjalistów i jej ideologii na Śląsku Opolskim (1925-1932)', *Studia Śląskie* 24 (1974) 90f.

8 Some time later, GDAP branches were established in Gliwice, Bytom, Kędzierzyn, Zabrze and Opole. See *Völkischer Beobachter* 104 (1922); Bundesarchiv Koblenz, Abteilung Potsdam, Reichskommissar für Überwachung der öffentlichen Ordnung, 346, f. 321, 339. See also G. Franz-Willing, *Putsch und Verbotszeit der Hitlerbewegung. November 1923 – Februar 1925* (Preussisch Oldendorf, 1977) 176.

9 W. M. Espe, *Das Buch der NSDAP. Werden, Kampf und Ziel der NSDAP* (Berlin, 1933) 101; F. Glombowski, *Organisation Heinz. Das Schicksal der Kameraden Schlageters* (Berlin, 1934) 129.

10 AAN, Mikrofilmy Aleksandryjskie – Miscellaneous German Records Collection, National Archives Microcopy USA T 84, R 4, f. 3702-3.

location, German racial purity was more threatened there than anywhere else in the country.

Even before the *coup d'état* in the capital of Bavaria, Rossbach and Heydebreck attempted to organise, in Silesia, Nazi fighting squads which were the military arm of the political groups of Hitler's party. Despite the fact that Hermann Göring, the commander-in-chief of the assault forces (Sturmabteilungen – SA), did not show any interest in expanding these paramilitary forces outside of Bavaria, they nevertheless began to rise sporadically in Silesia in the early 1920s, primarily in the district of Opole. Like the civil national-socialist organisations, the SA would employ nationalist and anti-Semitic slogans in its propaganda. Early in May 1923, a fighting squad from Zabrze raided a Polish customs and passport station and severely wounded some of its officers[11]. On this occasion the SA-men not only shouted anti-Polish slogans, but anti-Jewish ones as well. They predicted that in the near future they would 'settle accounts with the nationally-alien elements in the Upper-Silesian population', in order to 'cleanse that region of enemies of the Reich'. It is worth noting that among the SA fighting squads in Silesia, there were also occasional members who favoured Jews. In 1929, one of the fighting squads in Kluczbork was dissolved on this very charge, as its commander, Rode, was friendly with a Jewish merchant, Goszewski, from whom he rented premises for the SA meetings[12]. In the early period of the development of the Silesian Nazi organisation, i.e., until the Munich putsch, attempts to form the Schutzstaffeln squads (SS) failed. The origin of these fighting groups in Silesia was probably a 10-man paramilitary organisation that was established as early as in 1919 in Zabrze[13]. Despite some success in laying a foundation for the national-socialist organisation in Upper and Lower Silesia in the early 1920s, the NSDAP was not successful in this region, in contrast to other parts of the Reich, in transforming itself into a developed and influential political party and remained merely one of the links in the volkist movement. The Munich putsch marked the end of the first stage of the development of Silesian Nazism, which was characterised both by an inability to find a legal way for the NSDAP to be active in Prussia and by a search for methods to circumvent this ban. In this respect, the situation of the members and sympathisers of the national-socialist organisation became even worse after the defeat of the Munich perpetrators at the beginning of November 1923.

The Nazi organisation in Silesia, as well as in other regions of the Reich, was then dissolved and disintegrated. The archives show that there were not even any attempts, at least in the Polish province, to form secret local groups of the NSDAP[14]. The growth in the popularity of national socialism was not enhanced by

---

[11] *Katolik Codzienny* 105 (1923).

[12] APO, Rejencja Opolska, I 1800, fol. 573: Kriminal- und Grenzkommissariat in Kluczbork to the president of police in Gliwice, July 27 1929.

[13] M. Cygański, 'SS w pruskich prowincjach Śląska w latach 1929-1935', *Studia Śląskie* 25 (1974) 204.

[14] APO, Rejencja Opolska, I 1702, fol. 151, 153.

an improvement in the economic situation in Germany in 1924, which diminished the attractiveness of the social demagogic slogans of the NSDAP, including the 'breaking the reign of annuity' (Brechung der Zinsknechtschaft) which had a clearly anti-Semitic intent and was consistently proclaimed, especially by Gottfried Feder. The targets of this slogan were mainly Jewish capitalists in the Reich but it was also directed at the plutocracy, who must be fought in order to form a stable, German *Volksgemeinschaft*[15]. After the Munich *coup d'état*, the spread of Nazism, not only in Silesia, was impeded by German leftists led by the Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands, which were hostile towards national socialism. For Hitler's supporters in Silesia, there followed a difficult period of restrictions when they were even forced to refrain from political activity. But not all of them intended simply to give up. Some Nazis became involved in the political campaign for parliamentary elections to the Reichstag and the Landtag of Prussia in December 1924 and they began to work together with the rightist Deutschnationale Volkspartei and Deutsche Volkspartei. It should be added that both parties met with some success in the elections in Germany. The former received 19,5% of votes[16]. However, the Nationalsozialistische Freiheitsbewegung Deutschlands (NSFBD) which united Nazis and Volkists did much worse (3% of votes in all of Germany). All the above-mentioned parties employed similar or even identical propaganda slogans during the electoral campaign. Anti-Semitism, based on a national and usually a racist ideology, was a major element in their political agitation. For example, the NSFBD demanded a ban on Jewish immigration to Germany, a ban on Jews holding public office, or owning large businesses and banks; and a demand to deprive them of German citizenship[17]. These demands were almost identical with those included in the programme of the NSDAP from 1920. Analogous proposals were made in the Bavarian Landtag (July 9 1924) by Gregor Strasser, one of the most socially radical Nazi ideologists, who was also active in Silesia. He even demanded the establishment of a 'national state tribunal for the protection of German honour' to counteract the threat, including that of the Jews[18]. The adoption of unspecified repressions was also part of a secret proclamation of the NSDAP leadership issued in February 1924, that urged all members of that disbanded party 'to fight against the hostile powers of Jewry'.

The next stage in the development of national socialism in Silesia took place during the reconstruction (the so-called Neugründung) of the NSDAP at the end of 1924, after Hitler was released from prison, where he had been incarcerated for the

---

[15] Feder, *Das Programm der NSDAP*.

[16] M. Orzechowski, 'Wyniki wyborów do Parlamentu Rzeszy i Sejmu Pruskiego na Śląsku w latach 1919-1933', *Studia i Materiały z Dziejów Śląska* 7 (1966) 500f.

[17] R. Wulff, *Die Deutschvölkische Freiheitspartei 1922-1928* (Marburg, 1968) 58. See also A. Dinter, *Ursprung, Ziel und Weg der Deutschvölkischen Freiheitsbewegung. Das völkisch-soziale Programm* (Weimar, 1924).

[18] G. Strasser, *Kampf um Deutschland. Reden und Aufsätze eines Nationalsozialisten* (Munich, 1932) 26.

unsuccessful putsch in Munich. As early as January 1925, in many Silesian towns (Wrocław, Legnica, Zabrze, Gliwice, Bytom, Koźle), Helmuth Brückner, the leader of the NSFBD in Central Silesia, organized mass meetings of support for Hitler[19]. In mid-March of that year, at the convention of the NSFBD, Brückner disbanded that party and established the NSDAP for the region of Central Silesia in its place. In that same month, the NSDAP for Lower Silesia was established in Legnica, as well as the first legal local branches. A short time later, the Nazi organisation was reactivated in Upper Silesia, since the nationalist movement had experienced a serious crisis in the area in the mid-1920s. It should be noted that the first Upper-Silesian branch of the NSDAP was created in Zabrze[20]. It had only 10 members. Neither the economic situation (an improvement in the second half of the 1920s) nor political factors (the significant influence of the Catholic party, Zentrum) were conducive to the development of the national-socialist movement in this area. Despite this, the NSDAP still gained new members and supporters all over Silesia, although its number did not exceed a few hundred in 1925. At that time, there were 21,000 members of the NSDAP in 16 branches in the Reich. Undeterred by the unfavourable circumstances, Gauleiter Brückner, made constant efforts to expand the Nazi organisation. In the summer of 1925, he instructed his associate, Paul W. Jakubaschek, to re-open the SA. The first stormtrooper squad was formed in July that year in Wrocław. The beginnings of the Silesian SS were equally modest and difficult[21]. Although during the mid-1920s the Nazi organisation in Silesia was one of the weakest in the Reich, it nevertheless tried to conduct a lively propaganda campaign.

Beginning with the so-called Neugründung, the National Socialists' anti-Semitic and nationalistic agitation grew more intense. In comparison with the period before 1924, NSDAP propaganda in Silesia became even more aggressive and audible. The National-Socialists did not hesitate to be unscrupulous in disseminating their ideology, primarily among the lower middle class and, in addition to marches and mass meetings, they also had their own press including the paper, 'Völkisches Wochenblatt für Schlesien', also known as 'Schlesischer Beobachter', published by Brückner from 1924[22]. In the first issue of that paper which appeared in 1925, the Prussian Home Secretary, Carl Severing, was called 'a Jewish governor' because, by his previous decision to ban the NSDAP, 'he wanted to curry favor from the Jewish gangs in the Reich and the world' and that is the reason that he persecuted 'the healthy spirit of the German nation'. This German politician

---

[19] APO, Naczelne Prezydium Prowincji Górnośląskiej, 989 f. 22.

[20] Biały, *Ruch narodowosocjalistyczny* 110.

[21] The first branch of the SS was also established in Wrocław in 1925 with only a few members. P. W. Jakubaschk, *Helmuth Brückner. Sein Kampf und Sieg um Schlesien* (Hirschberg, 1933) 77.

[22] On the significance of the social influences in Nazism, see the monograph by E. C. Król, *Propaganda i indoktrynacja narodowego socjalizmu w Niemczech 1919-1945. Studium organizacji, treści, metod i technik masowego oddziaływania* (Warsaw, 1999).

was not the only target of the nationalist and anti-Semitic witch-hunts of the Silesian Nazis. The press also attacked Walther Rathenau, the Foreign Minister of the Reich, who was of Jewish descent and who was murdered in 1922 by the nationalistic "Organisation Consul". He promoted improved relations with former Entente countries as well as with Soviet Russia[23]. Because of this, he was called a traitor to German national interests by the Nazis and Volkists, and not only in Silesia. In addition, even after his death, he was used as a symbol and embodiment of 'Jewish politics' (*Jüdische Politik*) hostile to the Reich. After World War I, there appeared in German nationalist propaganda a common primitive, yet suggestive, pattern based on the assumption that Jews inside and outside the Reich, in collusion with former Triple Entente countries and the German Social-Democrats, 'stabbed' the Reich 'in the back' (so-called 'Dolchstosslegende') in 1918-19[24]. In this manner, they contributed to Germany's military defeat, the fall of the German Empire and the establishment of republican rule. The Nazis in Silesia were as adept in using this sort of propaganda slogans as in any other part of the Reich. As previously mentioned, the Nazis in Silesia had an additional ideological edge characterized by hostility towards Poland and the Poles. It is impossible to list all the important statements with anti-Polish content made by the NSDAP activists in this area. One of their commonly repeated public subjects was the issue of the 'bleeding' eastern border of the Reich, especially after the Polish insurrections in Silesia, which contributed to this region's separation from Germany. Strong statements on the need to fight 'the Polish element' and to oppose the 'Slavic westward thrust' were prevalent, and were included in the remarks made by Brückner at the first convention of the NSDAP in Wrocław in July 1925[25]. As will be demonstrated further on, the hostility of the Silesian Nazis towards Poland, and especially towards the Polish people in Upper Silesia, was not only expressed in pronouncements but, at times, also in physical assaults. It has to be emphasised that, in the 1930s, the anti-Polish attitude of the Silesian National Socialists was contrary to the official position of the highest authorities in the Nazi organisation[26]. The nationalism of the National Socialists in Silesia, especially in its southern administrative districts, was also directed at the Czech people. However, during the Weimar Republic, they were not

---

[23] *Schlesische Beobachter* 16 (1925). While attacking Rathenau, e.g., during the demonstration in Wrocław on September 20 1925, Nazis and Volkists encouraged attacks on all Jews. See *Die freie Meinung* 39 (1925).

[24] On this thesis, see monographs by Mosse, *Kryzys ideologii*, id., *Die Nationalisierung der Massen. Politische Symbolik und Massenbewegungen in Deutschland von den Napoleonischen Kriegen bis zum Dritten Reich* (Frankfurt-on-Main-Berlin, 1976).

[25] *Schlesischer Beobachter* 25 (1925).

[26] At the end of 1930, S.A. chief E. Röhm assured the Polish Consul-General in Munich, A. Lado, of their positive attitude towards Poland. See K. Jasik, 'Uwagi o sanacyjnych sondażach ruchu narodowych socjalistów w Niemczech (1931-1932)', *Studia nad Faszyzmem i Zbrodniami Hitlerowskimi* 3 (1977) 362.

attacked by the NSDAP with as intense a propaganda campaign as were the Poles in Upper Silesia.

It is true that the Silesian Nazis intensified their political activity in the 1920s but they did not achieve any significant success, which was of concern to the leadership of the NSDAP in Munich. In order to enhance the propagandistic effectiveness of national-socialism in Silesia, the previously mentioned Gregor Strasser visited Wrocław and Gliwice early in September 1925[27]. He discussed the programmatic foundations of this party at meetings of the NSDAP. His speeches, under the umbrella title 'What Does Adolf Hitler Want', focused on a critique of the so-called 'Dawes' plan' for German war reparations. This Nazi agitator, in a manner similar to that of other German Nationalists, felt that this plan was an example of interference by international financial circles in the internal affairs of the Reich which was strictly forbidden. Strasser's speeches on this subject did not, of course, lack anti-Jewish features. Anti-Semitic slogans, like the demand that all non-Germans be prevented from working in certain professions which was included in the programme of the NSDAP of 1920, undoubtedly convinced his audience. Known for his leftist opinions, Strasser included some anti-capitalistic ideology (nationalisation of large companies, profit sharing for workers etc.) in his speeches. It has to be added that the intensification of political agitation by the NSDAP in Silesia in the mid-1920s, did not help the growth of the Nazi organisation in any significant way. In 1926, it had only about 1,100 members in Silesia and a year later, the number even decreased by 200. It is significant that the Silesian NSDAP at that time had hardly any representatives of the working class among its ranks. This situation was not changed by agitation, carried out in Silesia by the leading Nazi propagandist, Joseph Goebbels in 1927[28]. During meetings organised in some towns, he would try to convince his audience that it was necessary for the German nation to be racially renewed in order to avert the danger of becoming 'Judaized' (*Verjudung*). Goebbels' challenge was able to strengthen anti-Semitic attitudes among Silesian Nazis, who had not ceased in their campaign against the Jews for several years. The immediate reason for this intensification was the murder of two children, the Fehse siblings, from Wrocław in 1926. Local Jews were subsequently accused of ritual murder[29].

As already mentioned, the propaganda efforts of Goebbels did not contribute in any significant way to the development of the Silesian NSDAP. For a variety of reasons, the Nazi organisation in Silesia and other regions of the Reich experienced an internal crisis in the mid 1920s, although there were attempts made to overcome it. To that end, in 1926, the Silesian NSDAP was transformed into a national union (Landesverband) led by Brückner and Erich Rosikat as his deputy.

---

[27] APO, Rejencja Opolska, I 1781, f. 59. See also *Schlesische Beobachter* 35 (1925); *Schlesische Tagespost* 207 (1925).

[28] K. Jonca, *Polityka narodowościowa Trzeciej Rzeszy na Śląsku Opolskim (1933-1940). Studium polityczno-prawne* (Katowice, 1970) 95.

[29] *Volkswacht* 135 (1926).

The crisis in the national-socialist organisation was caused, among other things, by ideological controversies among the leadership of the NSDAP. This caused the followers of the Strasser brothers, Gregor and Otton, to form a separate political party, the Arbeitsgemeinschaft der nord- und westdeutschen Gaue der NSDAP, in autumn 1925. Its programme included anti-Semitic slogans promoting the expulsion of all Jews who had arrived in the Reich after the unification of Germany in 1871[30]. This was an even more radical demand than those included in the 1920 programme of the NSDAP. The Silesian Nazi leaders, Brückner and Rosikat, sympathised with the leftist organisation of the Strasser brothers. Despite stagnation in the growth of the NSDAP in Silesia, the National Socialists succeeded in installing their representative in the town council in Zabrze (Hans Cholewa, followed by Max Fillusch). It should be noted that in the second half of the 1920s, a significant fluctuation in the number of NSDAP members was a common phenomenon in Silesia. Between 1926-9, the party made several changes in its organisational structure in the Silesian provinces[31]. The formation of the SA and the SS in that area was not very successful either. From January to April 1929, the number of stormtrooper squad members in Upper Silesia even fell from 204 to 157. In the province of Lower-Silesia, there were barely five such squads[32]. The SA squad in Świdnica was particularly active. Its members became 'famous' after a raid on a group of Social-Democrats (SPD) who organised, in this town with its strong nationalist feelings, a meeting on September 27 1929. This was in response to an earlier mass meeting of the local branch of the NSDAP under the slogan, 'Reichsbanner – the foremost agency for the protection of Jews'. At the rally, the Świdnica Nazis repeated their typically volkist propaganda against the Jews, stressing especially their leftist character. The speaker, Rentneister, a National-Socialist from Vienna, even equated the SPD and so-called Jewry[33]. Although his speech contained no new material, it became, through its incitement to fight 'the alien forces' in the Reich, one of the pretexts for the raid on the meeting of the Social-Democrats. The Świdnica incident was given a great deal of publicity in Germany for an entirely different reason. The defense lawyer of the SS for the accused, who numbered in the teens, was the famous Nazi lawyer, Hans Frank. During the two trials (December 14 1929 and June 12 1930), Hitler himself appeared as a witness, and exploited this opportunity to propagandise the programme of the NSDAP.

It is true that the Nazi leader primarily attempted to explain the principles of SA policy, but he also included references to the situation in Germany. In his tes-

---

30 See R. Kühnl, *Die nationalsozialistische Linke 1925-1930* (Meisenheim am Glan, 1966) 26f; P. Moreau, *Nationalsozialismus von links. Die "Kampfgemeinschaft Revolutionärer Nationalsozialisten" und die "Schwarze Front" Otto Strassers 1930-1935* (Stuttgart, 1985) 12f.

31 Biały, *Ruch narodowosocjalistyczny* 124f.

32 *Schlesischer NS-Beobachter* 19 (1933).

33 Biały, *Ruch narodowosocjalistyczny* 172f; H. Wolan, 'Świdnickie procesy narodowosocjalistycznych bojówkarzy (1929-1930)', *Studia Śląskie* 30 (1976) 342f.

timony of June 1930, Hitler spoke at length about the so-called 'Jewish Problem', quoting his views as presented in his book, *Mein Kampf*, of the racial inferiority of Jews and their responsibility, together with the SPD and Communists, for the crisis in the Reich after World War I, etc. His description of the 'hostile and perverse activity' of the Jews, who were devouring the German nation like parasites and had supporters in the left-wing parties, and in the economic and administrative sections of the Reich, convinced him of the necessity for the Nazis to take control of the country. It should be noted, that the administrators of justice treated the raiders of the SPD gathering in Świdnica in a very gentle manner[34]. The nationalistic and anti-Semitic speeches made by Hitler in 1929 and 1930 were the climax of the Silesian Nazis' propaganda campaign in the second half of the 1920s, and represented a new era in the development of the NSDAP in that area. As an illustration of the slogans used in propaganda during the above-mentioned period, it is worth describing other examples of anti-Semitic statements made by the National Socialists.

Max Fillusch from Zabrze, an activist of the Silesian NSDAP, was one of the especially hostile anti-Semites. At a party meeting of July 17 1927, he called German Jews 'an outpost of communism'[35]. In a speech in Opole (June 20 1929), he demanded the 'expulsion' of Jews from the economy by the nationalisation of syndicates and consortiums, that should be carried out 'as soon as possible, by the racially-pure state leadership of the Reich'. Like other Nazis, Fillush claimed that the weakness of the political system of parliamentary democracy in Germany was a result of 'Jewish policy'. Using the above-mentioned myth of a 'stab in the back', he proposed that Germany should cease to fulfil its obligations under the Treaty of Versailles (the so-called *Erfüllungspolitik*). Similar proposals were made by Helmuth Brückner, another active anti-Semite of Silesian Nazis, in numerous speeches. In a series of addresses at meetings of the NSDAP in Opole, Kędzierzyn, Racibórz, Kluczbork and Gliwice in September 1927, he expounded the thesis that, after World War I, the German state became a 'Jewish republic', since its authorities were dominated by Jews[36]. Brückner was especially fond of using the term 'a Zionist Jew' (*zionistischer Jude*), which pointedly expressed his critical attitude towards Jews, since it symbolised the nationalistic views of a segment of these people who were convinced of their historic mission. In Brückner's opinion, such Jews could never live together with Germans, because 'there can never be a reconciliation of both nationalist elements and neither will submit to the other.' During the so-called German demonstrations (*deutsche Kundgebung*) held on August 19

---

[34] *Schlesische Bergwacht* 300 (1929); *Schlesische Tagespost* 137 (1930).

[35] Fillusch, in his speech "Warum nicht Marxist, sondern Nationalist" accused the Communists of supporting Jews. APO, Rejencja Opolska, I 1800, fol. 83.

[36] For disseminating these slanders, Brückner was tried before a court in Opole but the latter did not find any offence against the Reich authorities or especially against Jews. APO, Rejencja Opolska, I 1827, f. 1774. See also *Der Nationale Sozialist fur die Ostmark* 30 (1928).

1928 in Bytom, the leader of the Silesian National Socialists publicly demanded that Jews in the Reich should be deprived of the right to publicly express their political opinions[37]. 'Whenever Jews speak' Brückner stated, 'they always lie, incite, put pressure on something, demand some sort of privileges, crave power and influence, spread confusion and outrage'. The gauleiter of the Silesian NSDAP did not, however, dare to propose any radical solutions to the 'Jewish Problem', uttering only threats against the Jews, which fit well into the pattern of anti-Semitic Nazi propaganda. Significantly, he repeated Hitler's thesis of 'Jewish states within states', referring not only to the Reich after World War I.

In Silesia in the second half of the 1920s there was a Nazi activist famous for his anti-Semitic views, Türk from Świdnica, who, even before the above-mentioned raid by the SA fighting squad on the SPD meeting, had spoken about Jews many times. He expressed his attitude most clearly towards them in Opole on June 8 1929 when he said: 'Jewry is and will remain the greatest danger for the entire world'[38]. To fight them should be the duty of every National Socialist 'if he really considers the welfare of the Fatherland and its further development to be the ultimate good, for which he is ready to sacrifice himself completely'. Yet Türk did not define the methods by which that Jewish danger should be averted. Like Brückner, Türk stated that Jews controlled the German civil authorities, the judiciary, the press, and the economy. In his speeches, Türk also justified anti-Semitism by racial arguments, which was not as a rule part of the position of the Silesian Nazis, whose hostility towards the Jews was primarily political, economic, and cultural, but not biological or anthropological. Türk regarded Jews to be hybrids (*Mischlinge*) of German and, for unknown reasons, Australian, and even Negro blood. In addition to the usual anti-Semitic slogans, this National Socialist would also accuse some German politicians, especially Rathenau and Prussian Home Secretary, Albert Grzesiński, of betraying national interests. The latter was criticised for the 'offence' of marrying a Jewess[39]. Unsubtle attacks on Jews were made in a speech delivered by Gregor Strasser at a meeting of an NSDAP group in Opole at the end of September 1929. The central theme of his speech was a critique of Owen D. Young's plan, which was secretly supposed to transform Germany into 'an international association of Jewish financiers.' In Opole, Strasser did not say anything that was new to Nazi propaganda. This National Socialist's proposal to make the principle of 'a pure race for a healthy economy' the basis for excluding all non-Germans from the Reich's legislation and taking all state privileges away from them was also not very original[40]. In their anti-Semitic agitation,

---

37 M. Maciejewski, 'Z problematyki kształtowania się partii narodowych socjalistów w rejencji opolskiej przed 1933 r.', *Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny Sobótka* 31/3 (1976) 465.

38 APO, Rejencja Opolska, I 1800, fol. 529.

39 The same argument was raised by one Gengler from Nuremberg at the NSDAP meeting in Racibórz on April 13 1929. Ibid. f. 483; Maciejewski, 'Uwagi o genezie' 196.

40 Maciejewski, 'Z problematyki kształtowania się partii' 467.

the Nazis in Silesia did not only use the spoken, but also the written word. In addition to newspaper articles, they also distributed numerous leaflets which have been preserved by the State Archives in Opole. In one of them (1927), the National Socialists from Kluczbork called for a boycott of Jewish shops in that town[41]. In another leaflet published that year, more radical actions against Jews were predicted. What kind of actions these would be was not specified; only that 'someone has to oppose those wily exploiters and poisoners of the German nation'. It is difficult to state unequivocally whether the Nazis in Silesia, as early as the second half of the 1920s, were serious about such threats, or whether the predictions of repression of the Jewish people were aimed primarily at increasing the popularity of the NSDAP in that region. Nevertheless, anti-Semitism and nationalism did not appear to be, at that time, factors in attracting new members or followers to that party.

In the period under discussion, the NSDAP in Silesia was still a weak organisation, without any major political successes. This was confirmed by the results of the Reichstag and Prussian Landtag elections in 1928. In the first, the parliamentary elections, the NSDAP received a mere 2.6% of all German votes and in the second, barely 2.9% in all of Prussia. The NSDAP fared even worse in the Reichstag election results from the region of Silesia (about 1% of votes)[42]. These unsuccessful elections forced the NSDAP leadership in Silesia to intensify their political activity by a significantly greater number of party meetings in 1928-9. Nevertheless, the Nazi Party in this area, as all over the Reich, continued to be an insignificant force on the political scene. Its weakness was once again evident in the next elections, i.e., the elections to the Landtag from Silesian provinces that were held on November 17 1929. It received only 6 parliamentary seats[43]. 1929 was, however, the last 'locust year' in the history of the NSDAP in Silesia and other provinces of the Reich. The prospects for the political success of the National Socialists improved, as the great economic crisis in Germany intensified in the early 1930s. It should be remembered that in the Reichstag elections of September 14 1930, the NSDAP received 18.3% of votes in the Reich and 22.9% in Lower Silesia. They received far fewer votes in Upper Silesia, only 9.5%, which confirmed the previously discussed trend of the Nazi Party in the various provinces of Silesia. It should be added that in 1930, 1500-2000 people per month joined the NSDAP in Silesia[44]. At the end of that year, the Gau Schlesien der NSDAP was second only to the Rhineland district of Prussia in the number of members and the level of po-

---

41 APO, Rejencja Opolska, I 1795, fol. 41.

42 See H. Volz, *Daten der Geschichte der NSDAP* (Berlin-Leipzig, 1939) 24-5; J. Bahlcke, *Die Geschichte der schlesischen Territorien von den Anfängen bis zum Ausbruch des zweiten Weltkrieges* in J. Bahlcke (ed.), *Schlesien und die Schlesier* (Munich, 1996) 136.

43 T. Kruszewski, 'Narodowi socjaliści w landtagach prowincji śląskich (1929-1933)', *Studia nad Faszyzmem i Zbrodniami Hitlerowskimi* 20 (1997) 378.

44 Bessel, *Political Violence* 22; T. Kruszewski, *Partia narodowosocjalistyczna na Śląsku w latach 1933-1945. Organizacja i działalność* (Wrocław, 1995) 16.

litical activity. It was not only members of the lower middle class and a few members of the proletariat, but also Silesian noblemen and the aristocracy (including U. Von Woyrsch and E. Von Reibnitz) who now joined the Nazi Party. The NSDAP had a growing support among academics. In the elections to the Student Association in Wrocław in December 1930, according to Franciszek Biały, the Nazi list received the support of > 70% of the students[45]. As in other areas of Germany, it was mainly the young who joined the ranks of the NSDAP in Silesia. In 1930, 36.8% of the party's members were 18-30 years of age. It is interesting that in the same year, there were two cases in Silesia, Głogów and Zgorzelec, of Social-Democrats applying for membership in the NSDAP. The stormtroopers of the SA, who numbered 4,700 in Germany in 1930 and two years later numbered almost 40,000, became ever more audacious in Silesia. As early as April 1929, they became 'famous' after beating up, in Opole, Polish actors visiting from the theatre in Katowice[46]. The murder of the labourers, August and Emil Bass (February 16 1932), committed by members of the SA from Kluczbork as well as the Nazi militants' raid on the house of the leader of the Polish minority in Silesia, Arka Bożek from Markowice (August 8/9 1932) had far-reaching repercussions. The following day, the SA murdered the Polish Communist Konrad Piecuch from Potempa[47].

The beginning of the 1930s represented the final stage in the formation of the Silesian NSDAP's nationalistic and anti-Semitic propaganda during the Weimar Republic. Not by chance, it coincided with an intensification in attacks by the SA, as the Nazis felt they could behave with impunity and achieve ever greater political success in this area. It should therefore come as no surprise that their propaganda became more aggressive and audacious than it had been in the 1920s. The growth of the Silesian NSDAP's activity was evident in the avalanche of party meetings and party demonstrations. The Nazis' political agitation intensified before the above-mentioned elections to the Reichstag of September 14 1930. In July, the gauleiter from the Ruhr Basin, Josef Wagner, and the 'theoretician' of national-socialism, Gottfried Feder from Munich, arrived in Wrocław[48]. The speeches made by both Nazis contained clear anti-Semitic references. Referring to his concept of 'breaking the reign of annuity', Feder pointed to the Jews as being the mainstay of a German plutocracy. 'We cannot agree to being always ruled by capitalist crooks, especially when our workers are facing ever greater hardships, and our children are hungry. We have had enough humiliation, enough Jewish greed, enough suffering for the German nation.' The speeches of Gregor Strasser and Hans Frank in Silesia (Wrocław, Świdnica and other towns), during the electoral campaign to the Reichstag in 1930, contained a similar demagogic tone, combining elements of social

[45] Biały, *Ruch narodowosocjalistyczny* 153.

[46] A. Nowak, 'Masakra artystów teatru katowickiego w Opolu w dniu 28 kwietnia 1929 r. w świetle dokumentów niemieckich', *Studia Śląskie* 3 (1960) 140f.

[47] See E. Klein, 'Mord w Potempie. Kapitulacja Republiki Weimarskiej przed Hitlerem', *Studia Śląskie* 7 (1963) 102.

[48] *Schlesische Tagespost* 161 (1930); *Schlesische Zeitung* 451 (1930).

radicalism with nationalism and anti-Semitism[49]. The climax was Hitler's visit to Wrocław (September 12), when he presented his party programme to the many members and supporters of the NSDAP (> 30,000) gathered in Centenary Hall. In his carefully staged speech, he repeated the previously described stipulations concerning future restrictions of Jews. He focused, however, more on explaining the essence of Nazi ideology, pointing to the synthesis of two factors, nationalism and socialism, that supposedly formed the heart of this phenomenon[50]. Brückner, in his speeches in Wrocław (September 16) and Zabrze (September 28) interpreted national-socialism in an analogous way. He tried to prove that Nazism, as a national movement, was opposed to so-called Jewry 'as a basic principle of its existence' since the latter was racially and culturally alien to German society and as a result was 'an ulcer on the healthy body of the German nation'. The words of the Silesian NSDAP Gauleiter were almost a duplicate of the thesis that Hitler presented in *Mein Kampf*. Absorbed in a struggle for political power, the Nazis in Silesia in the 1930s generally did not make a deeper analysis of the so-called 'Jewish Problem'. In general, they restricted themselves to formulating stereotyped opinions about Jews, which they had used in their previous propaganda.

After the NSDAP success in the elections to the Reichstag of September 14 1930, the Nazis emphasised their hostility towards Poland and the Poles in Upper Silesia more than they had previously. It should be emphasised that the nationalism of the National Socialists in Silesia had combined anti-Semitic and anti-Polish elements from the 1920s. While quite a number of Silesian Nazis bore Polish names (Adamczyk, Biskupek, Dombrowski, Kozik, Przewodzik, etc.), they did not consider themselves to be Poles. It appears that hostility towards Jews and Poles was intensified among Silesian National Socialists by the Geneva Convention of 1922 which required protection of national minorities in Upper Silesia[51]. Nazi propaganda, even during the Weimar Republic, saw this document as a legal foundation for the baseless privileges granted to both nations. Occasions on which the NSDAP could demonstrate its anti-Polish sentiment included the annual anniversaries of the plebiscite and the Silesian uprisings after World War I. On one such occasion, the Nazis and other nationalists (including the Deutschnaitonale Volkspartei and the Stahlhelm) organised 'a demonstration of mourning' in Racibórz on March 21 1931. During that rally, accusations levelled against Poland were similar to those made after the already mentioned raid on the actors from Katowice in Opole in April, 1929. One such accusation was that Poles were planning a military action, the goal of which was to annex all of Upper Silesia to Poland[52]. It should be

[49] Biały, *Ruch narodowosocjalistyczny* 194.

[50] *Schlesische Zeitung* 466 (1930); *Schlesische Tagespost* 216 (1930).

[51] Polish and German academic papers about the Convention appeared even before World War II, e.g., S. Komar, *Górnośląska konwencja genewska między Polską a Niemcami 1922-1937* (Katowice, 1937); M. Korowicz, *Górnośląska ochrona mniejszości 1922-1937 na tle stosunków narodowościowych* (Katowice, 1938).

[52] Biały, *Ruch narodowosocjalistyczny* 205.

added that the Nazis, together with the Stahlhelm, Bund Oberland, and Wehrwolf, were preparing, as early as 1931, to counteract an alleged Polish attack.

At the end of May of that year, on the tenth anniversary of the third Silesian uprising, Brückner organised a huge anti-Polish demonstration in Wrocław. Its participants applauded the words of Stahlhelm leader, Franz Seldte: 'There lies Germany's east; there lies Germany's destiny'[53]. Brückner called upon those assembled to battle in order to regain the areas of Silesia, Wielkopolska, and Pomerania, which were 'stolen' from the Reich. The Nazis also commemorated the Selbsschutz militants who fell in the battle of St Anna's Mount in 1921. On that occasion, they organised a rally in Gliwice (March 29 1921) with the participation of over 2,000 members of the NSDAP and Stahlhelm. It was Josef Adamczyk who, despite his name, incited the members to battle the 'Polish element' at the NSDAP convention in Brzeg late in November 1931. All propaganda efforts made by the Nazis in Silesia in the early 1930s had one aim only; to increase NSDAP membership and society's support for the party. It was, therefore, not accidental that anti-Polish attitudes were more prevalent in the eastern regions of Silesia while anti-Semitism was more prevalent in the west. Hostility towards so-called Jewry was often present at public meetings and in the press in Wrocław, where lived, during the period under discussion, 90% of all Jews of the Wrocław District, approximately 20,000 persons[54].

The political activity of the NSDAP in Silesia once again intensified before the elections to the Reichstag of July 31 1932. It should be remembered that it was in this election that the Nazi Party received 37.8% of all votes in Germany and won 230 seats in parliament. Support for the NSDAP was even greater in Lower Silesia (45.3%), whereas in Upper Silesia, the party received only 29.3% of votes. During the next elections to the Reich's parliament, on November 6 1932, there was a significant decrease in the number of votes for the NSDAP in Silesia as well as all over Germany.[55] Worse results in Silesia might have been influenced by an internal conflict of the leaders, Brückner and Rosikat. The former supported an alliance with large landowners, whereas the latter wanted to deepen the party's contacts with the poorer social strata. Both Brückner and Rosikat continued their nationalistic and anti-Semitic propaganda. For Brückner, hostility towards Jews assumed an anti-Communist or anti-Socialist form, while the latter's hostility was expressed primarily as anti-Capitalism[56]. The 1932 Reich presidential elections

---

[53] K. Fiedor, 'Antypolska działalność Stahlhelmu. Zjazd wrocławski w 1931 r.', *Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny Sobótka* 22/2 (1968) 270.

[54] K. Jonca, *"Noc kryształowa" i casus Herschela Grynszpana* (Wrocław, 1992) 31.

[55] In Lower Silesia, the NSDAP received 41.1% of the vote, in Upper Silesia, 26.8% (with an average of 33.1% in all Germany). Bessel, *Political Violence* 25; Orzechowski, 'Wyniki wyborów' 500f.

[56] A majority of NSDAP members in Silesia did not support the radical concepts of Rosikat. As a result, the *Kampfgemeinschaft Revolutionärer Nationalsozialisten*, movement

were held in an atmosphere of growing political activity from the NSDAP in Silesia. It confirmed the correctness of the previous evaluation of the condition of national-socialism in the area. In the first and second run-off for the presidential elections, Hitler received many more votes in Lower than in Upper Silesia. Although the leader of the NSDAP was not elected president of Germany, the Nazis continued their propaganda to create Hitler's image as the Man of Providence for the Reich. In October 1932, he visited Wrocław and Opole to win new members for the NSDAP and took the opportunity to proclaim his anti-Semitic slogans, which did not deviate from the previous pattern of anti-Jewish propaganda. In that same month Hermann Göring (in Wrocław), Gregor Strasser (in Gliwice) and Joseph Goebbels (in Zgorzelec and Legnica) agitated for national-socialism[57]. In all those towns, these prominent Nazis raised the issue of the 'Jewish Problem'. The tone of their pronouncements was similar in each town. The content of their characteristically crude and demagogic speeches can be summarized as follows: Jews pose a threat to Germans and other Aryans and this threat demands remedial measures. Before this problem can be solved by instituting various restrictions and repressions, the NSDAP must seize power in the Reich. 'The time to settle accounts with the Jews will come soon and then there will be no mercy for them, just as they have none now for the Germans', Goebbels said in Zgorzelec on October 20 1932.

When the president of the Reich, Paul von Hindenburg, entrusted Hitler with the office of the German chancellor on January 30 1933, the National Socialists organised a large rally in Wrocław in support of the new government. Seizure of power by the Nazis ushered in the next stage in the development of the NSDAP in Silesia and the Reich but now it was a state party (Staatpartei) with a decisive political influence. Thus ended a period in the history of the Silesian NSDAP that had lasted for more than 10 years, during which it developed from a small and weak organisation into an energetic and active political power. Hitler's *Machtübernahme* also ushered in a new, and tragic stage in the history of the Jews in Germany and in other European countries. As early as 1933, restrictions and repressions against Jews, which had been predicted by the Nazis in Silesia and other parts of the Reich, were put into effect. These restrictions and repressions included their subjugation to an expanded racist legislation which, in Upper Silesia, would become valid only after the nullification of the above-mentioned Geneva Convention in 1937[58], but which had been applied without interference from international law from the dawn of the Third Reich in Lower Silesia. The ideological basis for the anti-Jewish policy of the Nazi authorities in 1933 was, to an extent difficult to determine precisely, based on the nationalistic and anti-Semitic propaganda of the National Socialists during the Weimar Republic. Its essence, scope,

established in 1930 by O. Strasser had very little support there. APO, Rejencja Opolska, I 1830, fol. 573.

[57] *Nationalsozialistische Tageszeitung* 231 (1932); *Deutsche Ostfront* 97 (1932).

[58] For more, see Jonca, *Polityka narodowościowa* 191f; F. Połomski, *Ustawodawstwo rasistowskie III Rzeszy i jego stosowanie na Górnym Śląsku* (Katowice, 1970).

and method in Silesia, beginning in 1933, were basically not different from the slogans propagated by the NSDAP in other regions of the Reich. More than elsewhere in Germany, they were tied, for geopolitical reasons, to anti-Polish or even anti-Slavonic attitudes. Both factors of the Silesian National Socialists during the Weimar Republic, in turn, blended with the racist premises of the NSDAP's political doctrine. Racism was more frequently the basis for the local Nazi attitude towards Jews than towards Poles. After Hitler's *Machtübernahme* it also became an instrument of policy employed by German authorities towards the Polish population in the Reich. Although their destiny in Germany was not as tragic as that of the Jews, they were severely persecuted and restricted, especially when the Geneva Convention had ceased to be in force.

**Karol Jonca**

# THE FINAL SOLUTION TO THE 'JEWISH PROBLEM' IN THE SILESIAN PROVINCE 1940-1945

As a result of the deportation of Jews to extermination camps in 1941-4 Hitler's Germany totally annihilated all centres of the Jewish community in Silesia, some of which dated as far back as the twelfth century. Jewish circles, experiencing periods of tolerance and extreme intolerance, managed to become firmly assimilated with German and Polish elements. They could also boast of their considerable contribution to economic life (banks, joint stock companies in heavy and light industry, railroad engineering, etc.), cultural life, the development of science (which is supported by the fact that five scholars of Jewish origin from Silesia won Nobel Prizes: Fritz Haber, Max Born, Paul Ehrlich, Otto Stern and Conrad Bloch). Many Jewish scientists and politicians born in Silesia became famous in Europe or even in the world. Among them was the originator of the social-democratic movement, Ferdinand Lassalle – buried at Wrocław's Jewish cemetery, the historian Heinrich Graetz – the author of the monumental work dealing with the history of Jews, as well as a former student of Wrocław University born in that city, St Edith Stein.

* * *

In the period of 1933-9, the strategic target of Hitler's anti-Jewish policy was limited to the elimination of 'non-Aryans' from the German 'national commonwealth' (Volksgemeinschaft). The achievement of that goal was supported by the means of legislation, politics and economy, as well as by the wide range of 'administrative measures' (*Massnahmen*). After the election of March 5 1933, the Nazis implemented the policy of 'intimidation' (*Einschüchterung*) of Jews. For example, on April 1 1933 they organised a boycott of shops owned by Jews, and on April 7 a law governing the reorganisation of the civil service (*Beamtengesetz*) was passed, the aim of which was to eliminate civil servants of Jewish descent from public life. 1935 saw the well-known 'Nuremberg legislation' governing citizenship, which had far reaching social and political repercussions.

Nazism was a decisive factor in causing the Jews to play a secondary role in Germany's social and economic life. The pillaging of property was done in compliance with the law, and that institutionalised plunder was reinforced by the German court's judicial decisions. The wave of restrictive decrees, circulars and instructions from the turn of 1938-9 introduced bans on Jews' visits to the theatre and concert halls, it barred Jewish students from universities and Jewish pupils from non-Jewish schools. It forbade them to own and drive motor vehicles, use sleeping-cars, own radios, etc. The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Joachim von Ribbentrop, meeting with the French minister Georges Bonnet on December 8 1938, dispelled all doubts about the range of anti-Jewish repression: 'The German government has decided to equate Jews with criminal elements.' Ribbentrop's pronouncement included an allusion to moving Jews to the 'criminal districts'.

At the point when Hitler seized power in Germany, Jews were firmly assimilated and integrated in German society, to a far greater extent than, for example, in Poland or other Central and Eastern European countries. In the period of the Weimar Republic, Jews constituted nearly 1% of the entire German population. Assimilated politically, they identified themselves with the German reason of state. In the period of Wilhelm's rule, around 23,000 Jews converted to Protestantism or Roman Catholicism, thus paving their way to social-economic and political advancement. It was with anxiety that Jewish sociologists wrote about the process of the Jews' blending into the German environment, and Fritz Teilhaber (1911) even spoke out on the annihilation of the Jewish element.

After the *Machtübernahme* of 1933, the process of separating Jews from non-Jews affected around half a million German Jews (not including mixed marriages). Herbert Strauss stated that even as early as 1925, there were 564,379 Jews living in Germany (the so-called *Glaubensjuden*); however, after 1933 in particular, the number of Jews rapidly decreased as a result of intensified emigration from Germany to the countries of Western Europe, the United States, Africa, etc. The following figures illustrate the decrease in the number of Jews as a result of emigration: in June 1933 in Germany there were 499,682 Jews; in May 1939 only 299,390; in September 1939 there were 185,000; in October 1941 there were 164,000 Jews.

* * *

After the *Machtübernahme*, Nazi policy, the intention of which was the total elimination of Jews from the German national commonwealth, revealed two distinct stages. During the first one, from 1933-40, the government of the German Reich intensified Jewish emigration, and, sustaining the appearances of legality, it defined the term Jew; the authorities also brought about expropriation by means of the 'aryanisation' process; while the second period, in 1941-5, saw the physical annihilation of Jews. The stages of this policy can be traced in relation to German Jews living in what was then the Silesian province.

The annihilation of the Jews was a process which was carried out within the so-called *Gesetzmässigkeit*, which relied on both a decision-making mechanism as well as on efficient administration (of state, party and police). Without undue details concerning Nazi legislation, one should mention that the special regulations included in the Nuremberg laws of September 15 1935 and in the 'aryanisation' laws, issued immediately after the pogrom of Jews on the Kristallnacht of November 9/10 1938 excluded Jews from the German economy, production of material goods, trade, crafts, etc. On the strength of one of the most important 'aryanisation' decrees issued on December 3 1938, the 'aryanisation' of industrial, woods and agricultural establishments was introduced, together with a ban on the purchase of real estate and trading in valuables, as well as the obligation for Jews to deposit their stocks and bonds. In the first weeks of 1939, Jews were eliminated from the retail trade, fair events; and they were forbidden to hold managerial positions.

* * *

The above-mentioned law of April 7 1933 on the reorganisation of managerial personnel included repressive measures aimed at Jews and ushered in the 'elimination' of Jewish civil servants 'in the interest of Aryan citizens' and to 'eliminate Jewish influences and communist elements' (§ 3). Attempts to counteract that law, and the resulting dismissal of civil servants of Jewish descent, were made by Jewish leaders from Gliwice: Georg Weissmann and Arnold Wiener. Their appeal to the League of Nations resulted in the annulment of anti-Jewish legislative measures by the German government and the acknowledgment of Jews as a minority in the Upper-Silesian post-plebiscite area, which was done in compliance with the Polish-German Geneva Convention of May 15 1922. The Jews who lived in that area took advantage of the legal protection the Polish minority in the Opole region was entitled to (which also applied to German people in the Polish Voivodship of Silesia) until the convention expired on May 15 1937. Undoubtedly, there were some 'uncontrolled' anti-Jewish demonstrations by members of Hitler's organisations, but Jews were able to claim indemnity, and they even were entitled to state financial assistance. In the Opole region there were 38 Jewish organisations, including four Zionist sections and the Zionist sports club Hakoah, which benefited from the atmosphere of protection created by the Geneva Convention. In addition, there were eight Masonic lodges or organisations, the profile of which was similar to the lodges (Bytom, Gliwice, Racibórz, Zabrze). Vocational agricultural courses organised for young people emigrating to Palestine could be financed from state subsidies. The relatively propitious situation under the rule of the Geneva Convention lasted only to mid-July 1937. From then onwards, the whole gamut of the German Reich's racist legislation, including the infamous Nuremberg laws, was extended to include the area of the Opole District [Regierungsbezirk Oppeln].

The Jews in Silesia did not escape the events of the "Kristallnacht" of November 9/10 1938. On the orders of the chief of the Nazi Security Service, Rein-

hard Heydrich, on the night of October 29/30 1938, the police forces and the members of the '53 Standarte SS' from Bytom expelled about 6,000 Jews who were Polish citizens dwelling in the Reich. Thousands of Jews were driven across the Polish-German border near Zbąszynek-Zbąszyn, Chojnice, Dworski Młyn, etc. The "Kristallnacht"'s Jewish pogrom, which struck every locality inhabited by Jews was particularly cruel. In his report to his superiors, the commander of the 'SS sector' in Opole mentioned 18 localities in the region in which his subordinates were ordered to carry out the Jewish pogrom, set fire to, or demolish synagogues, shops, flats, stores, etc. In Lower Silesia all sanctuaries and funeral parlours were ruined, Jewish cemeteries were profaned. Jewish men were arrested and deported to the concentration camp in Buchenwald. 6,000 Jews from Gliwice were killed there, together with a few more from Nysa, Wrocław and other Silesian localities. As a result of the pogrom 'overseen' by Goebbels, 91 Jews were killed, almost all synagogues in Germany were either demolished or burnt (in Silesia alone 80 synagogues were burnt down), about 30,000 Jewish males were deported to concentration camps. The contributions (*Sühneleistung*) paid into the Reich's treasury led Jews to extreme indigence. The 'aryanisation' of their property was a crucial point in the last phase of the restrictions which preceded their physical annihilation ('the final solution to the Jewish problem'). Legal and voluntary emigrations were halted by Heydrich's decree of October 23 1941. It is known that 544 Jews emigrated from Wrocław in 1940, while individual persons also left the city in the spring of 1941.

Immediately after the all-Germany pogrom of Jews on November 12 1938, the Prime Minister, Herman Göring, set the course of his anti-Jewish policy. As a result of all the drastic restrictions, Jews were pushed to the margin of social and economic life. Undoubtedly, there were some opportunities for emigration, which allowed a significant percentage of Jews to leave the country. On March 31 the number of Jews in the Opole District was 3,020. In March 1941 just one more person emigrated. The Jews' legal existence came to an end with the announcement of Heydrich's decree of September 1 which ordered Jews to be marked with a 'Star of David'. At that time there were as many as 1,386 Jews in Bytom; in Gliwice 902; in Zabrze 624; in Racibórz 309; Opole 299 and smaller groups survived in a few other localities of the Opole District (Prudnik, Koźle, Strzelce Opolskie, etc.). Their fate would be a tragic one, like that of the children, whose plight was discussed on January 29 1939 during a session of the Upper-Silesian Board of Jewish Communities in Gliwice, because hopes for sending Jewish children to Holland, England and other countries did not come to fruition as the organisations in those countries were unable to take the previously determined intakes.

* * *

The decision for the total physical liquidation of Jews must have been made by a select body of the Reich's supreme administrative authorities before the infamous Wannseekonferenz which was held on January 20 1942, and which was devoted to the technical aspect of achieving 'the final solution to the Jewish problem'.

Rafał Lemkin proved that physical annihilation need not be confined to isolating Jews in concentration camps and using different methods to kill them, including gas chambers. The idea was that mass removals and deportations of Jewish people from their former homes would prove fatal to people, particularly the elderly. Miserable living conditions in the places of deportation combined with the sheer burden of superhuman physical effort hastened their annihilation.

Without doubt, exactly when the decision to begin the process of physical extermination of Jews was made has been unknown; however, there appears to be no doubt that Hitler made this decision, although not necessarily in writing. The proof lies in what preceded the carrying out of the extermination idea. Let us refer to just two such events. First the "Kristallnacht" pogrom of November 9 1938 began immediately after the speech made by Chief of Propaganda of the NSDAP, Joseph Goebbels, which was addressed to members of Hitler's 'old guard' and state and party dignitaries present in the audience at Munich's townhall. This was soon after Goebbels' conversation with Hitler, who left the room after that conversation and before Goebbels' speech. Hitler did not give any orders in writing to begin the pogrom, neither did Hermann Göring, who, at the Nuremberg trials of the main Nazi war criminals, admitted during questioning by the accuser Roman Jackson to numerous initiatives aimed at German Jews, but he also tried to prove that on that night he did not participate in the pogrom.

The carrying out of severe anti-Jewish policies, together with the 'aryanisation' of Jewish property after the "Kristallnacht" pogrom rested with Göring – the plenipotentiary of the four-year plan. During a secret conference of December 6 1938, Göring assured the gauleiters (district leaders) present, the chief of security Reinhard Heydrich and several other dignitaries that all anti-Jewish restrictions had been established on the previous Sunday during a private conversation with Hitler. Göring repeated Hitler's opinion that the gauleiters were charged with caring for the 'Jews' existence', and added that 'the Jewish problem ought to be solved'. Hitler's wish was, as Göring emphasised, that 'the dejudaisation of household property' be brought about last and only at a certain signal (*bestimmtes Stichwort*). Göring warned that only the government had the right to issue the *massnahmen* for 'the solution of the Jewish problem'. The minutes from that conference, as well as the minutes from a separate secret conference in Göring's office organised on November 12 1938, leave no doubt as to the decision-making methods and that Hitler himself made the decision. Although he spoke from behind the scenes, so to speak, he gave verbal orders which were also verbally communicated by Göring to a select group of the highest dignitaries. Hans Mommsen aptly remarked that Hitler somehow hid behind

the screen of the process of annihilation of Jews; he consented to those unpopular decisions, but did not want to accept any evident responsibility in writing. It is significant that in compliance with Hitler's verbal orders, some acts of anti-Jewish repression were postponed for some time, which was discussed during the conference of November 11 1938, presided over by the SS-Gruppenführer Reinhard Heydrich. The subject of that discussion was the establishment of ghettos for Jews in German towns and marking Jews with the 'Star of David'. The postponement of those plans was made after clear orders from Hitler, about which Göring verbally informed the gauleiters at the conference of November 12 1938.

The decree signed by Heydrich on the marking of Jews – prepared in November 1938 – was announced significantly later, on September 5 1941, in the *Journal of Laws* and it came into force as a binding Act 14 days after its announcement. In occupied Poland, that Act was introduced earlier than in the Reich. Heydrich's role in the decision-making process connected with anti-Jewish repression was a leading one. On October 26 1938, before the pogrom of the "Kristallnacht", Heydrich ordered that around 17,000 Jews who were Polish citizens would be removed from the area of the German Reich, and up until the end, he supervised the emigration policy which was intended to expel Jews from Germany. Göring's decision of January 24 1939 ordered him to 'achieve in the most beneficial way possible – in accordance with the strictures of time – the solution to the Jewish problem through emigration or evacuation.' Referring to that decree, on July 31 1941 Göring extended Heydrich's sphere of competence on July 31 1941 by entrusting him with the task of 'undertaking all necessary organisational and material preparations for the full-scale (*Gesamtlösung*) solution of the Jewish problem in the German spheres of influence (*Einflussgebiet*) in Europe. Similarly evident is the thesis that the problems connected with the final, i.e., the full-scale 'solution of the Jewish problem' were discussed in managerial circles of the Reich as early as 1940, with the German Army's successes in Western Europe, which culminated in its victory over France.

Before Göring entrusted the chief of the security police Heydrich with the task of carrying out the plan for total annihilation of European Jews (July 31 1941), the central administrative levels of the Reich, via the local gauleiters, undertook actions which had the characteristics of 'annihilation'. During the conference of January 30 1940 – 18 months earlier – Heydrich had informed his group of associates, that 'in mid-February 1,000 Jews would be removed from Szczecin to the General Government from the lowlands that were necessary to the war economy.' It was intended that the hitherto unprecedented migration operation would be carried out, although it was similar to the removal of 17 ,000 Jews who were Polish citizens on Heydrich's orders, from the Reich in late October 1938, as mentioned above. The unprecedented character of the operation was intended to be implemented in mid-February 1941 and was to involve citi-

zens of the German Reich in the area of the so-called old Reich. Deportation was aimed at the area of occupied Poland.

After the War, Adolph Eichmann testified during the court trial in Jerusalem that indeed, on February 13 1940, 1,300 German Jews had been arrested in Szczecin in the period of 24 hours. They had been dragged from their dwellings and deported by rail to Lublin, where in severe winter conditions they had been forced into walking 26-30 km from Lublin to three villages. During the 14-hour march, over 70 people died of emaciation.

A deportation action similar to the above-mentioned was carried out in Piła and Königsberg (today Kaliningrad). The deportations of German Jews to the General Government was opposed by the governor-general, Hans Frank. Finally, in March 1940, Göring yielded to pressure exerted by the governor, warning that in the future similar deportations would require his and Frank's consent. During Eichmann's trial, however, it was proved that at the beginning of 1941 Jews were deported to the General Government from Vienna and the areas annexed by the Reich. On Heydrich's orders, A. Eichmann supervised the deportations.

Eichmann's trial revealed that in the winter of 1940 the gauleiters of Baden and Saar-Palatinate had proposed mass deportations of Jews. In October 1940, 7,450 Jews were deported from these regions to the foot of the Pyrenees Mountains in France. The Jews, even 90-year-olds, were arrested in their flats at dawn. The document prepared in the Foreign Ministry (Auswärtiges Amt) characterised the operation as being unusually inhuman and cruel. As in Szczecin, the Jews in Baden and Saar-Palatinate had had all their property confiscated and given to the state treasury.

Franz Rademacher, the chief of the Jewish Department of the Auswärtiges Amt, presented a project to separate Eastern Jews (Ostjuden) from Western Jews (Westjuden) in an extensively written document. He recommended that 'the militant Jewish intelligentsia should be deported to the Lublin district as German-held hostages to disable the Jews in America in their fight against the Germans', while the Western Jews should be deported to Madagascar, for example. Another document, issued on June 3 1940, had an endorsement by Rademacher affixed to it, which stated that the Foreign Minister Ribbentrop had approved the deportation of Jews from the Reich, which would have been achieved in close co-operation with those organs subordinate to the SS Reichsführer, Heinrich Himmler. The minister's above-mentioned approval of a suggestion by Hitler which had been discussed on June 17 1940 with Benito Mussolini, and aimed at the establishing of the State of Israel in Madagascar and at a 'new arrangement in the matter of French dominions'. At that time, the Reichsführer Himmler stated in a conversation with the governor of Warta Distinct (Warthegau), Arthur Greiser, that he indeed was considering the idea of deporting Jews overseas. Hitler, on the other hand, when talking to the German ambassador in Paris, Otto Abetz, confided that he intended to 'evacuate' all Jews from Europe – after the War. Heydrich, in his letter to Minister Ribbentrop of June 24 1940, boasted that in January 1939 Field Marshal Göring had charged him with the task of accelerat-

ing the pace of Jewish emigration from the Reich, and, as a consequence, over 200,000 Jews had left Germany through emigration's head office. Because, as Heydrich emphasised, the methods used up until that time were insufficient to deport over 3.25 million European Jews dwelling in areas conquered by Germany, there appeared a need to find some 'territorial solution'.

On July 2 1940, the 'plan to solve the Jewish question' was elaborated in department D III of the Berlin Foreign Ministry. Rademacher repeated the plan's guidelines in the 'proposals for the peace treaty' with France, in which he included an opinion that the victory over France created not only opportunities, but even a duty to solve the Jewish question in Europe. In August 1940, Rademacher informed the head of the German Department of the Foreign Ministry that although the author of the idea to deport Jews to Madagascar was the Dutch anti-Semite H. H. Beamish, and that that idea had emerged as early as the 1920s, it had been Rademacher who had prepared the 'ground plan' (*Grundplan*) and after due consultation, at his suggestion and in close co-operation with him, the Madagascar plan of the Main Office of the Reich's Security had come into being. The condition for bringing about that plan was not only the seizure of colonies from France on the basis of the peace treaty, but also the protection of sea routes from Europe to Madagascar. Those plans became unfeasible as a result of German and Italian military defeats in Northern Africa.

Resignation from the 'Madagascar Plan' in the autumn of 1940 was not at all synonymous with the abandonment of the 'final solution to the Jewish problem'. On July 31 1941 Göring ordered Heydrich to embark upon large-scale preparations for the *Gesamtlösung der Judenfrage* in Europe. Also, in the summer of 1941, Himmler informed the commanding officer of the concentration camp in Auschwitz, Rudolf Höss, of plans to annihilate European Jews and to adapt the Auschwitz camp for that purpose.

The massive deportations of German Jews from the Reich's territory were preceded by local 'housing operations' ordered by local branches of the NSDAP and carried out by the security police and squads of wardens. In the decree of April 26 1941, addressed to state authorities and mayors, with the exception of Wrocław, the president of the Wrocław province, Dr. Kroll, ordered that the operation to evict Jews from their dwellings would be put into action. On July 26 1941, on an order given by the gauleiter and the president, Karl Hanke, the chief of the Wrocław police ordered that the 'Jewish operation' (*Judenaktion in Breslau*) would be carried out, i.e., the Jews were to be evicted from their dwellings and deported to camp Tormersdorf in Łużyce on July 31 at the latest. Around 550-600 people were moved to Tormersdorf. In the autumn of 1941, the monastery in Krzeszów (Grüssau) was prepared to receive Jews from Wrocław and was called the 'Jewish Housing Community'. From October 5 1941, around 796 people were sent to that camp. The camps in Rybna, Krzeszów and Tormersdorf were only transit camps, from which Jews were 'returned' to Wrocław in 1942-43 to be linked up with large

deportation transports 'heading east', for the concentration camps, Auschwitz and Teresienstadt.

* * *

At the beginning of October 1941, SS Reichsführer Himmler acquainted Hitler with a plan to deport a part of the German Jews from Hamburg, Berlin, Köln, Bremen, Düsseldorf and other cities to the territories of Lithuania, Latvia and Belorussia, i.e., near Riga, Rewal and Belorussian Minsk, which had been recently conquered by German troops.

On November 21 1941 the 'Staatspolizeileitstelle' in Wrocław began preparations and arrested a few hundred Jews who were to be deported 'eastwards'. In compliance with legislation governing 'the Reich's enemies', people of adult status were handed decisions issued by the Wrocław province's president, on the strength of which their property would be confiscated. As early as November 25 a large 'east-bound' transport of Jews, the size of which was comparable to the transports from Szczecin and Baden, departed from Wrocław's Nadodrze (Odertor) Railway Station carrying 1,000 people, but the escort did not reveal the journey as a final destination. The transport reached Kaunas (Kovno), where the operations command of the SS, under Dr Karl Jäger of the SS Gen. Walther Stahlecker's Einsatzgruppe A, immediately started executing the Jews by firing squad. Jews deported to that camp from Vienna were also shot, a total of 2,000 people. On November 29, in Fort X in Kaunas, Jews from Wrocław and Vienna were executed: 693 men, 1,155 women and 152 children. Not one Jew survived the Kaunas execution.

* * *

The co-ordination of efforts intended to achieve the final, global solution to the Jewish problem was announced at a confidential conference on November 29 1941, invitations to which were issued by the Jewish department of Foreign Ministry and signed by Heydrich. Two invitations, addressed to the under-secretaries of state, Martin Luther in Auswärtiges Amt and the Gruppenführer Otto Hofmann in the Racial and Settlement Office, were submitted to the court in Jerusalem as part of the evidence in the criminal trial against Eichmann. Heydrich, quoting Göring's power of attorney (December 31 1941) deemed it expedient to summon the conference 'in order to agree upon a common stance for the central bodies co-operating on the final solution...all the more if from October 15 1941, in the ongoing east-bound transports the Jews have been evacuated from the territory of the Reich, which included the Protectorate of Czechia and Moravia.'

Probably because the German offensive was stopped near Moscow, and Soviet troops had begun their counter-offensive, and because the United States had entered the War, the date of the conference, to be held on December 9 1941, was postponed to January 20 1942.

On January 20 1942 secretaries of state and high-ranking officers of the SS representing ministries (the Ministry of the Occupied Eastern Lands, Home Office, the Ministry of Justice, the plenipotentiary of the four-year plan, the General Government Office, the Chancellery of the Reich and the Chancellery of the NSDAP) as well as the central bodies of the Security Police, the SD and the Gestapo participated in the debate that was held in the villa at '22 Am Grossen Wannsee'. The Foreign Ministry was not represented by the Secretary of State Ernst von Weizsäcker but by the Under-Secretary of State Luther, who was regarded as a most influential diplomat, and who was in favour with the highest echelons of the SS. Having stated that the 'emigration of Jews had been halted due to the military situation and because of new opportunities which are appearing in the east', Heydrich justified the need to find 'further possibilities for solutions after having obtained the Führer's due consent', namely the east-bound 'evacuation' of Jews. Those operations, as Heydrich emphasised, should be regarded as provisional possibilities (*Ausweichmöglichkeiten*), as due to previous experience 'they should be granted considerable weight with regard to the final solution to the Jewish problem.' During the debate, Heydrich summed up Jewish emigration by stating that until October 31 1941 'the emigration' of (!) 537,000 Jews 'was achieved', including 360,000 people from the 'old Reich' (from January 30 1933), 147,000 from the 'Ostmark' (from March 15 1938) as well as 30,000 from the Protectorate of Czechia and Moravia (from March 15 1939). Heydrich assured the conference that at that time 'the east-bound evacuation of Jews' could have been considered 'after obtaining the Führer's consent.' The number of European Jews to be destined for the 'final solution' was determined by Heydrich to stand at more than 11 million people.

During the debate organised in the Berlin headquarters of the Main Office of the Reich's Security (March 6 1942) the carrying out of the guidelines accepted during the Wansee Conference was determined. Two problems seemed to present some difficulty: the project to sterilise around 70,000 'hybrids' (*Mischlinge*) because hospitals were overcrowded with wounded soldiers; and the law governing divorces in cases of mixed marriages. Finally, the proposal providing for simplified divorce proceedings at one party's request was resolved. 'Hybrids' and Jews in mixed marriages had some chance of being omitted in the deportation process, as after Heydrich's death the bodies carrying out the deportation programme did not specify methods of sterilisation or 'evacuation'. Hitler is said to have refused to assuage any doubts present in the bureaucracy.

The 'combing' of Europe from west to east announced by Heydrich was started, on his orders, in France.

In the territory of the 'old Reich', the deluge of everyday actions designed to circumscribe what were already limited freedoms was accompanied by deportations. A confidential decree of March 1942 introduced the obligatory marking of Jewish dwellings to completely separate them from non-Jews. Some time later, Jews were forbidden to breed domestic animals, etc.

In January 1942 Hitler reiterated his previous interpretation of the 'final solution' of the Jewish problem by identifying that solution with 'extermination' (*Ausrottung*). In his view, extermination was the rallying cry of the Third Reich. A year later he added that in that war 'Aryan people' would not be exterminated, but 'the Jew would be killed off.' In 1941-2, Hitler assured his guests at least five times of his determination to exterminate all European Jews.

* * *

After the Wansee Conference, the authorities continued to deport Jews from the 'old Reich' with unprecedented energy and did not wait for the 'combing' of Europe from west to east to be completed. It transpires, from the confidential report submitted to Cardinal Adolf Bertram in Wrocław on February 14 1942, that deportation operations involved Jews from almost all German towns. Here we quote some data from Wrocław and Silesia only. In April and May, the Gestapo sent two more east-bound transports from Wrocław. The transport of April 13 1942 left for Lublin District, to Izbica, Kazimierz, Wąwolin and Opole Lubelskie. Some of the deported were sent to work, the others were exterminated in the camps in Bełżec and Sobibór. On May 3 another transport of Jews was also sent to Lublin District.

It does not seem, however, that the attempt on Heydrich's life and his death in Prague (April 4 1942) in any manner impeded the plan for the 'final solution' of the Jewish problem. In the summer of 1942, when exterminations were already in progress, in the extermination camp Auschwitz-Birkenau gas began to be used to kill Jews. The commanding officer of the camp, Rudolf Höss, would mention in his biographical notes that during his inspection of the camp (July 16 1942), the SS Reichsführer Himmler 'closely scrutinised the process of extermination from unloading until bunker II was cleaned. At that time, the dead bodies were not burnt. He did not object, neither did he talk about it. The gauleiter Fritz Bracht and the Oberführer Erich Heinrich Schmauser were present there'. During the second inspection, which lasted two days, Himmler 'personally scrutinised the extermination of the transport that had just arrived; he did not react to the process in any manner; he just watched it in complete silence. He was observing the commanders involved at the same time, the subordinates and me.' The large crematoria I and II were built in the winter of 1942-43, and put into use in the spring of 1943. Thanks to Slovak prisoners who escaped from Auschwitz and the reports by them that were sent to England, political circles in that country learned about the monstrosities of 'extermination' in the Auschwitz gas chambers. Soon after, aerial photographs taken by American spy aircraft confirmed the fugitives' information, however, no attempts to destroy at least the railways leading to Auschwitz were made. The American 8$^{th}$ aerial fleet did not bomb them either, but from July 7 1944 its aircraft would appear over Auschwitz several times but only bombed the local synthetic fuel plant IG-Farben.

From July 1942, Jews from Wrocław and Lower Silesia, including those who in 1941-2 had been deported to the transit camps of Tormersdorf, Rybna and Krzeszów, were sent to Theresienstadt in 11 transports: on February 27 1942 – 1,100 people; August 31 1942 – 1,065 people; February 24 1943 – 102 people; April 2 1943 – 277 people; June 11 1943 – 161 people; June 16 1943 – 18 people; October 27 1943 – 1 person; January 9 1944 – 73 people; January 11 1944 – 3 people; April 25 1944 – 17 people; and November 8 1944 – 1 person. KL Theresienstadt 'took in' the 'privileged' Jews, i.e., Jews decorated with medals during World War I, as well as elderly people.

German Jews from the Opole District were deported to concentration camps in 1942-3. Dr. Erich Schlesinger, the well-known representative of Jewish communities from Gliwice, reported that the deportations were preceded by the eviction of Jews from the dwellings they had occupied, and each family had to move to one room. 'In May 1942 – as Schlesinger wrote – 'when the lilacs were blooming, Mr Linz from the Geheime Staatpolizei forced his way into the flats of Messrs Weissenberg, Karewski, Jakobowitz, Angress and Unger, dragged the men, women and children out and deported them to Auschwitz. In July he repeated his actions in the dwellings of the majority of the community's members. Most of them, including the old cantor Freysinger, were arrested and deported to Auschwitz. Very few members of the community stayed there. Some members of the community chose to commit suicide rather than face an uncertain future.' At the end of February 1943 a gigantic eviction of people from their dwellings began, and Jews were deported from Wrocław. The transport that departed on March 5 1943 numbered 1,405 people. Its destination was the concentration camp Auschwitz, where upon arrival 809 people were sent to gas chambers and 596 were selected for work. In the memories of eye-witness Karla Wolf, the day of March 5 in the synagogue yard in Paweł Włodkowic Street (Wallstrasse) was a 'gloomy day' in the history of Wrocław's Jews – the day of the total annihilation of the Jewish community. On March 6 1945 in Auschwitz, a transport of Jews from Berlin was gassed together with the Wrocław Jews, – a total of 1,452 people. From witnesses' accounts, it follows that in January 1945 the Wrocław Gestapo sent a transport of Jews to KL Gross-Rosen.

The deportations of 1941-44 saw to the total annihilation of German Jewish communities in Opole District. The same also applies to the community of German Jews in Wrocław and Lower Silesia. Kurt Schwerin wrote that 'the life of the old Jewish community was lost beyond recall, and only those who escaped or survived can be witnesses to its greatness.'

**Bibliography**

K. Jonca, 'Deportacje niemieckich Żydów z Wrocławia w świetle relacji naocznych świadków (1941-1944)', *Studia nad Faszyzmem i Zbrodniami Hitlerowskimi* 17 (1994) 219-52

id., 'Deportations of German Jews from Breslau 1941-1944 as Described in Eyewitness Testimonies' in *Yad Vashem Studies* XXV (1996) 275-316

id., 'Noc kryształowa na Śląsku Opolskim na tle polityki antyżydowskiej Trzeciej Rzeszy', *Studia Śląskie* 37 (1980) 87-121

id., 'Nazistowska polityka «ostatecznego rozwiązania kwestii żydowskiej»', *Studia nad Faszyzmem i Zbrodniami Hitlerowskimi* 22 (1999)

id., *'Noc kryształowa' i casus Herschela Grynszpana* (Wrocław, 1998)

id., 'Spory o holocaust. Rzeczywistość czy mity?', *Studia nad Faszyzmem i Zbrodniami Hitlerowskimi* 23 (2000)

A. Konieczny, *Tormersdorf, Grüssau, Riebnig. Obozy przejściowe dla Żydów z Dolnego Śląska z lat 1941-1943* (Wrocław, 1997)

id., 'The Transit Camp for Breslau Jews at Riebning in Lower Silesia (1941-1943)' in *Yad Vashem Studies* XXV (1996) 317-342

F. Połomski, *Ustawodawstwo rasistowskie III Rzeszy i jego stosowanie na Górnym Śląsku* (Katowice, 1970)

id., 'Holocaust we Wrocławiu i na Dolnym Śląsku (1941-1944) w świetle dokumentów administracji skarbowej', *Dzieje Najnowsze* 18/3-4 (1986) 235-48

M. Sadowski, 'Deportacje niemieckich Żydów z Wrocławia do KL Theresienstadt w styczniu i kwietniu 1944' in *Studia nad Faszyzmem i Zbrodniami Hitlerowskimi* 18 (1995) 261-270

K. Schwerin, 'Die Juden im wirtschaftlichen und kulturellen Leben Schlesiens', *Jahrbuch der Schlesischen Friedrich Wilhelms-Universität zu Breslau* 25 (1984) 93-177

K. Wolf, *Ich blieb zurück* (Langen, 1990)

**Alfred Konieczny**

## THE 'SCHMELT ORGANISATION' IN SILESIA

The aims of Hitler's policy towards Jews in Germany and in the occupied states were concurrent in their ideological guidelines, but, put into practice, they proved different in terms of the organisational solutions and timing of consecutive stages of the 'final solution to the Jewish problem.' Of the solutions applied in the Polish lands annexed to the Reich in October 1939, there was the 'Schmelt Organisation', a regional structure for the utilisation of Jewish manpower in Silesia, which embraced Jewish people living in the newly-created Katowice province as well as the administrative districts incorporated into the Opole province. Thus far, because its registry documentation was almost completely destroyed, little has been written on this structure; therefore these comments to a large extent are still of a preliminary character.

First of all one must remember that when Hitler's decree of October 8 1939 came into force, there were 123,202 Jews in the areas annexed to the Silesia province, and they constituted 22.5% of the Jewish population in the Polish lands annexed by the Third Reich. The territorial distribution of Jewish people in Upper Silesia and in Zagłębie Dąbrowskie was very uneven. The largest concentrations – over 20,000 each – were located in Będzin and Sosnowiec; they constituted a considerable percentage also in Chrzanów, Zawiercie, Dąbrowa Górnicza and Oświęcim – over 5,000 in each of these towns. As a result of the Wehrmacht's repressive actions, the security police, the Gestapo and administrative authorities, the number of Jews decreased in subsequent months, and in the spring of 1940 it amounted to around 100,000. The statistics of the Central Office of Jewish Councils of Elders in Eastern Upper Silesia in mid-May 1940 revealed a total of 90,323 Jews located in 25 urban areas. That was a reflection of the situation that had been shaped by a number of resettlements within the Katowice province, which were aimed at concentrating Jews in areas adjacent to the General Government in order to remove them from Silesia over a short period of time.

The Jews from Upper Silesia and Zagłębie Dąbrowskie had already been through numerous excesses and persecution mainly by the task forces of Streckenbach and von Woyrsch, which were operating with the corps of the Army

Group South of the Wehrmacht in September 1939. In many localities, Jewish hostages were taken, objects of worship were desecrated, synagogues burnt, various forms of intimidation were applied and several hundred people lost their lives in executions. On September 13 1939, the High Command of the Wehrmacht ordered the Army Group South to immediately deport all the Jews who resided in the eastern part of Upper Silesia to the areas lying east of the San River. These orders were only partially executed at the end of October: in Katowice two transports of Jews from various towns in Upper Silesia were organised – around 1,000 people per transport – and under the pretext of sending them to work they were directed to Nisko upon the San, where they were forced at gunpoint to cross the Soviet demarcation line. In Sosnowiec, a third transport was prepared, comprising 1,500 men and women, but the deportation did not take place because the resettlement campaign was halted. It was intended to resume that operation the following year and to achieve that goal, a special 'SS-Oberkomando Sosnowitz' was organised. However, dates fixed after 1940 were also postponed. At the conference in the Central Office for the Security of the Reich on January 8 1941, the resettlement of 150,000 Poles and Jews from Silesia to the General Government was still being planned to be achieved by the end of the April of that year, but even though the Head Office of Resettlement in Katowice was established in February, the plan did not come to fruition. A decision of the authorities of the General Government of March 25 1941 deferred the resettlement operation from the annexed areas to the land.

Simultaneously with the preparations for removing Jews from Upper Silesia, a wide-scale campaign was implemented to eliminate them from economic life and separate them from the rest of society. From October 7 1939 the supervision of Jewish shops and crafts was introduced, Jews' bank accounts were suspended, withdrawals for Jews were limited, warehouses closed, their shops marked, etc. By decree of the Military Commander for the Silesian Division of October 4 1939 a management commission was imposed on Jewish institutions and establishments. This was equivalent to confiscation of their property. The Jewish property taken over by the occupier was destined to be administered by the Central Trust Office 'East'.

As a result of the confiscation of property, the number of the Jews with no livelihood was increasing rapidly. They had to live on modest and ever-diminishing material assistance granted to them by their religious communities, which organised free meals and distributed food. For example, in January, 40% of the Będzin community's members had to take advantage of free meals; in February that year as many as 75% of Jews from Sosnowiec had no livelihood. The situation in other towns was similar.

The occupational authorities shifted all responsibility for welfare operations and maintenance of the Jewish people to the committees or councils of elders which were part of individual religious communities. Those organs, which were a form of formal Jewish self-government, worked under the stringent supervision of the Gestapo branch in Katowice, where the head of the Jewish department was

Hans Dreier. The work of the committees and councils of elders was also co-ordinated by the Central Office of Jewish Councils of Elders in Eastern Upper Silesia with its headquarters in Sosnowiec. It was presided over by Moszek Merin until the Upper-Silesian ghettos were liquidated.

The suspension of Jewish deportation from Upper Silesia to the General Government and the growing problems of the welfare operation forced the Nazi authorities to seek new solutions. These were found within the general mobilisation of the German war economy and the search for methods to counteract the growing manpower shortage on the labour market, It was probably in October 1940 (unfortunately the exact date is still unknown) that the Reichsführer SS and chief of German Police, Himmler, appointed the Special Plenipotentiary for the Employment of Foreigners in Upper Silesia (Sonderbeauftragter des Reichsführers SS und Chef der Deutschen Polizei für fremdvölkischen Arbeitseinsatz in Oberschlesien). We can establish the range of his competence and duties from the Katowice Gestapo circular issued on October 31 1940, which informed companies and establishments employing Jews of the appointment of the Plenipotentiary and that this appointment entrusted him with all aspects of utilisation of Jewish manpower. Until November 10, those establishments were supposed to submit information concerning the extent and nature of their employment of Jews, their wages, forms of payment, etc., as well as the reasons they were employed. The appointment of the Plenipotentiary for Upper Silesia coincided with the all-German operation of the Gestapo to register Jewish manpower resources and to put into place the compulsory employment of Jews. However, if in the so-called 'Old Reich' Jews were still under the administration of the employment department, in the areas annexed to the Silesian province, they would be under SS authority.

The position of Plenipotentiary was assigned to 41-year-old SS-Oberführer Albrecht Schmelt, then chief of the police in Wrocław, answerable to the headquarters of the high commander of the SS and police in Cracow. His task was to supervise the employment of Jews by the General Government. The office of the Plenipotentiary was established in Sosnowiec in early November 1940. The position – and before long, the whole system of utilisation of Jewish manpower, created by that office was named after the Plenipotentiary, the 'Schmelt Organisation'.

Reports sent by establishments employing Jews did not contain exhaustive information. Thus on November 15, Schmelt forced the Councils of Elders to register able-bodied men and women in their communities within two week's time and submit information on their current employment to the administration. Non-compliance with that order was punishable by imprisonment in a penal camp, which had been established in Sosnowiec at that time. Information gathered in this way, if continually updated, allowed Schmelt to exercise full control of Jewish manpower in Upper Silesia. From that time onwards the employment of a Polish Jew required the Plenipotentiary's consent; which was granted on his terms.

Even though Jews were being assigned to German establishments located in their places of residence and to employment in local workshops producing goods

for the Wehrmacht (e.g., around 13,000 people were so employed in Sosnowiec), Schmelt's office immediately began to organise forced labour camps for Jews, attached to the industries playing a key role in the German wartime economy. This occurred not only in Upper Silesia but also in Lower Silesia and in Sudetenland, too, which went beyond the scope of the original plan. Initially, those camps were defined as 'Arbeitslager' or 'Judenlager', and some as 'RAB-lager' because of work on the Silesian stretch of the Wrocław-Cracow motorway. At the end of 1942 their name was standardised as 'Zwangsarbeitslager', abbreviated as ZAL.

The assignment of Jewish workers was made on the basis of a contract between the Plenipotentiary and a given firm. The contract stipulated the employment conditions, payment and supervision of Jews. For example, a contract made in 1942 with the company Luranil, which was building a factory to produce gases for military purposes, intended that Schmelt would receive a daily payment of 6 Marks for a qualified worker and 4,5 Marks for an unqualified one. Daily catering expenses were fixed at 90 pfennig per person. For every 40 Jews, there was one guard. A standard work day was to be 12 hours, and work on Sundays and at night was permissible. The regulations governing employment and pay rates which were legally binding in Germany were not applicable to the present terms of work and payment; those terms were determined by the Plenipotentiary. In camps attached to key industries, a Jewish self-government had to be appointed and it was presided over by the Lagerältester, supervised by Germans.

The methods used to procure Jews for the newly-created camps of the 'Schmelt Organisation' were brutal. For example, on January 15 1941, the Central Office of Jewish Councils of Elders was called upon to send another group of 200 women, and if any person was absent, their entire families would be deprived of food coupons, arrested and placed in a penal camp.

Within the system the number and role of the camps of the 'Schmelt Organisation' was continually increasing. During Himmler's visit to Upper Silesia on March 1 1941 it was decided that those camps would be used for the construction sites run by the Ministry for Armaments and Ammunition for purposes that were 'crucial to the war'. One of those construction sites was the synthetic fuels plant in the Silesian Plate Enterprises, where the initial contingent of 1,500 Jewish workers had to be immediately increased to 4,000. Camps had to be organised at a high rate to serve such priority construction sites as the 'Degus' factory in Gliwice, the power-station in Miechowice, 'Elektra' in Łaziska Górne, the light metals plant in Racibórz and 'Bertha', a subsidiary of the Krupp concern in Miłoszyce near Wrocław. Subsequent camps were to be organised near a number of railway junctions, where military transport required the construction of multi-track railroads.

From the beginning of its existence, the 'Schmelt Organisation' also 'supplied', along with its workers, the camps located along the Silesian motorway, which was being constructed at that time. This was contrary to the directives from above which forbade the employment of Polish Jews on 'the Führer's roads' in the Reich. In total, 25 'RAB-lagers' were created – 17 in Upper- and 8 in Lower Sile-

sia, of which 12 were active for a longer period of time. These were the camps in Prądy, Rzędziwojowice, Magnuszowice and Sarny Wielkie in the administrative district of Niemodlin, in Dąbrówka Górna and Jaśkowice in the administrative district of Opole, as well as in Dolna, Gogolin, St Anne's Mount, Otmęt, Sieroniowice and Zakrzów in the administrative district of Strzelce. At the end of November 1941, the management of the motorway construction in Wrocław employed 3,823 Jews, which was 28% of the total employed within that region. In early 1942 construction work on motorways was suspended, and manpower concentrated in those sites was redirected to the armaments industry. Consequently, in early April that year, only 1,824 Jews worked on the Silesian stretch of the Brzeg-Gliwice motorway. At that time, the minister, A. Speer, exerted continual pressure on Schmelt to send him an additional 4,000 to 5,000 Jews necessary to meet deadlines in the armaments sector.

There are no documents surviving which could allow us to define the development of the 'Schmelt Organisation' more closely. However, it is known that in April 1942 there were as many as 40 camps, another 6 were being organised. 6,500 Jews were kept in these camps, which is evidence that these camps were relatively small. From data gathered by the Red Cross International Search Service in Arolsen, in the area of Upper Silesia a total of 93 camps were created – 36 men's, 6 women's and 48 mixed ones; 38 of these camps were established in 1940, 16 in 1941, 24 in 1942 and 8 in 1943 (so far it has been impossible to determine the exact dates when seven of the camps were established). 52 camps were situated in Lower Silesia – 20 men's, 8 women's and 24 camps in which, as a rule, apart from men there were small women's dormitories; 14 camps were created in 1940, 12 in 1941, 15 in 1942, 10 in 1943 and one in 1944. Moreover, 17 sub-camps were organised in Sudetenland. Overall, it was possible to confirm the existence of 162 forced labour camps in the 'Schmelt Organisation'. The most rapid development of those camps occurred in 1940; at that time at least 49 camps came into being, while there were 28 in 1941, 39 in 1942 and in 1943 only 18 camps were created.

The number of people who were kept in the camps of the 'Schmelt Organisation' is still unknown. Apart from the above-quoted situation of April 1942, we know that in early 1943 some 50,570 'stateless and foreign Jews' were kept in these camps. Initially only Polish Upper-Silesian Jews were sent to the camps. As the military significance of the enterprises supported by Schmelt's system increased, Jews from the General Government were also directed to the camps, and as a result of Speer's endeavours with Himmler, in the summer of 1942 Schmelt was granted permission to select 10,000 people from the transport of the West-European Jews sent to the Auschwitz-Birkenau concentration camp. Those selections were conducted in the transit camp in Koźle in the presence of representatives of the SS Central Administration and Economic Office. After some time, Schmelt's officers began to halt transports arbitrarily, exchanging those unable to work for able-bodied Jews.

Very often, the fate of Schmelt's slaves was no different from that of the prisoners of concentration camps, especially those sent to branches of camps attached to companies. The former commander of KL Auschwitz, R. Höss, described them tersely: 'Schmelt's camps were in quite a neglected condition, discipline was insufficient and the death rate was high. The dead bodies were buried in the neighbourhood of the camps. There was barely any medical care.' One should mention that Jewish deaths in Schmelt's camps were registered in the registrar's office in exceptional cases only, thus it is impossible to determine even approximately the death rate.

The surviving fragments of C. Dietrig's company archives from Bielawa, which belonged to the leading establishments of the German cotton industry, allow one to analyse the ages of women sent to the camp in Jeleniów. Women born in 1927 were the most represented in that group – 14%, and those women were 16 years old at the time they were sent to the forced labour camp. 1926 was the second most represented year – 11%, i.e., 17-year-olds; then 1925 – 9%, i.e., 18-year-old girls. It is striking that there was also a group of juveniles, the youngest of whom was 14 years old. Over a period of five months, a group of 194 Jewish women belonging to that camp worked 23,317 working days, making a profit of 60,099 Marks for the 'Schmelt Organisation'. This example shows what large income the SS made from Jewish manpower.

In accordance with the original guidelines, the 'Schmelt Organisation' was not to be a long-lived one. The order to exterminate the Jews which was issued in the summer of 1941 intended the camps and workshops to be liquidated and the Jews employed there to be deported to KL-Auschwitz at that early stage. Due to intervention by the Armament Inspection of the VIII (Silesian) military province in the Central Office for Security of the Reich, liquidation was postponed many times. During these interventions, it was emphasised that the Jews were trained in many professions, and thus they constituted rare, qualified manpower. For example, it was pointed out that if the Jewish women were removed from the camps attached to Gruschwitz textile factory in Nowa Sól, the Kramsta factory, Methner u. Frahne in Kamienna Góra and the Leinag company in that town, the potential drop in production would be 30-40%.

However, 1943 saw Himmler's final decision on the liquidation of the local workshops and the removal of the Jews and the technical equipment to KL Auschwitz. More importantly, camps in the armaments enterprises which were 'essential to the war effort' were to be maintained, but would be subordinate to the office of the commandant of the Auschwitz and Gross-Rosen concentration camps. The other camps were to be liquidated and the prisoners sent to one of the abovementioned rigorous camps.

The process to liquidate the 'Schmelt Organisation', which was supervised by the chief of the Jewish Department of the Central Office for the Security of the Reich, Adolf Eichmann, lasted until mid-1941. The office of the commandant of KL Gross-Rosen took over a total of 28 camps – 23 from the Upper Silesian region

and 8 from Sudetenland, 20 of which were transformed into sub-camps in their own right after the selection of the Jews. The prisoners of the other 8 ZALs were moved to other sub-camps of KL Gross-Rosen. The office of the commandant of KL Auschwitz in Upper Silesia took over at least 15 camps. Five of them were transformed into branches of the concentration camp. The 'absorption' of the 'Schmelt Organisation' by the concentration camp network took place immediately after the liquidation of the last Jewish ghettos in Upper Silesia, thus to some extent it formed part of that operation. After liquidation of the ghettos, Schmelt's office was removed from Sosnowiec to St Anne's Mount, from which it administered those camps that were still in existence. Schmelt was promoted to the rank of SS-Brigadeführer in November 1942, and at that time he also performed the role of the president of Opole province. However, his former 'charges' would soon face a new period of suffering, persecution and exploitation of their strength and health in the criminal system of concentration camps.

* * *

The existence of the 'Schmelt Organisation' was revealed after World War II, during the trial of the commander of KL Auschwitz, R. Höss, before the Supreme National Tribunal. The trials of the head of the office's J Department, Friedrich Kuczynski, and the chauffeur, Bruno Tschammler, before the District Court in Sosnowiec, in which both parties were sentenced to death, supplied more information on the activities of that organisation. The American authorities also arrested the commander-in-chief of the Schmelt Organisation, SS-Sturmbannführer Heindrich Lindner. However, he was not convicted as he had committed suicide in a prison cell. Allegedly Schmelt died early in 1945 at Szklarska Poręba.

## Bibliography

W. Gruner, *Der Geschlossene Arbeitseinsatz deutscher Juden. Zur Zwangsarbeit als Element der Verfolgung 1938-1943*, Berlin 1997

A. Konieczny, '*Organizacja Schmelt* i jej obozy pracy dla Żydów na Śląsku w latach 1940-1944', in *Studia nad Faszyzmem i Zbrodniami Hitlerowskimi* XV (Wrocław, 1992)

A. Konieczny, 'Żydowski obóz pracy przymusowej w Jeleniowie z lat 1943-1944' in *Studia nad Faszyzmem i Zbrodniami Hitlerowskimi* XXII (Wrocław, 1999)

*Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS (1933-1945). Konzentrationslager und deren Aussenkommandos sowie andere Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS in Deutschland und deutsch besetzten Gebieten* (Arolsen, 1979)

H. W. Wollenberg, ... *und der Alpatrum wurde zum Alltag. Autobiographischer Bericht eines jüdischen Arztes über NS-Zwangsarbeitslager in Schlesien (1942-1945)* (Pfaffenweiler, 1992)

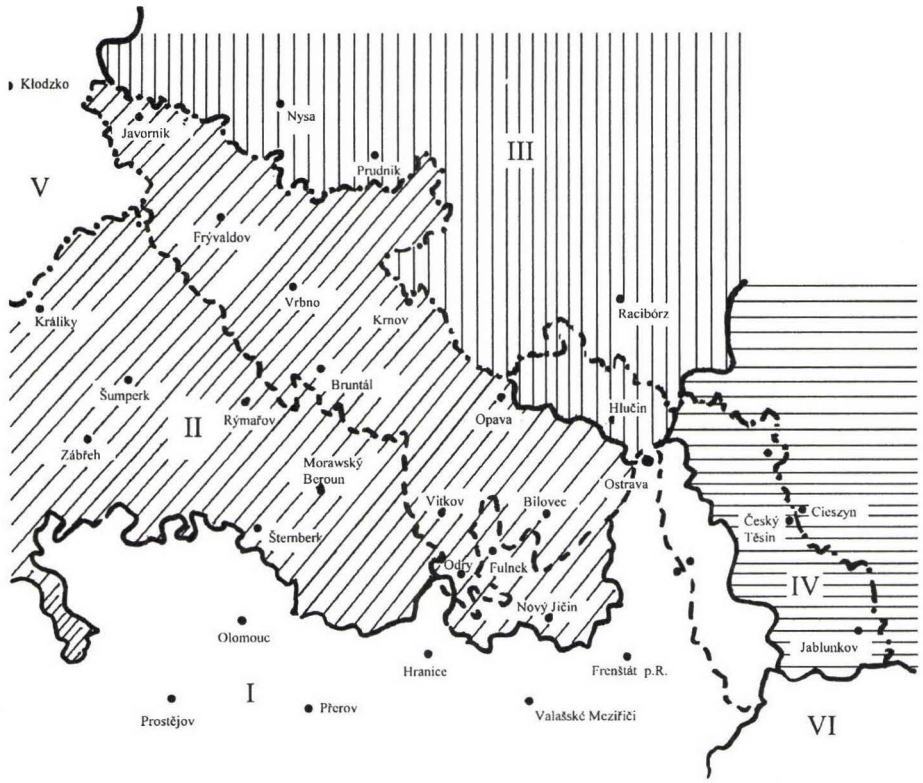
**Mečislav Borák**

# THE SITUATION OF THE JEWISH POPULATION IN THE TERRITORY OF CZECH SILESIA DURING THE OCCUPATION 1938-1945

Before beginning to explain the war-time fates of Jews in Czech Silesia, I should briefly mention the administrative structure put into place by the occupying government of this territory, since this often can be difficult, even for historians of the region. The traditional emphasis of Czech historiography on the history of the protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia has somewhat overshadowed interest in the way the occupation progressed in the annexed areas of the Czech states, to which an absolute majority of the territory of Czech Silesia belonged. After the Munich agreement, Czech Silesia was violently partitioned into four asymmetrical pieces, which in October 1938 were allocated to Czechoslovakia, Germany and Poland. Although shortly after that, the whole of Czech Silesia was placed under the dominion of Nazi Germany, the affiliation of these four parts to superior territorial groupings, determined by the Munich agreement and its consequences, was retained during the entire War. Basically it meant that conditions of occupation in each of those parts were somewhat different: for instance, the status of the local population, methods of Germanisation and the whole policy of occupation. I am aware of the danger of using records of Nazi bodies and a German administrative system with application to the Silesian territory and its population. However, I consider an awareness of them to be extremely important and necessary for understanding the specifics of historical development in this territory.

## A. Sudetenland

In the pre-War republic, Czech Silesia was initially an administratively independent complex, the Silesian province. After 1928 it was part of Moravian-Silesia province. It was actually the territory of former Austrian Silesia, with the exception of Cieszyn, the part of divided Silesia which fell to Poland in 1920, and of the Hlučín area, which, by contrast, was taken from Prussian Silesia and annexed to Czechoslovakia in the same year.




– • – • – state border of Czechoslovakia
– – – – historical border of Moravia and Silesia

Fig. 1. Czech Silesia after the Munich agreement and during world war II (1938-1945). I – Residual part of Czechoslovakia, after 15.03.1939 Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia; II – Sudetenland region belonging to the Reich (Gau Sudetenland), entire counties of Orava; III – Silesian Province of the Reich (after 1941 Upper Silesia), entire counties of Opole; IV – Poland, Voivodship of Silesia, after 1.11.1939 Silesian Province of the Reich (Upper Silesia), entire counties of Katowice; V – Silesian province of the Reich (after 1941 Lower Silesia), entire counties of Wrocław; VI – Slovakia, after 15.03.1939 an independent state.

In 1939, the largest part of Czech Silesia (approximately 3,000 km$^2$) became part of the newly created administrative county of Opava in the Reich region of Sudetenland[1]. It included the entire counties of Opava (both city and region), Bílovec, Bruntál, Frývaldov and Krnov. In „Eastern Sudetenland", as the administrative county of Opava was called, Silesian counties were in the minority, because

[1] The Sudeten region consisted of the administrative counties of Cheb (Karlovy Vary), Ústí nad Labem and Opava, at its head was the Reich governor Kondrad Henlein, whose seat of office was in Liberec.

another eight Northern Moravian counties belonged to it and the Lanškroun and Králíky counties reached into Eastern Bohemia. More than 800,000 people altogether lived here, of that approximately 340,000 in the Silesian counties. According to a census, in the counties of Krnov (95%), Frývaldov (96%) and Bruntál (98%) Germans totally outnumbered Czechs, only in the counties of Opava (56%) and Bílovec (74%) was there a Czech majority. The agreement concluded between the Czechoslovak Republic and Germany on choice of citizenship meant that Czech citizens (both Germans and Czechs) could become German nationals under conditions similar to those in the Hlučín area or they could opt for Czech nationality, which meant they would have to leave the occupied territory. In March 1939, after the occupation of the rest of the republic, this provision became meaningless and German authorities considered that those opting for Reich citizenship had Czech nationality. For instance, during the 1939 census, 62% of residents of the Bílovec county, 56% of Opava region and 19% of Opava city regarded themselves as Czechs, while in the counties of Bruntál, Frývaldov and Krnov, Czechs made up a negligible 0.1%.

In material terms, the Czechs were on the same level as the Germans. That was their advantage over Czechs in the protectorate; unlike them, however, they were subject to much stronger racial oppression and Germanisation. Their choices were far more limited when it came to making a living[2].

According to statistics, in the Silesian part of the Sudetenland there were 1,924 Jews before the War. Most of them were in the Opava county – 1,069 (mainly in Opava – 971), far fewer in Kateřinky – 19, Jaktař – 17, Odry – 16 and Vítkov – 12. That was almost 1% of the county's population. 348 Jews lived in the Krnov county, that is, 0.6% (319 in Krnov itself), 12 in the town of Albrechtice (from the former famous and large community of Osoblaha only 13 Jews were left). 217 Jews lived in Bílovec area, that is, 0.5% (80 in Svinov, 64 in Bílovec, 28 in Klimkovice and 16 in Studénka). 184 Jews lived in Frývaldov, that is, 0.3% (96 in Frývaldov, 34 in Cukmantl, 27 in Česká Ves). Finally, 106 Jews lived in Bruntál, that is, 0.2% (73 in Bruntál, 15 in Horní Benešov). Of the total 1,924 Jews, only 766 professed to be ethnic Jews, which is about 39%. It is interesting to note that in the purely German counties of the Silesian part of the administrative county of Opava, substantially fewer Jews professed to be ethnic Jews (Bruntál 13%, Frývaldov 16%) than in the counties where the Czech population was in the majority (Opava and Bílovec, both 48%)[3].

---

[2] For more see J. Bartoš, *Okupované pohraničí a české obyvatelstvo 1938-1945* (Prague, 1986); id., 'Základní charakteristika východních Sudet (vládního obvodu Opava) 1938-1945', in *Historie okupovaného pohraničí 1938-1945*. Vol. 3 (Ústí nad Labem, 1998) 7-24.

[3] *Statistický lexikon obcí v zemi Moravskoslezské* (Prague, 1935) 3-4, 17-9, 31-6, 57-61, 87-91; ZAO, Regierungspräsident Troppau, 1820. According to the report of German landrats (county administrators) from 1939, there were in 1930 allegedly as many as 2,936 Jews in the counties mentioned.

More obvious persecution of Silesian Jews was evident mainly in border areas with a predominantly German population, which was more strongly influenced by Nazi ideas. Under the influence of the Austrian Anschluss [annexation], Jews were starting to leave even the Silesian parts of what would be Sudetenland. In the first days after the Munich Agreement, their escape became a truly mass phenomenon. Therefore, from the very beginning, the Nazis had an easier path towards a total „removal" of Jews from their territory. Those Jews who still had not decided to escape were immediately thwarted in the first days after the annexation of Sudetenland; they were publicly humiliated, their businesses and shops were closed and there was much violence. Jewish property was confiscated and the threat of pogroms forced Jews to leave the occupied territory as quickly as possible. For example, according to a report of October 12 1938, the State Police arrested 60 people in Bruntál, which mainly resulted in the escape of residents of „non-German blood"[4].

To a large extent, the destiny of Jews in Sudetenland was similar to that of the Austrian Jews, who lost all their property, all their financial security and civil rights in the very first weeks of the „Anschluss"; in contrast to Jews in the Reich, who were deprived of their rights and human dignity slowly, over the period of several years.

Immediately after the occupation of Sudetenland, Reich legislation was instituted, including the anti-Jewish Nuremberg Laws. Registers in Jewish communities were confiscated, the Gestapo and the Sudetenland civil authorities with the assistance of landrats (county administrators) took over the registration of Jews. By decree of December 12 1938, Jews were entirely eliminated from economic life, since they were banned from running any business. Several weeks earlier, Reich legislation excluding Jews of mixed blood from the economy came into effect in Sudetenland. By the end of January 1939, Jews in Sudetenland had to officially register their property, which was subsequently „aryanized". In this way, a whole set of discriminatory regulations was instituted. For example, there was the regulation of November 17 1939 which forced Jews to add to their names the first name of Israel for men and Sarah for women, etc.[5]

Jews were often pre-emptively arrested and forced to undertake to voluntarily emigrate, or else they would be handed over to the Gestapo. Such systematic terror brought the desired results very quickly: by the time of the May 1939 census, it was discovered that in comparison with the Reich, there were fewer Jews in Sudetenland than the average for the whole of the Reich[6]. There were now just 142 Jews left in the Silesian counties[7]. Paradoxically, however, thanks to Nazi racist

---

4 ZAO, Regierungspräsident Troppau, 1449.

5 L. Kocourek, 'Osud židů v Sudetské župě v obraze dochovaných dokumentů', *Terezínské studie a dokumenty* (1997) 76-8; V. Zimmermann, 'Pachatelé a přihlížející. Pronásledování židů v Sudetské župě', ibid. (1999) 137-8.

6 Ibid. 135-6.

7 ZAO, Regierungspräsident Troppau, 1820. Counts of „total" Jews [Voll juden] according to Silesian counties: Opava city 36, Krnov 35, Bruntál 25, Opava region 19, Bílovec 15, Frývaldov 12.

doctrine, their number was increased to 642 by the inclusion of Jews of mixed blood of the first and second degree[8].

Basically, the turning point in the life of Jews under German dominance came about with the events of the Kristallnacht of November 9/10 1938 and the days following. The terrorist action organised by Nazis throughout the whole Reich territory also affected the Silesian part of Sudetenland. According to preserved police reports, in Svinov u Ostravy Jewish dwellings were attacked, in Bruntál SS officers closed all Jewish shops, in Bílovec the Jewish physician Dr. Beck was arrested for alleged 'vilification of race', in Krnov SS units also carried out an anti-Jewish operation – on Adolf Hitler Square, books from the store of the Jewish bookseller Dr. Kunnewälder were burnt in public. The synagogue in Krnov was partly destroyed; it was prevented from burning to the ground on the orders of the SS command, because it was to be converted into a town market hall, which later actually happened. However, the Jewish cemetery was destroyed, the hearse was smashed and burnt. In Bruntál, the oratory was attacked and the ceremonial hall at the Jewish cemetery was burnt out. The synagogue in Opava was completely destroyed by fire, the scene – according to a preserved photograph – watched by local residents with their hands in their pockets. Violence also accompanied the subsequent escape of Jews; for instance, on November 14 in Bílovec the Nazis confiscated Jews' furniture and other property, which they wanted to take with them[9].

For Jews who still remained in the Opava area, a detention camp was built in the summer of 1939 in Skrochovice u Bruntálu, to which Jews from occupied Cieszyn Silesia were also brought later on. The camp was notorious for its bad treatment of prisoners, about 10 prisoners died there. Its commander was the war criminal Herman Jäckel, later the head of a unit in Terezín. At the beginning of 1940, the camp was vacated and prisoners were turned over to concentration camps. The few remaining Jews are recorded in Nazi reports in passing mentions: for instance, reports that they did not obey the regulation on Jewish surnames or did not wear the Jews' mandatory badge. Nazis from Opava demanded that even Jews from mixed marriages wear the yellow star. Another report mentioned confiscation of Jewish textiles and furs, another one punished people who were in contact with Jews or verbally supported them[10]. The last Jews in the administrative county of Opava were transported away on November 18 1942, November 18 1943

---

[8] ZAO, Regierungspräsident Troppau, 611. Counts of „total" Jews including Jews of mixed blood of both degrees, according to Silesian counties: Opava city 247, Krnov 141, Bílovec 78, Frývaldov 73, Bruntál 58, Opava region 45.

[9] ZAO, Regierungspräsident Troppau, 1449 and 1458; Chronik des Sudetenlandes, DZ Bohemia, 13. XI. 1938; M. Borák, 'Wydarzenia „nocy kryształowej" i ich oddźwięk na terenach Czechosłowacji', in *Colloquium Opole '98. 60 rocznica pogromu Żydów w Niemczech* (Opole, 2000) 49-60.

[10] J. Orlík, *Opavsko a severní Morava za okupace. Z tajných zpráv okupačních úřadu z let 1940-1943* (Opava, 1961) 54, 74, 94, 101; Zimmermann, 'Pachatelé a přihlížející' 139-40.

and January 10 1944 and were taken to Terezín and then to concentration camps. This involved just 80 people[11].

**B. Hlučín area**

After the Munich agreement, the Hlučín area was the only seceded part of the republic, to be annexed directly to Altreich[12]. There were approximately 50,000 inhabitants, 95% of whom, according to the last pre-War census in 1930, registered themselves as Czech nationals. The fact that, after two centuries of separation from the Czech Opava area, more than 80% of the local population still claimed the „Moravian language" as their mother tongue, even though they considered the Prussian state their fatherland, served as a substantiation for the Czech claim to the Hlučín area, in addition to transportation and strategic grounds[13]. However, inhabitants of the area continued to be a group that, from the national standpoint, was perceived as being somewhat impaired, with their highly specific interpretation of the concept of *nation* or *nationality*, which, in their value system, was subordinate to the concept of *family* or *home* in a strictly regional sense. This was demonstrated immediately after the Munich Agreement – exactly the same number of local inhabitants professed to be of German nationality in January 1939. Laws of the Reich allowed residents who were born here before the year 1910 and who were permanent residents here on October 10 1938, to automatically obtain German nationality together with the rights of Reich citizens. In contrast to conditions in the protectorate, Sudetenland or the Czech part of Cieszyn Silesia, only a few residents in the Hlučín area remained without German nationality[14].

According to the 1930 census, the lowest number of Jews in the territory of the four mentioned parts of Czech Silesia lived in the Hlučín area. Statistically, their number could not even be expressed in percentages. There were only 41, mostly in Hlučín, some in Šilheřovice and Oldřišov[15]. However, in the past it had been different. In Prussian Hlučín, people had had greater freedom than in Austria, and so, for instance, in 1841 there were 244, almost one-tenth of the former popu-

---

[11] *Terezínská pamětní kniha. Židovské oběti nacistických deportací z Čech a Moravy 1940-1945* (Prague, 1996) 1318; L. Kocourek, 'Několik poznámek k postavení Židu v Sudetské župě 1938-1945', in *Židé v Sudetech* 204-9; Id., 'Osud Židu' 72-88; H. Krejčová, 'Židovská komunita v Sudetach a její osudy po Mnichovu – 1938' in *Židé v Sudetach* (Prague, 2000) 138.

[12] It became a part of the Racibórz county in the Opole district of the Reich province of Silesia, from the year 1941 the province of Upper Silesia.

[13] For more see J. Plaček, 'Hlučínsko pod nadvládou Pruska a Nemecka (1742-1920)', *Ostrava. Příspivky k dějinám a současnosti Ostravy a Ostravska* 19 (1999) 109-46; *Hlučínsko v proměnách času* (Hlučín, 1995).

[14] V. Plaček, 'Ostravská prumyslová oblast v letech 1938-1945', *Průmyslové oblasti* 3 (1971) 43-4; N. Pavelčíková, 'Peripetie vývoje Hlučínska v letech 1938-1948', in *Hlučínsko v proměnách času* (Hlučín, 1995) 64-72.

[15] *Statistický lexikon* 36-7.

lation of the town[16]. The departure of the Jews was probably caused by an economic decline in the town in the inter-War period, when its traditional association with the Racibórz area was disrupted and Hlučín was no longer an important trade centre.

Also in the Hlučín area of Silesia, the anti-Jewish Nuremberg Laws came into force right after the territory's annexation to the Reich, with all the resulting consequences. The Jewish problem was practically non-existent here, because the overwhelming majority of local Jews had left before the War. It was not even possible to burn the synagogue, since it had already fallen into ruins in 1931. Thus Nazi hatred was unleashed only in the Jewish cemetery, which was destroyed[17]. A local eyewitness states that convoys of Jews passed through the Hlučín area in open coaches and it was prohibited to hand them tea, even though their 'howling' with thirst was inhuman. For local Nazis, this was just further proof of their assertion that Jews were not people. Although there were no local Jews left, children at Hitlerjugend (Hitler Youth) meetings allegedly had to utter an obscenity every time their commander said the word 'Jew'[18].

**C. The Czech part of Cieszyn Silesia**

The most complicated development was in the Czech part of what was Cieszyn Silesia, that is, the entire county of Fryštát, almost the entire county of Český Těšín and several villages or parts of them that were in the Frýdek county. There were about 230,000 inhabitants: 54% Czechs, 32% Poles and a scant 8% Germans. In October 1938 this territory was joined to Poland[19]. Polish citizenship was awarded only to Poles and to residents who had had the right of residency here before November 1918. These conditions, together with the fear of racial persecution, caused the (often forced) departure of about 30,000 Czechs and 5,000 Germans from the Czech part of Cieszyn Silesia and led to other changes in the nationality structure of the population. A year later, when Poland was invaded by Nazi Germany, the Czech part of Cieszyn Silesia, as a part of the conquered „Eastern territories", was also annexed to the Reich in October 1939[20]. The basis for the invaders' Germanisation efforts was the Volkslist (German National List) drive, which actually involved a conditional promise of German citizenship. Those residents who were forced to enrol in Volkslists were those who had entered themselves as Silesian nationals in the census, but there were also Poles and Czechs, who previously had significantly outnumbered Germans in the Czech part of Cieszyn Silesia. Both under

[16] U. Wanderburg, *Historie města Hlučína*, Vol 2 (Hlučín, 1991) 76.

[17] J. Fiedler, *Židovské památky v Čechách a na Moravě* (Prague, 1992) 118.

[18] L. Martiník, *Žil jsem na Hlučínsku i na straně císařské* (n.p., n.d.) 33.

[19] The county of Český Těšín was joined to the Polish county of Cieszyn and, together with the county of Fryštát, they were a part of a Silesia voivodship with its seat of administration in Katowice.

[20] The occupied county of Teschen, integrated into the Katowice governmental region in the Silesian and, from 1941, the Upper Silesian province of the Reich was created from the counties of Fryštát and Cieszyn.

the threat of loss of property, displacement or deportation to a concentration camp, and for tactical reasons which would permit survival in occupation conditions and in the case of persecution, over 70% of the Czech component of the Cieszyn Silesian population enrolled on the Volkslists. Those residents who refused to be Germanised were subject to harsh discrimination. This mainly affected Poles[21].

Statistically, 3,678 Jews lived in Cieszyn Silesia, of whom 2,062 (56%) professed to be ethnic Jews. In the Fryštát county there were 2,139, they made up 1.5% of the population (most lived in Bohumín and Nový Bohumín (754), then Orlová (394), Fryštát (322), Karviná (172), Doubrava (69), Lazy (58), Petřvald (50), Skřečoň (48), Rychvald (38), etc.). In the Český Těšín county there were 1,539 Jews, that is 1.8%, Český Těšín 1,148, Třinec 138, Jablunkov 61, Bystřice 31, Svibice 30, Střítež 19, Bludovice 13, Náves 11, etc.)[22].

While synagogues burnt in German Silesia in November 1938, in Cieszyn Silesia the anti-Jewish violence of the Kristallnacht was not replicated. However, both sides of Cieszyn Silesia, Polish and Czech, were known to have taken part in anti-Jewish demonstrations. In comparison with the whole of Upper Silesia, however, they were far less significant. For instance, in Poruba near Orlová in March 1938, an invitation was handed out for a Czech "National domestic ball without Jews". It was subject to a police investigation[23]. Nevertheless, it is surprising that the first bomb attack on a Jewish building in former Czechoslovakia happened in the Těšín area. It took place at the end of September 1938, thus more than a month before the Kristallnacht. Some of the commercial buildings of the synagogue in Třinec exploded. The operation was carried out by young Poles, members of the scout brigade of a militant organisation, part of the on-going offensive against Czechoslovakia[24].

---

21 For more, see M. Myška, *Z tajných zpráv NSDAP o Těšínsku* (Ostrava, 1964); M. Borák, *Svědectví ze Životic, Těšínsko za druhé světové války a okolnosti životické tragédie* (Český Těšín, 1999). The situation of the Czechs was much more favourable. Their property was not confiscated, they were not displaced (with some exceptions), they did not pay higher income tax and they were not subject to the tightened criminal laws. However, they did not have any national rights.

22 *Statistický lexikon* 29-31, 106-10; *Seznam obcí a okresů republiky Ceskoslovenské, které byly připojeny k Nemecku, Mad'arsku a Polsku (stav ke dni 28. listopadu 1938)* (Prague, 1938) 6. 2,077 Jews according to nationality. Probably there was a recount after border changes; H. Krejčová, 'Židovská komunita' 130. Without mentioning its source, it lists 4,026 Jews in the detached Czech part of Cieszyn Silesia, of who 2,225 were ethnic Jews.

23 B. Gracová, 'Židovské obyvatelstvo Ostravska v období druhé republiky', *Acta Facultatis Philosophicae Universitatis Ostraviensis, Historica* 153/3 (1995) 74.

24 E. Długajczyk, *Tajny front na granicy cieszyńskiej. Wywiad i dywersja w latach 1919-1939* (Katowice, 1993) 145; K. Badziak, G. Matwiejew, P. Samuś, *"Powstanie" na Zaolziu w 1938 r. Polska akcja specjalna w świetle dokumetów Oddziału II Sztabu Głównego WP* (Warsaw, 1997) 167.

On the Polish side, there were anti-Jewish rebellions in Cieszyn which were stopped by the police even in 1937. In February 1939, nationalist-radical students carried out several attacks on Jewish shops and distributed provocative anti-Jewish leaflets. For this they were sought by the Polish authorities. At that time, many Jews from Těšín decided to emigrate. After the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia was established, a flood of Jewish refugees headed through the Těšín area to Poland and further abroad, but Polish authorities sent many of them back. However, several refugee help centres were created; for example in Fryštát, Petřvald and Orlová[25].

A real threat to the existence of Těšín/Cieszyn Jews came with the German occupation of Poland in September 1939. On October 26, after a short period of military administration, Hitler's decree of October 8 1939 governing the integration and administration of conquered eastern territories came into force. Thus, Cieszyn Silesia also gradually became subject to German legislation, for example, the German *Criminal Code* of June 6 1940. This law was amended on December 4 1941 by a decree which introduced special judicial conditions for Poles and Jews, whereby the death penalty could be handed down simply for anti-German attitudes or statements. Amendments to this law also permitted punishment of young Poles and Jews in the same harsh manner, even for acts committed before the law came into force. For Jews this decree ceased to be valid on July 1 1943, when they were excluded from the jurisdiction of all courts and were to be punished solely by the police[26].

In September 1939, all synagogues and Jewish buildings with the exception of two, in Cieszyn and Český Těšín, and in Bohumín, Fryštát, Karviná, Orlová and Třinec, were burnt down[27]. On September 6 1939, Jews were officially devoid of property, chased from their homes and forced to do manual labour repairing roads, diverting rivers, street cleaning and working in sewers. They were gradually concentrated in former Jewish buildings in the town and later taken away to Jewish camps and ghettos in Gliwice, Wadowice, Sosnowiec, Będzin and Myszków[28]. From there they were transported in 1942 to be exterminated, predominantly to KL Auschwitz nearby. It must be mentioned that approximately 130 Jews from the Těšín area, stretching from Bohumín to Třinec, were in one of the very first Jewish

---

[25] M. Kantor, *Záhuba těšínských židu* (Diplomová práce, Ostravská univerzita, 1994) 42-3; F. Pasz, *Żydzi i my w Cieszynie* 2nd ed., (Cieszyn, 1997) 63-6.

[26] M. Borák, *Na příkaz gestapa. Nacistické válečné zločiny na Těšínsku* (Ostrava, 1990) 238-40.

[27] Pasz, *Żydzi i my* 80-2; M. Makowski, 'Główna synagoga w Cieszynie', in J. Spyra (ed.), *Żydowskie zabytki Cieszyna i Czeskiego Cieszyna* (Cieszyn, 1999) 47; J. Klenovský, 'Żydowskie zabytki na terenie Czeskiego Cieszyna', Ibid 50-4.

[28] Pasz, *Żydzi i my* 82-3; B. Poloczkowa, 'Żydzi cieszyńscy w czasie drugiej wojny światowej (materiały archiwalne, informacje terenowe)', *Zaranie śląskie* 50/1-2 (1987) 73-88.

transports in Europe, which headed to Nisko nad Sanem in October 1939[29]. In October 1943, according to Nazi statistics, only 28 Jews were left in the Těšín area. The vast majority of Těšín Jews perished. Quite fragmentary post-War statistics specifically mention 1,667 victims for the Karviná county and 186 victims for the Těšín part of the Frýdek-Místek county[30].

**D. Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia**

Relatively speaking, this is a small part of Silesia, the slightly truncated Frýdek county remained within the framework of the Czechoslovak Republic after the Munich Agreement and after March 1939 it became a part of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia. This term, formulated by the invaders, was actually a distortion of the true situation, since it did not include the piece of protectorate Silesia on the right bank of the Ostravice River, stretching from the Beskidy Mountains up to the Odra River near Ostrava.

The location of the Ostrava agglomeration with its well-developed industrial base was speculated on only briefly. Nazis from Upper Silesia and from Sudetenland had their aspirations and, for their part, the protectorate residents hoped that the Těšín area would be returned to the Czech lands. In the end, everything stayed the way it had been decided in the Post-Munich era.

Before the War approximately 115,000 people lived in the Frýdek county: an absolute majority of Czechs (94%), but also 4% Germans and 1% Poles. After the German invasion, protectorate Germans acquired German nationality and came under the Reich's legal system, which made them a special privileged class. According to another regulation, others could become German nationals, provided they met the stipulated conditions (for instance, mixed marriages, German origins and similar). A protectorate nationality was introduced for Czechs, which entitled them to hold public office in the territory of the Protectorate and to obtain employment. In contrast to other Silesian areas, Czechs had relatively extensive national rights here. They were not equal to the Germans, but they were not deprived of their rights like protégés of the Reich (Schutzangehörigen) such as Poles in the Těšín area[31].

Before the War, 975 Jews had lived in the protectorate county of Frýdek, or 0.8% of the population. Most of them lived in Frýdek – 237; 234 in Silesian Ostrava and 219 in Hrušov (a further 62 in Muglinov, 61 in Michálkovice, 58 in Radvanice, 31 in Kunčičky, etc.). 475 of them, that is 48%[32], professed to be ethnic Jews. It seems to be the rule that in counties with a smaller German population, the

---

[29] M. Borák, *Transport do tmy, první deportace evropských Židů* (Ostrava, 1994) 53-9, 122-3.

[30] *Dějiny Orlové* (Orlová, 1993) 132; *Oběti hitlerovské okupace a války 1939-145 v okrese Karviná* (Karviná, 1995); *Almanach obětí nacismu v letech 1939-1945 v okrese Frýdek-Místek* (Frýdek-Místek, 1991).

[31] Plaček, 'Ostravská průmyslová' 27-31; *Statistický lexikon* XVII.

[32] *Statistický lexikon* 26-9.

national consciousness of Jews was much higher than in counties where Germans markedly predominated.

In the Frýdek part of Silesia, living conditions of Jews worsened right after the Munich Agreement. Czech fascists, who had a strong influence in the Frýdek area in the Fascist guards of Svatopluk [Fašistické Svatoplukovy gardy] and were quite numerous in the Silesian part of Ostrava, were mobilised. Anti-Semitic demonstrations, the boycott of Jewish shops and handing out nationalistic leaflets were all common occurrences, even though the Czechoslovak police usually firmly intervened[33] in these actions. Although anti-Jewish legislation was put into action only by the Protectorate legislature, efforts to exclude Jews from the economic and social life of the state were already clearly evident. For instance, Jews could not become members of the governing Party of National Unity [Strana národní jednoty]; already in October 1939 a memorandum of Czech physicians asked for the definition of a Jew, some Sokol (scouting) regions proposed that Jews be expelled from the republic. A sector of the Czech press denounced Jews who were still active in education or state institutions. In January 1939, Beran's government decided that state employees of Jewish origin would be dismissed[34].

In March 1939, after the occupation of the rest of the republic, the legal status of Jews immediately worsened. Local Germans of Jewish origin were subject to the Nuremberg Laws and a similar destiny was awaiting Czech Jews. The protectorate government had already adopted a whole package of anti-Semitic measures at its first session on March 17 1939. It banned any practising by „non-Aryan" physicians and lawyers and ordered the elimination of Jews from all leading positions in the country's economic life. However, its next proposal, to appoint fiduciaries and administrators of Jewish property, was stopped by the Reich protector. The German invaders had no interest in strengthening Czech positions. On the contrary, they wanted to obtain the Jewish property for themselves only. The decree of the Reich protector, Neurath, of June 21 1939 on Jewish property practically implemented the Nuremberg Laws in the protectorate. The subsequent decree on the legal status of Jews in public life, put into effect by the protectorate government on July 4 1939, and made public after the statement by the occupying authorities on April 24 1940, established a long list of professions which could not be practised by Jews. At the same it allowed president Hácha to grant exemptions to some Jews. From more than 1,000 applications, the government recommended

---

[33] B. Gracová and B. Przybylová, 'Problémy každodenního života ostravských židovských obyvatel v prvních letech okupace', in L. Nesládková (ed.), *Mezinárodní vědecká konference Akce Nisko v historii 'konečného řešení židovské otázky'. K 55. výročí první hromadné deportace evropských židů. Sborník referátů = Die internationale wissenschaftliche Konferenz 'Die Aktion Nisko in der Gesamtgeschichte der „Endlösung der Judenfrage". Die anlässlich des 55. Jahrestages der ersten Massendeportation der europäischen Juden. Sammelband* (Ostrava, 1995) 234-51.

[34] H. Krejčová, 'Židé a česká společnost. Léta 1938-1939', ibid. 53-61; Borák, *Transport do tmy* 10-1.

41 for consideration, but the Reich protector did not allow a single one of them. His decree of January 26 1940 on the exclusion of Jews from economic life and many other decrees destroyed the basis of survival for protectorate Jews[35].

In the end, Jewish affairs in the protectorate were taken over by the Gestapo. Jews were deprived of property and their basic human rights were drastically restricted. In June 1939 Nazis burnt the synagogue in Frýdek and the oratory in Hrušov, all synagogues in Ostrava were burnt as well. In October 1939, Jews from Frýdek, together with Jews from Ostrava, were placed in the deportation transport in Nisko nad Sanem. The whole operation was handled by Adolf Eichmann himself[36].

In contrast to other areas of Czech Silesia, Jews in the protectorate part of the Těšín area survived a little longer. They were housed together outside their homes, had to submit to humiliating regulations and hard labour and from September 1 1941 they had to wear yellow stars on their clothing. However, it was not until September 1942 that Jews from the Ostrava and Frýdek areas were taken away in four groups to Terezín and from there usually to Auschwitz. Another group left on June 30 1943 and the last one, with people from mixed marriages, on March 4 1945[37]. Although quite fragmented, statistics for Jewish victims from the protectorate's Frýdek area yield 141 names[38].

The elimination of Jews from public life was carried out in various parts of Czech Silesia at various times and their deportation was executed in various ways and at various speeds. Some forms of discrimination against Jews in different areas differed in many respects. Nevertheless, the final goal – the elimination of Jews from Silesian territory and their extermination – was identical in all cases and it was only Germany's defeat in World War II that prevented it being taken to its fullest extent.

---

35 M. Kárný, *„Konečné řešení". Genocida českých židu v německé protektorátní politice* (Prague, 1991) 24-34, 47-68. In October 1940 the protectorate government tried to issue its own version of the law governing the protection of Czech Aryan honour and blood, but in the end it was replaced by the German third amendment to the law governing the the protection of German blood and German honour, issued on July 5 1941, according to which protectorate citizens should be treated as citizens of the German State.

36 J. Klenovský, *Židovské památky Ostravy* (Ostrava, 1997/98) 24; Borák, *Transport do tmy* 31-40.

37 Ibid. 121-3.

38 *Almanach obětí.*

**Ewa Kozerska**

# PIUS XI AND GERMAN ANTI-SEMITISM

In the wake of the anti-Semitism that emerged in the nineteenth century, the biological and mental features of the 'Aryan race'[1] were regarded as the standard for all values and the basis for interpersonal relations in the state and society derived from it. The racist anti-Semitism expressed by the NSDAP's programme was not solely a German phenomenon. In other parts of the world – Eastern Europe, Austria, Hungary and France – ideological currents expressing a hostile attitude towards Jewish people also manifested themselves. It may be worth mentioning that anti-Judaism, which stemmed from religious premises, and which was not alien to Catholic and Protestant circles, contributed to the intensifying racial antagonisms of the first half of the twentieth century[2]. However, the character of the NSDAP's doctrine, expressed in the 25-item programme of the party of February 24 1920, differed from previous religious or social prejudices against Jews. This ideology, which manifested the inequality of races and the necessity of struggle for the 'pure race' to survive, gained increasing numbers of supporters among some of those who were influential in totalitarian regimes. Thus, it was becoming a potentially dangerous phenomenon[3].

The Catholic Church could not remain indifferent towards the problem, because the values from which the Catholic teaching of morality as well as its interpretation had been derived were diametrically opposed to those of Nazism. The first Pope to become aware of the inherent threat in the 'immoderate love for homeland and nation' was Pius XI (1922-39). A condemnation of anti-Semitism was inseparable from his fierce opposition to any form of racist ideology. Being the head of the Roman-Catholic Church, his disapproval of nationalist actions by the ruling regimes could only be expressed via encyclicals, public speeches or letters of protest

---

1 E. Krieck, the Nazi race theoretician, claimed that a race is a 'group of people of the same type, based on specific values and connected by some inherited inclinations'. See *Völkische-politische Anthropologie* (1938) 58.

2 B. van Schewick, 'Kościół katolicki a narodowosocjalistyczna polityka rasowa' in K. Gotto and K. Repgen (eds.), *Kościół, katolicy i narodowy socjalizm* (Warsaw, 1983) 72.

3 See R. Lill, 'Ideologia i polityka kościelna narodowego socjalizmu' ibid. 23.

addressed to those in power or societies in which such actions were occurring. In his first encyclical *Ubi arcano Dei* of December 23 1923, he warned that the policies adopted in those countries, under the guise of public interest and patriotism, proclaimed hatred and hostility towards other nations. As far as Pius XI was concerned, such an understanding of nationalism contributed to the spread of social injustice, and consequently had a negative effect on relationships between individuals and nations[4]. In addition, in the first half of the twentieth century, mainly in Germany, an idea arising from the precepts of racist ideology came into being, whereby people of Jewish descent were to be discriminated against in every realm of social and private life. The reaction was the decree issued by the Holy Office in March 25 1928, which stated that the Holy See condemned 'to the greatest possible extent hatred towards people who had been chosen by God. This hatred, today is defined as anti-Semitism'[5]. But the Vatican's statement was greeted with no interest in Germany.

The Catholic hierarchy in Germany also publicly criticised anti-Semitic ideology. I would like to remind you that even before the *Machtübernahme,* German bishops disapproved of some of the theses included in the programme of the Nazi party. In a pastoral statement of February 10 1931 addressed to German clergymen, the bishops of eight Bavarian dioceses expressed the opinion that Nazism rejects basic premises of Catholic teaching. Moreover, the Church's dignitaries in Germany recognised the fact that the ideology proclaiming superiority of race and the anti-Semitism deriving from that ideology were contrary to Christian teaching[6]. Racism was also firmly rejected by Wrocław's Metropolitan Adolf Bertram. In his 'Pastoral Instructions in the Face of National Socialism' of March 14 1931 he defined the philosophy of Nazis as a heresy[7].

---

4 Pius XI, 'Ubi arcano Dei', *Kronika Djecezji Łużycko-żytomierskiej*, 6 (1923) 6; id., 'Quadragesimo Anno', in *Nauczanie społeczne Kościoła* (Warsaw, 1984) 63. See J. Woroniecki, *Katolicka etyka wychowawcza* (Lublin, 1986) 122-3.

5 G. Passelecq and B. Suchecky, *L'encyclique cachče de Pie XI. Une occasion manquée de l'Čglise face a' L'antisčmitisme* (Paris, 1995) 140. See B. J. J. Visser, *Gewalt gegen Gewissen. Nationalsozialismus – Vatikan – Episkopat. Die Entlassung einer Geschichtsfälschung* (Würzburg, 1947) 7. This document also dissolved the Society of Friends of Israel, established on February 24 1926 by Father Anton Van Asseldonck. Priests, members of the society encouraged Catholics by their pastoral teaching to abandon hatred of Jews. The second goal of the society was to encourage conversions of Jews. In 1928 the Pope decided that the policy of the society contradicted his way of thinking and liquidated it.

6 Nazism was also condemned in a pastoral letter of the German bishops from the province of Köln (March 5 1931), Paderborn (March 10) and Freiburg (March 18). See R. Morsey, 'Mniejszość katolicka i powstanie narodowego socjalizmu 1930-1933', in Gotto and Repgen (eds.), *Kościół, katolicy* 13-4. See Z. Zieliński, 'Czy katolicy niemieccy wiedzieli w roku 1933 czym jest hitleryzm?', *Chrześcijanin w świecie* 163 (1987) 80.

7 K. Jonca, 'Kardynał Adolf Bertram wobec ideologii totalitarnych (1930-1945)' in K. Matwijowski (ed.), *Ludzie Śląskiego Kościoła katolickiego* (Wrocław, 1992) 91.

Adolf Hitler, having taken office in Germany (January 30 1933), undertook to adhere to fundamental principles of freedom of conscience and religion, and not to interfere in the Church's affairs[8]. As a result of such a declaration by the Chancellor, the German Episcopate, gathered at the conference in Fulda (March 28), withdrew its general ban on the national-socialist movement. Nevertheless, they stated that they still condemned some Nazi 'religious and moral teachings'[9]. However, Hitler's undertaking was no obstacle to the national socialists' immediately putting their racist ideology into action. April 1933 saw an intensification in the repression and terrorist attacks against German citizens of Jewish descent. In addition, the Nazis took advantage of legislation to continuously deprive Jews of their rights and freedoms as citizens, treating them as the 'community of little value.' On April 7 1933 the new government, putting the law governing clerical reorganisation into force, made it possible to expel all non-Aryan civil servants. The 'purge' in the administration affected not only Jews but also Catholic and Evangelical Christians[10]. On July 14 1933 a law was passed (it was publicly announced only five days after the Concordat was signed) decreeing that all those who were suffering from hereditary illnesses would be sterilised[11]. On September 15 1933, to hasten the elimination of Jews from public and economic life, the Nuremberg Acts were passed: the Act governing citizenship in the Reich; the Act protecting German blood and honour, and the law of October 18 1933 governing the protection of the progeny of the German nation. The anti-Jewish Nuremberg Acts divided Germans into 'Aryans' who 'would willingly serve the nation and the Reich' and 'non-Aryans'[12]. On the strength of the above-mentioned regulations, German constitutional and civil legislation was changed and Jews were thus made second-class citizens.

In the face of such racist policies on the part of the Reich, the German bishops' speeches did not express a firm and uncompromising protest. Neither did the Holy See, until as late as 1937, adopt any official stance on that matter. The Catholic Church's policy, together with that of Pius XI, could be justified by the confidential negotiations that began in spring 1933 between Vatican diplomats and the government of the Third Reich. These negotiations were aimed at completing the Concordat, since both the Church's hierarchy in Germany and the Pope were convinced of the growing threat not only to the Catholic religion but also to civil

---

8 See J. C. Maier-Hultschin, 'Stosunek Trzeciej Rzeszy do Kościoła', *Verbum* 4 (1938) 610.

9 L. Halban, *Religia w Trzeciej Rzeszy* (Lwów, 1936) 318.

10 B. van Schewick, 'Kościół katolicki' 74.

11 G. Levy, *Die katholische Kirche und das Dritte Reich* (Munich, 1965) 284-5. See *Przegląd Katolicki* 18 (1933) 295.

12 K. Jonca, 'Koncepcje narodowosocjalistycznego prawa w Trzeciej Rzeszy', *Studia nad Faszyzmem i Zbrodniami Hitlerowskimi* 3 (1977) 94-5. See F. Ryszka, *Państwo stanu wyjątkowego. Rzecz o systemie państwa i prawa Trzeciej Rzeszy*. 3rd edition (Wrocław-Warsaw-Cracow-Gdańsk-Łódź, 1985) 443f.

rights and freedoms in the Third Reich[13]. However, the resolutions of the Concordat of July 20 1933 were not adhered to by the German party. Hitler's government, citing needs arising from general policy, constantly and effectively fought the Church together with its rights of freedom of conscience and religion.

The result of intensifying anti-Church policy in Germany was evident in the unyielding reaction of both German bishops[14] and the Vatican. On the Palm Sunday of March 21 1937, the encyclical *Mit brennender Sorge* (With Burning Sorrow) was announced, in which Pius XI not only commented on the situation of Catholics in the German Reich, but also (although not directly) condemned anti-Semitism. The papal document included a warning addressed to those who strayed from the road of truth[15]. At the same time, he expressed his disapproval of a philosophy that placed a race, a nation, a state's political system or the representatives of a state's authorities above earthly values.

In the Pope's opinion, it was wrong to accord those attributes 'idolatrous praise' and thus make them the highest standard for all values, including religious ones[16]. Moreover, the Pope denied the Nazi precept of *Herrenvolk*, as it was contrary to Christian principles, which state that every individual human being is equally subject to God. He instructed that all people – rulers and the ruled – should equally be obliged to obey God's law. It is God alone, we read in the encyclical, who as the supreme authority, has the right to demand obedience from individuals and society[17]. Thus, earthly human laws on any moral issue should be subordinate to God's unchangeable law, as no law made by man can be above God's law or remain contrary to it. The Pope warned that in his days the foundations of righteous living and the teachings of the law were being torn away from the commandments revealed by God, which were expressed in natural law and given to man through reason. In compliance with the doctrine of the Catholic Church, the principles of natural law should not only define the content of moral standards but also give binding force to positive law. According to Pius XI, all human laws, which are incompatible with natural law, are from their very origins flawed and neither force nor physical violence can render them unflawed[18]. Thus a law which cultivates the so-called myth of 'race and blood', and deprives individuals of their inherent rights was firmly criticised. The Pope rejected the view according to

---

[13] L. Volk, 'Opór Kościoła katolickiego wobec nazizmu', *Chrześcijanin w świecie* 89 (1980) 14.

[14] For more on the reaction of the German Episcopate, see E. Kozerska, 'Krytyka narodowego socjalizmu w papieskiej encyklice "Z palącą troską"', *Studia nad Faszyzmem i Zbrodniami Hitlerowskimi* 21 (1998) 131-2. See A. Lisiewicz, 'Ruch narodowo-socjalistyczny a katolicyzm', *Polityka Narodów* 4/1 (1934) 23.

[15] See G. Levy, *The Papacy and Totalitarianism between the Two World Wars* (New York-London-Sydney-Toronto, 1974) 65.

[16] Pius XI, 'Mit brennender Sorge', *Znak* 7-8 (1982) 738.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Ibid. 748-9. See J. Majka, *Filozofia społeczna* (Wrocław, 1982) 250.

which it was possible to believe in God within the boundaries of just one state, and 'only shallow minds can fall into error and speak of a national God, of a national religion... within the boundaries of one nation, in the narrowness of one race's blood to lock God, the Creator of the Universe'[19].

Pius XI, in treating natural law as being indestructible and undeniable, recognised that this was the basis of the subjective rights of a human being. He proved that man's dignity and value, his freedom of conscience, conviction and manner of religious practice all derive from the substance of inherent laws. Thus, as the head of the Catholic Church, he taught that the rights of a human being should be protected from 'any attacks from a society wanting to deny them, destroy or disregard them[20]. A society has to serve an individual's natural and supernatural development and his striving for perfection. The basic task of a society and state is to enable the development of individual and social capabilities, which 'through a mutual exchange must be used by man for his own good and the good of all other people'[21]. Thus the Pope recognised that the universal rights of each and every human being and a society stem from the pre-eminence of natural law over the laws created by a given nation or state. The contents of the encyclical evoked indignation and strong protests from the Reich's authorities, and that is what Nazi propaganda was supposed to serve[22].

Race relations in Germany were criticised once more by the Pope in his 1937 Christmas Eve allocution. It was with concern that Pius XI pointed to the wave of persecutions sweeping over people's communities and the Church. In the Christmas Eve message he exhorted the faithful to be 'ever vigilant and united in the face of propaganda and the enemies' efforts', the effect of which was always detrimental to the most basic values – individuals, families and societies. According to the Pope, truth, justice and brotherly mercy – values whose heir and teacher was the Catholic Church – were an antidote to these trials and tribulations. He warned of the dangers that threatened Europe from anti-Christian campaigns conducted by governments. He drew people's attention to the fact that every person who 'adhered to ideas that were false and harmful' unconsciously co-operated with those whom he wished to 'fight in his opinion' and simultaneously he impeded and counteracted the mission of the Catholic Church[23].

The papal critique of December 1937 was continued in the Syllabus issued on April 13 1938 by the Holy Congregation of Seminars and Universities, the prefect

---

[19] Pius XI, 'Mit brennender Sorge' 738-9. See *Przegląd Powszechny* 214 (1937) 113.

[20] Pius XI, 'Mit brennender Sorge' 749.

[21] Ibid. 750. See J. Pastuszka, *Rasizm jako światopogląd* (Poznań, 1939) 47.

[22] See Volk, 'Opór Kościoła' 14; *Przegląd Powszechny* 215 (1933) 166-170; *Völkischer Beobachter* of March 22 1937.

[23] *Przegląd Katolicki* 1 (1938) 12. See J. Neuhäusler, *Kreuz und Hakenkreuz. Der Kampf des Nationalsozialismus gegen die kirchliche Widerstand* (Munich, 1946) 13-4.

of which was Pius XI[24]. In the above-mentioned declaration, all Catholic universities and the faculty were ordered to pay careful heed to the defence of truth 'from the progressing errors' of racist ideology. In order to achieve that goal, experts in such fields as biology, history, philosophy, apologetics, and objective and competent teachers of the law and morality were called upon to oppose the false statements expressed in the eight theses. According to the above-mentioned formulae, from the Catholic viewpoint, emphasis was erroneously placed on the following assumptions: 1) there was a natural hierarchy of races; 2) the preservation of racial purity was a necessity; 3) 'blood and race' were the factors that determined the spiritual and moral characteristics men possess; 4) the purpose of education was to cultivate the idea of 'race'; 5) religion was subordinate to racial laws; 6) racial instinct was the source of and criterion for the assessment of legal order; 7) all things, including man, were various forms of the one universe; 8) individual human beings existed by the grace of the state alone and solely for the state[25]. Quoting the Pope's words, university scholars and the church's dignitaries recognised racism as a phenomenon which was incompatible with contemporary teaching, morality and natural law. They identified religious and political antagonisms with the attacks against Christianity[26].

The result of Hitler's visit to Rome in early May 1938 seemed to be the cautious introduction of anti-Semitic legislation into Italy and an attempt to treat racism as an element of the state's ideology. 'The Declaration of Race' (*Dichiarazione della Razza*) was announced on July 14 1938[27]. The Pope, during an audience granted to nuns from the Notre-Dame-du Cènacle convent, expressed his stance on that matter on that day. He stated that in the contemporary world, excessive nationalism was a serious problem. Wrongly construed, it could build barriers between nations and it opposed the law of the 'Good God', because the spirit of rationalism was incompatible with a Catholic universal faith. At the same time, he reminded his audience that never during his entire pontificate had he spoken out on those matters with such great concern, as he did it at that time in the face of the above-mentioned threats[28]. The problem of the incompatibility of racist

---

[24] The Congregation of Seminars and Universities served as a central office for Vatican research and Catholic scientific institutions.

[25] See *Wiara i życie* 2 (1938) 181-2 ; W. Zbierowski, 'Rasizm a katolicyzm', *Kultura* 18 (1939) 1.

[26] Passelecq and Suchecky, *L'encyclique* 158.

[27] Further regulations limiting Jewish civil rights were implemented in Italy on August 4 (Jewish children were banned from schools), September 1-2 (the citizenship of Jews settled in Italy and its colonies after January 1 1919 was anuulled), November 17 ( inter-marriages were banned). Ibid. 178f. See also W. Kozub-Ciembroniewicz, 'Żydzi w doktrynie włoskiego faszyzmu na tle „Manifesto degli scienziati Razzisti" z 14 VII 1938 r.', *Studia nad Faszyzmem i Zbrodniami Hitlerowskimi* 15 (1992) 36f.

[28] *L'Osservatore Romano* of July 17 1938, quoting Passelecq and Suchecky, *L'encyclique* 161.

ideology with Christian doctrine was once again touched upon by Pius XI in his letter of July 21 1938 addressed to 150 bishops' assistants, members of the Catholic Youth Action. Instructing representatives of the 'apostolate of the laymen', he pointed to the need to search for inspiration for human activity in the universal spirit – which should be Catholic, not 'racist, nationalistic, separatist'[29]. According to the papal instruction, all ideas connected with nationalism, should be condemned for their non-Christian, anti-humanitarian tendencies.

The Pope, during an audience (July 28) for 200 seminarists of the Municipal Pontifical Propaganda College, in accordance with his previous declaration, expressed the opinion that the changes taking place in the world were negative. He perceived a plummetting of the significance of universal values for individual human beings. Societies had forgotten that people constituted one large family of living creatures, in which – despite the many internal differences – there was no division into races. In criticising the anti-Semitic policy of the Italian fascists, and by taking examples from Germany, he reminded his audience that all people are equal and have the same claim to dignity. The Pope taught that man is called upon to proclaim and behave in compliance with the principles of Christian truth, goodness and mercy in his own country and nation. Thus, all people were obliged to be propagators of 'those such great...human ideas' which had come into existence before they had become Christians[30].

The intensifying racial antagonism induced the Pope to voice a declaration during his audience with Belgian pilgrims (September 6), via the words: 'spiritually we are Semites'[31]. Pius XI, quoting the teachings of St. Paul, instructed that 'through Christ and in Christ we are Abraham's spiritual progeny' – Galatians 3,16. It was proof, the Pope stated, that anti-Semitism was not compatible with the spirit of the Scriptures. It was also the expression of an ideology which Christians cannot regard as righteous. All actions against Jews were inadmissible, and each and every man had the right to means of protection against any threat to his rightful interests. The papal allocution broadcast by Vatican Radio did not meet with any response from the Italian Catholic press[32].

The climax of the wave of persecutions against Jews was the Kristallnacht (November 9-10 1938) and the proclamation of new anti-Semitic laws in Italy and Germany (November 1938)[33]. To no avail, the Holy See tried to prevent the proclamation of the racist decree of November 17 1938 in Italy. The Pope wrote two letters about it: one to Benito Mussolini, the other to King Emmanuel III.

---

[29] *L'Osservatore Romano* of July 23 1938, quoting Passelecq and Suchecky, *L'encyclique* 162.

[30] *L'Osservatore Romano* of July 30 1938, quoting Passelecq and Suchecky, *L'encyclique* 162-3.

[31] Ibid. 13, 180. See Levy, *The Papacy and Totalitarianism* 65.

[32] Passelecq and Suchecky, *L'encyclique* 187.

[33] See K. Jonca, *Noc kryształowa i casus Herschela Grynszpana* (Wrocław, 1992) 216-7; Kozub-Ciembroniewicz, 'Żydzi w doktrynie' 39.

Moreover, Cardinal Pacelli's protest was published in 'L'Osservatore Romano' (November 14), and in the Pope's 1938 Christmas Eve allocution. The Vatican's critique primarily was aimed at the law that banned marriages between 'Aryans' and 'non-Aryans', as legislative decisions in Italy were being made without any consultation with the Holy See and they breached Article 34 of the Concordat concluded on February 11 1929. In addition, they contravened canon law. However, Pius XI did not take any firm stance on the Kristallnacht[34], but at the end of 1938 he once again took up the subject of the intensifying persecutions in Germany. The Pope, quoting witnesses of the events which were occurring in Germany and Austria concluded that both Christians and laymen were being humiliated and persecuted in those countries[35].

At the turn of July and August 1938 Pius XI ordered three Jesuits (Gustaw Gundlach, John La Farge, Desbuquois) to prepare an encyclical which would touch upon the most crucial problem of that time – racism and anti-Semitism. The draft of the encyclical *Humani generis unitas* was probably forwarded to the Pope on January 21 1939. Its proclamation was prevented by the death of Pius XI on the night of February 9-10 1939[36].

In his encyclicals and public speeches, Pius XI included teachings about the differences between racist ideology and Christian doctrine. He stigmatised the fundamental premises of racist anti-Semitic policies, which could not be reconciled with the teachings of the Catholic Church. He was not indifferent to the persecutions of individuals and human communities. It may also be worth mentioning that during World War II, the Italians effectively opposed Hitler's policy of the final solution to the 'Jewish Problem'[37].

---

[34] Passelecq and Suchecky, *L'encyclique* 187.

[35] Neuhäusler, *Kreuz und Hakenkreuz* 14.

[36] Visser, *Gewalt gegen Gewissen* 110f. See Passelecq and Suchecky, *L'encyclique* 193f.

[37] J. Steinberg, *Deutsche, Italiener und Juden. Der italienische Widerstand gegen den Holocaust* (Göttingen, 1994, 1997) 152-3.

**Małgorzata Hasiewicz**

# CARDINAL BERTRAM AND THE GERMAN EPISCOPATE'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS NAZI ANTI-SEMITISM BEFORE 1933

The Catholic Church could not be passive towards National Socialists' ideology, the premises of which were so evidently contrary to evangelical teachings. The situation demanded that clergy take an official stance regarding the Nazi *Machtübernahme*, particularly as the Nazi *Weltanschauung* was entering into realms hitherto traditionally regarded as falling under the exclusive competence of the Church's authority. The conflict seemed to be unavoidable as early as the stage at which the NSDAP proclaimed its programme (February 24 1920), since it propagated anti-Semitic and racist slogans that could not possibly be accepted on the grounds of Christian teaching. The thesis of the superiority of the German nation determined the content of all of its premises. The concept of citizenship, for example, was based on that premise and blood was to be its distinguishing feature – a guarantee of the noblest values of character and intellect. Only a legal citizen could be a member of the national union (*Volksgenosse*), and Item 4 clearly stated that no Jew could be *Volksgenosse*. The restrictions were also aimed at representatives of other national minorities and they were ordered to leave the Reich. Those who wanted to stay would be regarded as foreigners. The slogan 'The German Reich is the Homeland of Germans' left no doubt as to who could be granted political rights. The racist threads were also present in economic postulates – the demand to liquidate 'the reign of annuity' directly threatened Jews. Trusts and consortiums were required to be nationalised and the 'non-Aryans' would be expropriated from the agrarian lands they owned[1]. The Jews, as it was stated by Hannah Arendt, began to assume

[1] See F. Ryszka, *Państwo stanu wyjątkowego. Rzecz o systemie państwa i prawa Trzeciej Rzeszy* (Wrocław, 1985) 148-50; M. Maciejewski, *Ruch i ideologia narodowych socjalistów w Republice Weimarskiej. O źródłach i początkach nazizmu 1919-1924* (Warsaw-Wrocław, 1985) 290-354; id., 'Rozwój narodowosocjalistycznej ideologii w Niemczech po I wojnie światowej' *Studia nad Faszyzmem i Zbrodniami Hitlerowskimi* 7 (1981) 58-111.

the function of the 'objective enemy'[2]. Nazis readily drew upon the thesis of the ubiquitous 'Jewish spirit', the exposing of which was recognised as one of the first duties of the state. The February programme included the postulate of replacing Christianity with a new teaching, the so-called 'positive Christianity' – of a kind that would not conflict with Volkist reasoning[3].

The Church immediately recognised the danger that underlay the Nazi philosophy and condemned those of its elements, which clearly threatened the foundations of Christian faith. The increasingly frequent warnings the German Episcopate raised concerning the philosophical errors of Nazism evoked massive accusations from Nazi leaders, who reproached the Church for its lack of patriotism and for its attempts to weaken the NSDAP in its uncompromising struggle with communism[4]. Those arguments, as well as vivid memories of the *Kulturkampf* undoubtedly prevented the Catholic hierarchy from taking a stronger stance on the issue of national socialism, although they did not avoid polemics with any postulates of Nazism which were contrary to Christian teaching. In Paul Johnson's opinion, in the heart of the Church there prevailed the conviction that any long-term conflicts with the state, and indirectly with political organisations, should be avoided. The Church primarily focused on philosophical warfare, because – as it is argued by the author of *The History of Christianity* – the ecclesiastical powers, being accustomed to a priestly ministry in a secular environment, which was traditionally friendly towards it, failed at the most opportune time to perceive the danger connected with the origin of the National Socialists' party, and this threat became increasingly greater as the Nazis gained greater influence in society[5]. Moreover, the bishops were then involved in the struggle against communist and liberal trends, which undisputedly were regarded as more powerful and dangerous than the Nazi movement, which proclaimed slogans that in most cases were in harmony with the atmosphere in the republic[6]. Also, the attitude of the leaders of the NSDAP towards the organised church was not completely defined. Hitler, who wanted to win the support of the Catholic

---

2 Id., 'Żydzi w doktrynie nazistowskiej w latach 1919-1933', *Studia nad Faszyzmen i Zbrodniami Hitlerowskimi* 15 (1992) 8.

3 Motif developed by Alfred Rosenberg in *The Myth of the 20th Century*. Concepts fiercely rejected by the Catholic Church did not find a supporter in Hitler himself, who considered the Nazi ideology „reality" and not „myth". See R. Eatwell, *Faszyzm. Historia* (Poznań, 1999) 209; J. S. Conway, *The Nazi Persecution of the Churches 1933-45* (London, 1968) 2-3.

4 Z. Zieliński, 'Epoka rewolucji i totalitaryzmów. Studia i szkice' in *Kościół katolicki w dziejach państw i społeczeństw*. Vol. 2 (Lublin, 1993) 139.

5 P. Johnson, *Historia chrześcijaństwa* (Gdańsk, 1993) 616-8.

6 In Johnson's opinion, Catholic bishops in Germany, more afraid of democracy than Hitler, supported voting for NSDAP (Ibid., 618). In the light of documents condemning Nazism, which were issued by the German Episcopate before the *Machtübernahme*, the opinion seems erroneous.

electorate, avoided open conflict and he distinctly dissociated himself from the theses of Alfred Rosenberg in *Myth of the 20th Century*, which induced even Cardinal Faulhaber to distinguish the Führer – a man of good intentions – from some of his 'bad companions'[7]. Mainly this was the result of the ability of the hitlerite leadership to adjust their tactics to the current aims of propaganda. However, it soon turned out that behind the facade of patriotic slogans there remained the question of the aspirations of the NSDAP after the radical reconstituting of the consciousness of the German nation and the severing of its bonds with the Latin culture, since the ambition of the Nazi movement was to become something more than just a political party. It perceived its mission to be the establishment of a new order and a new outlook on life that would act in obvious opposition to the fundamental truths of Christianity. It forced the German bishops to speak out and to present their opinions and to formulate an official stance. The episcopate primarily condemned the racism and nationalism propagated by the NSDAP, its common violence against political opponents as well as the inculcating of the spirit of fanaticism and hatred into the nation. References to the vague and controversial category of the 'Germanic race' and its morality were stigmatised[8]. Initially, those were only statements made by superiors of individual dioceses and until as late as the 1930s the German Episcopate did not define any common stance in relation to the negative influences of Nazism. This by no means stemmed from their failure to perceive the threats or a wrong assessment of the situation. Its reason was the Church's aversion to involvement in political conflicts – and this particular one would undoubtedly be of such a character, as indicated by the dynamic development of the national-socialist movement and its attempts to interfere in every aspect of life. The electoral success of the NSDAP in September 1930[9] and the simultaneous publishing of *The Myth of the 20th Century* by Rosenberg made the German Episcopate aware that it was necessary to break its silence and define a unanimous course of action. Although the range of warnings and bans uttered from the pulpits was restricted to the Catholic minority, undoubtedly they were an important and necessary initiative. For the faithful, who adhered to the Church and respected its authority, the bishops' enunciation was a crucial criterion to an assessment of Nazi slogans and a reminder of the fundamental principles to be put into effect by each and every Christian wishing to obey God's commandments. It was not an easy task for the episcopate, as proclaiming radical and nationalistic slogans was regarded at that time as the manifestation of patriotism and, in the case of the majority of the faithful, it did not cause a conflict of conscience. The Church's duty was to make the millions of Catholics, fascinated by the idea of the Great Reich, aware that it was impossible to reconcile a Christian attitude with the methods of the NSDAP,

---

7 Ibid. See also Conway, *The Nazi Persecution* 6.

8 L. Volk, 'Opór Kościoła katolickiego wobec nazizmu', *Chrześcijanin w świecie* 89 (1980) 8.

9 On September 14 1930 the Nazis increased their representation in parliament from 12 to 107. See F. Glum, *Der Nationalsozialismus. Werden und Vergehen* (Munich, 1962) 161.

nor could the Christian philosophy of life be compatible with the national-socialist ideology, which favoured the cult of race and anti-Semitism.

As far as the crucial question of Nazism was concerned, one of the first people to express their opinion was Cardinal Michael von Faulhaber from Munich, who, as early as 1922, showed that there existed 'some excessive nationalism, a sort of idolatry or the nation's autodeification', and he firmly stated that 'the Church opposed such idolatry and fought it the way any false alien deities should be fought'. He added: 'such nationalism in its excessive pagan form is an error equal to rationalism'[10]. The objections the cardinal raised against national socialism immediately became a signal for the politicians of the Catholic Centre that the Church did not intend to be indifferent in the face of the threat of Christian dogmas. They perceived it as a chance to neutralise Nazi influences with the support of the Church's authority, and they repeatedly asked for instructions to be addressed to the faithful, who were susceptible to that hostile propaganda[11]. The degree of significance political Catholicism attached to the bishops' pronouncement against Nazism was evidenced by the fact that the party periodical *Das Zentrum* published and commented on all of them on a regular basis[12].

In 1923 the Church once again rose up to speak out in the matter of national-socialist racism. Adolf Bertram, the Cardinal of Wrocław and simultaneously the president of the Conference of German Bishops in Fulda[13], warned against 'the new excessively nationalistic' organisations that were springing up under the pretext of protection of the nation's spirit, while they propagated values that were ruinous for it[14].

Racism, which was becoming increasingly evident in the political life of Germany, did not only trouble the national clergy. Equally correct was the Holy See's interpretation of the true intentions of the Nazi movement. In 1928 Pope Pius XI univocally and categorically condemned both racism and anti-Semitism, and in its decree the Holy Office ordered that hatred and hostility between nations be rejected and it reminded the faithful that the Vatican had defended Jews from unjust

---

[10] F. Potocki, 'Z ruchu katolickiego w Niemczech', *Przegląd Powszechny* 166 (1925).

[11] Z. Zieliński, 'Czy katolicy niemieccy wiedzieli w roku 1933 czym jest hitleryzm?', *Chrześcijanin w świecie* 163 (1987) 88.

[12] R. Morsey, 'Mniejszość katolicka i powstanie narodowego socjalizmu 1930-1933' in K. Gotto, K. Repgen (eds.), *Kościół, katolicy i narodowy socjalizm* (Warsaw, 1983) 16.

[13] The German Episcopate was divided into two groups – the Conference of German Bishops in Fulda and in Freising. The chairman of the first was Wrocław's cardinal Adolf Bertram (1859-1945), while the second one was headed by Munich's cardinal Michael von Faulhaber (1869-1952). L. Volk, 'Niemiecki episkopat i Trzecia Rzesza' in Gotto, Repgen (eds.), *Kościół, katolicy* 44.

[14] Potocki, 'Z ruchu katolickiego' 292. Cardinal Bertram earlier ordered the Catholic clergy not to participate in political demonstrations, which were connected with the growth of aggressive Nazi propaganda, which was particularly dangerous in the multi-ethnic Silesian diocese.

persecution in past times[15]. The signals reaching St Peter's Capital undoubtedly confirmed the German clergy's conviction that their assessment of Nazism was correct. But the German Episcopate only spoke out on this matter officially in 1930[16]. The local general curate, Rev. Philip Jakob Mayer, and Bishop Ludwik Hugo, when asked by one of the parsons of the Mainz Diocese, issued guidelines forbidding Catholics to affiliate with Hitler's party or vote for the NSDAP because of their racial policy and other aspects of their agenda that were difficult to accept[17]. Mayer forbade the participation of uniformed formations of National Socialists in church festivals, and members of the NSDAP were barred from receiving the sacraments[18]. Those guidelines were very inconvenient not only for the hitlerite movement but also for other German bishops, and although they were obligatory in just one diocese (Mainz), they forced them to define their stance at the time when the question as to whether the Nazis would gain power had still not been determined. Mayer's rigorous speech was not fully appreciated by the episcopate and one of the reasons was that it did not leave any leeway for examining individual cases. Quite a large group of bishops thought that the Mainz declaration was issued too hastily. In their opinion, the notional vagueness of Nazi doctrine made it difficult to assess properly the movement and its leaders, who more than once had proved their will to fight 'the godless Marxism and Bolshevism', and who in the matter of life philosophy remained relatively moderate[19]. In the Church's circles it was expected that the edge of Nazi attacks on the Christian outlook on life would be blunted and that the Führer would show his good will.

---

[15] B. van Schewick, 'Kościół katolicki a narodowosocjalistyczna polityka rasowa' in Gotto, Repgen (eds.), *Kościół, katolicy* 72.

[16] Right after the elections of September 14 1930, H. Held, the leader of Baierische Volkspartei said: "through its electoral success, Nazism became a political factor as well as a problem for the Church" – Z. Zieliński, 'Czy katolicy niemieccy' 89.

[17] Ibid. 89; Morsey, 'Mniejszość katolicka' 12-3. In Bartosz's opinion, the declaration was provoked by the Nazi Party itself. A local branch of the NSDAP in Hessen officially asked the Mainz bishop if membership of the NSDAP was forbidden to Catholics. See J. Bartosz, *Reszta była milczeniem* (Warsaw, 1966) 14.

[18] The following announcement was published in the press: „The office of the Bishop of Mainz informs that the bishop, Dr Hugo, has issued for the Catholic clergy of his diocese the following directions: 1) A Catholic is forbidden to be a member of Hitler's party, 2) members of Hitler's party are not allowed to participate as a uniform formation in Catholic funerals or any other religious activities, 3) as long as a Catholic is a member of Hitler's party, he is not allowed to participate in the Catholic liturgy. The office holds the opinion that a member of any party follows its program and the program of Hitler's party contradicts (*ist unvereibar*) the general rules and teachings of the Catholic church". To the question which elements of the Nazi program violated Catholic ideology, paragraph 24, which stated that a religion cannot suppress the morality of the German race, was pointed out. See: *Przegląd katolicki* 32 (1931) 500.

[19] Morsey, 'Mniejszość katolicka' 13.

At the beginning of December 1930, Cardinal Bertram's plan, which he sent to Faulhaber, was an attempt to determine the stance of the whole episcopate. However, the required majority of votes at the Fulda conference was not gained. Thus Cardinal Bertram decided to come out with instructions on his own behalf and on New Year's Day 1931 the archbishop's letter, addressed to all Catholics in Germany, was read from the pulpits – *Ein offenes Wort in ernster Stunde*. He firmly warned against the implicit threats of the realisation of the Nazi programme, which was alien to the spirit of Christianity and thoroughly immoral[20]. At that time, when darkness seized the world – as Wrocław's archbishop wrote – and the enemy's forces allied against Christianity and the Church, the faithful should remain alert, and priests should stand guard over the truth and evangelical commands[21]. Bertram severely condemned 'excessive nationalism' and 'the glorification of the race' – elements that were alien to the Church's doctrine. He pointed out that 'justified nationalism' had an entirely different dimension and it was closely linked to the love of a neighbour and not to hatred; its task was to unite people in the common service of the homeland. The cardinal warned against accepting racist ideas that divided the nation and warned against listening to 'false prophets'. He stated that it was easy to destroy, but to rise from the ruins again was infinitely more difficult[22]. Further, he admonished: 'We, Catholics know not any religion of race but only the one revealed by God, who has obliged each man to obey the same commandments'[23]. 'We, Catholics' – added the archbishop – 'know not any national church. Catholic means universal. One Shepherd, One Sheep-fold, for all the globe: this is the fundamental programme of Christ's Church'[24]. The appeal left no shade of doubt as to what Bertram's attitude towards the NSDAP and its attempts at depriving the Christian doctrine of anything it had to do with Judaism was.

The pastoral guidelines for the clergy, published on February 10 1931 by the Conference of Bishops in Freising were of a more practical nature for the

---

[20] For more detailed analysis of Cardinal Bertram's attitude towards Nazism, see K. Jonca, 'Kardynał Adolf Bertram wobec ideologii totalitarnych (1930-1945)' in K. Matwijowski (ed.), *Ludzie śląskiego Kościoła katolickiego* (Wrocław, 1992) 90-1; id., 'Eine Leitfigur, aber keine Kämpfernatur. Kardinal Adolf Bertram in Opposition gegen ein totälitares Regime. Zur Rolle von Fürstbischof Adolf Kardinal Bertram', *Der gemeinsane Weg* 4 (1995) 17; id., 'Die katholische Kirche Schlesiens in Opposition gegen ein totalitäres Regime' in G. Ringshausen, R. von Voss (eds.), *Widerstand und Verteidigung des Rechts* (Bonn, 1997) 41-3; W. Marschall, *Geschichte des Bistums Breslau* (Stuttgart, 1979) 166f.

[21] *Kirchliches Amtsblatt des Erzbischöflichen Ordinariats in Breslau* 18 (1930) 140. See E. Gatz, *Die Bischofe der deutschsprachigen Länder 1785/1803 bis 1945. Ein biographisches Lexikon* (Berlin, 1983) 45-6; E. Brzoska, *Ein Tedeum für Kardinal Bertram. Adolf Kardinal Bertram Vorsitzender der Deutschen Bischofskonferenz im Bündnis dem Heiligen Stuhl während des Kirchenkampfes 1933-1941* (Köln, 1981) 15.

[22] *Kirchliches Amtsblatt des Erzbischöflichen Ordinariats in Breslau* 18 (1930) 140.

[23] Ibid. 141.

[24] Ibid. 141.

priesthood. In those guidelines, Bavarian ordinaries compared the programme of Nazism to false teachings. The priests were forbidden to affiliate with the NSDAP, and the hitlerites were barred from participating in services 'in tight groups and in uniforms'. The clergy were supposed to check each time whether a Nazi receiving the sacrament was aware of the anti-Christian principles of Nazism[25]. Those instructions directly referred to the content of the speech made by the Mainz bishop Mayer; they placed emphasis on the same issues and warned against the same threats.

On February 14 1931 Wrocław's metropolitan issued 'Pastoral Guidelines in Relation to National Socialism' which were of a similar spirit and were also addressed to priests. He stated firmly that the programme of the NSDAP proclaimed false teachings (*Irrlehren*), as it 'rejected or wrongly interpreted the fundamental theses of Catholic teaching ... and with time it wanted to replace them with a new philosophy of life'[26]. Similarly irreconcilable with the Church's stance, according to Bertram, was the Nazis' proclaiming of the superiority of race to religion, their rejection of the Old Testament and their non-recognition of the Pope's primacy. The cardinal strongly forbade Catholics to affiliate with the NSDAP, and the clergy were instructed to prevent tight squads of hitlerites in uniforms and with flags from participating in services at churches, as 'such manifestations in the sanctuary would lead society to think that the Church had reconciled with national socialism'[27]. However, he made allowances for individual members of the NSDAP, unless they disturbed the order of the mass, or their presence was perceived as a manifestation of the Church's mutual relationship with Nazism. In the following months of 1931 disapproval of Nazism was expressed by other members of the hierarchy: the bishops of the Köln church province on March 5, those of the Paderborn province on March 10 and in Freiburg im Breisgau nine days later[28].

With time, the attitudes of the German clergy became more and more definite. In August 1931 the Conference of Fulda prepared an expanded edition of the confession instruction of August 25 1921, where apart from socialism and communism, Nazism was also regarded as a movement hostile to Christianity. The bishops stated that the NSDAP 'seemed to profess itself to be only a political party, which intended to achieve its justified national purposes, but in fact it was in sharp conflict with the fundamental truths of Christianity and the organisation of the Catholic Church constituted by Christ'[29].

---

[25] *Roczniki katolickie* 12 (1934) 354.

[26] Archiwum Archidiecezjalne we Wrocławiu, Zbiory A. Bertrama (I A 25), 64. Supplement for *Kirchliches Amtsblatt der Erzdiözese Breslau* vom 14.02.1931, No 3. Here: *Pastorale Winke betr. Stellung zum Nationalsozialismus*.

[27] Ibid. I A 25, 64.

[28] Morsey, 'Mniejszość katolicka' 14.

[29] Zieliński, 'Czy katolicy niemieccy' 90. In Fulda in August 1931 the resolution condemning Nazism did not gain a majority among the bishops. The Episcopate avoided

In December 1931 Cardinal Bertram once again called upon the faithful to fulfil the ideals of brotherly love also towards those who belonged to other parties and other denominations. In his *Mahnung zu Friedensgesinnung in stürmischer Zeit* he called: 'Come out bravely against all those agitators whose craft it is to incite to upheaval and unrest by means of insults and accusations and scandalous stories. Our experience teaches us that the tone that is heard in the agitators' words not only treads on human dignity, rouses bitterness and throws the torch of disunity at the crowd, but it does not stop short of sinister violence. Do not attend their meetings! Do not take their press into your hands!'[30] Significantly, the Metropolitan did not refrain from criticising the guidelines of the NSDAP's programme even after they gained power in 1933, and, being the head of the episcopate, he was obliged to touch upon the most momentous issues which German Catholics had to face and to solve them from the fundamental and content-related point of view of the Church and Christian morality. The fact worth mentioning is that in his numerous memoranda and pastoral letters, for the entire 12-year period of Hitler's reign, Bertram bravely stigmatised the racist policy of the government and pointed to its incompatibility with biblical instructions, and he appealed to the Reich's central authorities to change that policy[31].

One of the most momentous resolutions in the matter of the Church's resistance to racist teachings was the document issued by the Conference of German Bishops in Fulda on August 17 1932, which rejected the 'errors of Nazism'. It included the warning that if the Nazis gained full power in Germany, the Church would face the bleakest prospects'[32]. In the resolution, the bishops confirmed their ban on joining the NSDAP and justified it by the fact that 'some points of the party's official programme literally and without any additional interpretation include false doctrines', and 'the character of the publications by numerous leading representatives and publicists of that formation is hostile towards the Church's crucial teachings and postulates'[33]. Moreover, the bishops condemned statements by the theoreticians of national socialism, who pointed to the need to establish religious schools, and stigmatised their views on matrimony, which – as was evident from the statement of the NSDAP's leaders – was solely supposed to serve to protect the Germanic race. In conclusion, bishops stated forcefully that 'one must not justify the fact that a large number of people joined the party having only economic interests and secular political purposes in sight, and they wanted to achieve those ends in compliance with the party's guidelines,

direct political opinion, focusing on ideological differences – see Johnson, *Historia chrześcijaństwa* 618.

30 'Mahnung zu Friedensgesinnung in stürmischer Zeit', *Kirchliches Amtsblatt des Erzbischöflichen Ordinariats in Breslau* 5 (1931) 147.

31 Jonca, 'Kardynał Adolf Bertram wobec ideologii' 87-90.

32 Morsey, 'Mniejszość katolicka' 14-5.

33 'Protokół Fuldajskiej Konferencji Biskupów z 17.08.1932 r.' in Gotto, Repgen (eds.), *Kościół, katolicy* 104.

because support for the party itself, whether one so wanted or not, meant the propagation of all its aims'[34].

The significance of the Fulda resolution stemmed from the fact that in that document the NSDAP was named as the force bearing the greatest responsibility for inculcating false teachings in the nation and the propagating of violence. The Church understood that in this situation individual speeches by bishops were not sufficient and it was necessary for all the episcopate to rise up and speak out on the matter. Soon their pronouncements would become the synthesis of the mood prevailing among the clergy and the firm voice of protest against Nazism, intolerance and attempts at creating a national religious organisation. The year 1933 undoubtedly turned out to be a decisive one. However, it stemmed not so much from the revision of the Church's attitudes, but from the fact that the national-socialist philosophy of life assumed the status of the official state ideology. Thus any struggle against that outlook would be indirectly an attack on legal authority, which the bishops categorically tried to avoid[35]. But agreement with the new system, as soon it became evident, was untenable, as the Nazis had no intention of resigning from carrying out their anti-Semitic programme and even in the first months of their rule, they left no illusions as to the course of action they had taken.

The Catholic Church was persistent in criticising the racist ideas of Nazism. The uniformity of their attitude prevented the same type of break occurring as that which had occurred in the Protestant Church after the 'Machtübernahme'[36]. The Protestants had never condemned Nazi racism, and from the early 1920s many of them had decided to co-operate with the NSDAP. In Protestant circles there prevailed the conviction that Hitler's movement would bring about the moral renewal of Germany and restore discipline in public life which would be compatible with the cult of order propagated in the epoch of the nineteenth century 'lawful state'. In the Protestant Church, nationalistic influences were strongly marked, and aspirations to establish a 'people's church' – being national in essence – were also revived. Nazism, with its

---

[34] Ibid.

[35] On the resolution of the Conference of German Bishops in Fulda of March 28 1933, see Morsey, 'Mniejszość katolicka' 20.

[36] The Protestant Church already established in the Weimar Republic accepted or even enthusiastically welcomed Nazism. After 1933 its attitude changed. While German Christians condemned the „Jewish" New Testament and declared the Germans a chosen nation, circles gathered around Martin Niemöller fiercely rejected Nazi ideology. See K. Jonca, 'Kościół ewangelicki w Trzeciej Rzeszy wobec ideologii narodowego socjalizmu w latach 1933-1935 (ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem Śląska)', *Studia nad Faszyzmem i Zbrodniami Hitlerowskimi* 6 (1980) 73ff; id., 'Niemieckie kościoły wobec polityki rasistowskiej NSDAP na Śląsku' in A. Korobowicz, H. Olszewski (eds.), *Studia z historii państwa, prawa i idei. Prace dedykowane prof. Janowi Malarczykowi* (Lublin, 1997) 126-7; id., 'Kościół ewangelicki na Śląsku wobec polityki rasistowskiej NSDAP', *Studia Śląskie* 35 (1979) 131-4.

slogans about the renewal of German life, seemed to meet those aspirations halfway, thus a considerable part of the Protestant clergy indiscriminately accepted that ideology. The consequence was their enthusiasm for the new regime after 1933[37]. Lutheranism, traditionally connected with the state and loyal to its structures, proclaimed the necessity of remaining faithful to secular authority and of close co-operation with it, which to some extent caused the ideological issues to recede into the background. Such a stance was alien to Catholicism, which recognised the supremacy of Christ's governor – the Pope – rather than the authority of the state.

[37] Jonca, 'Kościół ewangelicki w Trzeciej Rzeszy' 74-6.

# IV.

# POST-WAR SILESIA

**Bożena Szaynok**

# JEWS IN LOWER SILESIA 1945-1950

Jakub Egit – president of the Voivodship Jewish Committee in Lower Silesia, when referring to the post-War history of Jews in Poland, wrote in his diaries published in Toronto in 1991: 'My intention was to establish a Yiddish *Yishuv* in Lower Silesia'[1]. The fulfilment of Egit's goals was possible due to a number of factors, undoubtedly the most important of which were: acceptance and support by the Polish government for the idea of Jewish resettlement in Lower Silesia, the appropriate efforts of Jewish central agencies, as well as the attitudes of those Jews who were in Lower Silesia during the War. The efforts of the Polish government in Warsaw created an atmosphere of consent and opportunity, while the Jews' contribution was to utilise it.

The first attempt to formulate the Jews' aim to stay in the above-mentioned area in the form of a resettlement concept was a memorandum issued in June 1945 by the Voivodship Jewish Committee in Lower Silesia (hereafter called WKŻ) to the Ministry of Public Administration. This document included the intention of creating a Jewish centre in Lower Silesia. The authors of that plan, a significant number of whom were those Jews who had been in that area during the War, pointed to the fact that for many of them a return to their previous places of residence was proving impossible. This memorandum stated that the annihilation of their families and loved ones, the destruction of their homes and of Jewish institutions forced them to return to places where they could find someone who had had similar experiences, to the places where they could live, work and build their lives anew. Such a place for them was Lower Silesia. It should be noted that the memorandum emphasised not only the economic aspects (accommodation, factories, possibility of taking jobs over from Germans, farming work) but also psychological factors as well: 'Jews who were deprived of their loved ones in what is a widely known, tragic and brutal way, want to forget that tragedy and begin a new, creative life in a community of people, who are friendly and can understand one another. The thirst for the friendship and mutual understanding usually present in a

[1] J. Egit, *Grand Illusion* (Toronto, 1991) 44.

family can only be satisfied in a homogeneous community, given that now that family no longer exists. It is no wonder, then, that the Jews are pressing for the creation of homogeneous centres of people of the same spiritual interests. Moving Jews who were deprived of the opportunity of productive work in other districts to a centre which can give them material and cultural well-being is the task of the well-intentioned interests of the country and of society'[2].

During the War there were about 7,000 Jews in Lower Silesia. It was not a large community, but one has to keep in mind that since the autumn of 1945 there had been a gradual increase in the Jewish population, although there was no central migration policy behind it. In September 1945 there were 10,000 Jews in Lower Silesia, and by the end of the year the number had almost doubled – on January 1 1946 Jewish committees registered over 18,000 Jews.

The activities of Jews in Lower Silesia were supported by the Jewish central institutions. The memorandum of the WKŻ was approved by the authorities of the Central Committee of Jews in Poland (further called CKŻP). Its representatives were the president Emil Sommerstein and Paweł Zelicki, the general secretary. In their letter to the Minister of Public Administration they 'cordially requested a positive answer to... the questions the letter touched upon'[3]. The stance of the CKŻP related to a broader concept of Jewish resettlement in Poland, which was determined by two basic trends present in the Jewish community after the War: 1) their willingness to leave Poland; 2) an attempt to restore Jewish life after the Holocaust. The influence of the Zionist movements which supported leaving Poland, and the spontaneous departures, particularly of Jewish young people, were a reaction to the destruction of the Jewish world during the War. Emigration tendencies were counterbalanced by the conviction of a handful of Communists and the Bund that there was a need to stay in Poland and restore Jewish life[4]. When the War ended, Zionist influences dominated the Jewish community, but it was impossible for everyone who wanted to leave Poland. Obtaining consent to leave the country was difficult and there were also restrictions imposed on illegal emigration. On the other hand, the agreement signed in July 1945 between the government of the Soviet Union and the Polish Provisional Government for National Unity (Tymczasowy Rząd Jedności Narodowej) concerning displaced persons heralded the immigration of over 100,000 Jews to Poland, a part of whom, irrespective of the decision about their future – would have to stay in Poland for some time. The above-mentioned factors affected the decision of the CKŻP to support Jewish resettlement in Lower Silesia. The idea put forward appeared to be a good solution to the above-mentioned Jewish problems, even more so if anti-Semitism and post-Holocaust trauma was added.

---

2 Archiwum ŻIH, Wydział Produktywizacji CKŻP, 11, non fol. Memorandum in the matter of the Jewish settlement in Lower Silesia, June 23 1945.

3 Ibid.

4 One should note that one of the Zionist parties, Poalei Zion Left, tried to reconcile both the idea of emigration and an acceptance of Jewish settlement in post-War Poland.

The idea of Jewish resettlement in Lower Silesia as presented by Jews dwelling in that area obtained the full approval of the Jewish central authorities, with regard to organisation and finances. The CKŻP delegates sent to Lower Silesia wrote in their report as follows: 'It must be stressed that the Jews living in those localities are well, certain and encounter no difficulty or... affliction. Their relations with Polish people are generally in order, while Germans, feeling that they would have to leave that area, look around with resignation'[5]. In the report there were a few hints as to the usefulness of the Lower Silesian area for the resettlement of Polish citizens. Apart from the resettlement opportunities common to both Poles and Jews, it was only with regard to the Jews alone that the matter of security was raised.

The idea of a Lower Silesian Jewish settlement also gained support in Jewish circles in the Soviet Union. In their letter – a reply to the communication sent by the WKŻ from Dzierżoniów – they wrote: 'We are just awaiting the moment when all our citizens will return to their homeland... We will be very happy to return to Lower Silesia... Your task is to build a settlement for 30,000 people... We will do our best to succeed'[6]. The stance of the Jewish Organising Committee in Moscow was very important, too, as the scope of work for that organisation was the Polish Jews who waited for the opportunity to return to Poland; in other words, they worked with the group that was crucial to the success of that concept.

The resettlement proposals were accepted by the representatives of the Polish Provisional Government for National Unity. The Jewish settlement was a mere drop in the bucket in the process of populating the Western Borderlands, but it has to be mentioned that this was a separate issue in those plans. The stance of the Polish government on Jewish resettlement in Lower Silesia was a multi-faceted one. Among the issues were: the need to organise Jewish life in Poland after the War, which was impossible for some Jews in the places where they had lived before the War (destruction, altered borders); the problem of anti-Semitism which was affecting the attempts of the Polish Government to win the approval of Western countries; financial assistance from Jewish foreign organisations.

The spontaneous idea of Jewish resettlement in Lower Silesia in the second half of 1945 became one of the crucial policies adopted by those Jewish groups and political formations which decided to stay in Poland after the War and restore Jewish life. Support for it from the Polish Government enabled it to be carried out.

The following periods can be distinguished in the post-War history of the Jewish resettlement of Lower Silesia:

May 1945 – January 1946 (the period preceding repatriation of Jews from the Soviet Union),

February – July 1946 (repatriation),

---

5 Archiwum ŻIH, Prezydium CKŻP, 303/1, p.103.

6 J. Egit, *Tzu a naye lebn. Tsvey yor yidisher yishev in Nidershlezye* (Wrocław, 1947) [I have used a Polish translation of Frydka Rotem].

Summer 1946 – (the breakdown of resettlement following the pogrom in Kielce),

Autumn 1946 – Summer 1948 (period of stabilisation and development),

Autumn 1948-9 (period of liquidation).

The periods presented above are distinctive stages in the post-War history of Jewish settlement not only in Lower Silesia but all over Poland. Undoubtedly, those stages were seen more clearly not only because a significant number of Jews stayed in this area, but because it was primarily in Lower Silesia where such events as emigration after the pogrom in Kielce occurred.

In the first of the above-mentioned periods, approximately 7,000 Jews lived in Lower Silesia, at the end of 1945 that number had increased to over 18,000. The greatest populations of Jews were to be found in Dzierżoniów (2,350), Wałbrzych (922), Pieszyce (591) and Ludwikowice (466). The above-listed centres refer to those Jews who were Polish citizens; but one has also to remember that when Lower Silesia was conquered by the Red Army there were about 15,000 Jews in this region, half of whom were citizens of foreign countries. After the liberation they returned to their homelands. The only non-Polish Jews were German Jews. They established their agencies in Wrocław and Jelenia Góra.

The group of Polish Jews consisted of former prisoners of concentration and labour camps. After the liberation, in Dzierżoniów they set up the Committee of Former Prisoners in Dzierżoniów; and simultaneously aid committees were established spontaneously in Lower Silesia, and in the course of time they were incorporated into the structure of the Jewish committees, and were subordinate to the CKŻP.

In the initial stage, the activities of the committees were primarily focused on granting material and medical assistance, as well as help in finding accommodation and work. In June 1945, the First Voivodship Conference of Jewish Committees in Lower Silesia was held in Dzierżoniów. The outcome of the meeting was the regulating of the structure of Jewish organisations by creating the Voivodship Jewish Committee in Lower Silesia and subordinating all existing Lower Silesian committees to this body. A month later in Dzierżoniów a conference of delegates from the Jewish committees was organised. The above-mentioned meetings, which took place in June and July 1945 were different, but they were a perfect illustration of the origin of the local Jewish resettlement concept and its implementation. The June meeting was a demonstration of the presence of Polish Jews in Lower Silesia, and the projected continuation of their presence was announced; and appropriate plans were made. The next month, some important decisions enabled those ideas to be put into effect. The harvesting campaign advertised in July would make the Lower Silesian Jewish community appear very active. The above-mentioned Jakub Egit, the president of the WŻK, summed up the harvesting campaign in the following words: 'Through our corporate participation in the harvest we will establish our right to eat

bread together with the whole of Polish society'[7]. The harvesting campaign was an important point in the activity of the WŻK. It integrated the Jewish community in this area, and also it highlighted the difficulties encountered in implementing Jewish resettlement: conflicts with local authorities, food supply problems, the unresolved problem of Germans staying in that region, insufficient help from the CKŻP, infighting within the WŻK, attitudes to emigration.

The harvesting campaign was part of those efforts, and was seen to be very crucial to the carrying out of the resettlement plan. The campaign was defined as the productivity programme of the Jewish people. Apart from the help given to the Jewish community, which was necessary in the initial period in particular, employment and changes in the professional structure of the Jewish community were intended to enable the Jews to contribute to life in Lower Silesia. Thanks to employment, the Jews were able to find accommodation far more easily and to enter not only Jewish but also Polish circles. Let me add, that according to the Polish Worker's Party (PPR) members, who worked in Jewish circles, the employment of Jews in factories proved to be the best method of fighting anti-Semitism. Undoubtedly, employment opportunities in Lower Silesia were better than in other regions of the country. All those facts were of paramount importance to Jewish resettlement, so it is not at all surprising that all documents dealing with that issue mention the possibility of employing Jews in industry or on farms. Jewish people would take on work that previously had been unusual for them, such as coal-mining or, as already mentioned, agriculture.

The scope of the above-mentioned productivity efforts varied. In some areas, for example in Bielawa, some 70% of the population could be employed; in Pieszyce it was around 50%, but in Ludwikowice, for example, it was only 25%. Departments were created within Jewish committees to deal with these problems (the productivity department, the agriculture department); simultaneously, training sessions and professional courses were organised and trade organisations were created. For example, in September 1945, during the Convention of Jewish Farmers who resettled in Lower Silesia, the founding of the Jewish Agricultural Society was announced.

An important aspect of the activities of the WKŻ was Jewish young people and children. Even in July 1945 the committee began to organise Jewish primary and secondary schools. The Department of Culture was established, and its efforts were aimed at the group of young Jews: a young people's club, a sports division, and an entertainment division.

Jewish committees' activities did not embrace the religious aspect. Despite the significant secularisation of the Jewish community in that period, in the majority of towns inhabited by Jews, the Jewish Religious Union (Żydowskie Zrzeszenie Religijne) was established. Its work, apart from worship-related spheres, was of

[7] AŻIH, Wydział Produktywizacji CKŻP, 11, non fol. Protocol of the Congress of Delegates from the Jewish Committees of Lower Silesia, July 17 1945.

the same type as the activities of the committees: material and medical assistance, care for Jewish children and young people.

The above-presented efforts of the WKŻ, the Jewish committees and the Jewish Religious Union involved those Jews who had Polish citizenship. In the initial stage of this work, which lasted until the winter of 1946, a significant group of Jews German citizens still lived in Lower Silesia. Their agencies, which were not subordinate to the WKŻ, were set up in Jelenia Góra and Wrocław. But in its work, the WKŻ encountered a problem concerning the German Jews. They needed special certificates attesting to their Jewish descent; these certificates performed the function of a foreign passport. A group of German Jews was having difficulties; the character and causes of which are best illustrated by Carla Wolf, a Jewish woman from Wrocław: 'The atmosphere was rather uncomfortable and unfriendly; it was impossible to explain to every... officer that you were not a German. But what if you only spoke German?... However, if you take into consideration that the War had just ended and for Polish people it had been such a terrible experience... that Poland had suffered a lot at the hands of the Germans, then you can understand'[8]. A group of German Jews decided to leave Poland; and this event took place mainly in the second half of 1945.

The year 1946 ushered in a new period in the history of the Lower Silesian Jewish settlement. Preparations which had been made by that stage were intended to encompass a relatively small group. As has already been mentioned, there were around 18,000 Jews living in Lower Silesia in the first half of 1946. The group crucial to the settlement plan in this area was still in the Soviet Union. They were expected to arrive in the first half of 1946. In compliance with the idea elaborated on by the WKŻ, approximately 30,000-40,000 people were expected to arrive in Lower Silesia. In July 1946 there were about 100,000 Jews in this area, including repatriates brought to Lower Silesia, who constituted over 80% of the entire Jewish population. The quoted numbers univocally demonstrate that despite all the preparations, receiving such large numbers of people entailed many difficulties. The most important of them were insufficient financial assistance, the presence of Germans, problems with local authorities, transport and food supply problems. For example, in Nowa Sól the material condition of the repatriates was defined as 'deplorable' and intervention by the authorities was impossible because 'the clothes worn by the chairman and manager of the productivity department were so poor'[9].

Irrespective of all the difficulties, the authorities did their best to achieve their settlement goals. The institutions most involved in this work were, of course, the Jewish committees. They organised for the repatriates night lodgings, public kitchens, helped them create repatriate agencies, directed them to the areas they had chosen. The next stage of resettling the Jews who came from the Soviet Union was to provide them with assistance in finding work and accommodation. Apart from

---

[8] The letter of Carla Wolff to Bożena Szaynok, December 1991.

[9] APW, WKŻ, 7, p. 3.

the instructors from the Jewish committees, religious unions and some political parties also provided assistance to the repatriates. Activists of the Zionist groups, unlike the communists and the Bund, offered provisional accommodation and assistance in leaving Poland. Both WKŻ and CKŻP documents record the conflicts between activists of different political groups that occurred at railway stations.

The reception of such a large number of repatriates was very expensive. Help arrived from various sources; in addition to state funding and the CKŻP, the institution that lent support to the above-mentioned efforts was the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee.

In the first half of 1946 almost 100,000 Jews came to Lower Silesia – they made up almost half of all the Jews living in Poland at that time. But one has to bear in mind that the phenomenon of Lower Silesia, the establishment of Jewish settlement, also attracted new settlers from other regions in Poland. It was in August 1946 that this group had numbered around 5,000 people. Apart from the above-mentioned centres, such as Dzierżoniów, Wałbrzych and Wrocław, some new settlements came into being. The breadth of Jewish settlement is borne out by the fact that by July 1946 Jewish committees had been organised in 43 areas. They were subordinate to the WKŻ in Lower Silesia, which moved its headquarters from Dzierżoniów to Wrocław in the summer of 1946.

Apart from the committees, political parties and religious unions also were active in Jewish circles. For political groups in particular the region of Lower Silesia was particularly important. In the crucial dispute concerning the future of Jews in Poland, the Lower Silesian experiment could provide some arguments for the idea of restoration of Jewish life after the Holocaust, and prove that it was possible to remain in Poland. Lower Silesia was also very important for the efforts made by the Zionists, who were determined to leave Poland, as this area offered great opportunities for creating education centres, where Jewish young people could study, supplement their education and receive professional training. Lower Silesia was the working base for the majority of Jewish political parties, together with the unregistered religious group Aguda.

The activities of the Jewish institutions established in Lower Silesia were of a similar character. However, the aims of the activities they undertook differed. The Zionists aimed at preparing for departure for Palestine; for Jewish communists and members of the Bund the idea of restoring Jewish life in the new Poland was of primary importance, whereas the religious activists directed their efforts at maintaining religious observance in the Jewish community. In addition to the differing programmes and visions concerning the future of Jews in Poland, the immediate goal in the first half of 1946 was to care for the group of repatriates. Usually the first stage of work was intended to secure material assistance, while finding a job and accommodation was the next task. The employment of Jews was a very important aspect of the activities of all the Jewish organisations. The productivity programme was intended to support the idea of resettlement, or, in the case of the Zionists, to make good use of the time that remained until departure for Palestine.

In the first half of 1946 they managed to employ about 15,000 Jews. The productivity policy was being put into action in many areas: employment in industry, factories and state-controlled companies was aimed at the integration of Jews with Polish people. This mainly was the stance of the Jewish communists. For the activists of the Bund, a party with a very leftist socialist agenda, the establishment of Jewish co-operative societies was a more desirable solution because they enabled people of similar professional experience to be together. Another source of employment was the productivity centres created by the Zionists and the religious unions. One aspect of those centres was the training farms (kibbutzim). The professional training of young people was one of the most important issues of this work. It was facilitated by the ORT, reactivated in Poland late in 1945. This organisation also became active in Lower Silesia at the beginning of 1946.

Both aid and the productivity programme dominated the activities of the Jewish institutions in the first half of 1946, but one has to bear in mind that despite assistance to repatriates in finding employment and accommodation, there was still a group needing special help and care, namely Jewish children and young people. Jakub Egit wrote in his diary: 'One of the most important and difficult duties of the Jewish Committee in the settlement being created in Lower Silesia in the period of mass repatriation was to help the young people to organise their lives. It was not just material and financial assistance. The most important task was to raise the children and young people and create the opportunities for healthy development... and professional training'[10]. Activists from the Wrocław young people's committee openly admitted that 'Jewish young people, irrespective of where they spent the War, are demoralised and, at best, six years behind in their development'[11]. What is also important is that there were many Jewish orphans (over 50% of young people were semi-orphaned, and 20% had lost both their parents). The crucial problem was the War trauma that Jewish children had experienced, and this had affected them psychologically. In the first half of 1946 institutions and centres were created, the aim of which was to care for children and young people (orphanages, kindergartens, semi-boarding-schools, student hostels, summer camps, sports clubs and community centres). When large groups of children and young people arrived in Lower Silesia, the Jewish educational system began to be established. In addition to the Jewish committees, Zionist parties and religious unions also administered their schools. However, the overwhelming majority of educational posts were subordinate to the Jewish committees. In July 1946, there were 16 schools attended by over 1,200 children in Lower Silesia. Ten more were being set up.

An important aspect of the activities conducted by the Jewish organisations, in addition to creating a Jewish settlement numbering 100,000, was cultural work. Its significance was considerable, as it was intended to preserve the Jewish character

[10] J. Egit, *Tzu a naye leben*.

[11] AŻIH, Wydział Młodzieżowy CKŻP, 4, non fol. Protocol of the first meeting of the Co-ordination Committee of the Youth Organisations.

of the community which was emerging at that time. Over a short period of time, community centres, drama ensembles, choirs, libraries and orchestras were organised. In February 1946 a group of Jewish actors established a Yiddish theatre. A part of the efforts in the field of culture was an attempt to restore the world that had been destroyed during the Holocaust. Compatriot associations were very popular. These associations created opportunities for the companionship of the few friends who had survived the annihilation, who had been neighbours before the War, and they also offered assistance in finding relatives.

The first half of 1946 was a very crucial period for Jewish resettlement in Lower Silesia. The number of Jews in this area was growing by the month, and apart from repatriates, settlers were arriving from central and eastern Poland. Jewish committees, organisations and institutions were created in more than 40 areas. The political parties carried on their work and the national distinctiveness of this group of settlers was supported by the establishment of institutions which enabled this distinctiveness to be preserved. Gradually, Lower Silesia became the post-War homeland for part of the Jewish community. They began to restore their homes. Jews participated in political events such as a referendum or the Rebuilding Loan. In political campaigns, the Jewish settlement in Lower Silesia was quoted as an argument for supporting the government. Despite participation in political campaigns proclaimed by the new authorities, there was very little understanding between Poles and Jews at that time. There were meetings at work or schools, but a natural process for both nationalities at that time was the gathering together of people who had had similar experiences and who focused on the issues that united them. The Jewish committees did not make any significant effort, apart from the above-mentioned political campaigns, to be closer to Poles. Undoubtedly, one of the factors which affected this policy was anti-Semitism, but in Lower Silesia this phenomenon was present to a much lesser extent. The crucial point was the pogrom in Kielce on July 4 1946. In Lower Silesia, as was the case all over the country, there were attempts to provoke anti-Jewish riots. The pogrom in Kielce was a crucial point of reference in the post-War history of Jews in Poland. It was also an important moment in the history of the post-War Jewish settlement in Lower Silesia. Jakub Wasserstrum, one of the Lower Silesian activists, said at the meeting of the WKŻ board in July 1946: 'The Jews, particularly the repatriates from the Soviet Union, had had a strong desire to rebuild their lives... in Poland, permanently... The pogrom in Kielce had created a change, brought an element of fear into their perceptions and a desire to escape'[12].

The feelings of the Lower Silesian Jews, as represented by Jakub Wasserstrum, were shared by other Polish Jews too. The sense of threat was enormous. All over Poland, including Lower Silesia, special committees were formed, which dealt with the protection of buildings, institutions and Jewish organisations. The Jewish pogrom in Kielce was the direct cause of the increase in Jewish emigration

[12] APW, WKŻ, 2, p. 55.

from Poland. Such feelings had been present in the Jewish communities from the end of the War; they were a reaction to the Holocaust. In the course of time there were other reasons too; connected with the post-War political and economic situation and with anti-Semitism.

Lower Silesia assumed great significance for Jewish emigration in 1946. By that time Jews leaving the country would cross the southern or western border. Most of the departures were illegal. After the pogrom, Jewish emigration was directed to Lower Silesia – in compliance with the resolutions of an unofficial agreement between the Polish government and representatives of Zionist circles. In July and August 1946, large groups of Jews would arrive in Lower Silesia. The migrations also took place within the area of Lower Silesia: the Jews moved from small localities to larger centres; in some smaller towns the Jewish committees were liquidated. The situation after the pogrom in Kielce was very difficult for activists of Jewish committees: on the one hand they had to ensure that the Jews who were leaving Poland obtained all that they needed, as there were many women, children and elderly people; and on the other hand they had to control the atmosphere of panic that prevailed among the Lower Silesian settlers. One should bear in mind that the sight of hundreds of Jews with children and luggage, awaiting departure, intensified this anxiety. Within three months, over 70,000 Jews had left Poland, crossing the border in Kudowa and Mieroszów. Only rough numbers can be quoted for the emigration of the Lower Silesian settlers, as this assessment can be only based on a comparison of the Jewish population in this area before mass emigration with statistics from the autumn of 1946, at which time the number of departures decreased. In July 1946 there were 90,000-100,000 Jews in Lower Silesia; in December that year the Statistical Department of the WKŻ quoted a number of 57,000 Jewish inhabitants of Lower Silesia. However, one has to bear in mind the fact that subsequent groups of Jews, displaced from the Soviet Union, were arriving simultaneously. Also in that period there were 'numerous cases of Jews revealing their nationality after having denied it for some time'. This was mainly amongst labourers'[13].

In the autumn of 1946 Jewish emigration was considerably restricted. In February 1947 the border was closed to illegal or semi-legal emigration. The restrictions were also connected with the winter season. It is significant that the majority of the people who were determined to leave the country after July 1946 emigrated in the summer of 1946. From autumn that year, resettlement in Lower Silesia stabilised. It became evident that the balance had been redressed. Despite the departures and the liquidation of a number of Jewish committees, Lower Silesia still remained the Jewish centre of Poland. Almost half the Jews lived in that region (47%), and they were represented by over 30 Jewish committees. The largest number of Jews lived in: Wrocław (10,954), Dzierżoniów (6,796), Wałbrzych (6,744), Legnica (4,225) and Bielawa (3,901).

[13] APW, WKŻ, 37, p. 77.

The period of stabilisation of Jewish life in Lower Silesia, which began in the autumn of 1946, was a time of carrying out of plans and ideas for the restoration of Jewish life in Poland after the War. It is small wonder that exactly at that time intentions of establishing Jewish autonomy in that region came to light. David Sfard says in his diaries: 'When I came to Poland in October 1946 I found individuals dreaming of an autonomous region in Lower Silesia. This concept disappeared from the agenda for various reasons, but there had always been efforts to give the Jewish settlement in Lower Silesia an autonomous character. Such was the policy'[14].

The activities of the Jewish community in the period of stabilisation were conducted by the Jewish committees, religious congregations, and, to a greater extent than before, by the political parties. It has to be pointed out that the nature of those activities was primarily intended to involve Jewish people. They would be drawn into Polish affairs only on occasions such as political events, e.g., the elections in January 1947. Nevertheless, the political transformations in Poland which occurred in that period were of paramount importance for the efforts made by Jewish agencies. In 1947, in the planned work of the WKŻ, which undoubtedly was the most important institution for the Jewish community, it was provided that 'the rest of the unemployed Jews would be involved... in productive work... simultaneously, it must be pointed out that this sort of work includes private shopkeepers and small, private businesses. For Jewish women vocational schools should be opened, so that they can find proper employment. Ahead there are great and important tasks in the field of culture... first of all, large masses of Jews should be engaged in the newly created Society for Art and Culture. Granting them membership will be the most effective way of fighting ignorance... and it will prevent the assimilation that could be ruinous to our nation'[15]. A year later those plans were extended by 'propagation of and support for competitiveness at work... a reduction in the expenses shared by our society for the maintenance of our institutions and constant state and municipal subsidies. All of this should be done in the spirit of faithfulness to the People's Republic of Poland and co-operation with all society for the restoration of the state and strengthening its power...'[16].

The Jewish committee's plans demonstrate how they wanted to reflect the new political system in their own environment, and yet simultaneously strive to retain their Jewish identity. A good example of such efforts was the productivity programme. In the period discussed, the Jewish people largely were employed in state-controlled companies or in heavy industry. It was deemed a success to have Jews employed in coal mines, as they became the symbol of the new community. In one newsletter we can read as follows: 'For the first time the Polish land has seen a Jewish coal-miner, by the sweat of his brow mining the "black gold", so

[14] Institute for Research on the Diaspora, Tel-Aviv University, 255.3, part 3, p. 24 (made available to me by Hana Shlomi).

[15] Archiwum ŻIH, Wydział Organizacyjny CKŻP, 61, p. 4.

[16] Ibid. 85, p. 21.

indispensable for the nation's economy which has been revived. It so happened that the Jews in an equal rights environment, refreshed by the noble spirit of construction and restoration of People's Poland, can labour as efficiently as their Aryan comrades'[17]. Great importance was attached to the employment of women, as it was a new element in the productivity campaign. The competitive employment environment as well as the rally of Jewish foremen organised in April 1948 were symbols of change. 'It was a manifestation of a new, post-War type of Jew – a coalminer, steelworker or textileworker'[18].

The Jewish co-operative societies in Poland in the second part of 1946 still were an important aspect of the productivity plan. Over half of the Jewish co-operatives which existed in Poland at that time were established in Lower Silesia (in October 1947 there were 100 co-operatives employing over 3,000 people).

Agriculture was equally important. In mid-1947 64 farms in Lower Silesia were administered by Jewish farmers.

Apart from the Jewish committees, political and religious parties also helped the Jews find employment. However, there is insufficient information to determine the number of party co-operatives established in Lower Silesia, nor are there any facts concerning farms established by the Zionist parties.

The funding for the productivity campaign came first of all from 'Unity' and the Bank for the Jewish Productivity Campaign.

In the stabilisation period cultural activities played an important part in the activities of Jewish institutions. Many efforts were made spontaneously by Jewish people themselves. The types of occupation were similar to those in the previous period, but the number of customers increased. There were also some new initiatives: the Jewish local press and the building of the Lower Silesian Yiddish Theatre.

The stabilisation period was characterised by the development of new institutions. One of them was the Jewish educational system. The number of schools increased; in addition to primary schools there were secondary schools, and some of them were considered to be the best in Lower Silesia; i.e., the Huberman School of Music or the Judith Berg and Felix Fibich Ballet School. Apart from the Jewish schools, there were also the Zionist schools run by the Hehaluz Pioneer Organisation. The language of instruction in the school was Hebrew. Religious congregations also had their schools, however, the majority of pupils simultaneously attended Jewish schools. In the 1947/8 school year there were 33 Jewish schools in the whole of Poland, of which 22 were located in Lower Silesia.

As in the case of the Jewish education system, institutions caring for Jewish children and young people were blooming. The number of institutions increased greatly, as did their scope. This included organising summer camps, artistic education, scouting and sport. All the Zionist parties and religious congregations also

[17] Archiwum ŻIH, Organizacje syjonistyczne, Ichud, 333/ 69, p. 17.

[18] AAN, Polska Partia Robotnicza, 295-IX-407, p. 230.

worked with children and young people. One of the strongest young people and children's organisations was the Ichud. Zionist symbols, relating to tradition and the slogans of an independent Jewish state were synonymous with the initiatives undertaken. At the opening of the Hanoar Hazioni Akiba summer camp, two flags were raised: the Jewish and the Polish one. The report from the camp stated: 'This refrain is repeated in our camp song – boundless sadness and regret for what has not yet been achieved creates a mood that is rather different from what scouts of other nationalities feel. Not only do they belong to their own homeland, but the homeland belongs to them... with their mouths wide open the children listen to the wonders of Palestine, more and more children sing Palestinian songs and dance Palestinian dances'[19].

Students were yet another group of the young people. As in the case of children and young people, the Jewish committees and political parties ensured that Jewish students had their own independent organisations of which there were two: the Jewish Academics' Circle attached to the WKŻ, and the Zionist Academics' Union (from August 1948 it was combined with the Zionist Socialist Academic Organisation).

Unlike the previous period, social welfare was not the fundamental task for Jewish institutions. This was evidence that Jewish resettlement in Lower Silesia was stable.

In characterising the situation of Jewish people in 1946-8 one must point out that despite the similarity in the work of Jewish committees and political parties, their aims differed considerably. Those differences hinged on their vision of the future of Polish Jews. For communists, determined to continue the revival of Jewish life, the efforts they made were intended to culminate in the Jews residing permanently in Poland and to tie them in with the new political situation. The nature of their activities was intensified by the conviction that it was only in Socialist Poland that equal rights for Jewish people were possible. Thus the activities they proposed to an increasingly greater extent merged the Jewish element with the political transformations in Poland (for instance, competitiveness at work, the priority of employment in factories and in the productivity campaign, the socialist character of any proposed work in the cultural field). For Zionists committed to supporting the new political situation in Poland, the Jewish State in Palestine remained the crucial ideal. Irrespective of the extent of their acceptance of the Polish communists, their goal continued to be to leave the country, and before their departure, they wanted to create the most advantageous conditions possible to prepare the Jewish people for emigration. The conflict between the Zionist groups and Jewish communists and the Bund became increasingly evident. Together with the political changes in Poland which strengthened the power of the Polish Workers' Party and contributed to the elimination of any opposition, the communist group working among the Jewish people, a faction of the Polish Workers' Party (PPR),

[19] *Opinia* 122 (1947) 5.

began a political offensive in their environment. They first began with the political scene: as a means of exerting their dominance, the group joined with the Bund and then it restricted and liquidated Zionist parties and organisations.

The second half of 1948 ushered in a new period in the history of the Lower Silesian Jews. The political changes in Poland and Palestine, and primarily Stalin's new policy towards the Jewish State put an end to the stabilisation period. In June 1947 and in 1948 the second and third anniversaries of Lower Silesian resettlement took place. This region was the post-War homeland of the Jews. At that time, Lower Silesia was a special place not only for the Jews who lived in Poland. For all those who visited that region, the Jewish settlement appeared to be a special enclave, a unique place, with a great future and opportunities for social, political and economic development.

For the Jewish activists in Lower Silesia, the attitude of the authorities towards the Jewish pavilion intended to be part of the Regained Lands Exhibition was a clear signal of the changes. The Ministry of Regained Lands and the management of the exhibition decided that two pavilions would be devoted to the history of Jews in the Western Provinces and the Jewish co-operative societies. They planned to place an illuminated diagram showing Jewish achievements in this area in the centre of the city. In July, the pavilions were visited by representatives of the state authorities. Next they commanded that the pavilions be closed and all the exhibits moved to the Polish pavilions. The decision of the authorities came as a surprise to the Lower Silesian activists. Jakub Egit explained that the Government made such a decision because 'The Cabinet had not been notified about „the organising of a separate Jewish pavilion" and they deemed it wrong for Jews, who were the fellow-citizens of the Poles, to isolate themselves as if in a ghetto'[20]. In the 1970s, Jakub Egit gave an interview to an Israeli historian who dealt with the post-War history of Jews in Poland – Hana Shlomi. He said that the Government's lack of consent to the organising of the second pavilion was a clear signal of the changes to come. Future events would only confirm that opinion. In January 1949, the composition of the Jewish committees changed in compliance with the circular issued by the CKŻP. The Polish United Worker's Party (PZPR) won a victory in the elections, as 80% of the elected delegates were its members.

Important changes could be seen on the Jewish political scene, as well. At the Special Convention of the Bund in Wrocław in January 1949, a resolution was made, which stated that 'the revolutionary and internationalist Polish United Workers' Party is the one and only mouthpiece for the interests and aspirations of the working class in the Homeland... Our party's conversion to Marxism-Leninism has paved the way for the Bund to join the PZPR... The Special Convention of the Bund in Poland resolves to disband the party; calls upon its members to join the PZPR to participate in its struggle for socialism, which is the noblest ideal of all

[20] APW, WKŻ, 17, p. 223.

working mankind, which is also the ideal of the Jewish working classes'[21]. In the final stage of its existence, the Bund in Lower Silesia had over 800 members. The majority of the Bund members decided to join the PZPR, although some of them were not accepted; for example, in Legnica 14 of 59 members were barred from joining the party and in Świdnica more than one half (14 of 24) of its members was prevented from joining the party.

The disappearance of the Bund from the Jewish political scene strengthened the ranks of the PZPR. Subsequent changes affected the Zionist groups, and even though these changes originated from Warsaw – as with the previous operation – it was in Lower Silesia that they were actually carried out. The circumscribing and subsequent dissolution of the Zionist parties was connected with changes in Stalin's policy relating to Palestine and Israel (from May 1948), as well as with the situation in that area.

The founding of the state of Israel, formally initiated by voting in the United Nations in November 1947, and then by the proclamation of Israel in May 1948, was of great significance to the Jewish community in Poland. In the context of those events, Lower Silesia could be perceived in a number of ways; one of which was the establishing in Bolków near Jelenia Góra of a camp of volunteers to leave for Israeli military units of Hagana. The change in Moscow's stance also affected Lower Silesian resettlement. But it should be pointed out that about half of all the Jews living in Poland lived in this area, and that region was the arena of a specific experiment. Its success was determined by various factors and, undoubtedly, one of those factors was the attitude towards emigration. The establishment of Israel and the consent given by the Polish Government to 'Polish citizens who wished to leave' for Israel created good conditions for emigration, which had been considerably restricted from the winter of 1947[22]. The government's decision in making Jewish emigration far easier was intended to encompass Zionist circles. That is why it came as a considerable surprise that large groups of Jews decided to leave the country; for example, in Wałbrzych area in November 1949 about 3,000 persons, almost 30% of the entire Jewish population of that county, stated they were ready to leave[23]. By August 1950 over 16,000 people in Lower Silesia were registered for departure. The facilitating of emigration, which was aimed at having the Zionists leave Poland, marked changes in attitudes towards those groups. Deadlines were set for individual Zionist parties to be disbanded – December 1949 and the beginning of 1950. The next stage was the nationalisation of some Jewish institutions and the liquidation of the agencies run by the Zionist organisations.

The changes to the social, political and economic life of the Jewish settlement in Lower Silesia that came about in 1948-9 changed the nature of that community.

---

[21] AAN, Spuścizna Zachariasza, 476/28, p. 227.

[22] APW, Komitet Wojewódzki PZPR, 74-V-48, p. 111.

[23] Archiwum Policji we Wrocławiu, Sprawozdania i raporty, 150/8, non fol. Report on the situation in Wałbrzych, November 1949.

Apart from people who were determined to leave the country, there was an increase in the number of people who distanced themselves from the activities of the newly created Socio-Cultural Jewish Association in Poland. Despite the large number of Jews who stayed in Lower Silesia, the events of 1949-50 put an end to that very crucial stage in the post-War history of Jews in Lower Silesia.

The centre of Polish Jewry in Lower Silesia was a very important aspect of the post-War history of Jews in Poland. After the War, over 40 localities in this area became home to more than half of all the Jews who came to Poland. It was not only the number of the Jews who lived in this area, but also the number of institutions, educational agencies, social welfare centres, religious organisations created by them that contributed to the uniqueness of this area. Almost all the political parties carried out their activities there. Lower Silesia played a very important role in their work. It was not only the working area for a large Jewish community. The Lower Silesian settlement was also an argument in the fundamental dispute of the Jewish parties after the War: to stay or to leave? The experience of Lower Silesia proved that it was possible to create a new Jewish centre in Poland, that Jews could develop their institutions, their cultural and political life. Until the Government's policy towards the Jews had changed, the full advantage of genuine opportunities had been taken. An attempt had been made to revive the life that had been almost completely annihilated during World War II. Once more, organisations and institutions serving the Jewish community were created; there were attempts to revive the Yiddish culture. The foundations of a national and cultural commonwealth were laid, but also wounds were healed and a unique psychological restoration of Jewish inhabitants of Lower Silesia was achieved.

**Andrzej Nowak**

## THE JEWISH SETTLEMENT IN CHOJNÓW 1945-1950

After World War II a large percentage of Jewish survivors who were Polish citizens resettled in Lower Silesia. They were the people who survived the Nazi concentration camps in that area, and whose attempts to return to the places where they had lived before 1939 had failed[1], or they were Jewish people who had been repatriated from the Soviet Union[2]. In total there were 124 transports for the 86,563 people who were repatriated from the western republics of the Soviet Union and came to Lower Silesia. They were located in 42 towns, and this included Chojnów, where 1754 people resettled[3].

**The Number of Jewish Settlers in Chojnów in the Years 1946-48.**

| date | repatriates | gain | loss | total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 01.06.1946 | 522 | x | x | 522 |
| 30.06.1946 | 1388 | 968 | 102 | 1388 |
| 01.07.1946 | 1767 | 1023 | 644 | 1767 |
| 10.07.1946 | 1412 | — | 355 | 1412 |
| 30.09.1946 | 765 | x | x | 765 |
| 10.10.1946 | 765 | x | x | 765 |
| 20.10.1946 | 765 | x | x | 765 |
| 31.10.1946 | 702 | x | x | 702 |
| 10.11.1946 | 702 | x | x | 702 |
| 20.11.1946 | 697 | x | x | 697 |
| 10.12.1946 | 697 | x | x | 697 |

1 B. Szaynok, 'Początki osadnictwa żydowskiego na Dolnym Śląsku po II wojnie światowej', *Biuletyn ŻIH w Polsce* 4-2 (1994-5) 45.

2 J. Misztal, 'Osadnictwo Żydów polskich repatriowanych ze Związku Radzieckiego na Ziemiach Zachodnich i Północnych', *Przegląd Zachodni* 2 (1992) 165.

3 J. Adelson, 'W Polsce zwanej Ludową' in J. Tomaszewski (ed.), *Najnowsze dzieje Żydów w Polsce* (Warsaw, 1993) 397.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 20.12.1946 | 697 | x | x | 697 |
| 01.01.1947 | 603 | x | x | 603 |
| 20.01.1947 | 603 | — | — | 603 |
| 31.01.1947 | 603 | x | x | 603 |
| 01.02.1947 | 603 | — | — | 603 |
| 28.02.1947 | 603 | x | x | 603 |
| 31.03.1947 | 603 | x | x | 603 |
| 01.05.1947 | x | x | x | 390 |
| 01.02.1948 | x | x | x | 230 |
| 03.1948 | x | x | x | 230 |
| 12.1948 | x | x | x | 230 |

x – no data available

**Source:** APW, WKŻ 20, 21, 37, 41, 42, 44, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 63, 67, 198, 199, 200; APW, Urząd Wojewódzki Wrocławski 697.

The first Jewish repatriates arrived in Chojnów on May 3 1946 from Tshymkient in southern Kazakhstan in a transport of 520 people (230 families)[4]. After their arrival, representatives of the repatriates, M. Zalcman, L. Lichtenstein, Sz. Ejges (chief of the group) established the Provisional Jewish Committee during a general meeting. The members of the committee were the following: M. Zelcman – president, Sz. Ejges – secretary-in-charge, L. Lichtenstein and M. Baum – members of the board. Four departments were also set up: 1) the Repatriation Department, 2) the Productivity Department, 3) the Social Welfare Department and 4) the Cultural and Educational Department[5].

As early as the first day after their arrival, the repatriates contacted the local representatives of the state administration. It helped to solve the accommodation problems of the newcomers in a very short time. As a result of the negotiations with the mayor of Chojnów, 35 of the repatriates were employed by the Russians stationed in the town reloading potatoes and cereal (for which they were paid in those products)[6].

Another transport of Jews came from Frunze (the Kirghiz SR) and numbered 220. The third and largest came from Samarkand (the Uzbek SR) with 1,025 people. These people were attended to by the Repatriation Department, which secured them accommodation together with basic equipment (linen, furniture). Due to the poor material circumstances of the newcomers, it was necessary to give them material assistance. The Social Welfare organised mutual help campaigns among the Jews, while the Committee financed medical assistance for the poorest[7].

4 APW, WKŻ, 8 p. 12; 20 p. 5.
5 APW, WKŻ, 8 p. 79.
6 APW, WKŻ, 20 p. 5.
7 Ibid.

In May 1946 an official from the Voivodship Jewish Committee came to Chojnów. After having acquainted himself with the composition of the Provisional Jewish Committee and its activities, he endowed it with authority as the Jewish Committee in Chojnów. In December that year, the committee underwent a reorganisation based on an agreement between the parties working in Chojnów. The committee was set up in compliance with the party line and comprised two members from the Ichud, four from the Polish Workers' Party (PPR), one person from the Hashomer Hazair and one from the Poaley Zion Left. The Presidium comprised two people from the Polish Workers' Party, one from the Hashomer Hazair and one from the Ichud. The president of the committee was Marek Zalcman (the Polish Workers' Party), his deputies were Dawid Czackis (Ichud) and Leon Lichtenstein (the PPR), and the secretary was Szalom Ejges (Hashomer Hazair)[8]. The activities of the board of the committee were attended to by a secretariat headed by the secretary-in-charge (Ejges) and the technical secretary, the records section rapporteur and a typist (Henryk Springer)[9]. The secretariat's work embraced all matters relating to the movement of Jewish people (records, registers). The secretariat kept complete records of the Jewish people in Chojnów, had a separate register of families and a file of compatriot associations (among others, the inhabitants of Wilno, Warsaw and Lwów). There was also a separate inquiries department to help repatriates find their families. The secretariat also kept the book of minutes of the committee's sessions which were held every ten days[10]. All the committee's financial affairs were attended to by the bookkeeper, Czacki.

Because of general trends in communist propaganda, it is difficult to define the nature of the committee's political activity. Reports on the work of the Jewish Committee evidently were written in accordance with the authorities' orders. Hence, with regard to the referendum held in the country (June 30 1946) three public meetings were organised in Chojnów, allegedly attended by a total of 3,000 people. According to reports, the Jews voted 'three times yes', by order of the committee. There were marches to protest against the mild sentences handed down at the Nuremberg Trials and against the policy of Great Britain in Palestine[11]. A large-scale propaganda campaign was carried out before the elections to the Legislative Parliament (Sejm). Squads of agitators were organised to gain people's signatures for the Bloc of Democratic Parties. On December 18 and 26, pre-election meetings were held[12]. The composition of the electoral committee included representatives of all political parties in Chojnów[13]. On the eve of the elections a public meeting was organised, and the speakers included Zalcman, Rosenfeld (the Hashomer-Hazair), Szabsy (the Ichud) and Rajewski. A resolution was

8 APW, WKŻ, 80 p. 82.
9 APW, WKŻ, 8 p. 7.
10 APW, WKŻ, 8 p. 12.
11 APW, WKŻ, 8 p. 82.
12 'O pracy przedwyborczej w terenie. Chojnów', *Nowe Życie* 2 (1947).
13 APW, WKŻ, 8 p. 12.

passed univocally, to call upon Jewish people to demonstrate their 'determination to continue in the Polish Democracy'[14].

The course of the elections in Chojnów can be reconstructed on the basis of accounts of the activities of the Jewish Committee, which are, however, not particularly reliable. On election day, 196 franchised Jews are said to have voted for the Bloc of Democratic Parties. After Bierut was elected president and the Bloc had won the election, the committee organised a show of support involving all Jewish political parties. A similar demonstration was organised on May 1 1947[15].

The committee included almost all Jewish parties active in post-war Poland: the Jewish Faction of the Polish Workers' Party (four members in the Committee), the Division of the Central Jewish Committee Poaley Zion Left from Chojnów (based at 20 Kościuszki St., the president was Szlama Niebieskikwiat)[16], the Hashomer Hazair, the Ichud[17], the Jewish Zionist-Socialist Workers' Party – the Hitachdut (the president was Israel Katz, secretary Moses Neger). The organisation Hechaluc-Pionier based at 59 Legnicka Street worked among the youth. Its leader was Perel Boruch, deputy Zelman Porekunan, instructor Joseph Norchan, educational instructors Jacob Zarwanizer and Meilsek Wajs. The statutory aim of its work was to establish collective bodies of workers, craft workshops, to organise professional training courses and agricultural posts – all these were planned to be centres of the youth productiveness programme. The organisation also intended to establish community centres, libraries and self-education circles for Jewish youth[18].

However, the most important sphere of the work of the Jewish Committee was not political activity but the welfare of Jewish repatriates who were arriving in Chojnów. The above-mentioned Repatriation Department co-operated with a branch of the State Repatriation Office and organised canteens which gave free dinners to the newcomers as well as a one-off financial assistance payment of 500 zl. By May 1947 the committee had spent a total of 251,840 zl. on assistance for the repatriates[19].

Money – rather than large-scale politics – was a decisive factor in the initial success and final decline of Jewish resettlement in Chojnów[20]. Among the people who immigrated to Chojnów, the number of qualified metal-workers as well as

---

[14] 'Wybory w terenie. Chojnów', *Nowe Życie* 3 (1947).

[15] APW, WKŻ, 8 p. 82.

[16] APW, Oddział w Legnicy, Akta Starostwa Powiatowego w Złotoryi 1945-1950, 87 p. 26.

[17] APW, WKŻ, 80 p. 82.

[18] APW, Oddział w Legnicy, Akta Starostwa Powiatowego w Złotoryi 1945-1950, 87 p. 57.

[19] APW, WKŻ, 8 p. 79.

[20] The local example of Chojnów seems to contradict Bożena Szaynok's thesis on the significance of the political factor, which was crucial in the decline of Jewish resettlement in Lower Silesia – see her 'Jews in Lower Silesia 1945-1950' (in this volume).

workers in the electro-technical and textile trades was insufficient. Not all positions in state-controlled factories could be filled. As a result of that situation and in spite of the employment of Jews in state industry and the establishment of individual craft workshops, much effort was put in to establishing labour co-operatives. An additional incentive to organising co-operatives in Lower Silesia was the opportunity to obtain summary allowances for premises, machines and technical equipment[21].

The Productivity Department of the Municipal Jewish Community created and organised the co-operatives in Chojnów. That department organised employment for all those who were capable of working in the tannery, dairy, gas-plant, and primarily in the 'Społem' co-operative, as well as the shoemaking and leather-stitching co-operative, tailoring, iron-work and mechanical co-operative. On April 19, 1946 the shoemaking and leather-stitching co-operative was the first to be established, and in July 1946 it incorporated 25 members[22].

The most important co-operative was established in September 1946 in a small workshop: the iron-work and smithing co-operative 'Hammer' [Młot]. Its founders were Mojżesz Gross (chairman), Wincenty Mózg, Stanisław Mayersfeld, Czesław Kwiatkowski and Henryk Mikołajczyk. Until December 1951 the co-operative was part of the Voivodship Trade Union of Hardware Co-operatives and it dealt with the installation and repair of agricultural equipment, the production of metal fittings for the construction industry, and it also dealt with human resources[23]. On April 19 1947 the co-operative received its first statute[24]. The co-operative faced its first crisis, which was caused by the zero demand for its products, in June 1947[25]. The threat of liquidation of the co-operative was averted by the Union of Jewish Co-operatives 'Solidarity' [Solidarność] which introduced mass production of 'popular' beds. The value of production at that time amounted to 6,721,000 zl., including 'Solidarity' orders worth 800,000 zl. per month[26]. Unfortunately, the late start of mass-production (caused, among other things, by a lack of qualified staff) resulted in the co-operative falling into debt to the sum of 1,200,000 zl. The poor quality of their products as well as the shortages of raw materials also caused serious difficulties[27]. From the end of 1948 the co-operative's situation improved; three automatic machines for the production of springs, chains and

---

21 M. Grynberg, *Żydowskie Spółdzielnie Pracy w Polsce Ludowej w latach 1945-1949* (Warsaw, 1986) 57.

22 APW, WKŻ, 199 p. 30.

23 Kronika Spółdzielni Produkcyjnej „Hosmet", Archiwum Spółdzielni Pracy Wyrobów Metalowych Sprzętu Medycznego „Hosmet" w Chojnowie.

24 Spółdzielnia Pracy Wyrobów Metalowych Sprzętu Medycznego „Hosmet" w Chojnowie, typescript. Archiwum Spółdzielni „Hosmet".

25 APW, WKŻ, 8 p. 7.

26 J. Flam, 'Dolnośląskie spółdzielnie metalowe zaczynające produkcję seryjną' *Solidarność* 9-10 (1948); Kronika Spółdzielni Produkcyjnej „Hosmet".

27 Ibid.

hooks for mattresses as well as mechanical shears were bought from 'Solidarity'. The issue of the products' quality would gradually disappear, and their range would be broadened by children's and sports sleds, iron wheel-barrows, equipment for infant nurseries and kindergartens (baby's pens and couches), tables for surgeries and agricultural tools[28]. Through the agency of 'Solidarity', the 'Hammer' co-operative was able to display its products, at the Gdańsk International Fair in 1947 and at the Poznań International Fair in 1947-9. At the Exhibition of the Regained Lands, which was held in Wrocław in 1948, the Chojnów co-operative exhibited babies' beds[29]. At that time the board of 'Hammer' was made up of: Markus Gross, Wincenty Mózg and Pejsach Finkelsztejn.

The second largest co-operative was the soap manufacturer 'Odra', but it was not producing at the end of 1946 because the necessary investment loan had not been granted. Production started at the beginning of 1947. The co-operative, based at 18 Repatriates St., employed 10 people[30]. Generally it could be said that the development of these co-operatives in Chojnów was not long-term. There was an abrupt setback as early as 1947; in May that year only 'Hammer' and 'Odra' were still working. The shoe-making, and tailoring co-operatives were shut down[31].

The activities carried on by most Jewish organisations established in the first years after the occupation aimed at social, welfare and medical care, to enable the survivors to begin a new life. In May 1946 the Department of Social Welfare of the Municipal Jewish Committee in Chojnów, established spontaneously by the inhabitants, began activities before any assistance was forthcoming from the Voivodship Jewish Committee. The secretary-in-charge was Ejges and the manager was Zalcman. At that time 5 quintals of wheaten flour and wheat and 2,000 zl. was collected. Further activities resulted in the establishing of the Childcare Department[32]. 208 Jewish children received assistance. Children under three (85 in total) received immediate material help, while children in the boarding school and kindergarten (80 in total) could avail themselves of daily care with board. Children not included in school care (43 in total) received individual help. A people's canteen was set up, and it gave about 200 meals daily. However, because of the lack of supplies from the Voivodship Jewish Committee and the arrival of a large group of repatriates from Samarkand (1,025 people) the canteen was closed[33]. The above-mentioned department took special care of the ill. Those ill in hospital were given daily hot meals, while other necessary items were procured for those who stayed at home[34]. However, because of the continued material situation of repatriates, efforts made by the Department of Social Welfare in Chojnów were more and more lim-

[28] I. Wawro, 'Spółdzielnia „Młot" czeka na surowce', *Solidarność* 13-14 (1949).
[29] M. Grynberg, *Żydowskie spółdzielnie* 118.
[30] APW, WKŻ, 8 p. 75.
[31] APW, WKŻ, 8 p. 77-9.
[32] APW, WKŻ, 8 p. 80.
[33] APW, WKŻ, 8 p. 4.
[34] APW, WKŻ, 8 p. 5.

ited. Thus in June 1946 5,000 zl. together with material means assigned to 522 people were made available to the department. The appeal for help to the Voivodship Jewish Committee did not meet with any response, therefore in the following months the people's canteen, on average, would give 150 dinners daily for the most needy. Financial assistance was granted only to 45 people while 209 people received clothes. The amount of food given away also decreased. It may be worth mentioning that despite the difficult situation, children continued to receive a wide range of help – in August 1946 a nursery-school for children aged three and below was opened, while the others attended the kindergarten and a half-boarding school[35].

Apart from the professional training of Jewish people in Poland run by ORT, a primary and general educational system also was developed. It was managed by the Central Jewish Committee and the Zionist parties as well as by the religious educational system subordinate to Jewish religious congregations. The Department of Culture and Education (later Department of Culture and Propaganda with a special education section) worked in Chojnów in this area[36]. The first school group was set up on June 3 1946 and initially it numbered 21 children and 5 staff. The headmaster of the school was Wiktor Szenkelbach, of the teachers we can mention Golda Bum and Dawid Feller; Nachman Erman was a caretaker, while Bronisława Nowicka was a cleaning lady[37]. The school occupied six rooms in the building of the committee, and it was named after Shalom Alechem[38]. The school was attended by children of very mixed ability, which necessitated dividing them into four groups. Another problem in the establishment of the school was that of there being different languages spoken within a group – Polish, Russian, Yiddish, Uzbek, which in turn very often entailed individual tuition[39]. Through the agency of the Department of Culture and Education the Pedagogy Council was established, and it comprised school teachers, kindergarten and half-boarding school form tutors[40].

Apart from the school, the committee building housed a kindergarten and a half-boarding school. The institution was run by: Jakub Bronstein – manager, Bernard Springer – bookkeeper, Józef Bukszpan - housemaster, Rachela Rotblit and Fryda Lederman, Tauba Rajman and Stanisław Szperling – form tutors; the staff was complemented by Laja Finkelstein, Ita Weintraub, Klara Melcer and Ita Zielicka[41]. Initially, (July 1946) the kindergarten was attended daily by about 52 children. The two groups were cared for by two form-tutors and two technical workers[42].

---

35 APW, WKŻ, 8 p. 14.
36 APW, WKŻ, 8 p. 80.
37 APW, WKŻ, 8 p. 6, 46, APW, WKŻ, 155 p. 20.
38 APW, WKŻ, 155 p. 2, 8 p. 74.
39 APW, WKŻ, 8 p. 6.
40 APW, WKŻ, 8 p. 80.
41 APW, WKŻ, 155 p. 19.
42 APW, WKŻ, 8 p. 10.

In November 1946 the Department of Culture and Education became the Department of Culture and Propaganda. At that time it dealt with preparations for the Conference on Jewish Culture[43] and subsequently it actively participated in the First Conference on Jewish Culture in Lower Silesia. The conference solemnly proclaimed the establishment of the Jewish Society for Culture. Its Chojnów branch, the 'Ikukg', had 65 people at that time. In addition, drama groups and choirs were organised. On Saturdays, lectures were held in co-operation with the mobile People's University in Lower Silesia. Eventually, a library and community centre were established, where Polish and English courses for adults were run[44]. The manager of that community centre was Zofia Polna. The centre kept all the magazines published in Lower Silesia at that time[45]. Events sponsored by the municipal authorities were held. One such celebration took place during the Children's Festival in Chojnów in 1946. The above-mentioned authorities were represented by members of the local political parties (Chief Secretary of the PPR – Krupa), the Militia, the Security Service (UB), the Jewish Committee in Chojnów (Zalcman), while the manager of the School, Wiktor Szenkelbach, was responsible for organising the event. An article written later on by the president of the Jewish Committee in Chojnów for the paper 'New Life' [Nowe Życie] shows very precisely the cultural trends of the time – that they were constantly combined with propaganda[46]. Similar festivals were organised by the Department of Youth. One of them was organised by the Jewish school and the half-boarding school on October 9 1946. It was attended by representatives of the town's authorities, political and social organisations, representatives of the district Jewish Committee in Złotoryja as well as officers and workers of the local factories and co-operative societies. The purpose of such celebrations was often to reward the best workers in industrial establishments.

In October 1946 the above-mentioned Department of Youth organised a very popular table tennis tournament. On October 13 1946 a similar tournament was organised between the ZKS (sports club) Złotoryja and the ZKS Chojnów; that month a chess tournament also took place. The above-mentioned combination of culture with propaganda was used during talks organised by the Executive of the Polish Workers' Party (PPR) to popularise the Three-Year Plan, new electoral law and the May elections[47].

In addition to the above-mentioned Jewish Committee in Chojnów - as in other parts of Lower Silesia – the Jewish Religious Union was established. It was registered in Złotoryja in the County Office on January 1 1946 and its head office was located at 4 Hozjusz Street. Its president in the first stage of its existence was

[43] APW, WKŻ, 8 p. 21.
[44] APW, WKŻ, 8 p. 81.
[45] APW, Oddział w Legnicy, Akta Zarządu Miejskiego w Chojnowie w l. 1945-1950, 70 p. 21.
[46] M. Zalcman, 'Święto dzieci w Chojnowie', *Nowe Życie* 8 (1946).
[47] Id., 'Życie młodzieży w Chojnowie' *Nowe Życie* 9 (1946).

Samuel Bezen. Wolf Wajnsztein was the secretary. However, shortly after its establishment, the members of the congregation left for Palestine. For this reason, activity was interrupted until October 1946, when activity was resumed. At that time the organisation had 150 people; the board was made up of 14 people[48]. The president was Szymon Lebenbaum (residing at 31 Kościuszko Street), who represented the Ichud party. Other members of the board also represented the Ichud: Wolf Knopf (11 Repatriates Street) and Giedele Kwiatkowski (12 Repatriates Street)[49].

The Chojnów congregation was financed by a grant from the voivodship congregation in Wrocław (from January 3 to July 1 the grant amounted to 70,000 zl.) as well as donations from members. Simultaneously with the emigration of Jews, contributions from the voivodship religious congregation also diminished – in 1948 only 24,000 zl. was made available[50]. Major expenses were wages for the staff and benefits for the visitors who would temporarily stay in the prayer-house. In addition, the congregation employed a ritual slaughterer – J. Hofman from Legnica.

One of the most difficult issues in the relations between the local administration and the congregations was the problem of reclaiming pre-War estates owned by Jewish religious communities. The provisional settlement of this issue by sub-paragraph 8 of the circular was issued by the Ministry of Public Administration on February 6 1945, which obligated the county representatives (Starosts) to make available for management and usufruct purposes of the congregations all real estate serving a religious purpose, which previously had been owned by the Jewish religious communities and religious associations. Despite it the authorities were not eager to hand over those buildings. To some extent, the housing situation impeded the development of the congregations, but this situation ended after 1946. Later on, because of the considerable decrease in the religious Jews' population, the problem of insufficient accommodation ceased to exist[51]. The synagogue, which could seat 500 men, was officially handed over by the authorities to the local congregation as late as 1947[52].

It is interesting that in documents relating to the social life of Chojnów there is no information concerning everyday mutual relations between the inhabitants of both nationalities; even though Jews occupied a considerable part of the town. Compact settlements could be found particularly in Marx Street, Kościuszki Street and Kolejowa Street and on the Morawski Housing Estate.

---

48 APW, Oddział w Legnicy, Akta Starostwa Powiatowego w Złotoryi 1945-1950, 100 p. 18; 87 p. 62.

49 APW, Akta Zarządu Miejskiego w Chojnowie 1945-1950, 17 p. 43.

50 APW, Oddział w Legnicy, Akta Starostwa Powiatowego w Złotoryi 1945-1950, 100 p. 18; 87 p. 62.

51 Adelson, 'W Polsce zwanej Ludową' 429.

52 APW, Oddział w Legnicy, Akta Starostwa Powiatowego w Złotoryi 1945-1950, 76 p. 78.

Until June 1946, the number of Jewish inhabitants in Chojnów had been increasing and stood at almost 1,765 people at that time. Statistics for the following months show a gradual decrease in that population, but after 1950 there is no information on that subject in the documents sent to the county authorities and other superior voivodship institutions. This situation could undoubtedly be accounted for by the above-mentioned economic problems the newcomers faced. Apart from general poverty at that time the labour co-operatives had other serious problems – because of the lack of appropriate investment means they repeatedly faced bankruptcy or were disbanded. The establishments and firms that already existed did not contribute much to improving that situation – trades occupied by the Jews did not match the establishments' demand. In connection with the affluence of new emigrants, the power of the Department of Social Welfare of the Jewish Committee was also decreasing. The hardships mentioned above probably forced the Jewish people, who had resettled in Chojnów, into looking for new areas which would secure them better living conditions and allow them to emigrate from provincial Chojnów, and, in due course, from Poland.

**Ewa Waszkiewicz**

# THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF LOWER-SILESIAN JEWS 1945-1968

After World War II ended, a large Jewish centre was established in the region of Lower Silesia annexed to Poland. It was composed of the Autochton Jews, survivors of the Gross-Rosen concentration camp and its branches[1] as well as the Jews coming to Poland from the Soviet Union in accordance with the repatriation agreements. According to data kept by the Voivodship Jewish Committee in Wrocław, in 1946 the number of Jews in this region amounted to 80-85,000, or more than half of the Polish Jews who had survived the Holocaust. At that time it was the largest Jewish centre in Poland.

The need to revive the religious life of Polish Jews, completely destroyed during the German occupation, was mentioned even in 1944 in Moscow at a conference held in the premises of the Union of Polish Patriots, of which the Organisational Committee of Polish Jews was part. After the War, conflict arose in Poland between the secular Central Committee of the Jews in Poland (Centralny Komitet Żydów Polskich; established November 4 1944) and the religious Jews over the shape of the future Jewish community in the new political system.

As a result of intensifying conflict and the fact that Jewish congregations were being established spontaneously, the Ministry of Public Administration issued a circular on February 6 1945 on the 'temporary normalisation of religious affairs in the Jewish community'[2]. Subparagraph 3 of the circular resolved as follows: 'In order to enable the citizens of the Mosaic faith to freely perform their religious practices, in compliance with article 111 of the Constitution, groups of at least ten citizens who profess that religion may establish a Jewish Religious Union for the organisation, maintenance and performance of all practices and rites of Jewish worship and religious education. No more than one Jewish Religious Union may exist within a given locality'. The circular also specified the make-up of the Un-

---

1 M. Sadowski, 'Z badań nad więźniami żydowskimi wyzwolonymi w filiach obozu koncentracyjnego Gross-Rosen', *Studia nad Faszyzmem i Zbrodniami Hitlerowskimi* 16 (1993) 251-76.

2 *Dziennik Urzędowy MAP* 1 (1945) point 21.

ion's power structures: a board presided over by a rabbi and a temporary principal religious council comprising three rabbis authorised by the Ministry of Public Administration. The circular (subpara. 1) obliged local administrative bodies (starosts) to immediately hand over to the local unions '...the premises which previously were the property of the former Jewish Religious Communities and other Israelite associations serving the purposes of religious worship such as synagogues, religious seminaries, ritual baths, cemeteries and items connected with religious worship, namely copies of the Talmud, the Torah, etc.'

The circular granted the unions the right to accept fees and payments for religious rites to be performed. It must be emphasised that the temporary circular created a completely new situation for Jewish religious unions, differing from their pre-War legal status.

The body which represented religious Jews in the state and which was superior to the local unions was the Organisational Committee of the Jewish Religious Unions whose first session was held in Warsaw on November 27 1945[3].

The Jews who had settled in Lower Silesia quickly and spontaneously took on the rebuilding of the structures of their religious life.

The Jewish Religious Congregation (renamed in 1946) in Wrocław began to perform its duties in May 1945. It had sacral property left by Germans at its disposal: the White Stork Synagogue and a house of prayer, *mikva*, the kosher kitchen and an office at 9 Włodkowica St., as well as the cemetery in Lotnicza St. (formerly Cosel St.). Until 1951 the congregation also owned a house of prayer at 24 Żeromski St. and 11 Oleśnicka St. There was a kosher public kitchen, a butcher's stall and a children's religious school – the 'Talmud-Torah' – on Włodkowica St.

In 1945 the congregation was presided over by Rabbi Dr Szulim Trajstman, who performed these duties until 1950, when he left Poland. The next rabbi was Aron Muszel (a repatriate from the Soviet Union) who held office from 1957 to 1966. In subsequent years the congregation did not have its own rabbi.

According to documents kept by the Wrocław congregation, religious Jews in Wrocław numbered 5,000 in 1945 and, after the repatriations from the Soviet Union in 1950, there were 20,000[4]. However, these numbers were continually on the decline. Jews were emigrating, on the basis of the situation in the country, and the actual reasons for emigration were personal ones – fear as a consequence of the pogrom in Kielce, a wish to join families living abroad, and political reasons – the need to be part of the rebuilding of the Jewish state.

The first years of the congregation in Wrocław (1945-8) passed in an atmosphere of peace and normal, customary performance of religious duties. There was a religious school for children, a kosher public kitchen, matzoth bakery, religious

---

[3] Yad Vashem Archives, 037/57, p. 112.

[4] Archiwum Gminy Żydowskiej we Wrocławiu, A letter of the Jewish Community of December 5 1967.

weddings, funerals, circumcisions and prayers were held – on festive occasions in the synagogue and on weekdays in the house of prayer.

In Wrocław in 1945-7 the Regional Jewish Religious Congregation was also functioning. It was responsible for the distribution of funds sent by the Jewish Charity 'Joint' from Warsaw to congregations from all over Lower Silesia. The economic basis for this activity – including free lunches and benefits for the poorest – was funding from 'Joint', income from the kosher slaughterhouse, butcher's stall, canteen, performing of religious rites, synagogue tickets and finally – and least of all – membership fees.

In addition to Wrocław, which had the largest congregation, repatriated Jews in Lower Silesia established local congregations. Their number reached its peak in 1947 – 28 congregations located in 13 counties (administrative districts)[5]. According to a detailed register that I located in the Yad Vashem Institute in Jerusalem, which quoted the locality, address and name of the chairman and rabbi and the property of the synagogue, there were 30 congregations at that time in Lower Silesia. This number appears to be authentic as two of them were not officially registered, thus they were illegal[6]. Only the largest congregations had a rabbi – and these were in Dzierżoniów, Legnica and Wałbrzych. Congregations did not keep any systematic statistics of their membership, and from the fragmentary data we can establish that there were 1,500 members in Świdnica – including 4000 practising Jews; in Legnica 10% of the 400 Jews were practising Jews, and on 'great feast days', 50%. The smallest Lower Silesian congregations numbered a dozen members each.

The local congregations worked similarly to those in Wrocław, although they had to wait for a travelling ritual slaughterer to obtain their kosher meat or buy it in Wrocław together with the matzoth. The local congregations were autonomous units, governed by their own rules, although it is clear that those rules were not contrary to the circular issued by the Ministry of Public Administration.

In the first years after the War, the administrative and party authorities were not concerned with the religious life of Lower Silesian Jews. It was only in 1948, when possibly concerned about tensions resulting from the possible founding of the State of Israel, the authorities in Warsaw (i.e., the Ministry of Public Administration) ordered that an inspection be carried out in all Polish congregations. Two Lower Silesian congregations, Wałbrzych and Wrocław, were inspected in February 1948 by employees of the Ministry of Regained Lands. The results of the inspection were not favourable for the congregations. The inspectors encountered

---

[5] WAP, Komitet Wojewódzki PPR (Sekretariat. Materiały dotyczące ludności żydowskiej w województwie wrocławskim, 1/V/41, f. 46.

[6] Lower-Silesian communities: Bielawa, Bolków, Bystrzyca, Chojnów, Dzierżoniów, Duszniki Zdrój, Mieroszów, Głuszyca, Jawor, Jelenia Góra, Kłodzko, Kamienna Góra, Legnica, Lubawka, Ludwikowice, Nowa Ruda, Pietrolesie (Pieszyce), Świdnica, Strzegom, Solice Zdrój, Świebodzice, Wrocław, Wałbrzych, Zagórze (Piława Górna), Ziębice (illegal), Ząbkowice, Złotoryja, Żary, Niemcza, Boża Góra (Boguszów; illegal).

some oversights, mistakes or deficiencies in the bookkeeping and serious shortcomings in other, obligatory documentation. The congregation of Wrocław was also accused of using German notices in the synagogue. The Political Department of the Ministry of Public Administration handed down a negative decision on the Lower Silesian congregations inspected and sent it to the Department of Public Administration of the Ministry of the Regained Lands on March 17 1948. The Department gave orders for another inspection to be carried out. This time the inspection included all the Lower Silesian congregations. There was a new factor – a political one – in the instructions issued by the Ministry of Public Administration to the inspectors. The instructions read as follows: 'It must be ascertained whether the Congregation is involved in any political activity; the political affiliations of its members must be determined in a confidential manner'.

A special delegate of the Socio-political Department of the Municipal Board of Wrocław made a political assessment of the board of Wrocław's congregation and he wrote the following in his report of June 18 1948:[7] 'It has been established that of the nine members of the board, three belong to the Union of Zionist Democrats "Ichud" ... others belong to religious associations'. A large portion of the correspondence entered into by the Jewish religious congregation was in German and Hebrew. In the archived registers written in Hebrew details of sums of money for a national Palestinian fund were found. According to the declaration of the chairman, those sums are from voluntary offerings of the members and followers given for the rendering of various services and weddings...'.

Despite the inspections and findings of serious oversights, particularly in the local congregations, the attitude of the central and local administrative and political authorities was favourable towards the Jewish unions at that time. None of the congregations, irrespective of the negative opinions and accusations, was punished or closed. Lower Silesian congregations regularly received allocations of cattle for ritual slaughter, the matzoth was baked in Wrocław, and customary, religious life went on uninterrupted both in Wrocław and in the country. Prayer books and other items necessary for performing services (etrog, lulav, tefillin), were brought in from abroad with the authorities' consent.

The establishment of Israel in May 1948 caused the mass emigration of Lower Silesian Jews, and this fact considerably affected the congregation's religious life. After the issuing of the circular of the Ministry of Public Administration, granting Jews the right to leave for Israel in 1949, the political authorities showed their ill-disposition towards the so-called 'keen Jewish supporters of the clergy and reactionaries' who allegedly were to be found in the congregations. According to data kept by the organisational committee of the Jewish Religious Congregation there were 49,375 followers of Judaism as at January 1 1949 in Poland, although the

[7] Archiwum Ministerstwa Spraw Wewnętrznych w Warszawie, Ministerstwo Ziem Odzyskanych (Departament Administracji Publicznej, Wydział Społeczno-Polityczny), 75, f. 64.

Bureau for Religious Affairs considered that number was exaggerated. According to the Voivodship Jewish Committee there were about 50,000 Jews in March 1949 in Lower Silesia, half of whom to a greater or lesser extent were connected with the congregations[8]. It should be mentioned that the congregations did not usually keep any registers of their members, even though they were obliged by the administrative authorities to do so. They probably assumed that 'all religious Jews should belong to such congregations'.

In 1949 the legal status of the congregations changed considerably. On August 5 1949 the government issued a decree, together with an executive ordinance regarding 'the change to some regulations governing the laws of associations'[9]. Apart from the decree, the authorities issued confidential instructions ordering the congregation, which was now registered as a union, to submit its documents to the Political Department of the Ministry of Public Administration and to the Ministry of Public Security to be ratified. Thus, the activities of the congregations were given a political character, and some documents were classified as 'secret' or 'confidential'.

At the convention of all congregations on August 9-10 1949 in Warsaw, the Religious Union of the Mosaic Faith was formed. The document created by the organisational committee of the Jewish Religious Congregation presented the aims and forms of the activities carried out by the union as a whole and the congregations comprising it[10]. Article 2 of the document stated: 'The Religious Union of the Mosaic Faith in the People's Republic of Poland comprises, in compliance with the law on unions, persons professing the Mosaic faith of both sexes dwelling in the People's Republic of Poland'. The union aimed at 'organising and cultivating religious life so that the religious needs of the followers of the Mosaic faith are met, and the principles of love and mercy for one's neighbour are proclaimed in compliance with the principle of the Mosaic faith'.

The document granted legal status to the Religious Union of the Mosaic Religion as a whole, but the congregations that made it up were not granted such status. Membership of the union was voluntary, just as it had been before.

The legal basis for the union's activity was the decree on associations (passed before World War II but later amended), the executive ordinance attached to the registration procedure, as well as the confidential order ordering that all documents of the registered congregation would be submitted to the Political Department of the Ministry of Public Administration and to the Ministry of Public Security for ratification[11].

---

8 WAP, Komitet Wojewódzki PZPR (Biuro Egzekutywy), 74/V/48, f. 10.

9 *Dziennik Ustaw Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej* 45 (1949) point 335.

10 W. Wysoczański, 'Statut ZRWM', in *Prawo wewnętrzne kościołów i wyznań nierzymskokatolickich w PRL* (Warsaw, 1971) 343.

11 Secret instructions of the Ministry of Public Administration of September 1 1949, No II PS/1374.

After 1949 religious life in Lower Silesian congregations did not greatly change; rather it went on uninterrupted. All the sacral buildings were open, religious festivals were held, members were supplied with kosher meat and the matzoth, the 'Talmud-Torah' school which was part of the congregation of Wrocław ran lessons, the needy received their benefits. Documents preserved by Wrocław's congregation enable us to reconstruct the subject-matter covered at the meetings of the board. In addition to strictly religious or financial matters, political issues were also discussed. For example, the approaching parliamentary or People's Town Council elections were discussed; as was the new Constitution, board members assessed the situation and rights of Jews in Poland and the issue of religious freedom.

In the reports of those meetings, members of the community expressed their approval of the new political system in Poland, emphasised that they had full civil rights, and expressed their complete loyalty towards the authorities. These were official reports complying with the principles then in force, but at the same time Jews were continuously emigrating, and the congregation boards and their employees changed frequently. Rabbis and ritual slaughterers emigrated, just as did ordinary members; the congregations had serious problems making up the staff or *minyan*. The phenomenon of Jewish emigration could be seen all over Lower Silesia. In 1950 in that region there were 20 congregations, and Wrocław employed the largest number of staff members (29), Wałbrzych was second (22 people) and Dzierżoniów had 20 employees; but the numbers were decreasing.

Until 1950 control over the congregations was exercised by the Ministry of Public Administration via the Bureau for Non-Christian Religions in its Religious Affairs Department. In Lower Silesia, because of its unique character, the Ministry of Regained Lands was established, and it had the powers of the Ministry of Public Administration. In the voivodship and county offices religious affairs departments were established. They dealt with all matters connected with religious unions' activities.

In 1950 the authorities established the Bureau for Religious Affairs with its branch attached to the People's Town Council and a separate department for religious affairs attached to the presidium of the People's Town Council.

An analysis of the correspondence preserved in the Wrocław community between the congregation and the Central Bureau for Religious Affairs in Warsaw as well as the Lower Silesian branches shows that in the period discussed (1945-68), the attitude of those offices to the religious needs of the Jews in Lower Silesia was positive. Within the limits of the system – detailed permission for purchasing or bringing from abroad all the items necessary for worship – the administrative authorities controlling the union tried to facilitate the law of religious freedom in relation to the Jews.

The trouble spot was the issue of the congregation's property, which still had not been settled. A temporary circular, issued on February 6 1945, returned the sacral property to the Jews – in the case of Lower Silesia this was also property left

by German Jews, but it was only handed over for management and usufruct. The congregations did not have legal status, which had its repercussions. It would so happen that local authorities were reluctant to make the sacral buildings left by the Germans available to the congregations, as they supported the efforts made by the Jewish secular committees, which enjoyed the full approval of the Political Department of the Ministry of Public Administration.

Soon after the Religious Union of the Mosaic Faith was established (August 1949), the director of the Bureau for Religious Affairs stated the Ministry's view on that issue and replied to the requests of the congregation in the following words: 'It must be emphasised that the Religious Union of the Mosaic Faith is not a legal successor of the Jewish Religious Communities and thus it does not have the right to claim the property left by those communities'. The lack of legal status, also in the light of the law governing associations, was a good reason for the Ministry to maintain the status quo in the matter of property. In the Ministry's opinion 'the Jewish Congregations in their present legal status are not corporations and thus they do not have legal status, which means that they have no right to represent mortgage ownership in their name, nor do they have the capacity to be a party in a civil case to pursue a property claim'.

The Lower Silesian congregations used the sacral buildings left by the Germans on the basis of the decree issued in March 1946 on abandoned property and property left by Germans. The administrative authorities exempted the functioning sacral buildings from payment of rent, while strictly religious activities (weddings, funerals, kosher meat production or the matzoth, etc.) were exempted from income tax.

Despite the favourable conditions for religious Jews in Lower Silesia, religious life was dying and congregations were disappearing. The main causes were emigration, assimilation and deaths of members. In 1970, as it appears from the letter sent by the Religious Union of the Mosaic Faith to all the congregations in Poland, in Lower Silesia there were congregations only in Wrocław, Świdnica, Legnica and Wałbrzych[12].

[12] Archiwum Gminy żydowskiej we Wrocławiu, non. fol. Letter of the Religious Union of the Mosaic Faith of September 9 1970 to all communities.

**Wojciech Jaworski**

# JEWISH RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES IN UPPER SILESIA 1945-1970

The authorities of the 'people's Republic of Poland rejected the pre-War structure and competence of the Jewish Religious Communities. Instead, on the strength of the circular issued by the Ministry of Public Administration (February 6 1945) on the temporary organisation of the Jewish religious affairs of Jewish people, Jewish Religious Unions were created. The circular granted the citizens of the Mosaic religion the right to worship freely and to religious education, and groups consisting of 10 members plus were allowed to establish Jewish religious unions, the membership of which ceased to be compulsory for the followers of Judaism after the War, when it became a voluntary religious union. In a given locality only one such union was allowed. The attitude of the authorities towards the Jewish religious structures after the war was criticised by the illegal Central Organisation of the Orthodox Jews 'Agudas Israel' in Poland, which intended to restore the pre-War legal status.

On May 17 1945 an unofficial superior structure was established – the all-Poland Representation of Jewish Religious Unions. The Upper-Silesian branch of Jewish Religious Unions based in Katowice, created on October 22 that year, played a secondary role. It was made up of 11 representatives of the union boards from the area of the voivodship of Silesia-Dąbrowa (województwo śląsko-dąbrowskie)[1]. The chairman of the representation was Josef Weinberg from Katowice, his deputy was Dr Mojżesz Neuman from Bytom, and the secretary was Josef Szumer from Zabrze. On November 21 1945 the representation and its voivodship structures were disbanded. The (Provisional) Supreme Religious Council of Jews in Poland was established in its place. In compliance with the

[1] The territorial range of Upper Silesia defined in the paper is in agreement with the area of the Voivodship of Silesia-Dąbrowa within the borders of 1945-59 as well as with the administrative district of Biała of the Voivodship of Cracow excluding the administrative districts of Częstochowa and Kłobuck. See *Dziennik Urzędowy Ministerstwa Administracji Publicznej* 1 (1945) point 21.

circular of February 6 1945, the council comprising three rabbis was an opinion-making organ for religious affairs, and it also was competent to place requests concerning worship to the state authorities. The members of the council were appointed by the Ministry of Public Administration. At the request of the Supreme Religious Council of April 30 1946 the Ministry of Public Administration resolved that the name of the Jewish Religious Unions would be changed to Jewish Religious Congregations (żydowskie kongregacje wyznaniowe). That decision was made on June 6 that year and announced only in a memorandum of June 21 1946. Henceforth, the state authorities desisted from publishing laws governing the religious life of the followers of Judaism. On September 15 1946 the Rabbi from Bytom, Icchak Eisig Liebes, was elected a member of the Supreme Religious Council. From 1946 to 1948 he was the deputy, and the Rabbi from Katowice, Szymon Gabel, became a member of the council at that time[2].

Late in November 1945 the unofficial Organisational Committee of Jewish Religious Unions was established. In January the following year the committee passed a resolution on the division of Poland into five religious districts, including the Upper-Silesian district headquartered in Katowice, and on February 2 it submitted a request to the Ministry of Public Administration for the legalisation of those districts. This was dismissed on February 5 1946. Even earlier – from March 13 1945 – the Jewish Religious Union in Katowice was superior in status to the unions in the Voivodship of Silesia-Dąbrowa, initially excluding the counties of Będzin, Zawiercie and the municipal county of Sosnowiec. Despite the ministry's refusal, the work of the local representations with the 'voivodship union' was continued, and it was an intermediary between the organisational committee and the local unions, which was of particular importance for the distribution of aid from the American Joint Distribution Committee. In the face of decreasing numbers in the Jewish religious congregations, the organisational committee divided the territory of the state into four 'voivodship congregations', including the congregation headquartered in Katowice on November 13 1947. In the years 1946-48 the head of the Katowice structure was Josef Weinberg. In May 1949 the Organisational Committee of the Jewish Religious Congregations included Boruch Sobol (from 1947) from Bytom and Henryk Szenberg from Sosnowiec[3].

Together with the post-War resettlement of adherents of the Mosaic religion in Upper Silesia the Jewish religious unions were being established and they subsequently were legalised by the appropriate organs of the upper levels of the state administrative authorities. The first of them was the union in Katowice, which was probably established at the turn of February and March 1945. The next unions

---

2 AAN, MAP, 516y, 794, 1098, 1099, 1100; AAN, Polska Partia Robotnicza – Komitet Centralny, 295/VII/149; APK, Starostwo Powiatowe w Będzinie, 75; APK, UWŚ (Wydział Społeczno-Polityczny), 336, 337, 568.

3 AAN, Biuro Komisarza Rządu do spraw Produktywizacji Ludności Żydowskiej w Polsce, 9, 24; AAN, MAP, 516y, 794, 931, 1100, 1101; APK, UWŚ (Wydział Społeczno-Polityczny) 356; *Biuletyn Żydowskiej Agencji Prasowej* 9 (1946).

were created in 1945 in the following towns: in Gliwice on May 17; in Sosnowiec on June 11; in Będzin on June 30; in Bielsko and Bytom in July; in Zabrze in August; in Mysłowice in September; in Zawiercie on November 4; in Cieszyn in November and in Dąbrowa Górnicza on December 27. Probably, the Jewish Religious Union in Chorzów was established in the middle of the year[4].

The region discussed comprised three fundamental parts, which had been different in their administrative affiliation and citizenship before World War II: 1) the former Voivodship of Silesia that belonged to inter-War Poland but gained very wide autonomy; 2) the counties of Będzin, Zawiercie and the county of Sosnowiec from the former Voivodship of Kielce that belonged to the Second Republic of Poland; 3) Opole District, which had belonged to Germany. The existing socio-economic and historical differences did not affect the establishing of the Jewish religious unions. They would be organised in those towns and cities which had had large Jewish communities during the inter-War period. Predominantly the range of the unions' activities encompassed city-dwelling followers of Judaism and sometimes county-dwellers (Będzin, Bytom, Cieszyn, Gliwice and Zawiercie). The Jewish Religious Union in Bielsko also brought together adherents of the Mosaic religion from the county of Biała, which belonged to the pre-War voivodship of Cracow. This came about because of the uniting of the towns of Bielsko and Biała which commenced in the mid-nineteenth century and because of the small number of Jews who resettled in the latter town. The Katowice community, which in the years 1945-49 was senior to the Upper-Silesian unions (congregations), encompassed, apart from the city, the counties of Pszczyna and Rybnik together with the western part of the Katowice county. The Jewish Religious Union in Mysłowice, with the exception of the city and the eastern part of the Katowice county, practically embraced all the followers of Judaism dwelling in the southern quarter of Sosnowiec; likewise Modrzejów where an independent Jewish community had existed before the War. This was because of the short distance between Mysłowice and Modrzejów. In the second part of 1946 and at the beginning of 1947, Otto Landsberger tried to reactivate the religious union in Skoczów. Finally, the followers of Judaism from that town joined the Bielsko congregation[5]. The resettlement of Jewish people in the central and western part of the former Opole District was not siginificant. The Jewish Religious Union in Opole was established as late as March 27 1946.

The state authorities intended to advance the processes of assimilation and secularisation of the Jewish people, a large part of whom were to actively partici-

[4] AGWŻ, Akta Żydowskiego Zrzeszenia Religijnego w Bielsku; AAN, MAP, 794, 1103; APK, Starostwo Powiatowe w Będzinie, 24, 75; APK, Starostwo Powiatowe Katowickie, 247, 249; APK, UWŚ (Wydział Ogólny), 85, 92, 96, 111, 117, 119; APK, UWŚ (Wydział Społeczno-Polityczny), 340, 365; APC, Starostwo Powiatowe Cieszyńskie, 470.

[5] APK, UWŚ (Wydział Społeczno-Polityczny), 340; Archiwum Państwowe w Opolu, Zarząd Miejski w Opolu, 119; AAN, MAP, 1096.

pate in the development of socialism in Poland. It seemed to be easiest to achieve it in the lands annexed to Poland and those which had belonged to Germany before the War. On March 15 1946 the Ministry of Public Administration recommended that the subordinate organs not legalise the Jewish religious unions in the 'regained lands'[6]. Only the Jewish committees – which by that time were strictly controlled by the state authorities – were allowed to operate. It was feared that the religious unions could possibly become centres of resistance to communist plans. However, the ministry's decision did not affect the network of the Upper-Silesian Jewish communities which came into being after 1945. As far as the religious union in Opole is concerned, the memorandum of the Ministry of Public Administration might not have arrived on time due to the double dependence of the administrative organs of the 'Western and Northern Lands' on the Ministry of Public Administration and the Ministry of the Regained Lands.

In June 1946 the number of Jews in Upper Silesia reached its highest post-World War II level. At that time the population numbered 25,587 people. Later, there was an abrupt decrease due to heightening anti-Semitism and the consequences of the pogrom in Kielce, as well as internal migration, increasing emigration to Palestine and subsequently to the State of Israel. In June 1949 6,348 Jews lived in the area discussed above[7].

The lack of reliable sources makes it impossible to determine the number of people adhering to the Mosaic religion in Upper Silesia and in the majority of Jewish communities over the span of 1945-49. On March 1 1948 the religious congregation in Cieszyn comprised 121 people (62,6% of the total number of Jews dwelling within its range), in Gliwice there were 670 people (63,0%), in Zabrze – 180 (46,9%). Fragmentary data confirms the assumption that a considerable number of the Jewish people were indifferent in respect of religion. It did not only concern the communists, but also the socialists and a part of the Zionists. Among the members of the Jewish communities it was the orthodox Jews who constituted the most active group[8].

The departure of Jews from Upper Silesia resulted in a paucity of religious activity and work in the religious communities. Probably, in the second half of 1946, the Religious Jewish Congregation in Dąbrowa Górnicza ceased to exist; on March 1 1948 the same occurred in Zawiercie and in April 1948 in Mysłowice[9].

Early in 1948 the state authorities demonstrated their totally ill-disposed attitude towards the Jewish religious congregations. On March 19 the Ministry of

---

6 AAN, MAP, 794.

7 Archiwum ŻIH, Centralny Komitet Żydów w Polsce (Wydział Ewidencji i Statystyki), 66, 569, 1000.

8 AAN, MAP, 1102; APK, UWŚ (Wydział Społeczno-Polityczny), 340; Archiwum ŻIH, Centralny Komitet Żydów w Polsce (Wydział Ewidencji i Statystyki), 78.

9 AAN, Biuro Komisarza Rządu do spraw Produktywizacji Ludności Żydowskiej w Polsce, 9; AAN, MAO, 931, 1101, 1102; APK, UWŚ (Wydział Ogólny), 134; APK, UW (Wydział Społeczno-Polityczny), 43, 47, 340.

Public Administration ordered the voivodship councils to carry out an inspection of religious communities by May 1 1948 on the pretext of an inquiry into cases of financial misdoings. In addition, it was demanded that the political affiliations of members of the boards should be ascertained as well as their possible political activity. On April 27 1948 the Ministry of Regained Lands submitted an identical memorandum to the voivodship councils which encompassed the 'western and northern lands', and the inspections were to be completed by June 15 that year. Finally, the inspection of the Upper-Silesian congregations was carried out from May to July 1948[10].

In compliance with the circular issued by the Ministry of Public Administration in 1945, the Jewish religious unions were headed by boards comprising five members in communities numbering up to 100 faithful and 11 members in larger units. A board included a rabbi, who would become a member without being elected because of the function he performed. Electoral law was not regulated by the state[11].

As a consequence of the elections, boards were constituted, the panel of which was approved by the state administration. It occasionally happened that a rabbi was appointed as an additional member (Będzin in 1945 and Bielsko in 1948). However, incessant migration and emigration meant that the number of members of the Jewish communities' boards together with their personal make-up changed constantly. On March 5 1945 Natan Liberman was appointed the chairman of the board of the Jewish Religious Union in Katowice, but soon he was succeeded by Josef Weinberg, who possibly became the head of the 'voivodship union' in December 1945. At that time Dr M. Geller was elected the new chairman of the Katowice board. In the spring of 1948 Szolowicz was to become the next leader of the religious congregation[12].

The first chairman of the Jewish Religious Union in Będzin was probably Mojżesz Beniamin Klajman. Early in 1946 he was succeeded by Izrael Parasol, who simultaneously performed the function of a rabbi. On March 31 that year Jehuda Stopnicki was elected the new chairman. From June 1948 to November 1949 the Będzin congregation was presided over by the cantor Juda Lajb Rodał. In 1945-46 in Bielsko there was a prolonged dispute in the congregation as to who should be elected the chairman of the community. Therefore, on November 13 1946, the Ministry of Public Administration appointed a managing commissioner, Dr Ludwik Eberson, a lawyer. It was only on April 21 1947 that Artur Markowicz was elected chairman, succeeded by Ryszard Elsass in November 1949. From June 1947 the Jewish Religious Union in Bytom was presided over by Mojżesz Neuman. He was

[10] APK, Starostwo Powiatowe w Będzinie, 77; APK, UWŚ (Wydział Społeczno-Polityczny), 340.

[11] *Dziennik Urzędowy Ministerstwa Administracji Publicznej* 1 (1945) point 21.

[12] AAN, MAP, 794, 1102; APK, Starostwo Powiatowe w Będzinie, 24; APK, UWŚ (Wydział Społeczno-Polityczny), 339, 340, 365; Archiwum ŻIH, Centralny Komitet Żydów w Polsce (Wydział Ewidencji i Statystyki), 989.

succeeded by Friedman (until November 1947) and then by Seidman (until March 1948). Probably the conflict among the members of the community resulted in the appointment of a provisional board in the spring of 1948, which consisted of Elstein, Kleiman and Samuel Zwirn[13].

In February 1946 the chairman of the Jewish Religious Union in Chorzów was Szlama Holender. It is possible that from November 1945 until 1949 the Jewish community in Cieszyn was presided over by the industrialist Ludwik Apfel. The chairman of the provisional board in Dąbrowa Górnicza was Josef Zylberszac from December 27 1945, and on March 10 1946 he was succeeded by Gitman Szpigielman. Until 1949 the religious congregation in Gliwice was presided over by Zygmunt Freifeld, elected on June 24 1945. Because of the conflicts that would occur among the faithful, he was willing to resign from the office on June 10 1948[14].

On March 27 1946 Lajb Schaffir was elected chairman of the Jewish Religious Union in Opole; however, he left for the USA in July 1948. As a result of the elections of August 4 1948 the new chairman was Luzer (Lejzor) Folk. In the years 1948-49 the board of the religious congregation in Sosnowiec was presided over by the clerk Lajb Bajtner. The chairmen of the board of the Zabrze Jewish community were the following: Jakub Weiselberg in February 1946; Jakub Bochner in May 1948 and Samuel Singer in November 1949. In 1945 Eliasz Zerykier was elected the first leader of the Jewish Religious Union in Zawiercie[15].

As adherents of the Mosaic religion were resettling in Upper Silesia, and Jewish communities were founded, so too would rabbis arrive. To take over posts, they had to be elected at a meeting of the community members, approved of by the Ministry of Public Administration, and from November 1945 they needed to obtain a positive opinion of the Supreme Religious Board of Polish Jews. One of the first rabbis in Upper Silesia was Abram Issachar Englard (born in 1909 in Strzemieszyce, the county of Będzin), elected on June 19 1945 by the members of the Jewish Religious Union in Sosnowiec. He was son of the rabbi Szyja Englard, who held office in the Jewish Religious Community in Modrzejów in 1911-1939. Probably in July 1945, Israel Leitner was elected rabbi in Gliwice, but left the town in the spring the following year. At that time he was succeeded by Markus Halberstamm (born in 1902 in Nowy Sącz), who was a rabbi in Ostrów Lubelski in

[13] AAN, MSP, 794, 1096,1102; APK, Prezydium Wojewódzkiej Rady Narodowej w Katowicach – Urząd Spraw Wewnętrznych, Odcinek I, 270/I; APK, Starostwo Powiatowe w Będzinie, 24, 75; APK, UWŚ (Wydział Społeczno-Polityczny), 340; Archiwum ŻIH, Centralny Komitet Żydów w Polsce (Wydział Ewidencji i Statystyki), 989.

[14] AAN, MAP, 1102; APK, Starostwo Powiatowe w Będzinie, 75; APK, UWŚ (Wydział Społeczno-Polityczny), 340; APC, Starostwo Powiatowe Cieszyńskie, 478; Archiwum ŻIH, Centralny Komitet Żydów w Polsce (Wydział Ewidencji i Statystyki), 989.

[15] AAN, MAP, 794, 1102; APK, UWŚ (Wydział Ogólny), 117; APK, UWŚ (Wydział Społeczno-Polityczny), 340; Archiwum Państwowe w Opolu, Zarząd Miejski w Opolu, 119; Archiwum ŻIH, Centralny Komitet Żydów w Polsce (Wydział Ewidencji i Statystyki), 989.

the years 1936-39. He also soon left Gliwice and on December 2 1946 Kiwa (Herman) Gross was elected the next religious leader; on March 21 1950 he emigrated together with his family to Israel[16].

Icchak Eisig Liebes (born in 1910) was elected rabbi in Bytom. In the years 1934-39 he was the rabbi in Lwów, and from January until August 1945 he provisionally performed the duties of rabbi in that town. In the second half of 1948 Liebes left Bytom. At the end of 1945 Izaak Parasol was elected rabbi of the Jewish Religious Union in Będzin, and he held that office until the turn of 1946-47. Later his religious duties were taken over by the cantor Juda Lajb Rodał; on December 15 1949 he left with his family for Israel. In 1945 there was a vacancy for a rabbi in the Bielsko union. The following year this function was performed by Izaak Stern, and as late as April 2 1947 Juda Brumer was elected rabbi (born 1910 in Sanok); he left the town at the beginning of 1949. At that time Mordechaj (Markus) Lieser became the new slaughterer and performed the role of rabbi. On January 9 he emigrated to Israel with his family[17].

On January 3 1946 Szymon Gabel was elected rabbi in Katowice (born in 1908 in Cieszanów, county of Lubaczów in Galicia). In 1948 Sztyglic was rabbi in Chorzów; in Zabrze the religious duties were performed by the cantor Chuna Schächter in the years 1948-49 and in Opole by Lajb Schaffir from March 1946 until July 1948[18].

The majority of the rabbis and persons performing religious duties in Upper Silesia were people who had spent World War II in the Soviet Union. Small religious communities (Dąbrowa Górnicza, Cieszyn, Mysłowice and Zawiercie) did not employ religious clerks for financial reasons. Those functions were performed gratis by people who had a good knowledge of the principles of Judaism. As the emigration to Palestine – and later to the state of Israel – increased, the rabbis and cantors would leave the region. However, during their sojourn in Upper Silesia they made efforts to co-operate for the improvement of the legal status of Jewish communities. On March 10-12 1947 a conference of rabbis devoted to that matter was held in Katowice, during which the draft bill on the organisation of religious life of Jews in Poland was discussed. Part of them actively participated in political life. Szymon Gabel was one of the leaders of the 'Agudas Israel' in post-war Po-

---

[16] AAN, Biuro Komisarza Rządu do spraw Produktywizacji Ludności Żydowskiej w Polsce, 24; AAN, MAP, 931, 1103; APK, UWŚ (Wydział Ogólny), 111; APK, UWŚ (Wydział Społeczno-Polityczny), 340; APK, Oddział w Gliwicach, Dyrekcja Ceł w Gliwicach, 191; Archiwum ŻIH, Centralny Komitet Żydów w Polsce (Wydział Ewidencji i Statystyki), 989; *Biuletyn Żydowskiej Agencji Prasowej* 16 (1946).

[17] AAN, MAP, 794, 931, 1098, 1102, 1103; APK, Starostwo Powiatowe w Będzinie, 24, 75; APK, UWŚ (Wydział Społeczno-Polityczny), 337, 338, 340; APK, Oddział w Gliwicach, Dyrekcja Ceł w Gliwicach, 191; Archiwum ŻIH, Centralny Komitet Żydów w Polsce (Wydział Ewidencji i Statystyki), 989.

[18] AAN, MAP, 794, 931, 1103; APK, UWŚ (Wydział Społeczno-Polityczny), 340; Archiwum Państwowe w Opolu, Zarząd Miejski w Opolu, 119.

land, and Icchak Eisig Liebes presided over the Organisation of Zionist-Orthodox Jews 'Histadrut Mizrachi'.

Apart from performing religious duties, rabbis participated in public events. On August 3 1947 in Środula (a district of Sosnowiec) Abram Issachar Englard took part in the celebration of the fourth anniversary of the liquidation of the ghettos in Będzin and Sosnowiec. On April 16, during the unveiling of the martyrdom monument in KL Auschwitz, Szymon Gabel celebrated a service[19].

After World War II the Upper-Silesian Jews were not very religiously active. This was attributable to the poor financial condition of the religious communities, the lack of synagogues and houses of prayer, as well as by anti-Semitism in Polish society. In May 1948, in the house of prayer in Gliwice prayers were said for the newly-created State of Israel[20]. The Jewish communities tried to enable the faithful to live in compliance with the principles of Judaism, and they also performed charitable and educational functions.

To provide the faithful with kosher meat, religious communities employed ritual slaughterers. Although in the years 1947-48 there was a formal ban on ritual slaughtering, it was carried out in Bielsko, Chorzów, Gliwice and Sosnowiec. The meat produced met the needs mainly of members of individual communities, but the Sosnowiec abattoir also provided for the followers of Judaism in nearby Będzin. Because of the shortage of kosher meat, in July 1947 it was planned at the suggestion of the Central Jewish Committee in Poland that a butchering co-operative would be established in Bytom to provide for the faithful in a considerable part of the region. In November that year the co-operative named 'Unity' (Jedność) was operational. It existed until the end of 1949[21].

To enable the lonely and the poor to have kosher meals, the Upper-Silesian Jewish communities maintained ritual kitchens. They were attached to the major religious communities: in Będzin, Bielsko (established in September 1945), Bytom, Gliwice, Katowice, Opole (April 15 1946), Sosnowiec and Zawiercie.

All the Jewish communities in Upper Silesia ran their own charities, mainly supplying the poor with food, clothing and subsistence allowances. Material means were provided by the American Joint Distribution Committee. In 1947-48 there were kindergartens attached to the religious communities in Bytom, Gliwice, Katowice and Opole, where children were taught the principles of the Mosaic religion. In September 1945, at the suggestion of the Representation of the Jewish Re-

---

19 AAN, MAP, 1100, AAN, Polska Partia Robotnicza – Komitet Centralny, 295/VII/149; APK, UWŚ (Wydział Ogólny), 117; APK, UWŚ (Wydział Społeczno-Polityczny), 337; *Biuletyn Żydowskiej Agencji Prasowej* 78 (1947), 37 (1948).

20 AAN, MAP, 136, APK, UWŚ (Wydział Ogólny), 50/1; APK, UWŚ (Wydział Społeczno-Polityczny), 48, 340.

21 AAN, Bank Spółdzielczy dla Produktywizacji Żydów w Polsce, 26, 33; AAN, Biuro Komisarza Rządu do spraw Produktywizacji Ludności Żydowskiej w Polsce, 9; APK, UWŚ (Wydział Społeczno-Polityczny), 340; Archiwum ŻIH, Centralny Komitet Żydów w Polsce (Wydział Ewidencji i Statystyki), 76, 78.

ligious Unions, an orphanage and old people's home were opened in Zabrze. In November that year the custody of the institution was taken over by the Organisational Committee of the Jewish Religious Unions. The welfare institution was active until 1949. In the case of a death, poor members of the religious communities were granted assistance by the funeral associations Chevra Kadisha, which existed in Będzin and Bielsko[22].

Apart from charity work, the Upper-Silesian Jewish communities maintained religious schools. In the years 1947-49 the Talmud-Torah' *heder* could be found in Bielsko (16 children attended that establishment in 1947), in Bytom (20), Gliwice (22), Katowice (22), Opole (12), Sosnowiec (10) and Zabrze (10). In November 1947 the Jewish Religious Congregation in Katowice demanded that the religious schools be expanded to become public schools in which there would be more lessons on the principles of Judaism. Apart from elementary courses, some religious communities maintained religious high schools. In 1947 in Bytom there was the *yeshiva* and *vaad hazala*, and in 1946 in Gliwice there was the School of Judaic Studies, the manager of which was Dr Julian Holcman. In order to avoid conflict, the state education authorities did not supervise the work of Jewish religious schools, as the communist authorities in the first years made efforts to present Poland in the international arena as a country where freedom of conscience and religion prevailed. Jewish communities were also involved in the vocational and ideological training of youth, who were being prepared for the departure to Palestine. On June 8 1946 the Jewish Religious Congregation in Opole established the Centre of Productivity of Jewish Youth (kibbutz). In October and November 1946 the kibbutzim were attached to the community in Sosnowiec and were training 22 and 24 youths respectively. The productivity centre in Katowice was managed by Samuel Rubin, and in Sosnowiec by Anielewicz. After a short training course, the majority of students would leave the kibbutzim, move to Lower Silesia or emigrate to Palestine[23].

In the years 1938-39 the Nazis destroyed the majority of the Upper-Silesian synagogues and houses of prayer. Among the religious communities in the region it was only in Zawiercie that the surviving synagogue was being used. Synagogues also survived in Mikołów, Pszczyna and Strzelce Opolskie, although in the latter two towns the Nazis reconstructed and adopted them for other needs. Given these circumstances, the Jews organised their houses of prayer mainly in the buildings owned by the former religious community boards. Until 1948 the followers of Judaism in Cieszyn used the synagogue located in the Czechoslovakian part of the town. To equip the houses of prayer, efforts were made to regain the objects of

---

[22] AAN, MAP, 931, 1102; AGWŻ, Akta Żydowskiego Zrzeszenia Religijnego w Bielsku, APK, UWŚ (Wydział Społeczno-Polityczny), 340; Archiwum Państwowe w Opolu, Zarząd Miejski w Opolu, 119, 231.

[23] AAN, Biuro Komisarza Rządu do spraw Produktywizacji Ludności Żydowskiej w Polsce, 9; AAN, MAP, 794, 931, 938, 1101; APK, UWŚ (Wydział Społeczno-Polityczny), 340; Archiwum Państwowe w Opolu, Zarząd Miejski w Opolu, 119.

religious worship. On September 5 1945 the Jewish committee in Bielsko submitted a request to the state authorities to hand over the equipment of the private house of prayer in Drogomyśl (the administrative county of Bielsko) to the local religious union. In January 1947 the Voivodship Jewish Committee in Katowice received the synagogue objects from the Civic Militia Station in Rybnik[24].

On the basis of the circular issued by the Ministry of Administration in 1945, the county authorities (starosts) were obliged to give to the Jewish religious unions for usufruct all the real estate serving worship purposes, which were the property of former Jewish religious communities and religious associations. If such objects had not survived, other real estate owned by the communities and associations had to be handed over. To prevent possible refusals to bury Jewish unbelievers at the cemeteries belonging to the former religious communities, a mutual management of those cemeteries executed by the local religious communities and committees was established.

The fate of the real estate which was the property of the former religious communities was determined by the decree of March 2 1945 governing abandoned property, and became law on May 6 of that year. It became the property of the state treasury, while the formal acquisition by acquisitive prescription was to occur in the following 20 years. The decree amended the provisions of the law of March 8 governing property abandoned and left by Germans and reduced the time of taking possession of the property by the state to 10 years[25].

On April 7 1945 the 'management of the former Jewish religious communities' property' was formed in Bielsko, Chorzów, Cieszyn, Katowice, Mysłowice and Skoczów, to be the provisional custodian of the estate. It comprised Dr Stanisław Henner, Natan Liberman and Dr Emil Tadamer. The functions of the board were soon taken over by the local religious unions, which were to be established soon after. On December 19 1945 the Jewish Religious Union in Będzin demanded that the authorities return local property which had belonged to the former religious community. The Jewish Religious Congregation in Sosnowiec, because of its difficult financial and housing situation, passed a resolution on the taking over of all the property which had been owned by the Jewish associations and religious communities before the War. However, that decision was negated by the state administration. Nevertheless, the efforts of the Jewish communities point

---

[24] AAN, Biuro Komisarza Rządu do spraw Produktywizacji Ludności Żydowskiej w Polsce, 9; AAN, MAP, 931, 938; APK, Kuratorium Okręgu Szkolnego Śląskiego w Katowicach, 103; APK, UWŚ (Wydział Społeczno-Polityczny), 340; Archiwum Państwowe w Opolu, Zarząd Miejski w Opolu, 119; Archiwum ŻIH, Centralny Komitet Żydów w Polsce (Wydział Ewidencji i Statystyki), 989.

[25] AAN, MAP, 794, 931, 1102; AGWŻ, Akta Żydowskiego Zrzeszenia Religijnego w Bielsku; APK, UWŚ (Wydział Ogólny), 117; APK, UWŚ (Wydział Społeczno-Polityczny), 32, 340, 365; Archiwum Państwowe w Opolu, Zarząd Miejski w Opolu, 119; Archiwum ŻIH, Centralny Komitet Żydów w Polsce (Wydział Ewidencji i Statystyki), 72.

to the fact that their boards were unaware of the legal status of the pre-War owners' property[26].

The complex of buildings owned by the former Jewish Religious Community in Żarki, comprising the synagogue, ritual abattoir and ritual baths, was demolished by the Nazis during World War II and by the local people after the War. The Religious Jewish Congregation in Zawiercie, which also encompassed Żarki, did not raise any claims on the property. By the decree of the Ministry of Public Administration of October 8 1947, the buildings were handed over to the Ministry of Education to be the premises of the State Comprehensive School and Co-Educational Grammar School in Żarki. Also, the houses of prayer in Koziegłowy and Mrzygłód, belonging to the Zawiercie religious community, survived the War, as well as the house of prayer in Myszków owned by the community in Żarki. The house of prayer in Koziegłowy, contrary to the opinion of the Supreme Religious Council of Jews in Poland, on the strength of the decree issued by the Ministry of Public Administration on October 2 1947 was delivered to the local board of the administrative community[27].

Owing to the lack of appropriate accommodation for a house of prayer, on November 2 1945 the Jewish Religious Association in Katowice moved to the office of Voivodship of Silesia-Dąbrowa claiming the former Jewish Community House, which until World War II was the premises of religious institutions and numerous Jewish associations. After the liberation, it was taken over by the Soviet Army as the residence of the town's commander, and in the summer of 1945 the building, by decree of Marshall Konstanty Rokossowski, was to be handed over to the editor's office of the *Trybuna Robotnicza* – the voivodship press organ of the Polish Workers' Party (PPR). As there was no reaction from the authorities, on January 26 1946 the association appealed to the Ministry of Public Administration. To end the conflict, the ministry intended that the paper put forward a request to the voivodship council for the conveyance of the building. In February 1947 the Voivodship Jewish Committee in Katowice intervened on behalf of the local religious congregation, while the municipal authorities intended that the building would be given for usufruct to the *Trybuna Robotnicza*. This was supported by the voivodship council on September 30. Finally, on February 21 1948 an agreement was signed between the Jewish Religious Congregation in Katowice and the paper concerning the lease of the building for the period of 10 years[28].

---

[26] *Dziennik Urzędowy Ministerstwa Administracji Publicznej* 1 (1945) point 21; *Dziennik Ustaw Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej* 9 (1945) point 45, 17 (1945) point 97, 13 (1946) point 87.

[27] APK, Prezydium Wojewódzkiej Rady Narodowej w Katowicach – Urząd Spraw Wewnętrznych, Odcinek I, 503/I; APK, Starostwo Powiatowe w Będzinie, 67; APK, UWŚ (Wydział Ogólny), 119; APK, UWŚ (Wydział Społeczno-Polityczny), 365.

[28] AAN, MAP, 1095, 1096; APK, Kuratorium Okręgu Szkolnego Śląskiego w Katowicach, 68; APK, UW (Wydział Społeczno-Polityczny), 339, 365.

The *mikva* (ritual baths) played an important role in the lives of the orthodox followers of Judaism. The majority of them were destroyed or rebuilt by the Nazis during the occupation, as very often they were adjacent to synagogues. In the years 1945-49 ritual baths were opened only in Będzin, Bytom, Gliwice and Zabrze. At that time the Jews from Sosnowiec used the baths in neighbouring Będzin for a fee. For the lack of *mikva* and due to actual demand, it was planned that new baths in Katowice would be built in the years 1947-8. It was also intended that major repairs of the baths in Gliwice would be carried out. The Organisational Committee of the Jewish Religious Congregations undertook to partly cover the expenses of the project[29].

The lack of the *mikva* as well as housing difficulties in Bielsko caused the local religious congregation to repossess the buildings belonging to the former religious communities in Biała and Bielsko. On December 17 1947 the Ministry of Public Administration agreed to hand over for usufruct the buildings of the former house of prayer and *mikva*, and later the religious school 'Marbize Torah' in Biała. However, on February 8 1949 the former school was delivered to the municipal council by the ministry. Later, the other buildings were also handed over to the town. On April 21 1947 the same efforts were made by the Bielsko congregation to regain the Jewish People's House in Bielsko, which formerly housed the ritual baths. On April 20 1949 the voivodship council approved the handover of the building, but at that time it was occupied by the Central Commercial Office of the Papermaking Industry[30].

Jewish cemeteries in Upper Silesia, together with the adjacent funeral parlours were destroyed only in part during the Nazi occupation. In the years 1945-49 there were the following cemeteries in Będzin (2), Biała, Bielsko, Bieruń Stary (county of Pszczyna), Bytom, Chorzów, Cieszowa (county of Lubliniec), Cieszyn (2), Czeladź, Dąbrowa Górnicza, Dziedzice (county of Bielsko), Gliwice (2), Głubczyce, Katowice, Kluczbork, Koźle, Kromołów (county of Zawiercie), Mikołów, Mysłowice, Opole, Pszczyna, Prudnik, Pyskowice (county of Gliwice), Racibórz, Siewierz (county of Zawiercie), Sosnowiec (3), Toszek (county of Gliwice), Wielowieś (county of Gliwice), Zabrze, Zawiercie, Żarki and Żory (county of Rybnik)[31]. As a result of the lack of Jewish settlement and the lack of religious communities in the majority of those localities, the objects were not used and they were confiscated. This led to their gradual devastation by the local people.

---

[29] AAN, MAP, 1096; APK, UWŚ (Wydział Społeczno-Polityczny), 339; Archiwum ŻIH, Centralny Komitet Żydów w Polsce (Wydział Ewidencji i Statystyki), 72.

[30] AAN, MAP, 794, 931, 1095, 1096, 1101, 1102; APK, Prezydium Wojewódzkiej Rady Narodowej w Katowicach – Urząd Spraw Wewnętrznych, Odcinek I, 270/I; APK, UWŚ (Wydział Ogólny), 117; APK, UWŚ (Wydział Społeczno-Polityczny), 340, 365.

[31] AAN, MAP, 794, 931; APK, UWŚ (Wydział Ogólny), 85, 117; APK, UWŚ (Wydział Społeczno-Polityczny), 339, 340, 365; Archiwum Państwowe w Opolu, Zarząd Miejski w Opolu, 119.

After the War, the state authorities and municipal government fought any evidence of the German culture and language in Upper Silesia, and this affected the Jewish cemeteries. From as early as September 28 1945 the county administration in Bielsko ordered the local Jewish committee to remove German inscriptions from the cemeteries in Bielsko and Dziedzice by October 10 of that year. As by November 6 1945 nothing had been done, the municipal authorities threatened that if the deadline of December 31 was not met, it would have to be done at the expense of the Jewish committee in Bielsko. On December 28 1945 the Supreme Religious Council of Jews in Poland requested the Ministry of Public Administration to annul both decrees, which resulted in a stay of execution. On February 22 1948 the municipal authorities of Żory requested the Jewish religious congregation in Katowice to remove German inscriptions from the tombstones at the local cemetery. In the reply of February 25 of that year, the Supreme Religious Council forbade violation of the burial places. On March 10 1948 the Voivodship council of Silesia-Dąbrowa requested the Voivodship Jewish Committee to tidy the cemeteries in Cieszyn, Głubczyce, Kluczbork, Koźle, Prudnik and Racibórz, and to remove German inscriptions[32].

From 1943 one of the Jewish cemeteries in Sielecka St., Będzin was used by the Limestone Company and the 'Eltes' Quarry. Profanation of the tombstones of people buried in 1916-43 did not cease even after the occupation. After the intervention of the Jewish community on March 23 1945 the county administration forbade the demolition of the cemetery, which was put into force by the voivodship council on August 2. The company appealed against that decision to the Ministry of Public Security and to the Central Committee of Jews in Poland. The latter institution decided that the stone deposits laying under the cemetery could be exploited and the lime could be burnt after the removal of the bodies and tombstones to another cemetery. This kind of production, which entailed the destruction of the tombstones, was supported by the Będzin division of the Trade Union of Building Industry Workers in December 1945. The exploitation of limestone was probably not discontinued until July 1946 despite the ban confirmed by the Ministry of Public Administration in May that year and issued after the intervention of the Supreme Religious Council of Polish Jews and the Representation of Jewish Religious Unions[33].

On August 9 and 10 an all-Poland conference of delegates of the Jewish Religious Congregations was held in Warsaw. During the sessions the Supreme Religious Council of Polish Jews and the Organisational Committee of the Jewish Religious Congregations were disbanded, as the first of the institutions was inactive due to the emigration of the rabbis. Instead, the Religious Union of the Mosaic Faith in the Republic of Poland (Związek Religijny Wyznania Mojżeszowego

[32] AGWŻ, Akta Żydowskiego Zrzeszenia Religijnego w Bielsku; AAN, MAP, 1098, 1102; APK, UWŚ (Wydział Społeczno-Polityczny), 339, 340, 366.

[33] AAN, MAP, 1098; APK, Starostwo Powiatowe w Będzinie, 73, 75.

w Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej) was established. The union was granted the legal status of an association. Its statute was confirmed on November 16 1949 by the Ministry of Public Administration. Due to the fact that the framework for Jewish religious congregations had already existed in post-War Poland, and owing to the on-going process of centralisation of socio-political life, a two-tiered division was introduced. The basis of the religious life of the followers of Judaism was a local Jewish religious congregation, and a voivodship congregation was the supreme structure. Their boards comprised three to nine members and more than three members respectively. They were elected to a three-year term. The Voivodship Jewish Religious Congregation in Katowice embraced the whole region.

The change in the socio-political situation and the rapid decrease in the number of the followers of Judaism in Poland resulted in the change of legal status of their religious structures, which was brought about by the authorities on June 19 1961. The name of the central organisation was changed to the Religious Union of the Mosaic Faith in the People's Republic of Poland (Związek Religijny Wyznania Mojżeszowego w Polskiej Rzeczypospolitej Ludowej), and instead of the two-tiered structure only local congregations of the Mosaic religion were established, and they had to have at least 25 members. They were managed by boards of three to five members elected to a two-year term[34].

In November 1949 there were 6,300 Jews living in Upper Silesia. As a result of consent being given by the state authorities, 2,100 people left for Israel between December 15 1949 and December 11[35]. Manifestations of anti-Semitism in the party and state authorities of the 'People's Poland resulted in two subsequent waves of emigration of Jewish people. In the years of 1957-59 it is presumed that 1,500 Jews left Upper Silesia and around 800 people departed in 1968-69. As deaths continually outnumbered births, which was attributable to the age structure, the early 1950s onwards saw a rapid decrease in the Jewish population.

Due to emigration and migration from smaller localities to large cities, the Jewish congregations in Będzin, Chorzów, Opole and Zabrze were liquidated in the years 1950-51, and the Sosnowiec structure ceased to exist in 1969. As the majority of religious Jews had left Poland by 1950, the Jews indifferent to the religion prevailed among those who stayed. The lack of sources makes it impossible to determine the total number of Upper-Silesian followers of the Mosaic religion. In the years 1961-66 the congregations of the Mosaic Religion in Bielsko-Biała numbered from 96 to

[34] AGWŻ, Akta Żydowskiej Kongregacji Wyznaniowej w Bielsku-Białej; AGWŻ, Akta Kongregacji Wyznania Mojżeszowego w Bielsku-Białej; AAN, MAP, 794, 1098, 1101, 1105;APK, UWŚ (Wydział Społeczno-Polityczny), 582; APBB, Zarząd Miejski i Miejska Rada Narodowa w Bielsku, 55; *Statut Związku Religijnego Wyznania Mojżeszowego w Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej* (1949); *Statut Związku Religijnego Wyznania Mojżeszowego w Polskiej Rzeczypospolitej Ludowej* (1961).

[35] APK, Oddział w Gliwicach, Dyrekcja Ceł w Gliwicach, 191, 192, 193, 194; Archiwum ŻIH, Centralny Komitet Żydów w Polsce (Wydział Ewidencji i Statystyki), 82, 1000.

77 people, and those figures were continually decreasing. The congregations embraced almost half of the local Jewish population[36].

In 1950-55 Jewish religious congregations were pushed to the margin of social life. The policy of the communist party and state authorities was aimed at an advanced rate of secularisation of society – Jewish society in particular. The Socio-Cultural Society of Jews in Poland (TSKŻ) established at that time was assigned a superior role. The authorities decided that the congregations should be liquidated. As the party and state apparatus openly revealed its anti-Semitic attitudes in 1956, the contribution of Jews to the development of socialist society was limited considerably. The rejection intensified the religious zeal of part of the population and the revival of religious congregations' activity. At that time in Upper Silesia Jewish congregations and the branches of the TSKŻ began to co-operate with one another. In 1957, congregation member Chaim Rotner became a member of the Katowice TSKŻ authorities. In 1957-67 representatives of the Jewish community would become members of the Jewish Committee of Social Welfare and in the years 1958-67 they joined the Committee for the Vocational Training of the Jewish People 'ORT'; institutions which were attached to the branch of the society. In the years 1956-61 the chairman of the Jewish Religious Congregation in Bielsko-Biała (in 1951 the two towns merged), Albert Kellerman, was a member of the board of the TSKŻ branch. During an electoral meeting held on March 24 1956 he criticised the society for neglecting Jewish tradition in the organising of children's events. In 1961, Dawid Sztejberg was also a member of the board of the TSKŻ branch[37].

The clerk Adam Brandys was chairman of the board of the Jewish Religious Congregation in Sosnowiec in 1952-3. As the members of the hitherto existing board of the Bielsko congregation had emigrated to Israel, Izaak Lunenfeld was elected chairman on January 16 1950, however, on August 7 that year he also emigrated. In the years 1956-1962 the accountant Albert Kellerman was chairman of the congregation. He resigned from the post on July 24 1962 to depart to the Federal Republic of Germany. The dentist Mendel Ginsberg was elected the new chairman. He was not approved of by the Religious Union of the Mosaic Faith, which on April 25 1963 appointed Adam Brandys from Sosnowiec to fill the vacancy. In Bielsko-Biała the pensioner Adolf Herman was elected the new chairman on May 29 1966. In the years 1949-64 the board of the local congregation consisted of five and then three members[38].

---

[36] AGWŻ, Akta Żydowskiej Kongregacji Wyznaniowej w Bielsku-Białej; AGWŻ, Akta Kongregacji Wyznania Mojżeszowego w Bielsku-Białej; APK, UWŚ (Wydział Społeczno-Polityczny), 319/3.

[37] AGWŻ, Akta Żydowskiej Kongregacji Wyznaniowej w Bielsku-Białej; AGWŻ, Akta Kongregacji Wyznania Mojżeszowego w Bielsku-Białej; APK, Prezydium Miejskiej i Dzielnicowych Rad Narodowych miasta Katowic, 617; Archiwum ŻIH, Centralny Komitet Żydów w Polsce (Wydział Ewidencji i Statystyki), 998.

[38] APK, Prezydium Wojewódzkiej Rady Narodowej w Katowicach – Urząd Spraw Wewnętrznych, Odcinek I, 185/I, 488/I, 503/I; APBB, Zarząd Miejski i Miejska Rada Na-

In the 1950s and 1960s the Upper-Silesian Jewish congregations lacked rabbis and other religious officers were few. Their duties were carried out by secular members who were well acquainted with the principles of Judaism. In 1963 the cantor in Bielsko-Biała, Juda Padawer, was removed from office for financial embezzlement, and in the years 1963–5 that post was filled by Efroim Fryman. Services in the Upper-Silesian congregations were held in houses of prayer. In 1966 the prayer section 'Lewita', attached to the Biała community, ran its activities[39].

Ritual baths and abattoirs ceased to operate in the first half of the 1950s in the Upper-Silesian religious congregations. Probably it was only in Bielsko-Biała that a ritual poultry abattoir was open until June 17, and then it was closed by order of the municipal authorities. On February 20 1958, the Presidium of the People's Municipal Council in Katowice granted permission for ritual slaughter for the followers of Judaism dwelling in the voivodship in one of the butcher's shops. As it was impossible to buy kosher meat in the region, on January 3 1956 the Religious Union of the Mosaic Faith undertook to supply meat for the regional Jewish congregations from the abattoir in Łódź[40].

Special divisions of a charitable character were attached to the religious communities. In 1955, in Bielsko-Biała there was the funeral division Chevra Kadisha. In 1966, there were also divisions which helped the ill – Bikur Cholim – and granted allowances to the poor – Tomchai Druhim. As part of its charity work, the board of the local congregation distributed packages among children at religious festivals, and this was aimed at arousing the interest of the younger people in religious life[41].

All the real estate owned by the former Jewish religious communities in 1956 was taken over by the state treasury. The existing congregations were only usufructaries of the buildings handed over to them by the authorities, and their number was decreasing continually. On the basis of the law of January 31 1959 governing cemeteries and burial of the dead, the Bureau for Religious Affairs issued a circular on July 29 1965, in compliance with which the management of Jewish cemeteries in the localities where there existed religious congregations was performed by those congregations, and in the others by the department of public utilities of a competent organ of the state administration. Because of the expansion of the steelworks in Będzin adjacent to the cemetery, and because of its destruction in the period of previous use, the area was delivered to the establishment around 1951. In 1958 the unusufructed part of the former cemetery in Biała was confiscated for the

rodowa w Bielsku, 55; APK, Oddział w Gliwicach, Dyrekcja Ceł w Gliwicach, 192; Archiwum ŻIH, Centralny Komitet Żydów w Polsce (Wydział Ewidencji i Statystyki), 998.

39 AGWŻ, Akta Żydowskiej Kongregacji Wyznaniowej w Bielsku-Białej; AGWŻ, Akta Kongregacji Wyznania Mojżeszowego w Bielsku-Białej.

40 Ibid; APK, Prezydium Wojewódzkiej Rady Narodowej w Katowicach – Urząd Spraw Wewnętrznych, Odcinek I, 617.

41 AGWŻ, Akta Żydowskiej Kongregacji Wyznaniowej w Bielsku-Białej; AGWŻ, Akta Kongregacji Wyznania Mojżeszowego w Bielsku-Białej.

expansion of the Fittings Factory 'Befa' in Bielsko. The final liquidation of the cemetery took place in 1966. A part of the bodies was exhumed and moved to the cemetery in Bielsko.

To improve the difficult financial situation of the Congregation of the Mosaic Faith in Bielsko-Biała in 1961-6, it leased the former funeral parlour in Biała to the local food concern. The property of the liquidated Jewish community in Cieszyn was taken over initially by the Voivodship Jewish Religious Congregation in Katowice, and later by the congregation in Bielsko-Biała. On the strength of the decision of March 30 1963 by the Presidium of the Voivodship People's Council, the new Jewish cemetery in Cieszyn was closed. The tombstones had already been taken by the stone mason employed by the city's parks and reserves department. On June 21 1963 the Minister of Public Utilities consented to the use of the cemetery, as it was determined that the tombstones were of no historic or artistic value. In the years 1959-66 the former funeral parlour of the old Cieszyn cemetery was leased to a fitting industry establishment, and from 1968 the branch of the Voivodship Food Co-operative – the 'Workers' Co-operative Store' [Konsum Robotniczy] wanted to purchase the building to be adapted for a warehouse, which failed[42].

In the 1960s the cemeteries in Chorzów and Siewierz were ultimately destroyed.

[42] Ibid. *Dziennik Ustaw Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej* 11 (1959) point 62. See also P. Kenig and J. Polak, 'Dawny cmentarz żydowski w Białej', in J. Polak and J. Spyra (eds.), *Żydzi w Bielsku, Białej i okolicy. Materiały z sesji naukowej odbytej w dniu 19 stycznia 1996 r.* (Bielsko-Biała, 1996) 144-5; J. Spyra, 'Cmentarz żydowski w Bielsku', ibid. 136-7; id., 'Żydowskie zabytki w Cieszynie' in id. (ed.), *Żydowskie zabytki Cieszyna i Czeskiego Cieszyna* (Cieszyn, 1999) 36-7.

# V.

# CULTURE AND LANDMARKS

**Karel Müller**

# JEWISH SEALS IN AUSTRIAN SILESIA IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The enforcement of the seal as the primary tool of verification in juridical practices in medieval society did not pass the Jewish community by. There is evidence of Jewish seals from as early as the thirteenth century in England, France and Germany[1]. It can be assumed that in the following century as well, Jews in the states of the developing Czech Crown used their own seals. Their existence is specifically confirmed in Bohemia in 1519, when the Prague Jew Zalman Ox and Ryfka, a Jewess from Domažlice married „smlúvu podle řádu židovského listem pod pečetí židovskou učinili sú"[2] (concluded a wedding contract according to Jewish regulations and sealed by a Jewish seal). A contemporary listing of all preserved seals up until 1526 will certainly bring new discoveries in this direction[3].

The seals used in the modern period are, in contrast to medieval sphragistic relics, quite on the edge of scholarly interest. As this applies even to the seals of aristocratic houses, it is no wonder that practically no attention has been paid to Jewish seals. Thus we attempted to carry out a small-scale exploratory study and

---

1 For example, in T. Krejčík, *Pečeť v kultuře středověku* (Ostrava, 1988) 272-5. There is also a considerable list of foreign literature sources. For German states, see E. Henning and G. Jochums, *Bibliographie zur Sphragistik* (Koln-Weimar-Vienna, 1995) 101.

2 Josef Teige, 'Zprávy o statcích a přeh venkovských z archivu města Prahy', *Archiv český* 26 (1909) 160. See A. Putík, 'The Origin of the Symbols of the Prague Jewish Town. The Banner of the Old-New Synagogue. David's Schield and the „Swedish Hat"', *Judaica Bohemiae* 29 (1993) 12. Even older Jewish seals are known from literary sources: belonging to Prague Jews Beneš and Pinkas from the 1330s and the sealing-ring of Aba, son of Aba from Wrocław, from the fourteenth or fifteenth century. See D. M. Friedenberg, *Medieval Jewish Seals from Europe* (Detroit, 1987) 275-7, 308-9; M. Wodziński, *Hebrajskie inskrypcje na Śląsku XIII–XVIII wieku* (Wrocław, 1996) 433-4.

3 So far we have not found any Jewish seals in the files up to 1526 in the Archives of North Moravia and Czech Silesia. From an earlier period we can name, for example, the seal of the Jew Moyses Josef Schiffer of Ostrava from 1665 which has a depiction of an undefined animal (a lamb?) on the shield (ZAO, Arcibiskupství Olomouc, 3087, shelf number E III and 26/3 c).

posed questions about how the seals of individual Jews living in the Austrian Silesian area in the second half of the eighteenth century looked, how they differed from other sphragistic examples from that time, when ownership of a sealing die was widespread in an urban environment and became a commonplace for every independent person or for a person operating in the public domain.

The documents of the Royal Authority in Opava, an organ of the Civil Service in Austrian Silesia and active since the partitioning of the country in 1742 until the administrative alliance of this part of Silesia and Moravia in 1782, assisted us in our research. A separate section was devoted to Jewish affairs in the registry office, and, most important, the roster of all the tolerated Jewish families in Austrian Silesia, the appointment of Jewish tax gatherers, the so-called collectors, and the annulment of Jewish marriages[4]. The latter-mentioned group turned out to be particularly interesting in terms of the occurrence of Jewish seals.

We were able to find reprints of 30 different sealing dies altogether, belonging to 24 Jewish individuals. More than half of the seals discovered belonged to Jewish collectors who were not only tax gatherers, but also represented the other Jews of the community in dealings with the authorities, in this case, the Royal Authority in Opava. It is known that Jews in Austrian Silesia did not create official Jewish communities, but rather the so-called Jewries, formed in the individual principalities. The most populated were the one in Cieszyn, the Duchy of Opava-Krnov, and the smallest one was Vidnava, in the territory of the Austrian principality of Nysa[5]. It is understandable that the collectors from Cieszyn (three people altogether) and from the Duchy of Opava, i.e., from the town of Opava (two people), Bílovec and Odry, are the ones most frequently represented in our materials. We also intercepted one seal of a tax collector from Vidnava. A number of collectors used several different dies in the time period under study. Other Jews whose seals were discovered came from all over Austrian Silesia. The largest number, however, was, of course, from the area around Cieszyn and particularly from Cieszyn itself.

In terms of time, the oldest discovered seal is from 1754 and belonged to the collector Josef Simon Goldschmidt from Cieszyn (catalogue No. 1). The number of Jewish seals gradually increases in the records of the Royal Authority of Opava and most of the seals discovered are from the 1780s.

In terms of the external features of the seals, one must note that all Jewish seals were imprinted with red wax and were oval in shape. Their thickness varies from 10 to 22 mm, their breadth from 11 to 20 mm. The transcripts on the seals are entirely in Hebrew, and are not separate from the sealing image. Often they are combined with the initials of the owner of the particular die and take the form of Roman characters. The Hebrew transcripts mostly contain only the name of the

---

4 ZAO, Královský úřad v Opavě, 615-623, shelf number 11/1-11/8, file 458-473.

5 For the situation and the organisation of Jews in Austrian Silesia in the second half of the eighteenth century, see J. Spyra, 'Juden im Herzogtum Teschen unter der Herrschaft von Maria Theresia (1740-1780)', *Oberschlesisches Jahrbuch* 11 (1995) 67-96. I would like to thank the author for valuable consultations with him.

owner of the die; however, they can also contain further details. For example, the Hebrew legend on the seal of Feitel Wolf from 1781 next to the name indicates that the owner was a synagogue cantor and a ritual butcher in Cieszyn (No. 16)[6].

We shall now examine the actual seals' symbolism. Monogrammed seals, i.e., with the monogram of the owner of the die, which are usually ornately interwoven and often embedded in a baroque cartouche underneath a crown, are quite in harmony with the tastes of the time. An example of this are the two sealing sticks belonging to Josef David, a collector from Bílovec (No 20 a-b). In 1764-81, his sealing stick had a baroque cartouche beneath a crown with the interwoven initials JD inside it. In 1782, however, he used a new die, and the letters JDW were beneath a crown, this time without a cartouche, on the seal's surface. Here the last letter probably refers to Josef David's workplace, Bílovec in German Wagstadt.

As with numerous citizens' seals, as well as those of suzerain clerks and minor clergy, in some Jewish seals one can encounter an imitation of an aristocratic coat-of-arms, i.e., with a shield, a helmet with a visor and sometimes also with a jewel. The focal point of our collection are the seals of Moyses Hirschel from Bílovec from 1764 (No. 21) and Hirschel Israel, a distiller from Drogomyśl from 1781 (No. 10). On their shields, both seals have, beneath a helmet with a visor, a rough figure of an animal. In the case of Moyses Hirschel it is possibly an ox – an unsuccessful depiction of the astrological sign of Taurus; in the case of Hirschel Israel it is the astrological sign of Aries. Hirschel Moyses Singer (No. 2), a collector from Cieszyn, had the Latin monogram HM in an oval shield on his sealing stick. Above that, there was a helmet with an inwrought visor and a jewel in the shape of three ostrich feathers. Evidently, the desire of some Jews to get closer to the aristocracy at least in the design of their sealing die was stronger than their fear of prohibition by the state authorities, which, by imperial law, forbade commoners to use symbols imitating aristocratic coats-of-arms[7].

The seals of Scheyer Abraham from Melč (No. 23) and Jacob Scheyer from Opava from 1781 (No. 24) undoubtedly derived inspiration from a purely municipal environment. On both shields, there is a four merging into an anchor in the bottom part of the cartouche, with the initials on the sides. A similarly drawn seal was used by Schmerl Salomon from Cieszyn (No. 7). In the Christian world, a sign in the shape of a four is traditionally associated with the mercantile profession and the same meaning is apparently also implicit on those Jewish seals. The sealing-stick of Hirschel Marcus (No. 25), a collector from Vidnava, used in 1775-1776, shows a four combined with figures of a Scorpio and a deer. The first-mentioned symbol evidently is from the Zodiac and the second signifies a so-called speaking sign, derived from the name of the owner of the die.

---

[6] I am indebted to Alexandr Putík from the State Jewish Museum in Prague and Marcin Wodziński from the University of Wrocław for consultations regarding the Hebrew texts.

[7] ZAO, Královský úřad v Opavě, 207, shelf number 4/3a, file 141, rescripts from 1764-1765.

It is a source of surprise that typically Jewish symbolism has minimal representation on the Jewish seals concerned. Moyses Jacob Isaac from Suchá (No. 6) has the hands of a Jewish priest (kohen) on his 1768 seal. There is the die of Simon Löbel (No. 19), a collector from Odry, intercepted in 1761-1762, where a lily beneath a star (shield of David?) below the crown is displayed in the baroque cartouche, which probably belongs here as well.

The largest group has figures adopted from the Zodiac. Pisces is on the seal of Hirschel Moyses Singer, a collector from Cieszyn, from 1768 (No. 2 b); Cancer is on the seal of Hirschel Isaac from 1773 (No. 22); Libra is on the seal of Marcus Moyrer from Cieszyn from 1780 (No. 9); Scorpio is on the seals of Feitel Wolf from Cieszyn from 1781 (No. 16), and Hirschel Marcus from Vidnava from 1775-1776 (No. 25); the above-mentioned Taurus is on the seal of Moyses Hirschel (No. 21), Aries is on the seal of Hirschel Israel (No. 10), apparently there is a Sagittarius on the indistinct seal of Abraham Hirschel from Skoczów from 1755 (No. 5). All such examples belong to this group. The feminine figure with a blossom or a bundle in her right hand, used in different modifications on two dies of the collector Josef Ziffer from Cieszyn in 1780-2 (No. 4), is a typical Jewish representation of the astrological sign of Virgo. The very unique portrayal of a bucket with a massive tub and a pulley wheel on the 1781 seal of the Jew Joachim Marcus from Smilovice (No. 14) is also connected to the Zodiac, representing the sign of Aquarius, again a representation which is typical of the Jewish images of the Zodiac.

The sealing-stick of the tax collector and professional seal-engraver, Simon Löbel of Opava (No. 18), is outstanding in the researched collection both for its symbolism and for the quality of its design. His die, which was used in 1773-4 (No. 18a), had the head and shoulders of a man in profile, in imitation of an antique jewel and he personally engraved it. The attached Hebrew legend contains a quotation from the Book of Proverbs (18:21) "The tongue has the power of life and death". In addition, Simon Löbel later used two other dies, on which he did not have his favourite interwoven monogram underneath a crown. Because of Simon Löbel's profession, we can assume that some of the Jewish seals discovered would have been manufactured by him.

However, this should be the subject of further research into Jewish seals, whereas our paper merely represents a small exploratory attempt. In future, it will be necessary to expand the geographical and the chronological framework of the research project and simultaneously to submit the Jewish seals to a detailed analysis from the point of view of their contents in comparison with funeral sculptures and other relevant artefacts.

## Catalogue of Jewish Seals

The catalogue includes all known seals, according to particular sealers. They are classified according to duchy, on the basis of the Silesian Duchies of Cieszyn, Opava, Krnov, and Nysa. The Jewish collectors have priority and are followed by other Jews in chronological order on the basis of the oldest known prints of the seals. The local filing of the persons concerned has been based on the archived documents or information concerning events in their lives. Descriptions of the seals do not include the sealing substance, as in most cases it is red wax. The particular prints are filed according to the dates of sealing; the bold date identifies a print, which has been photographed. The author of the transcription of Hebrew legends is Marcin Wodziński, documents for brief biographical data were provided by Janusz Spyra; to both of whom I wish to express my thanks. Illegible inscriptions were marked in transcriptions with dots.

1.

**Joseph Simon Goldschmidt**, a collector in Cieszyn

Oval, height 10 mm, width 11 mm

Majuscular initials I S with three stars on a lined sealing surface. Above the initials the Hebrew letters יש [I.Sh. – initials of Joseph Simon] .

ZAO, Kralovský úřad v Opave (KrÚ), inv. No. 621, file 465 (**28.10.1754**, 18.1.1755, 8.1.1756, 3.2.1756).

*He was the son of a privileged Jew from Cieszyn, Simon, and Rebeka, daughter of Samuel Singer. He ran a business in Cieszyn, the approval for which was granted to his father by Emperor Josef I in 1706 and granted to him by Emperor Charles VI in 1734. He later lost this privilege, but continued his business in Cieszyn. He became a Jewish collector in 1752 after the death of his brother Jacob Hirschl and he performed this function until ca 1760. He died in 1780.*

2.

**Hirschel Moyses Singer**, a collector in Cieszyn

a) Oval, height 18 mm, width 17 mm

On a lined sealing surface entwined initials under a leafy crown.

KrÚ, inv. No. 621, file 467 (13.8.1766, 11.1.1767, **9.8.1767**, 16.8.1768, 18.8.1768, 29.3.1769, 18.6.1769, 23.6.1769)

b) Oval, height 18 mm, width 16 mm

On a lined sealing surface two fish, one above the other in an oval Baroque cartouche. Above the cartouche there is a crown with the initials H M. Hebrew script on the periphery (7-4):

צבי הירש [י]הודה משה זצל [Zvi Hirsh <son of> Yehuda Mosche, righteous of blessed memory]
KrÚ, inv. No. 621, file 467 (**19.6.1768**)

c) Oval, height 16 mm, width 15 mm
On a lined sealing surface an oval shield with cursive initials H M. In the top part of the shield a helmet with a visor and a jewel in the form of three ostrich feathers.
KrÚ, inv. No. 621, file 467 (**19.11.1769**, 12.12.1769, 31.12.1769, 23.5.1770, 17.5.1771, 23.7.1771, 11.8.1771, 23.8.1771, 20.11.1772), file 469 (22.2.1773)
*He was born about 1729/1730 as a son of Moyses Singer (d. 1742) and his second wife Lea. He ran a business. From 1766 he was a lessee of a tobacco warehouse for the whole of Silesia; later, his wife Feygele carried on this occupation. He began serving as a collector in 1766 and continued to do so until 1773 when he died.*

3.
**Zacharias Gerson Lazarus**, a collector in Cieszyn
Oval, height 20 mm, width 19 mm
On a sealing surface lined with astragal entwined cursive initials Z G L in a rugged Baroque cartouche under a leafy crown.
KrÚ, inv. No. 621, file 468 (15.5.1773, 4.9.1773, 19.10.1773, 20.6.1774, 23.11.1774, 11.1.1775, 27.1.1775, 5.9.1775, **15.11.1775**, 24.3.1776, 12.4.1776, 21.4.1776, 13.5.1775. 28.6.1776, 14.7.1776, 26.11.1776, 4.12.1776, 17.12.1776, 11.3.1777, 19.8.1777, 16.9.1777, 9.4.1778, 13.6.1778), file 469 (6.1.1779, 15.2.1779, 26.4.1779, 3.5.1779, 20.7.1779, 25.7.1779, 29.10.1779, 12.11.1779, 18.11.1779, 7.1.1780, 24.2.1780, 15.5.1780, 13.6.1780, 13.6.1780, 5.7.1780, 19.7.1780, 21.9.1780, 30.10.1780, 20.12.1780), inv No. 623, file 473 (14.11.1774, 21.8.1780)
*A son of Zacharias Lazarus, a privileged Jew from Wrocław. In 1766 he gained the status of a tolerated Jew in Cieszyn and married Rebeka, daughter of a local merchant and Jewish collector, Jakub Openheim. Initially, he ran a business together with Hirschl Moyses Singer, an uncle of his wife, later he gained the right to run a tobacco business for the areas of Cieszyn and Bielsko. He performed the function of collector between 1773-1780, and died in 1785.*

4.
**Joseph Ziffer,** a collector in Cieszyn
a) Oval, height 17 mm, width 15 mm.
On a lined sealing surface in a Baroque cartouche, a female figure (astrological Virgo) holding a twig in her right hand and the left hand on her hip. Above the cartouche there is a crown with the initials I Z. There is Hebrew script written on the periphery (7-5):
יוסף בה שרגא פייבש יצו טשיפרר [Joseph son of Mr. Shraga Faivish, may God and the Saviour protect him, Tshiperer]

KrÚ, inv. No. 621, file 469 (19.12.1780, 6.2.1781, 5.3.1781, 29.3.1781), file 470 (19.1.1781, 6.7.1781, 4.12.1781, **22.1.1782**, 6.2.1782, 28.3.1782)

b) Oval, height 19 mm, width 16 mm
On a sealing surface lined with an astragal in a Baroque cartouche, a female figure as in the previous seal, with the letters P O (?). Hebrew script on the periphery:
יוסף בה ש פייבש יצו טשיפרר [Joseph, son of Mr. Shraga Faivish, may God and the Saviour protect him, Tshiperer]
KrÚ, inv. No. 621, file 469 (**12.1.1781**)
*He was the son of Ferdinand Ziffer, resident in Fryštát and later in Bobrek. He gained tolerated status in 1760, while his father was still alive. He ran an inn in Konská, as well as a tobacco warehouse and he was also a tobacconist. He became a Jewish collector in 1780 and died on April 13 1783.*

5.
**Abraham Hirschel,** Skoczów
A disc with a diameter of 13 mm
In a damaged print, a strung bow with an arrow and Hebrew script (illegible) can be seen.
KrÚ, inv. No. 621, file 465 (**12.11.1755**)
*He was an innkeeper and lessee of a still-room in Skoczów from the middle of the eighteenth century. In 1752 he became a tolerated Jew in the Duchy of Cieszyn. He was later a lessee in Třanovice.*

6.
**Moyses Jacob Isaac,** Suchá
Oval, height 18 mm, width 16 mm
On a sealing surface lined with a twisted rope, priest's (kohen) hands in a schematic cartouche. On the periphery (8-4) a Hebrew script:
[כ]ץ בר שמשון ... [... son of Samson Katz]
KrÚ, inv. No. 621, file 467 (**28.2.1768**)
*He was a lessee in various villages in the Cieszyn region, including Marklowice (1752-1763), Hažlach (1764-1767) and Sucha (1768). He was later a tobacconist in Horní Suchá.*

7.
**Schmerl Salomon,** Frýdek
Oval, height 22 mm, width 20 mm
On a lined sealing surface in a Baroque cartouche with a laurel branch on the right, an anchor with the number four at the top, cursive initials F H (?) in the middle.
KrÚ, inv. No. 621, file 469 (**20.12.1780**)

*He was a lessee in various villages in the Cieszyn region, including Kunčice. He lived on the outskirts of Frýdek in the 1780s. At the age of 80, in 1780, he waived tolerated status in favour of his adopted son, Jacob Lobel, and moved to Hungary, from where he had originally come.*

8.

**Joseph Löwi,** Cieszyn

Disc with a diameter of 20 mm

On a lined sealing surface in a Baroque cartouche with a laurel branch on the right, entwined cursive initials J J H.

KrÚ, inv. No. 623, file 473 (21.8.1780, **9.7.1781**)

**Abraham Lazarus** (KrÚ, inv. No. 621, file 470) used the same seal on 22.10.1781!

*Löwi was born in Hamburg and resided in Bohemia for many years. He ran a tobacco warehouse in Nový Bydžov and later in Jevíčko in Moravia. From 1777 he lived in Cieszyn as lessee of a tobacco warehouse. He did not gain tolerated Jew status until 1782. In documents, there is a mention of him as a merchant in Cieszyn in 1794.*

9.

**Marcus Moyorer,** Cieszyn

Oval, height 20 mm, width 18 mm

On a damaged lined sealing surface, scales in a tablet. A Hebrew script:

מרורר ... כי צבי[מרד...] [... Mordecai Zvi ... Merorer]

KrÚ, inv. No. 621, file 469 (**20.12.1780**)

*He functions only as a witness in Cieszyn being specifically identified as coming from Poland.*

10.

**Hirschel Israel,** Drahomyšl

Oval, height 19 mm, width 17 mm

On a lined sealing surface in an oval shield with the astrological sign of Aries on the right. In the top part of the shield, a tournament helmet with a visor, above it a Hebrew script:

יוסף צבי בה / ישראל זל [Joseph Zvi, son of Israel, of blessed memory]

KrÚ, inv. No. 621, file 469 (**8.1.1781**)

*A tolerated Jew in the Duchy of Cieszyn. He ran a tobacco warehouse in the Strumień region in 1776, he was also an innkeeper in Drogomyśl and traded in Polish wool. He moved to Hungary in 1781 and ceded his status to Mendl Joachim from Bielsko.*

11.

**Marcus Ziffer,** Cieszyn

Disc with a diameter of 17 mm.

On a lined sealing surface in an oval shield entwined cursive initials M T. In the top part of the shield a helmet with a visor, above it a Hebrew script:

מאיר / טשיפרר [Meir Tshiperer]

KrÚ, inv. No. 621, file 469 (**8.1.1781**)

*He was the youngest son of Ferdinand Ziffer from Fryštát, whose tolerated status he gained in 1775. He made his living as a merchant in Cieszyn, in documents he is mentioned as one of the Jews in Cieszyn as late as in 1801.*

12.

**Jacob Isak,** Cieszyn

Oval, height 18 mm, width 16 mm

On a lined sealing surface in a Baroque cartouche entwined letters J J T (?). On the periphery (7-5) a Hebrew script: יעקב בה יצחק טישפרר [Jacob son of Mr. Isaac Tishperer]

KrÚ, inv. No. 621, file 469 (**8.1.1781**), file 470 (22.10.1781)

*He is mentioned as a Jewish butcher in Cieszyn in 1780. Possibly he is the same Moyses Jacob Isaac as in No. 6.*

13.

**Marcus Samuel,** Rudzica

Oval, height 19 mm, width 17 mm

On a lined sealing surface an illegible sign formed by two ovals in a Baroque cartouche, a very stylised crown above.

KrÚ, inv. No. 621, file 470 (**19.6.1781**)

*He ran a small business in Skoczów. He became a tolerated Jew in 1752 and later, in 1781, a lessee of a still-room in Rudzica. He resided in Górne Zebrzydowice in 1787.*

14.

**Joachim Marcus,** Smilovice

Oval, height 17 mm, width 14 mm

On a lined sealing surface in a Baroque cartouche a well bucket with a massive ewer and a cogwheel (astrological sign of Aquarius). A Hebrew script (9-3):

[יצו] בן כהרר מרדכי [חיים] [Haim, son of the respected Mordecai, may God and the Saviour protect him]

KrÚ, inv. No.. 621, file 470 (**19.6.1781**)

*He gained the status of tolerated Jew in the Duchy of Cieszyn in 1752. He ran a still-room in Smilovice for all the time. He adopted the surname of Glesinger some time after 1787.*

15.
**Marcus Mayer,** Cieszyn
Disc with a diameter of 16 mm
On a damaged sealing surface, a cartouche with two swimming fish, one above the other, above it a two-lined Hebrew script: מרדכי במה / מאיר זל מ[צם] [Mordecai, son of our teacher Mr. Meir, of blessed memory, from Casimirus (?)]
KrÚ, inv. No. 621, file 470 (**22.10.1781**)

16.
**Feitel Wolf,** Cieszyn
Oval, height 20 mm, width 18 mm
On a lined sealing surface in a Baroque cartouche the astrological sign of Scorpio. On the periphery (9-4) a Hebrew script:
חיים שץ ושוחט מטעשין [Haim, cantor and ritual slaughterer from Cieszyn]
KrÚ, inv. No.. 621, file 470 (**21.12.1781**)
*He was the younger son of Josef Wolf from Bobrek. He was accepted as a tolerated Jew in 1763 and ran a still-room in Hermanice at Skoczów. He later moved to Cieszyn, where he performed the function of cantor and ritual butcher. He died at the beginning of 1782.*

17.
**Joachim Lazarus,** a collector in Opava
Oval, height 17 mm, width 16 mm
On a damaged sealing surface in a Baroque shell cartouche covered by a leafy crown entwined cursive initials J J L.
KrÚ, inv. No. 621, file 467 (11.11.1768, **8.11.1770**, 16.8.1771)
*He was a son of Josef Lazarus, the Emperor's parchment supplier from Wrocław, who acquired a permit to reside in Opava. He gained the right to buy parchment in Silesia in 1761. He performed the function of collector between 1768-1771. He died some time before 1778.*

18.
**Simon Löbel,** a collector in Opava
a) Oval, height 19 mm, width 17 mm
On a sealing surface lined with a twisted rope, a male profile with longer hair than usual, facing right. On the periphery a Hebrew script: חיים ומות ביד הלשון [The tongue has the power of life and death (Prov 18:21)]
KrÚ, inv. No. 621, file 468 (15.1.1773, **24.12.1773**, 5.1.1774, 21.3.1774)

b) Oval, height 18 mm, width 17 mm
On an indistinct sealing surface under a crown, entwined illegible initials.

KrÚ, inv. No. 621, file 468 12.7.1776, **30.9.1776**), file 469 (7.7.1779, 30.7.1779, 18.8.1779)

c) Oval, height 21 mm, width 19 mm
On a lined sealing surface a Baroque cartouche with branches, in it entwined illegible initials and above them a crown with nine pearls.
KrÚ, inv. No. 621, file 469 (**13.2.1780**)
*He was an engraver from Biała Prudnicka. He received the Emperor's permission to reside on the outskirts of Opava and to ply his trade in 1768. He was a Jewish collector for the Duchy of Opava and Krnov between 1773 and 1780. He adopted the surname of Steingraber in 1787 and in 1811 he was still alive.*

19.
**Simon Löbel,** a collector in Odry
Oval, height 19 mm, width 17 mm
On a lined sealing surface an oval cartouche with two palm twigs crossed at the bottom, a leafy crown above. In the cartouche there is a heraldic lily, above it a star and the majuscule initials S L at the sides.
KrÚ, inv. No. 620, file 464 (9.12.1761), inv. No. 621, file 466 (9.7.1761, **23.9.1762)**
*A rich lessee from Earl Lichnovský from Odry, he came from Úsov in Moravia. He resided in Odry from 1745, however, he did not receive tolerated Jew status until 1758. He inherited the status from his father, the local lessee of the dye works. He is mentioned as a collector between 1760-1762. He died in 1768.*

20.
**Josef David,** a collector in Bílovec
a) Oval, height 15 mm, width 13 mm
On a sealing surface lined with astragal a Baroque cartouche under a leafy crown. In the cartouche entwined cursive initials J D.
KrÚ, inv. No. 621, file 466 (22.8.1764, 7.9.1764, **13.12.1764**), file 467 (19.3.1765), file 469 (1.8.1780), file 470 (21.10.1781)

b) Oval, height 19 mm, width 14 mm
On a lined sealing surface under a leafy crown entwined cursive initials J D W.
KrÚ. Inv. No. 621, file 470 (**7.1.1782**, 11.4.1782)
*He ran both the manor and the municipal still-rooms in Bílovec from the middle of the eighteenth century, later he traded in wool. He became a tolerated Jew in 1752. He is mentioned as a collector between 1764-1765 and 1780-1795.*

21.

**Moyses Hirschel,** Třebovice

Oval, height 19 mm, width 17 mm

On a lined sealing surface a very roughly made oval shield with a tournament helmet at the top. A horned animal is moving to the right in the shield (astrological sign of Taurus). On the periphery (8-4) a Hebrew script:

אב]רהם זצל[ [Abraham, righteous of blessed memory]

KrÚ, inv. No. 621, file 466 (**15.12.1764**)

*He received tolerated Jew status in the Duchy of Opava and Krnov in 1764. After that he resided in Třebovice as a merchant and tobacconist. He is mentioned in documents as late as 1786. The seal itself probably did not belong to Moyses Hirschel but to one Abraham.*

22.

**Hirschel Issac,** Jistebník

Oval, height 15 mm, width 12 mm

On a sealing surface in a Baroque cartouche a slanting crab (scorpion). On the periphery a Hebrew script:

צבי הירש בה אייזק יצו [Zvi Hirsh, son of Aitzik, may God and the Saviour protect him]

KrÚ, inv. No. 623, file 473 (**1.12.1773**)

*He made an effort to gain tolerated status in the Duchy of Cieszyn in 1773, which he eventually received in Jistebník in the Duchy of Opava. He was a merchant and documents mention him as late as in 1781.*

23.

**Scheyer Abraham,** Melč

Oval, height 18 mm, width 16 mm

On a lined sealing surface a Baroque cartouche surrounded by stems. In the cartouche an anchor with the number four at the top and the majuscule initials L S. Above the cartouche a Hebrew script (10-2) [version uncertain):

ליב ב"ה ישעי [Leib, son of Joshua]

KrÚ, inv. No. 621, file 470 (**6.8.1781**)

*He was a lessee in Třebovice from 1755. In 1781 he moved to Melč, where he took over the rental of the still-room and he ceded his status in Třebovice in favour of his second son, Lobel. He adopted the surname of Sonnenblum in 1787. In 1798 he left the group of tolerated Jews in the Duchy of Opava and Krnov.*

24.

**Jacob Scheyer,** Třebovice

Oval, height 18 mm, width 17 mm

On a sealing surface lined with a twisted rope a Baroque cartouche with a laurel branch on the right-hand side. In it an anchor ending with a four and the majuscule initials S M. Above the cartouche a Hebrew script (11-1):

זנויל ברמ [Zanvil, son of M.]

KrÚ, inv. No. 621, file 470 (**7.8.1781**)

*He was the oldest son of Scheuer Abraham, a tolerated Jew from Třebovice. He married Hantsche, daughter of Wolf Selig from Holešov in 1779 and moved to Moravia. So that his brother would be entitled to tolerated status in Třebovice, he had to undertake that he would never return to Austrian Silesia.*

25.

**Hirschel Marcus,** a collector in Vidnava

Oval, height 15 mm, width 13 mm

On a lined sealing surface a cartouche with a slanting scorpion, held on one side by a rampant stag, above a four. On the periphery (7-5) a Hebrew script:

צבי הרש בה מרדכי [Zvi Hirsh, son of Mordecai]

KrÚ, inv. No. 621, file 468 (**5.9.1775**, 5.11.1776)

*He came from a Jewish family from Jevíčko in Moravia. He received tolerated Jew status in Vidnava in 1755 after his father-in-law. He performed the function of collector in Vidnava between 1775-1781.*



1.



2a.



2b.



2c.



3.



4a.



4b.



5.



6.



7.



8.



9.



10.



11.



12.



13.



14.



15.



16.



17.



18a.



18b.



18c.



19.



20a.



20b.



21.



22.



23.



24.



25.

**Jerzy Woronczak**

# THE JEWISH CEMETERY IN BIAŁA (ZÜLZ)

Biała, the administrative county of Prudnik, is one of the smallest towns in the Voivodship of Opole (2,863 inhabitants in 1989). The existence of the settlement has been acknowledged since 1225 onwards; in 1279 there was a small castle there. In the thirteenth century, German settlers from nearby Solec moved here looking for a safer abode, and they brought with them the name of their first settlement. This name has changed in the course of generations to Zülz. In 1327 Biała/Zülz already was a town. It was owned by the Piast Dukes until 1532, from 1532-65 by the Habsburgs, and in 1565 it was taken over by private individuals, first by the Counts Pruszkowski, and then by the Counts Matuszka.

Unlike many Silesian towns, Biała did not grow rapidly in the nineteenth century. It had a population of around 2,000 at the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, in 1935 it only increased to 3,500, and today that number is even smaller. One of the reasons for this was that the relatively large population of the town from the late sixteenth century was not a result of the region's economy, but primarily because of its unique legal status: for a long time Biała was the only town in the region of Opole, and one of two in Silesia, whose inhabitants could be Jewish. Many of them were not connected with Biała economically: they wandered the roads of Silesia making their living from peddling, or formally would become temporary citizens only of other towns or suburbs. When the restrictions began to be lifted, mainly in 1812-1848, the Jews would emigrate from Biała to other towns, and to a large extent the urbanisation trend was expended on supplementing that decrease.

## 1. The Jewish community

The first mention of Jews in Biała is from 1543, but if statements from the late sixteenth century are based on reliable facts, the presence of Jews in this town dates back to the end of the fourteenth century. Initially it was a small group (in 1543 there were only nine families), but after the expulsions which took place in Silesia in 1582-1584, apart from Głogów, Biała was one of only two towns in which Jews were allowed to dwell, and their numbers increased rapidly. They

were augmented mainly by the influx of exiles from other Upper-Silesian towns, in the mid-seventeenth century by Jews emigrating from Poland to escape the Chmielnicki insurrection and the Swedish invasion, and after 1670 by exiles from Vienna. In 1688 the Jewish district comprised one-third of the town, and this did not change until 1811. In 1782 there were 1,012 Jews in Biała, in comparison to the 961 Christians, and in 1828 there were 1,120, but from that time on, the number rapidly decreased to 36 in 1895 and 12 in 1935. The last of the Biała Jews were killed in KL Auschwitz in the 1940s, and at present no Jews live there.

The Jewish community organisation in Biała is confirmed to have existed from 1562. Although it attracted rather poor people, the community erected the wooden synagogue mentioned in 1688, which was replaced in 1794 by a brick building after a large fire in the town. All the necessary community institutions were attached to that synagogue; it prided itself on reputable rabbis and maintained a well-known Talmudic academy. In the mid-nineteenth century there even was a Hebrew printing house in Biała. But although services in the Biała synagogue were attended by Jews living in the neighbourhood (and these are said to have continued until the Kristallnacht in 1938), the local synagogue community joined the Prudnik community in 1914 due to a lack of minyan. In the early twentieth century the community archives were sent to the Gesamtarchiv der Deutschen Juden in Berlin (at present most of the files are kept in Jerusalem), a large yeshiva library was moved to the Jewish Theological Seminary in Wrocław (fragments of which are scattered all over Europe); where the synagogue used to stand there is now a transformer station; the rabbinate buildings are dilapidated, and the only evidence of the existence of an important Jewish estate is the cemetery.

**2. The cemetery**

The Jewish cemetery is located on the southern edge of the town on the steep, western slope of a hill (in German Schwedenschanze, in Polish Kopiec), on the peak of which there are the remains of a small castle. There is no doubt that the cemetery has been there from 1622, and from 1688 at least it was surrounded by a wooden fence. In 1747 or 1749 the mortuary was renovated, in 1826 the grave-digger's house was built, and in 1839-40 a new gate was erected. Probably a new fence was built at that time, made of bolted palings sunk into brick pillars every three metres. Now, the grave-digger's house has been completely demolished, with only some useless rubble remaining; only the foundations of the mortuary have survived together and remnants of the driveway; the gate is the only part of the fence to have survived – although it is not in good repair – and a few brick pillars and the tip of a wooden bolt sticking into one of them. Almost all this destruction has occurred since the War, in the 1950s, since the death of the last custodian of the cemetery. She was the last grave-digger's widow. When she was still alive, apart from the tombstones, one could see only two thujas, a few old lime-trees and some self-sown tree shrubs on a lawn which was used to feed a goat. At the southern edge of the cemetery there were a few potato and vegetable patches. Although

the elderly woman was unable to prevent the rotting fence from falling down and the tombstones from being destroyed by the trees and sediment deposits, she did manage to protect the cemetery from the human element. It was only after she had died that the buildings were demolished and the bricks taken away along with the best quality tombstones, and that they were used for very unusual purposes indeed, although not necessarily lacking in sensitivity. It was at that time that nature took over: a variety of shrubs and perennials and ash trees proliferated; and just recently, after some of the ash trees were cut down, elders and weeds have proliferated. At present it could be said, without exaggeration, that visibility is reduced to a metre.

The cemetery is in the shape of an elongated irregular quadrangle, with a maximum length of 188 m., and a minimum width of 25 m. at its narrowest point. According to the 1865 entry in the cadastre, its area was 5,640 sq. m., but in the new land registration it measures 6,672 sq. m. The increase in acreage is the result of a radical straightening of the boundaries when the last survey was conducted. According to the Prussian records office, the cemetery was widened five times between 1664 and 1810. The scale and relative location of the extensions cannot be established today.

After registration work by Bernhard Brilling and Karl Farber, which was completed in 1935, it was recorded that there were 991 tombstones with inscriptions for 1,004 people. Information acquired by the author about this work is in the form of a list containing the personal data of all those 1,004 persons and copies of the 18 oldest inscriptions. Thanks to the survey we carried out in the 1980s we confirmed the existence of 907 tombstones which were wholly or partly preserved, thus 84 stones (8.5%) have completely disappeared. One should also mention that losses of tombstones until 1800 proportionally are twice as low as losses in the nineteenth century, and five times as low as in the twentieth century, which means that the first of the stones to be stolen were those which were well-preserved and made of more expensive materials.

It should be emphasised that our survey involved a more extensive programme than pre-War surveying of the area. The boundaries of the cemetery were measured, along with a topographical survey and an examination of the location of the tombstones. The tombstones were all measured and described, copied, and some inscriptions were translated at this stage. The dates were checked and calculated, and a few hundred pictures were taken for documentation purposes.

### 3. The chronology of the tombstones

The oldest preserved stone was placed on the grave of a woman who died in 1621-2 (exact date unknown), the most recent ones can be found on the graves of people who died in 1931, 310 years later. The time division is the following:

seventeenth century 1%
first half of the eighteenth century 3%
second half of the eighteenth century 18%
first half of the nineteenth century 56%

second half of the nineteenth century 20%
twentieth century 2%
1831-1850 are the best represented years.

**4. The matzevot sheniyot – secondary tombstones**

Comparing the chronological break-down of the tombstones to data concerning the development of the population in Biała allows us to establish that the stones found on the graves of people who had died by the end of eighteenth century are not only fewer in number than the later ones, but they are fewer in relation to population size. As demonstrated above, this cannot be attributable to recent robbers' particular predilection for older stones, because poverty prevented some families from erecting gravestones, or for some reason they used non-durable materials. In Biała, there is clear evidence that the latter hypothesis is true, i.e., the graves were commemorated with a wooden tablet. None of them have survived to this time, but their existence is proven by the contents of the inscriptions which are typical of Biała's cemetery, the so-called matzevot sheniyot – secondary tombstones – a large number of which (82) have been preserved here. It is impossible to explain why there are so many of them here, yet outside Biała there is only one in Miłocice and another one in Wielowieś, but their tie-in with Jewish morality is obvious. Placing a tombstone is a moral duty of the relatives of the deceased. It is inappropriate to boast about doing one's duty. But if a tombstone was damaged, and its quality was not satisfactory to the family, replacing it with a new one would be an act of kindness, and one could be proud of performing such a deed. Thus, the traditional form of inscription found on a secondary tombstone sees a reduction in the laudatory element, but includes the heading matzeva shenit and also mentions the name of the founder, most often with the formula: 'and he was honoured by NN, who placed on his grave a stone monument instead of a wooden tablet to mark his last resting-place'. A wooden tomb tablet is mentioned in 56 inscriptions, and the fact that the former ones were damaged is noted only three times: one because of a hurricane; one was destroyed by Bavarian soldiers, i.e., during the Napoleonic War with Prussia in 1806-7. The matzevot sheniyot can be found on the graves of those who died between 1741 and 1844, and they are most frequently encountered between 1791-1810. In 75% of all cases, the founders are the children of the deceased, and two of the secondary tombstones are the result of the efforts of the Burial Society.

It is believed that not all families could afford to replace wooden monuments with stone ones, and many fell into ruin without a trace.

**5. Types of stone and shape of the tombstones**

Most of the oldest tablets were made of sandstone, but in the eighteenth century Silesian marble became the dominant and, very soon, an almost exclusively used material. Soft limestone is very rare, and granite can be found in exceptional cases and only on newer graves.

At the cemetery there is a considerable variety in the shapes of the tombstones. From the eighteenth century onwards, the shape most typical of Biała tombstones has been called the Polish type in Czech literature on that subject, although it most frequently occurs in southern Silesia with Biała as its centre, and on the Czech side of the border it can be found primarily in Osoblaha and its environs. This type is distinguishable by the fact that the upper part of the tombstone is narrower and has a full arch, which is more likely to be a circular than an elliptic or horseshoe shape. Later tombstones are very frequently topped with a concave-convex arch.

**6. Decorative art**

In comparison to Jewish tombstones in eastern Poland, where reliefs can occupy more space than the inscription, the tombstones in Biała are clearly text-orientated. Of course, on kohanim graves there is a predominance of blessing hands, and on Levite tombstones there are Levite jugs. One can also encounter the tree of life in the form of an oleander in a flower-pot made of wooden staves fastened with riveted rings; a deer with an enormous goose feather in its muzzle on the grave of the sofer (scribe) Hirsh. There are also heraldic lions facing one another, and then a winged sand-glass or leviathan biting a tail resembling an earthworm, but many tombstones do not have a relief, many of them have their decorations limited to a beaded panel with a large convex abbreviation – פט, פנ, or חה. Even lines flanking the text or flat pictures of pillars are rare, and the lower inscription field yields to the uniformly flat surface of the front. The inscriptions themselves were very carefully made, often with decorative lettering and, with the exception of two tombstones, all the inscriptions were concave.

**7. The inscriptions**

A focusing on the text reveals the elaborate wording of what are relatively lengthy inscriptions, dominated by rhetorical *melitza*, inscriptions which are mosaics of short biblical quotations and allusions. Quotations from the Talmud are relatively rare, but Hebrew and Aramaic sentences are interwoven on some scholars' graves. It is almost a matter of course to have acrostics including the deceased person's name and even a more accurate description of the deceased accompanied by rhymes, formerly monorhymes, later binate rhymes. The verse form is emphasised by the rhythm, while the words are usually counted. There was even one text with two monorhyme-like rhymes: one linking caesuras and the other clauses. It is worth noting that many tombstones not only had the same biblical quotations but also almost identical or literally identical long sentences. Finally, one should mention that the lamentations were rare in the Biała epitaphs, especially in the older ones.

Until the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century inscriptions were written mainly in Hebrew with possible additions of Aramaic. Later, from the second quarter of the nineteenth century, bilingual inscriptions, in Hebrew-German (not Hebrew-Yiddish!), appear. German text, often poetic in nature, was earlier engraved in Hebrew letters, later in italics, roman type or Fraktur, or all of the

three type-faces simultaneously. One should also mention that in the later inscriptions from the nineteenth century, Hebrew and German texts can represent different standards. The deceased person's father's name can be found only in Hebrew, while the surname, date of birth or wording such as: 'Our unforgettable brother, husband and father...' appear solely in German. Inscriptions in German text only are an extreme rarity and only occur at later stages.

**8. Relations with other Jewish communities**

The name of a locality on a tombstone (together with a surname in an earlier epoch) can provide much information on the extent of personal and familial relations with other Jewish communities. Those names provide information about the place of origin, abode or death of the deceased, where he carried out his public, religious or scholarly duties, and the origins of the deceased's father or husband.

Some placenames can occur particularly frequently, as the Jews who died there were buried in Biała because of the lack of a local, community cemetery . This is mainly true of the nearby localities: Chrzelice, Korfantów, Olbrachcice, Proszków and Prudnik, but also of Wrocław, whose Jews were buried in Brzeg Dolny, Biała, and even in Krotoszyn (Greater Poland) before 1761. The Biała Jews maintained close commercial contacts and consequently familial relations with many other Silesian localities, in particular: Bogdanowice, Brzeg, Bytom, Cieszyn, Dobrodzień, Głogówek, Hlučín, Kietrz, Koźle, Krapkowice, Leśnica, Łabędy, Miejsce, Nysa, Opavica, Opole, Otmęt, Racibórz, Rzepin, Sławiścice, Strzeleczki, Ścinawa, Ujazd, Wielowieś, Wierzbie, Wodzisław Śląski, Ziębice, Żary. We can also encounter the names of places farther afield, or even very remote ones. The following localities in Poland have been mentioned: Będzin, Kórnik, Leszno, Lwów, Łęczyca, Olkusz and Rawicz; Gryfino in Pomerania. The following place names in Moravia and Austrian Silesia can be found: Lostice, Mikulov, Vidnava, and above all Osoblaha. From Bohemia Prague is mentioned, in Austria – Vienna, and from other German states – Berlin, Fürth, Halberstadt, Prenzlau and Zehdenick. The list is comprehensive. As expected, information of this type from tombstone inscriptions greatly contributes to information on the history of the community that can be found in official state and kahal documents.

**9. Perspectives**

To date, only the texts of 25 of the Biała inscriptions were published by Marcus Brann in 1917, while Marcin Wodziński published the 24 oldest ones (with photographs, translations and extensive explanations) in 1996. In the nearest future, based on a final examination, all descriptions and measurements will have to be verified, all doubts dispelled, the picture file should be expanded, preservation work ought to be planned and, the most difficult part, a sponsor must be found to cover expenses. Only then will it be possible not only to publish full documentation of the valuable monument, but to transform it into a live museum, a fate which it fully deserves.

**Bibliography**

1. Archival materials:

Archiv des jüdischen Museums Frankfurt am Main, Sammlung Bernhard Brilling:
A 89: B. Brilling [Copies of 18 of the oldest inscriptions from the Jewish cemetery in Biała].
B. Brilling, *Die ältesten Grabsteine des Zülzer Friedhofes (1691-1741)* (Breslau, 1938) [Unpublished continuation of the article "Die ältesten Grabsteine (...)" from 1938].
B. Brilling, K. Faber, *Verzeichnis der Grabsteine auf dem jüdischen Friedhof zu Zülz/Oberschlesien* 1686 ff. (Breslau, 1937).

2. Publications:

M. Brann, *Geschichte der Juden in Schlesien*. Bd. 6. Anhang VIII. (Breslau, 1917) [25 older inscriptions from the Jewish cemetery in Biała].
B. Brilling, 'Der Zülzer Friedhof als Geschichtsquelle', *Breslauer Jüdisches Gemeindeblatt* (1935) No 23, 13-14.
B. Brilling, 'Die ältesten Grabsteine des Zülzer Friedhofes (1691-1741)', *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für jüdische Familienforschung* (1938) 952-8.
J. Chrząszcz, *Geschichte der Stadt Zülz in Oberschlesien von den ältesten Zeiten bis zur Gegenwart* (Zülz, 1926).
M. Wodziński, *Hebrajskie inskrypcje na Śląsku XIII-XVIII wieku* (Wrocław, 1996) 216-58 No 30-53.
J. P. Woronczak, Z. Mochum, 'Żydowska nazwa Białej?', *Annales Silesiae*, 23 (1993) 131-2.
J. Woronczak, 'Cmentarz żydowski w Białej', *Opolski Informator Konserwatorski* (1985) 202-10.
J. Woronczak, 'Inskrypcje nagrobne z cmentarza żydowskiego w Białej Prudnickiej', *Annales Silesiae*, 19 (1989) 71-3.



Biała, tombstone of Jehuda Leib b. Issachar Beerman Segal, 1700 (photo Marcin Wodziński)



Biała, tombstone of Samuel b. Jehuda Katz, 1725 (photo Marcin Wodziński)

**Jan Paweł Woronczak**

# THE CEMETERY OF THE JEWISH COMMUNITY IN WIELOWIEŚ

Wielowieś, or Langendorf in German, is a large community village located about 30 km north of Gliwice. For a long time, as a parish abode and a larger population centre – it was the local centre for nearby settlements. But it played a far more significant role in the history of the Silesian Jews.

According to Brann, the Jewish settlement in Wielowieś dates back to 1664. It was at that time that Jonathan Bloch, regarded as the founder of the local community, settled there. He was born in Cracow and brought up in Prague; his wife was Beracha, daughter of Salomon Graetz, who also settled in Wielowieś.

In the days of Austrian rule in that region, the settlement was an important centre of Jewish life in Silesia, as it was the dwelling place of one of the few tolerated larger groups of Jews. The situation had been similar under Prussian reign, when Wielowieś was one of four Jewish village communities (the others were: Cieszowa, Miejsce and Krasków). The Jewish community developed there over the span of the eighteenth century. The universalisation of equal rights for Jews after 1812 and the abolition of laws restricting freedom of choice of residence meant that the Jewish community of Wielowieś began to lose its significance to the neighbouring towns (Pyskowice and Toszek), and steady emigration resulted.

As in the case of Biała or Miejsce, Wielowieś, too, especially at a later stage, was a place where well-known and widely dispersed Jewish families would arrive and depart. In addition to the Blochs and Graetzes, and the rabbinical families of the Rechnitzes and Pinczowers, Brilling also mentioned the following names: Beuthner, Böhm, Brieger, Chotzen, Fränkel, Friedländer, Gassmann, Kaiser, Katz, Kosterlitz, Moeller, Orgler, Pfeil, Riesenfeld, Schindler, Schlesinger, Schönwalder, Schwartz, Silbermann, Stein, Steinitz, Tallert/Tallat and Werner.

According to Brilling, the first official rabbi in Wielowieś was Salomon Rechnitz, who died in 1815 (his tombstone has not been found). His successor was Israel Chajim Pinczower, born in 1768 in Kępno and, according to his tombstone, died on 5 Adar 5612 = February 25 1852 after 36 years in office – thus he would have been rabbi from 1816. The epitaph presents him as 'the rabbi of three com-

munities – Wielowieś, Toszek, Ujazd and their neighbourhoods'. The next and last, according to Brilling, was Yehuda Löb Pinczower. But it is possible that a mistake has been made here; there is a tombstone belonging to Mordecai Dov at the cemetery. He was the son of Israel Chaim Pinczower and he died on 20 Adar 5636 March 16 1876. He is referred to as a rabbi on the tombstone. Thus the son would have been the father's successor only he bore a different name.

From 1877 until 1922 the community had a cantor called Translateur; in the second half of the 1920s it had one minister.

Data gathered from different sources on the number of Jews in Wielowieś are the following:

| Year | No. of families | No. of people | **Comments** |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1685 | | | Four Jews who came to Wrocław from Wielowieś that year: Salomon Israel, Löbel Joseph, Joseph, Salomon Marcus, Marcus Löbel |
| 1709 | 8 | | At least as many families |
| 1720 | | 50 | Of 738 inhabitants (7%) |
| 1751 | 29 | | Including 7 house-to-house traders, 12 peddlers travelling from one village to another, a spice seller, slaughterer, butcher, tailor, *gabbai* (Judel Haskel), grave-digger, beggar, 3 with no occupation |
| 1783 | | 138 | Of 537 inhabitants (26%) |
| 1812 | 48 | | Heads of families who were granted citizenship |
| 1817 | 52 | 279 | The largest confirmed number of Jews. Rabbi (Israel Chaim Pinczower), *gabbai* (Josef Callmann Schindler), 5 teachers, 3 bakers, 2 slaughterers, 1 butcher, 1 glazier, 1 tailor, 1 gardener; the remaining families made their living from trade |
| 1825 | | 158 | |
| 1840 | | 168 | |
| 1871 | | 116 | |
| 1885 | | 104 | |
| 1895 | | 75 | |
| 1905 | | 53 | |
| 1925 | | 30 | |

The figures for the years 1825 and 1840: Knie: 1871-1923: Prussian statistical publications (Gemeindelexikon). Information for the earlier years was quoted from Brann and Brilling.

Some material traces of that community are evident to this day in Wielowieś. A synagogue, which was later converted to a store, but is still in quite a good state of preservation, survived in the centre of the settlement. Its construction lasted from the 1760s until 1771 and it is the earliest brick synagogue in former Prussian Silesia (the Biała synagogue which no longer exists, was built in 1774). About 1 kilometre to the south-east there is a Jewish cemetery standing in the fields.

**1. The History of the Cemetery**

The origins of the cemetery are not precisely known. According to Brann, it was founded shortly after Jews appeared in the village, as early as the 17th century. The same author mentions a tombstone from 1704. At present, the oldest preserved monument is the tombstone of Jonathan Bloch, the founder of the Wielowieś community, who died in 1722. There is no clear evidence pointing to extensions to the cemetery either out of town, or in surviving archives (the Prussian records office documents in Gliwice were completely destroyed by fire along with the court in 1945).

**2. Description of the cemetery**

The cemetery is in a field, about 1 km east of the village centre, on a plain. Overgrown with trees and bushes, it has quite a conspicuous green area of a medium density. The cemetery has sandy soil with granite and flint stones of different sizes.

The cemetery is rectangular, 82 by 36 metres, its length running in a NW-SE direction. On its northern edge there is a small adjacent area (now overgrown with trees and bushes), which also was owned by the Jewish community and was leased as a garden in return for custody over the cemetery. The cemetery area was enclosed by a stone fence, and in the north-eastern corner there was a small brick two-room building. This was ascertained by a photograph from the 1930s [Helmigk]. According to inhabitants' accounts, the wall and the building were dismantled around 1950; there are only remnants of the fence left, and a lot of rubble along the cemetery's circumference, while only the foundations and the black-painted concrete floor of the building remain. In the 1970s the cemetery was enclosed by a wire-mesh fence fastened to concrete poles fixed to the foundations of the former fence, and where the building stood, there is now a double gate made of frames covered with wire mesh. Almost all the poles have been well preserved, but almost all the mesh has rusted and fallen apart.

The above-mentioned picture shows just a few large trees at the cemetery. There are still four old oak-trees there; the fifth one, the largest of them, died, and it was cut down around 1995 (only a stump, nearly 4 m. in circumference is left). Apart from the above-mentioned large oak trees at the cemetery, there are some middle-sized trees: oaks, ashes and poplars, rowans, wild plums and bird berries. A large part of the area is covered with thick blackthorn, elder and other shrubs; some parts are overgrown with tangled blackberries and raspberries. Nettles have spread in many places. Only a small part in the south is not overgrown, but is grassed; but there are still thorny bushes to be found growing there.

There are no traces of former boundaries or fences to be seen inside. There are no regular lanes or divisions. The tombstones are arranged in approximately parallel rows running the length of the cemetery, but they are not particularly long and they form small "domains". Almost all the tombstones preserved in situ face east, or, more accurately, north-east.

The cemetery appears to be in a good state of preservation. Of about 300 objects on our records around 3/4 are complete tombstones. There are a few dozen fragments as well as the lower sections of some stones; some of them can be found lying somewhat far removed from their original places. Although some newer monuments are missing, the vast majority of the tombstones can be found where they were originally placed. At some stage, the cemetery was partly tidied up (maybe at the time the above-mentioned net fencing was put up). At that time some of the tombstones and large fragments were not moved back into their original spots (they were embedded behind or in front of the lower parts of others); smaller fragments were gathered up in two places - seven can be found close to the centre of the cemetery and 22 in the south-western corner. It is necessary to add that the fronts of many tombstones are deteriorating, their surfaces peeling and dropping off. Among other factors, this is attributable to fires in the cemetery's undergrowth, according to local inhabitants, and these fires have scorched and eroded many of the tablets.

### 3. The tombstones

The cemetery in Wielowieś is interesting for the variety of styles of its tombstones, which resemble monuments found in various Jewish centres in Silesia and adjacent regions. One particular type of tombstone is made of granite with no inscription on it, and can be found in the areas of the cemetery where the stones mainly date back to the early nineteenth century. At the end of the nineteenth century, just as at other cemeteries, new types of tombstones appeared – modernised forms of monuments, in historical styles, as well as obelisks. The bulk of the tombstones are made of different varieties of sandstone; crystalline limestone or Silesian marble would make up only 20% of the stones, from two different time periods – 1760-1807 and the second half of the nineteenth century. Two tombstones (1738 and 1807) are made of ordinary limestone, one (1770) of slate and one, the newest (1924) is made of granite.

317 tombstones and large fragments have been found and described, together with some unattached smaller parts. The oldest monument, the date of origin of which we were able to determine, was found on the grave of Jonathan Bloch, who died in 1722; the two next oldest bear the dates 1725 and 1745. There are more tombstones from the second half of the eighteenth century. For the period up to 1800, there are some 65 dated tombstones; however, some of the monuments are devoted to two of the deceased, some undoubtedly were put in place in a later period, some tombstones bearing no date display stylistic features similar to those dating back to the eighteenth century, and there is a strong possibility that they were made in that period. The greatest increase in the number of tombstones could be noted in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, and after that time this number continually decreased. Until the 1840s the cemetery in Wielowieś served the Jews who lived in Toszek, and until the 1830s also those from Pyskowice. At the end of the nineteenth century, though, a considerable group of those buried is



Wielowieś, a rococo tombstone (photo Marcin Wodziński)



Wielowieś, tombstone of Josef b. Abraham (photo Marcin Wodziński)



Wielowieś, tombstone of Menachem Mendel b. Israel, 1782 (photo Marcin Wodziński)

made up of representatives of the relatively large Jewish population from nearby Tworóg. Only 11 bear twentieth-century dates. As has been mentioned, the newest preserved tombstone bears a 1924 date.

As it has tombstones dating from a 200-year period (1722-1924), this cemetery was used for a considerable time in comparison with others in Upper Silesia, and in the first hundred years of its use, it served as a burial place for the dead from a large area. Thus it is obvious that there will be numerous graves of representatives of well-known Upper-Silesian families of Jewish lineage, such as the Skutsh or Meshulmim families.

### 3.1 General appearance of the monuments and reliefs

The above-mentioned stylistic differentiation of tombstones in Wielowieś is particularly apparent from an artistic viewpoint. In addition to the completely undecorated ones, we can find tombstones where most of the surface is covered with reliefs. The inscriptions on most monuments are concave. Convex letters seldom occur; they can be found in eighteenth century inscriptions; usually the tombstones bearing that text are particularly decorated, but not always. Some tombstones have very unusual shapes. A few of the more common types of tombstones can be encountered, or rare varieties represented by a single sample can be viewed.

The most frequently encountered ones in Wielowieś are flat monuments made of sandstone, topped with a low arch narrower than the main body of the monument, from the first half of the eighteenth century. This group includes the oldest tombstones. This type prevailed in the first quarter of the nineteenth century – but in a more simplified version, almost devoid of any decoration.

Monuments made of Silesian marble, which are almost identical to the Biała-Osoblaha type, can be found representing the same period as those in Biała – from the 1760s until the early nineteenth century. They are characterised by more slender proportions than the previous ones, in particular by the clearly distinguished 'head' – the narrower upper part topped with an arch, usually comprising a bas-relief and a row of inscriptions running along the edge.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century tomb tablets made of sandstone and having similar shapes to those in Biała, which are made of Silesian marble, would appear; a characteristic element was a head shaped like a horseshoe arch.

Tall and narrow tombstones with a low arch with a cornice, similar to those found in Miejsce, Wołczyn or Brzeg also feature; however, in Wielowieś they only appeared half-way through the nineteenth century.

Tombstones more European in form, such as obelisks or neo-Gothic monument forms, appear in the late nineteenth century.

Of the less frequent types we can list the following:

* Three Rococo tombstones from 1764, 1766 and 1768, which are similar to two Biała monuments preserved in fragments and to some monuments from Krotoszyn that we know from photographs.

* One monument of an unusual, stepped shape, probably dating back to the eighteenth century. Some similarity in this monument to tombstones from Drmoul (western Bohemia) can be noted.

* Eighteenth century monuments with convex inscriptions and rich, convex ornamentation. One very striking tombstone from this period is very untypical of the Silesian type; it is unusually decorated, and can be found on the grave of Dobresh, a woman from Rybnik, who died in 1790. It actually seems to have come from the Ukraine. A monument which is almost identical from the same year can be found in Mikołów, but it is unique even there. Tombstones with convex lettering are more common in that area up until the early nineteenth century, but are rather less decorated.

* Two tombstones (from 1815 and 1821) similar to those found in a later period in Zagłębie (Będzin, Modrzejów, Kromołów), provisionally called the Będzin type, rather than to the Mikołów type. A similar tombstone is also to be found at the old cemetery in Gliwice. These tombstones are made of sandstone and are quite small, topped with a flat or concave-convex arch. They are significant for their convex inscriptions and frequently have floral themes flanking the inscription.

* One 1770 tombstone, unfortunately only partly preserved, and made of soft limestone, seems to be similar to the eighteenth century monuments from Krzepice (NW of Częstochowa). Such tombstones are quite small, rectangular in shape with a considerably lowered inscription field in the shape of an arcade inscribed into a rectangle. In Silesia such monuments can also be found in Dobrodzień which is located closer to Krzepice.

Of the tombstones which are in a satisfactory state of preservation, 56% have bas-reliefs of different types. This percentage is not constant – the majority of bas-reliefs would have appeared in the eighteenth century (although the oldest tombstone is completely undecorated), and they were at their most adorned in that period; they were numerous until the mid-nineteenth century, although one can observe, particularly at the beginning of that century, that they underwent an obvious reduction in size and decorativeness. After 1860 they completely disappeared. Most frequently they had floral themes – flowers, especially in a vase, and floral ornamentation. As far as animals are concerned, as in Biała, lions were most frequently depicted, especially in the eighteenth century. In addition, there are deer, gryphons and birds. A large number of varied rosettes and other forms representing luminous bodies are typical of Wielowieś. Naturally, levitic jugs and priest's hands can also be found. The themes of a broken tree or a broken candle are rare. Apart from animals/sentinels or adorers of the central element and expanded ornamentation, complex-type representation have not been encountered.

### 3.2 Epitaphs

Till the mid-nineteenth century, the language of the epitaphs is Hebrew only. The first German texts date back to 1857 and 1859. From that time onwards, He-

brew inscriptions on around 70% of the tombstones are accompanied by German text. It usually appears beneath the Hebrew text, and, more rarely, on the reverse of the stone. Probably there were no tombstones with a German inscription only, neither can we find German texts written with the Hebrew alphabet in Wielowieś. The German inscriptions are short and more of an informative type.

The length of the Hebrew inscriptions varies and changes according to the period concerned. We can find both very short texts, which only include the necessary information and the prescribed minimum of laudatory wording, as well as long, expanded epitaphs. Similarly diverse is the style of the epitaphs and their formal richness. Side by side with very simple ones, composed of typical formulae, there are those which display some literary talent on the part of their unknown authors.

In about one-quarter of the inscriptions, lines of different length can be found; some composed in a very intricate manner. Their usual component is the acrostic which always includes the dead person's name, sometimes the father's name or the deceased's own surname. Usually, the acrostic is vertical and contains the first letters of all the verses, but sometimes it is 'rolled up' (it turns into a horizontal at the end of the line) or every alternating verse is used.

The verse on the 1794 tombstone has a particularly complex structure, being composed of six stanzas comprising three short, two-word verses, each with the following system of rhymes: aanbbnccnddneenffn. Such verse structure belongs to the late ancient and medieval versification of Hebrew religious poetry; similar sepulchral works appeared, e.g., in Vienna [see Wachstein]

ראה עובר // פתאום בא השבר // והנה אימה
צפון בא הקרין // ותחשוך הארץ // את המהומה
באה הצפירה // צבי תפארה // כימימה
לשם ואחלמה // לחבל דמה // בנפול תרדימה
לבושת שנים // רכה בשנים // מה תראי אדמה
תתפרר האבן // כקש ותבן // ש_וף לעד רמה

The sepulchral texts from Wielowieś usually had elements typical of Hebrew epitaphs. It was obligatory to include information about the deceased person (name, father's name, date of death). Surnames appeared more often at the end of the 1830s, but their inclusion never became a general custom. Even before the eighteenth century, very few names were to be found on the tombstones: Bloch, Orgler, Gretz, Daitsh, Meshulamim, Skutsh, Openhaim. Shortly after 1800 there were some new surnames: Strohaim, Behm, Viner. As far as the names of the settlements, in which the deceased used to live/come from is concerned, the situation is the opposite – until the mid-1840s they were not rare, and after that they disappeared. It could be connected with the founding of the cemeteries in Pyskowice and Toszek; earlier, the dead from those towns constituted a considerable percentage of the people buried in Wielowieś. For the span

of a few decades, the place of origin was mentioned only once (Rabbi Israel Chaim Pin-czower from Kępno, who died in 1852). At the end of the nineteenth century, information is provided on a settlement in the Hebrew epitaphs of Tworóg's inhabitants.

Personal information about the husband appeared in 29% of the tombstones on the graves of women who died in the eighteenth century and up to 20% in 1801-1840. After 1840 that type of information became more and more frequent; it reached its peak in 1871-1880 with a maximum of 75%, and then it decreased, and especially so in the twentieth century. Quoting of the dead person's age is also characteristic of the second half of the nineteenth century. Chronographs are not uncommon, especially in older epitaphs. The inscription found on the 1784 tombstone is quite unique. Here, personal information about the dead person was dispersed over the text – to read it, one has to find the marked letters. Unfortunately, that inscription is quite unclear and does not provide comprehensible information.

The more extensive inscriptions basically developed in two directions – either a eulogy or a lamentation. Extensive eschatological allusions were a rarity, although that element was present in the form of basic, standard wording.

Lamentation elements appeared in nearly 30% of the epitaphs. A particularly large number can be found in the 1770s, and especially in the twenty-year period at the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth century. They gradually became more rare after 1820, and were sporadic at the end of the nineteenth and in the twentieth century. The widespread use of the lamentation element even in the eighteenth century would make Wielowieś notable in relation to other Upper-Silesian cemeteries. Great internal diversity is also typical here – apart from the very extensive lamentations that have already been quoted in this work, there are also shorter ones, and in many, even lengthy, inscriptions there is no trace of that element.

We can quote the following inscription from 1811, the majority of which includes the expression of regret in the form of a poem:

| | |
|---|---|
| היקר כ"ה יהודא במה"ו איצק ז"ל נפטר | Dear and respectable Mr Yehuda, son of our teacher and lord, of the late Mr Itsek. Passed away |
| פ"נ | Buried here. |
| י"ח אדר ת"ק | eighteenth Adar 500 |
| ע"א לפ"ק | (and) 71 according to the short count |
| יומם אבכה דמי לי | For days shall I lament over him, there is no peace for me |
| גם לילה אשמיע קולי | I will let my voice be heard at night, also |
| המה לי גם קירות לבי | My heart of hearts is restless |
| אוי לי כי נטש בית אבי | Woe on me, as my father's house has been destroyed |
| ומי ומי ירפה שברי | And who, who will heal my misery |
| כי נטל הורי ופארי | As my parent has been taken, my glory |

| | |
|---|---|
| דומם אשב כי שוממתי | In silence shall I sit down, for I am lonely |
| :לא אפתח פי כי נאלמתי | I shall not open my mouth, as I have become speechless |
| הוי נחם נסרת ממני | Oh! My comfort has been concealed from me |
| ומקור דמעה היתה עני | And my eye has become the source of tears. |
| תנצב"ה | Let his soul be tied up in the sack of the living |

Another epitaph, composed a little later (1819) in prose is as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| פ"נ 0 | 0 Buried here, |
| מקיר האבן תזעק | This stone shall cry out from the wall, |
| כפיס מהעץ יענינה | The rafter of the entablature shall answer him, |
| עני ירדה מים כי | My eye sheds water as |
| נכבה נרו בימי בחרותו | his candle was extinguished when he still was a lad |
| דלפה נפשי מתוגה על | My soul faints from sorrow as |
| לא הגיע לחצי ימיו ה"ה | he did not reach the half of his days, this |
| הבחור מנחם מענדיל | young man, Menachem Mendl, |
| ב"ה מאיר פריד מאן | Son of Mr Meir Fridman. |
| נפטר ך"ז תמוז תקע"ט | He passed away on 27th Tamuz 579 |
| לפ"ק תנצב"ה | According to a short count. Let his soul be tied up in the sack of the living. |

In conclusion, it can be said that evidence of the former cultural diversity of the Upper Silesian Jews obviously was a result of the diversity of their origins, as they had gathered in Silesia from a number of quite different directions and had brought their different traditions with them. In Wielowieś, which was quite remote from larger Jewish centres, the traditions of which had been established in a more consolidated manner, apparently none became prevalent. Hence, the tombstones' variety of visual artistic forms, and the diversity of the inscriptions. This richness and diversity ended with the spreading trend of assimilation in the nineteenth century, which resulted in the disappearance of a considerable degree of Jewish cultural diversity, which was replaced by elements taken from the German environment.

**Documentary work**

In 1996-8 stocktaking work was done at the Wielowieś cemetery; tombstones were duly described, and drawings and copies of inscriptions of all the tombstones were made; a great number of photographs were taken and detailed measurements made. This material is at present being expanded upon and we hope that it will be possible to publish a monograph on this interesting monument.

**Bibliography**

M. Brann, 'Etwas von der schlesischen Landgemeinde', in *Festschrift zum 70. Geburtstage Jacob Guttmans* (Leipzig, 1915) 225-55

B. Brilling, 'Von Werden und Sein einer jüdischen Dorfgemeinde. Zur Geschichte der Juden in Langendorf OS', *Jüdische Zeitung für Ostdeutschland*, 7/18 (37) 2.

P. Ehl, A. Pařík, J. Fiedler, *Old Bohemian and Moravian Jewish cemeteries* (Prague, 1991).

H. J. Helmigk, *Oberschlesische Landbaukunst um 1800* (Berlin, 1937).

*Gemeindelexikon für das Koenigreich Preussen* (...) *1885*. Bd. 6: *Provinz Schlesien* (Berlin, 1887).

*Gemeindelexikon für das Koenigreich Preussen* (...) *1895*. Bd. 6: *Provinz Schlesien* (Berlin, 1898).

*Gemeindelexikon für das Koenigreich Preussen* (...) *1905*. H. 6: *Provinz Schlesien* (Berlin, 1908).

*Gemeindelexikon für den Freistaat Preussen* (...) *1925*. Bd. 7: *Provinz Oberschlesien* (Berlin, 1932).

*Die Gemeinden und Gutsbezirken des preussischen Staates und ihre Bevölkerung* [1871]. Bd. 5: *Provinz Schlesien* (Berlin, 1873).

J. G. Knie, Melcher, *Geographische Beschreibung von Schlesien preuss. Antheils* (...). Bd. 3. (Breslau, 1830).

J. G. Knie, *Alphabetisch-statistisch-topographisches Übersicht der Dörfer, Flecken, Städte (...) der Kgl. Preuss. Provinz Schlesien* (...). – 2. verm. und verbess. Aufl. (Breslau, 1845).

R. Kosubek, 'Die Geschichte der jüdischen Gemeinde in Langendorf', *Ausschau von Burg Tost* (Jg. 2 Nr. 11, p. 2)

B. Wachstein, *Die Inschriften des alten Judenfriedhofes in Wien* (Wien, 1912).

**Jaroslav Klenovský**

## THE JEWISH LANDMARKS OF OPAVA SILESIA

The Jews came to the so-called territory of Opava Silesia (the duchies of Opava and Krnov) in the thirteenth century during its colonisation, thus one first encounters them in Opava (the first reference is from 1281). The Jewish population substantially weakened as a consequence of their banishment from the towns in the sixteenth century – in 1522 the Jews were banished from Opava, in the 1540s from Głubczyce and in the second half of the sixteenth century from Krnov. Only a few individuals who generally worked here as the tenants of aristocratic farmers were tolerated at that time.

The situation of Jewish inhabitants on Silesian territory was, at that time, quite different to that in Moravia. The traditional hundreds-of-years-old evolution in Moravia was legally given pursuant to the landlord's privileges, whereas the number of Jewish families was quoted as 5,106 in 1726 increasing to 5,400 in 1787. In Austrian Silesia, as a result of Maria Theresa's edict of 1752, the residence of only 119 Jewish families was tolerated: in Cieszyn (88 families); in the region of Opava and Krnov (23 families), in Vidnava (only 8 families). Persecutions lessened during the reign of Emperor Josef II, but not all barriers were dropped until the middle of the nineteenth century when full civil rights were granted. The exception was Osoblaha, which constituted the largest Moravian enclave in Silesia and thus was not subject to Silesian jurisdiction. In all likelihood, a large community existed here without interruption from as early as the fourteenth century.

Innumerable landmarks of Jewish culture came into being on the territory of Opava Silesia. In a historical context, these landmarks (apart from those of Osoblaha) are more recent, being mainly from the second half of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century. Of interest to us are existing as well as destroyed Jewish cemeteries, synagogues, and other buildings in Bílovec, Bruntál, Hlučín, Jeseník, Klimkovice, Krnov, Opava, Osoblaha, Vidnava and Zlaté Hory. Their development, features and fates are individual in nature, and thus can well serve to illustrate possible aspects of the Jewish communities of that time; the relationship of the majority of the population to the Jews. They are also a reflection of the town's and state's attitudes towards the cultural heritage of the past.

There were a few Jews living in **Bílovec** in the first third of the eighteenth century; it was really only in the nineteenth century that the settlement's population expanded. The land for the first cemetery on the corner of the present-day Ostravská and Sokolovská Streets on the northeastern outskirts of the town measured 420 sq. m. and was bought in 1878, as the rear corner of the old public graveyard (plot no. 210/2). As a consequence of the town's considerable expansion at the beginning of the twentieth century, the town authorities established a new communal cemetery (registered in 1916) about 500 m. further eastwards. At the same time, the town forced the Jewish community to stop burying their dead in the old cemetery and assigned them the easternmost area of the new graveyard. It was a flat piece of land, plot no. 1367, 1365/2, almost triangular in shape and with an area of 2,500 sq. m. Originally it had been part of the area of the neighbouring village of Velké Albrechtice.

It would appear that the Nazis did not wipe out the old cemetery and its gravestones until World War II. A hotel and a restaurant, today traditionally called Statek (farm-house) or Kravín (cow barn), was built on these grounds after the War, and there is not even a sign left of the original use of the land. The Nazis also decimated the new cemetery, and anything that remained submitted to the ravages of time or human indifference. The area, enclosed by a wire fence, is considerably overgrown with trees and bushes, and it is here that two remaining gravestones from the 1930s and several crumbling concrete and stone pedestals are hidden.

The house of prayer has stood since the beginning of the second half of the nineteenth century (certainly from 1872) in the rear allotment of the Rosenzweig family's home, house no. 15, on the corner of the east facade of the main square, with entry from the side alley, Cikánská St. The house of prayer was probably a converted lodge and consisted of an entrance hall, a library/reading room and separate rooms for men and women. The house was so badly bomb damaged in 1945 that it was demolished.

Individual families lived in **Bruntál** from the second half of the eighteenth century, but there was no ongoing settlement to speak of until a century later. From 1866 at the latest, local Jews had been renting two rooms in a block of flats for their house of prayer, house no. 146, which belonged to Josef Hofmann, on the corner of what is now Žižkovo Square, formerly Kostelní, and 3 Opletal St., formerly Panská. The little house of prayer was in use until the occupation in 1938.

Many years later, in 1904, the prayer society bought the plot on Krnovské suburb (plot no. 331, 616/14, today 2,540) for their cemetery. At that time, it was situated completely outside of the town, about 2 km. north of the centre, in today's Polní St., about 150 m. from Krnovská St. The rectangular-shaped plot, with an area of 1,349 sq. m., is situated close to the street on slightly undulating terrain. Only few traces remain of the surrounding brick wall, and apart from the ceremonial hall at the entry, nothing has remained. There is an area completely overgrown by broadleaved trees where only the gravestone of the Marburg family has surprisingly remained preserved. A tall cedar draws one's attention to this gravestone.

The remainder is a mess: large piles of rubbish and a few tumbled pedestals. It is said that gravestones were used during the War to stabilise the bed of the stream that ran through the park.

Jews were allowed to settle in **Hlučín** from the first half of the eighteenth century, and from 1790 in the inner part of the town as well. From the beginning of the nineteenth century they were engaged in building their first house of prayer, in 1814 they founded their own cemetery. It was located on a 700 m. area east of the square, on the crossroads of what is now Ostravská and Rovniny Streets. The flat graveyard (plot no. 786, 787), trapezoid in shape and about 1,350 sq. m. in area, was accessible from Ostravská St. by a pathway to a ceremonial hall, which was probably built some time around 1860. The area also had a house standing near Ostravská St. with a garden that belonged to the gravedigger. The Nazis destroyed the cemetery in 1942 and the tombstones were broken. In the spring of 1946 an honorary cemetery for fallen Soviet soldiers was established here on part of the area and around it. The ceremonial hall was demolished as well at that time. Two older tombstones, found in 1983, today are in the depository of the town museum.

The Jews in Hlučín built a synagogue between 1840-3. It was about 100 m. north-west of the square in front of its walls, on the corner of Na valech and Úzká Streets, on the site of a former barn. It was a late classicist building subdivided by high windows ending in semi-circles and with a plaster boss on the corners and pilasters. Because of a decrease in members, it was no longer used after World War I and was bought privately in 1927 and demolished in September 1931. The present house, no. 717 (3 Úzká St.), was built on the same site immediately after demolition. A one-storey residence, 181 Hluboká Rd., which belonged to the rabbi, also stood thereabouts.

Jewish settlement in the area of the town of **Jeseník** began in the second half of the nineteenth century. The house of prayer, there from approximately 1864, was in the suburban village of Svoboda (Freiheit), in the area of the present Svoboda square, in the home of a certain Lichtenstern. In the first half of the twentieth century, there was also a seasonal house of prayer in Lázně Jeseník. However, its exact location is unknown.

Jews who died after the 1880s were buried individually at the communal cemetery (perhaps a separate Jewish section used to be there) at Střelecká, now Husova St., about 1 km. north-east of the square, near the road to Česká Ves. In 1933 the Jewish congregation bought its own cemetery, a piece of land, plot no. 918/2, bordering the town graveyard on its northeastern side. The Nazis destroyed the Jewish cemetery during the occupation, and the plot was newly subdivided into gardens in 1955. It was a rectangular area with dimensions of 34 x 60 m. and an area of 2,048 sq. m. sloping west.

The Jewish Prayer Society was established in **Klimkovice** some time during the last quarter of the nineteenth century and was then running its own house of prayer as well. Its last location (before 1893 and until 1938) was on the second level of a courtyard tract in house no. 25 on the northern side of the square. Today

an apartment building is built on the location of the house of prayer and what was its neighbouring building. The cemetery plot was bought by the society in 1890. It lay about 1 km. northeast of the town centre behind the town graveyard, near the road to Ostrava-Svinov (today Čs. Armády St.), on the Porubské pole route (plot no. 1044/3, 384, now 2659). The lowland plot was rectangular in shape, measured 25 x 30 m. and had an area of 706 sq. m. A modest mortuary used to stand at the south entry from the street. A surrounding brick wall was built in 1914, based on the plans of the local architectural company of Anton Kurka and Franz Kreisel. The entrance sector was taken over after World War I by house no. 261 belonging to the gravedigger (since 1956 in private hands). There used to be 20 modern tombstones standing in four regular incomplete rows; then from 1964 there was a modest monument in the centre for 24 victims of World War II. The graveyard was not in good condition, but the liquidation of the cemetery by the Jewish community in Ostrava at the beginning of the 90s was completely unwarranted.

The existence of the medieval community in **Krnov** in the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries is reliably recorded, but has not been examined. The modern settlement came about after the middle of the nineteenth century, and the Prayer Society, which was established in 1853, became an independent community in 1877. After World War II, a congregation with a house of prayer briefly functioned there.

The synagogue was established on the site of the demolished ramparts on the eastern outskirts of the centre of the town, close to the former Opavská Gate. This is the corner of Soukenická and Barvířská Streets and it was here that the house at 83 Horní předměstí was acquired. The local master-builder, Ernst Latzel, built it in neo-Romanesque style in 1871-2. It is a freestanding, two-storey hall building with a double tower over the eastern facade and an entry from the south side. After all the losses resulting from the totalitarian regimes of the Nazis and the communists, it is now the only preserved synagogue with a double tower in the entire territory of Moravia and Silesia; and together with the synagogue in Český Těšín is the sole synagogue in Czech Silesia. The interior of the synagogue is relatively well preserved. Worthy of mention are the wooden coffered painted ceiling; the wooden gallery for women on cast iron pillars on three sides of the hall; and the décor with its Moorish elements. Apart from the technical aspect, the remains of the original ventilation system in the walls under the windows and the fragments of gas lighting on the supporting pillars of the gallery are of interest. A plaque of the local Jewish community was displayed in the 1960s on the south facade of the synagogue. The building served during the War as a market-hall, and afterwards for storing textiles. From 1962 it has been the workplace and depository for the district archives. It was evacuated during the 1997 flood and an appropriate new use for the building is still being vainly sought.

The cemetery plot in the Opavské suburb was bought by representatives of the Jewish community in 1872. It was about 1.5 km. south-east of the centre. The graveyard was laid out grandly in an axial design with two gates from the main Opavská road and an alley leading to the graves on the downhill slope in the rear

upper area. A ceremonial hall, no. 187, was in the front sector from 1902, and was destroyed in 1939 by the Nazis. A house for the cemetery keeper, no. 421, was built close to it (recently 102 Vosadé-St., no. 398), and was rebuilt for domestic purposes in 1963. After the War, the community gradually sold off the entire front part of the area, so that out of the original 10,079 sq. m., only the existing 2,590 sq. m. remained. The cemetery plot is divided on both sides of the linden alley into 2 + 8 rows, always containing 25 graves. The last funeral took place in 1968. During the liquidation of the cemetery at the end of the 1980s, a large percentage of the tombstones was carried away. Today there are around 150 of them and also a number of empty pedestals have been preserved. Only one of two majestic art-nouveau tombstones at the beginning of the alley is left, and at the south-east picket walls there is a monument to Jewish soldiers who fell during World War I. The modern tombstones have moderate ornamentation and symbolism. The sad condition of the cemetery is emphasized by the overgrown bushes and grass.

The character of the town of **Osoblaha** was special in many aspects. As a so-called protected bishopric town, it was the most significant Moravian enclave in Silesia for centuries and the Jewish settlement likewise has uniquely „Moravian" features. The Jewish community had been developing in Osoblaha since the fourteenth century. It ceased to exist at the time of migration for better living conditions before World War II. Similarly, the synagogue, a late baroque building from 1807-8 on the site of even older temples, was totally neglected and was demolished in 1933. Architecturally speaking, it was interesting. The interior space of the hall was, in accordance with Polish tradition, subdivided in the middle by a four-pillar *almemor*. The entry and the women's gallery on the second floor were unusually situated on the south side; a sanctuary on the eastern wall stood vertically to it. The town was almost wiped out during war operations in 1945, so the former Jewish quarter on the northern outskirts of the town centre, which consisted of 30 houses, no longer exists.

The old Jewish cemetery situated near the Jewish quarter outside of the rampart, was possibly already established in the second half of the fourteenth century. Its older southern part on the downhill slope has already crumbled. Today there are 313 tombstones in an area measuring 2,431 sq. m. and surrounded by a modern concrete wall. The oldest ones are from the end of the seventeenth century (1694 Meshulam Zalman, son of Isaak Marburg). The baroque tombstones, which are absolutely unique in the Czech Republic, are influenced by the surrounding Silesian environment in their design and decoration. A number of eminent persons, predominantly scholarly rabbis, are buried here. The cemetery was heavily damaged during the War. Its complex reconstruction take place in 1992-4 and it is one of the most valuable monuments of its kind in the Czech Republic.

A new Jewish cemetery was established at the end of the nineteenth century close to the municipal Christian graveyard with an area of 1,480 sq. m. (plot no. 3669, 491/2, bought in 1894), however, the 25 or so modern tombstones were de-

stroyed by the Nazis at the beginning of the 1940s. The mortuary, no. 355, established in 1911 near the entry, was demolished by 1933.

Jews were already living in **Vidnava** before 1740, and in 1752 eight Jewish families were allowed to settle and run their businesses upon payment of the so-called tolerance money. They lived in houses on Židovská (Jewish), now Lékárenská St., which leads to the north-eastern corner of the square. Some of those two-storeyed houses in the built-up area were preserved during the reconstruction. Since World War II, however, there has been no house no. 44, where a small house of prayer should have been – it was done away with at the end of the nineteenth century because of the lack of worshippers.

The deceased of Vidnava had to be transported for funerals to distant Osoblaha. It was only with the acquisition of full civil rights during the monarchy that they were able in 1851 to buy a small piece of land in the nearby settlement of Stachlovice (which until 1927 belonged to the area of Dolní Červená Voda) in the Kolbenberg tract. People were buried here from 1854. The graveyard (no. 616, 318, today a part of plot no. 600/10) was situated about 200 m. north-west of the last building in the settlement on lowland on a moderate uphill slope. It was a rectangular shape and 20 x 23 m. in size, enclosed by a stone wall with a mortuary in the corner by the entrance. There could have been up to 50 modern-type tombstones. The cemetery was violently destroyed in one single night in 1940 by German soldiers, who came from Nysa. Today there are no signs of the cemetery left, and the plot is now a part of a field.

The Jewish settlement in **Zlaté Hory** left behind the remains of a small Jewish section in the municipal cemetery (plot no. 1478/2), which lies on a downhill slope behind the parish church on the east side of the town's outskirts. The first funeral took place in 1905. The Jewish section is situated in the upper part and contains the sole remaining tombstone from what was originally less than 20 tombstones, while the others were wiped out during World War II and in 1988. We have no evidence as to the existence of a house of prayer.

The most complex and the richest history of Jewish settlements is associated with the capital city, **Opava**. The oldest written reference to Jews in Opava refers to the year 1281. The Jews lived from the thirteenth century in the alley (which also had a small synagogue) at the northern limits of the ramparts, appropriately called Židovská, and later Na valech. The medieval cemetery lay on the west side of Hradecká St., between the entry to today's Skřiváňčí and Roosevelt Streets. After the banishment of the Jews in 1522, the houses in Židovská St. were occupied by Christian residents and were gradually completely rebuilt. The cemetery was transformed into a garden.

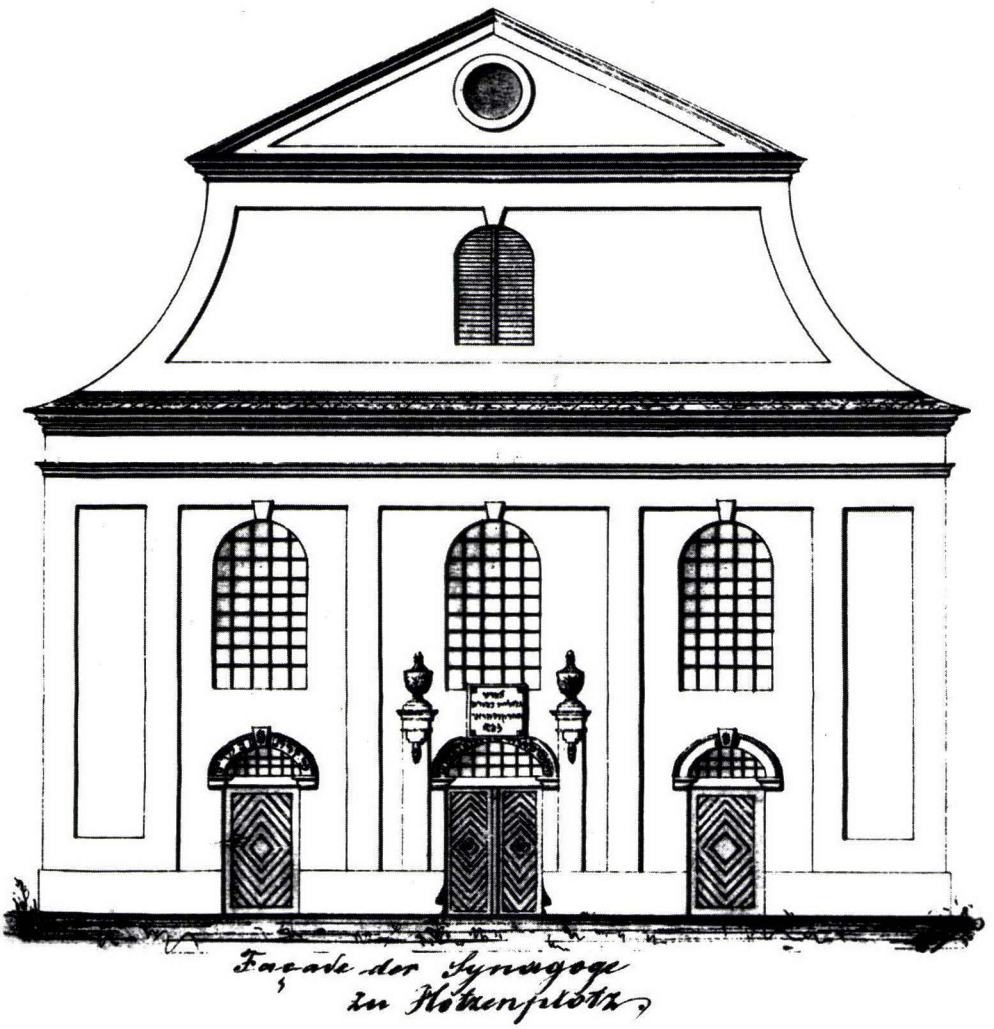
The modern Jewish settlement – first one and then several families were tolerated – dates back to the middle of the eighteenth century. Full-scale expansion did not begin until 1848. The oldest house of prayer was situated in a deserted house, no. 135, in Mezi trhy St. Another house of prayer was functioning in the years 1850-5 in house no. 23/329 on the west side of the Dolní Square (it was destroyed



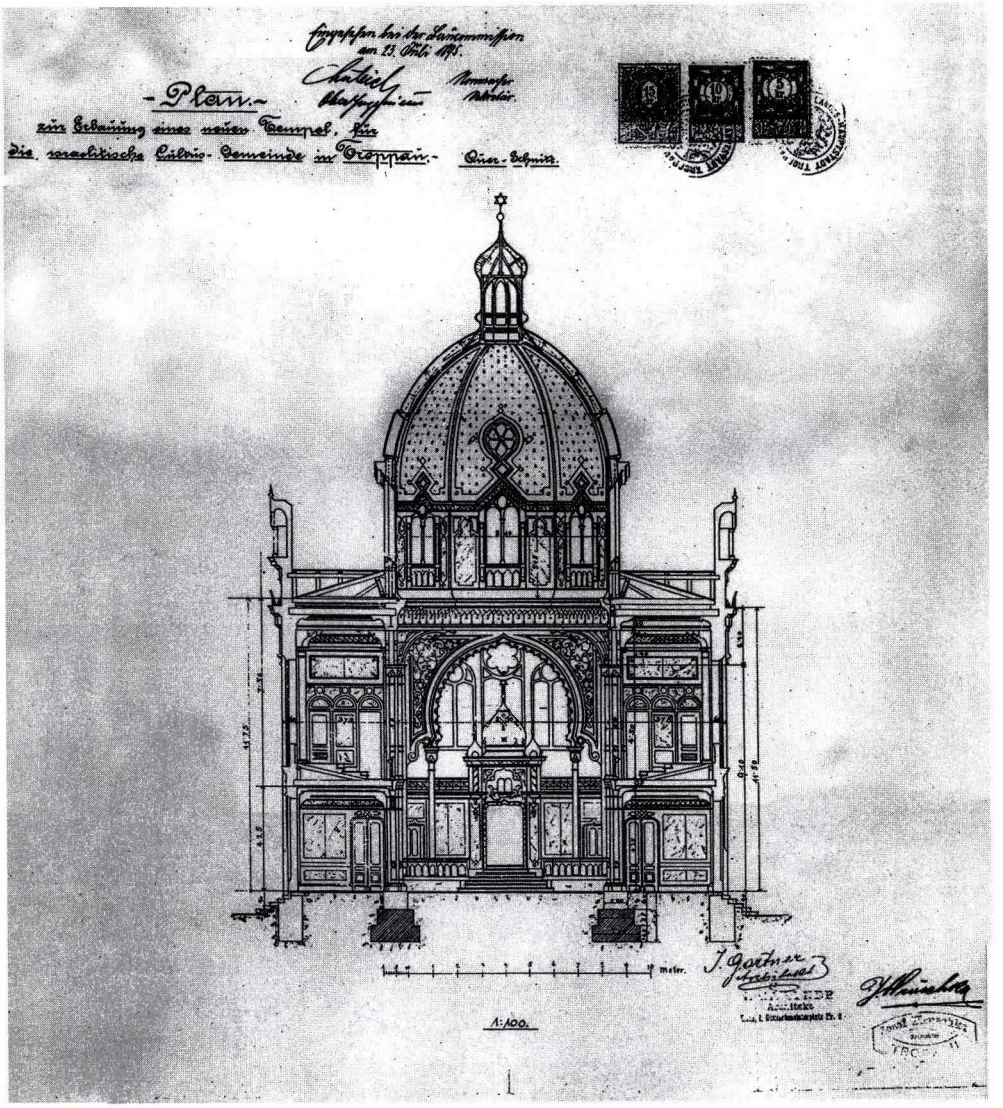

Synagogue in Krnov, postcard from 1930s (Silesian Regional Museum in Opava)



Jewish cemetery in Osoblaha, 1928 (photo Institute of Monuments in Brno)




Synagogue in Osoblaha. A drawing of the façade of the synagogue from early 19th century (Silesian Regional Museum in Opava)




Synagogue in Opava, designed by Jakob Gartner, 1893 (Jewish Museum in Praque)




Synagogue in Opava, postcard from 1930s (Silesian Regional Museum in Opava)

during the War). The increasing number of believers necessitated construction of the first synagogue in what was Panská St. and today is 5 Masarykova St., house no. 400 (consecrated on September 7 1855). Unfortunately, nothing is known of its appearance, but from the situation we can deduct that it was a two-storeyed house in a built-up row on a deep plot. The old temple ceased to be used for divine services soon after the construction of the new synagogue. At the beginning of the twentieth century it served as a Sokol gym, between the wars as a cinema, and it was destroyed by bombing in 1945.

The building of the new synagogue was first considered in 1891 on the plot at the crossing of Sněmovní and Praskova Streets, on the actual extension of the plot where the old synagogue in Panská St. had previously stood.

The well-known architect, Jakob Gartner (1861 Přerov – 1921 Vienna), who had been the force behind similar buildings in Olomouc, Kroměříž, Holešov and Prostějov, was commissioned to acquire the plans for the spectacular new synagogue in Opava. The plot, on the circular road at the site of a demolished liqueur factory, was bought in 1892. A competition for the project was announced on May 16 1892. The plans were drawn up in 1893, and construction took place over 1895-6 under the guidance of the master-builder Josef Hruschka. The synagogue 4 Na rybníčku St., house no. 102, was a freestanding rectangular two-storeyed, Moorish-style building, crowned by a dome over the main hall and a double tower over the northwestern entrance frontage.

Considering the urban situation, the building at that time was not precisely aligned with the sanctuary on the northern side. The ground floor held 204 seats for men; the three-sided gallery for women on the second floor held 144 seats. There is a small park today on the place where the synagogue stood. It was burnt down on November 9 1938 during the Kristallnacht. A two-storeyed Jewish community building with a school built according to a similar architectural concept, 7 Čapkova St., house no. 688 (its plans from 1892-3 were signed by the engineer Lubich) still stands in the neighbourhood. In the post-War period, up until 1960, a house of prayer of the local prayer society was situated there; today the building belongs to a Christian choir.

The Jews bought the plot for the first modern cemetery on Jaktařské suburb on Olomoucká St. in 1850; this was building no. 5 which had a garden, and was called the New World. The area was soon taken for the construction of riding barracks, and so, in March 1854, the society was forced to buy house no. 17, with a garden, in the Hradecké suburb, on Na rybníčku, later Ennsova, today Veleslavínova St. It was called Odpočinek chudých = The Respite of the Poor (plot no. 2463/1) and had an area of 423 sq. m. Twelve bodies from the old cemetery were exhumed and transferred to the new graveyard. By the end of the 1880s, all the space was occupied, thus the representatives of the Jewish community reapplied to the town council, to build a new communal cemetery. The Nazis destroyed the old tombstones at the beginning of the 1940s.

The town started to build its central cemetery in 1890 on Otická St. (house no. 101/801), about 1.5 km. south-west of the centre. The nobly laid-out complex, opened to the public in 1892, was made up of three parts – the Jewish section is in the north-western part of the area at the entrance. The flat, rectangularly-shaped graveyard with an area of 11,200 sq. m. is subdivided at regular intervals into sections and rows. Overall, about 600 modern tombstones have a moderate amount of decoration and symbolism. Some eminent local personalities rest here. A monument to the soldiers of World War I has stood on this place since 1920, and there is also a monument to 25 victims of the March of Death in 1945. Upon entering the wrought-iron gate, one can find the neo-empire ceremonial hall from 1893, since 1975 used as an inter-congregational mourning hall of the communal cemetery. Overall, the area is in relatively good condition and is used for funerals to the present day.

**Literature and Sources:**

M. Brann, *Die Geschichte der Juden in Schlesien.* 6 Vols (Breslau, 1896-1917).

B. Brilling, 'Zur Geschichte der Juden in österreichischen Schlesien 1640-1734', *Judaica Bohemiae* 4 (1968) 101-18.

J. Fiedler, *Židovské památky v Čechách a na Moravě* (Prague, 1992).

J. Fiedler, 'Z dějin židovských obcí ve Slezsku', *Židovská ročenka* (1994-5) 67-81.

J. Heřman, *Židovské hřbitovy v Čechách a na Moravě* (Prague, 1980).

K. Kuča, *Města a městečka v Čechách, na Moravě a ve Slezsku.* 3 Vols (Prague, 1996-9).

F. Popiołek, *Dzieje Śląska Austriackiego z ilustracjami* (Cieszyn, 1913).

*Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kulturgeschichte Österreichischen Schlesiens* (1905-33).

Zemský archiv v Opavě

Moravský zemský archiv v Brně

State archives in Bruntál, Jeseník, Nový Jičín and Opava

Židovské museum v Praze

Archives of Jewish communities in Olomouc and Ostrava

**Magdalena Ruta**

## IN QUEST OF IDENTITY – KALMAN SEGAL

Kalman Segal was the last Polish-Jewish writer to write in two languages (Polish and Yiddish) for the entire span of his literary career[1]. He was born in 1917. His early years, i.e., the period that shaped his philosophy of life and the ideological choices connected with it, were spent in the 1930s – a time of intensifying anti-Semitism. Coming from a family of poor 'rural' Jews, he aspired to being an intellectual. A self-educated person, who had not taken any courses, he passed the entrance examinations to a Polish grammar school in Sanok, and he studied there for a number of years. Artur Sandauer, describing the situation of a Pole and a Jew who leaves one society to live in another – and the young Segal undoubtedly experienced this kind of transition – states the following:

> ...such a person is disposed to behave in an anti-survival manner, they favour revolutions: any revolutionary movement can guarantee them equality of rights in a new society[2].

Jan Błoński confirms that diagnosis when he writes the following:

> For intellectuals threatened by anti-Semitism (and not only intellectuals) Zionism and communism have become different answers to an identical challenge[3].

Thus the abject poverty of the Galician Jews and intensifying anti-Semitism determined Segal's ideological choices. Communism, which he encountered early as a young boy[4], was to be the cure for poverty, social inequalities, and simultane-

---

1 He was born in 1917 in Sanok, died in 1980 in Jerusalem. He published his first collection of poems in 1952, and his last volume of prose appeared in 1981. See M. Fuks, 'Żydowska literatura w Polsce XX wieku', in *Słownik Literatury Polskiej XX wieku* (Wrocław-Warsaw-Cracow, 1992) 1252.

2 A. Sandauer, *O sytuacji pisarza polskiego pochodzenia żydowskiego w XX wieku (Rzecz, którą nie ja powinienem był napisać)* (Warsaw, 1982) 26.

3 J. Błoński, 'Autoportret żydowski czyli o żydowskiej szkole w literaturze polskiej' in id., *Biedni Polacy patrzą na getto* (Cracow, 1994) 86.

4 In one of the interviews the writer remembered that he had been affiliated with the communist movement even during his grammar school days. He said that his arrest for

ously it was expected that it would change the world so that the division of people into Jews and non-Jews would cease to exist[5].

Ideological choices made by Jews in the inter-War period and the subsequent language preferences were analysed by Alexander Kurc[6]. The use of native or official languages by representatives of minorities, according to that author, was the proof of their abandonment of whatever was local to affiliate with a national community. But a language was not only the arena for the shaping of social roles. One's definition of self is established in discourse, among others. And this is identity. Kurc distinguished four types of Jewish identity, hinging upon the Jews' attitudes towards Polish language and culture, as well as towards Jewish languages and culture. These were: integration, assimilation, separation and marginalisation. The marginalisation attitude was connected to the forsaking of both the identity of the individual's own group and the culture of the Polish majority. Such was the attitude of Jewish communists, who fought to overcome national and class antagonisms. Language was of little significance to them, as their movement was of an internationalist character. However, many communist activists forsook Yiddish as a symbol of the ghetto, as well as Hebrew as the language of religion and Zionism. On the basis of Kurc's classification, Segal could be classified among that marginalising type (communism). It appeared, though, that the experience of the Holocaust[7] might have strengthened his bonds with the Jewish community, while the protection of the wide-ranging affiliation with this social group was connected with a positive valorisation of the dominant culture and its language. Segal came to know the works of Polish literature in his pre-War grammar school; however, it was only after the War that he embarked upon his adventures with the Polish language as a literary person. The choice of language – a factor in national identity – entailed the choice of national affiliation. Although there are no autobiographical works in Segal's literary heritage, in which he would have spoken honestly about his bilingualism[8] and his double identity[9], the recurring subjects of his works, as

this type of activity was the reason for his suspension from school. See (ker.), 'Kalman Segal. Sylwetki pisarzy śląskich', *Wieczór* 108 (1958) 4, portrait.

5 Similar reasons for this fascination with communism were mentioned, for example by Julian Stryjkowski (see Błoński, 'Autoportret żydowski' 86) or Stanisław Wygodzki (see id., 'Służyłem złej sprawie. Ze Stanisławem Wygodzkim rozmawia Piotr Sarzyński', in K. Bernard (ed.), *Wygodzki. Zeszyty pamięci* (Tel Aviv, 1992) 28-34).

6 A. Kurc, 'Język, kultura a tożsamość żydowska', in E. Żoch (ed.), *Literackie portrety żydów* (Lublin, 1996) 305-16.

7 Which was true for Julian Tuwim (c.f., the poem *My, żydzi polscy*) or Julian Stryjkowski (c.f., the origin of the novel *Głosy w ciemności*).

8 In a conversation with S. Huppert, recorded for Radio Kol Israel on July 27 1970, Segal said: '...first I wrote in Yiddish, and then in Polish as well. Those were the two languages I had used ever since I was a child. It seems to me that for every man the dearest language is the language his mother uses. My mommy spoke Yiddish only, she did not know any other tongue.' (translated from the Hebrew by T. Korzeniowski).

well as his literary bilingualism were proof of his search for a niche in both Polish and Jewish language and culture.

Any historical, cultural or social changes force an individual to face the necessity of self-determination[10]. Borderline situations[11], too, can result in a 'tendency towards an acute sense of identity, the search for this feeling'[12].

If we view Kalman Segal as a man standing on the borderline, we will perceive evidence of his spiritual quest more clearly in his works. This evidence will be particularly clear in works created at turning-points of the writer's life. Segal's post-War biography can be divided into three periods, in which the subject-matter of self-determination was of particular relevance.

The first stage is the post-War stage: the return from exile in the USSR, the attempt to reconstruct one's life on the ruins of the Jewish world, the decision to emigrate and return to Poland, to Katowice.

Having being a supporter of communism before the War, Segal spent the War in Soviet labour camps. He came back to Poland with a transport of repatriates in 1946. In his early collections of poems[13], in many stories, as well as in the novel *Anopheles*[14], the writer depicts the 'homecoming' scenes following the nomadicism of the War period. In his last novel, written in Israel, Segal includes the following depiction of being welcomed by the Poles:

> ...we are going like the wind to Poland, in cattle-trucks; it stinks a bit of horse dung, but it's all right; we're passing the border, to Poland, to Poland, to the tormented mother country; this word sounds so sincere, so familiar; at the border-crossing there are banners: "Welcome Back, Dear Compatriots" and "Poland Welcomes Her Sons"; lots of people on the platform, speeches, songs, a bunch of lilacs for the first female repatriate to leave the car... A children's choir sing songs; weeping, we leave the cursed cars, we have been travelling for two weeks and a louse has got into my breast-pocket, has made its nest and is crawling to and from, wagging its tail, tormenting me; it is inappropriate to scratch; somebody kneels down and kisses the soil; there's a clapping of hands, a festival. And all of a sudden, huge embarrassment, unexpected disillusionment. It is a Jew they see, a real one, bearded, then another one and yet ten more Jews, orthodox scabs, Jesus Christ! those are Jews; who are the Russians sending us?... Such were their cries, such was our homeland's welcome, the welcome given to her sons of the Mosaic faith; and we had escaped death by the skin of our teeth, we had risen from the ashes, we wanted to come back to life, we thought that Poland would clasp

---

9 The problem of Jewish-Polish identity appears directly only later in an unpublished novel written in Israel.

10 M. Melchior, *Społeczna tożsamość jednostki (w świetle wywiadów z Polakami pochodzenia żydowskiego urodzonymi w latach 1944-1955)* (Warsaw, 1990) 64.

11 Cf. A. Kłoskowska, *Kultury narodowe u korzeni* (Warsaw, 1996) 125.

12 A. Kłoskowska, 'Kulturologiczna analiza biograficzna', *Kultura i społeczeństwo* 3 (1985) 10.

13 *Lider* (Warsaw, 1952); *Tsu mayn nayer heym* (Warsaw, 1953), *Friling bay mayn tir* (Warsaw, 1955).

14 'Anopheles', in id., *Ludzie z jamy* (Warsaw, 1957).

us to her heart, to her motherly breast, that she would console us, heal the wounds, utter a kind word, pour a drop of honey on to our pain; that's what we had thought.[15]

The return to the homeland was linked with despair, just as the world of their childhood had been annihilated. A poem entitled *1946*, which probably was written after the author had heard the news of the Kielce pogrom, testifies to the poet's fight for faith in the Jews living in Poland. The words describe the homecoming, surprise at seeing that nothing had changed, only that the front door was locked.

Un in fentster shteyt a lets
un lacht oys mir,
un lacht. –

and in the window a jester is standing
and he is mocking me,
laughing –

And yet

S'lechert durch mayn blik akshoynesdik dem himl:
– ich vel nisht geyn fun danen, ch'vel nisht geyn![16]

My sight stubbornly pierces the sky:
– I will not leave here, I will not leave!

It should be mentioned that at the beginning of his writing career, Segal's reaction to any indication of anti-Semitism was extremely sensitive. In the novel *Anopheles* he presented the reality of post-War Poland, where anti-Semitic sentiments were still very strong and hordes of Jews were emigrating west. The aversion for Jews, vividly shown by many Poles, forced Michael, the hero of the novel, to emigrate. But his longing for the Polish land and his faith that communism would heal Poles of racist hatred were stronger than his fear. The hero made the decision to return. Segal, too, left the displaced persons camp in Austria. He was there at the turn of 1946-7[17]. It was at that time that he began to publish his first works in Jewish magazines published in Austria – *Der Oyfgang* and *Untervegns*. His mother, the last surviving member of his family, died in Linz. What it was that made young Segal return can only be guessed at – again, on the basis of the works he wrote.

The reflections encountered in the collection of reports 'On the Strange River Sambation' (*Nad dziwną rzeką Sambation*), which were the result of his work in

[15] This quotation comes from the typescript of a novel which was written by Segal after emigration to Israel. Access to the unpublished text was granted by courtesy of the writer's daughter, Ita Segal, for whose help I am very grateful. The novel's title has remained unknown. Further on in the work I refer to the novel as the 'Israeli novel'.

[16] '1946', in K. Segal, *Lider* (Warsaw, 1952) 31.

[17] It is difficult to determine the exact time he spent in the refugee camp. Biographical dictionaries quote 1946 as the date of his departure and 1947 as that of his return. Nevertheless, these works appeared in the Yiddish press in Linz even in 1948.

the field as a reporter, were far from optimistic. The attitude of Poles towards Jews had not changed in the ten years of the country's new political system:

> Some regard anti-Semitism to be an out-of-date subject, an obsolete one. This is how they reason: before the War there were Jews in Poland, there was anti-Semitism and there were democrats who fought anti-Semitism. At present in Poland there is a handful of Jews who are quickly assimilating; the interests of Christian merchants are no longer threatened; those who spread hatred are gone; the party's policies and the people's government fights nationalistic antagonisms; anti-Semitism has lost the conditions needed for its development, its roots must wither as they will not find any life-giving saps in our soil – so what is there to argue about?... We were fighting anti-Semitism in the years it was fashionable and supported by fascist ministers. Let us not hush it up, now that it is doomed to destruction[18].

These words sound like a blurring of reality – facts interlocked with wishful thinking. The subject of anti-Semitism appears in Segal's works repeatedly, most often in the context of the Holocaust. However, the writer did not express his opinions on this subject directly until he emigrated.

The second period in Segal's literary career was the time spent in Katowice – and this was a time of literary prosperity. It is significant that having experienced the 'acts of kindness' of Soviet communism, he became a keen eulogist of the new political system in the People's Republic of Poland (PRL). For a long time he could not break free from importunate conventionality and didacticism. In works published after 1956 he described the fate of communists who were involved ideologically, using naive slogans that already must have been offensive at that time.[19] He was criticised for that by the literary press. It is difficult to gauge to what extent he believed in what he wrote. Maybe that stream of his creative work expresses the characteristic need mentioned by Jan Błoński in the above-quoted essay to create a community:

> The phenomenon of "communising" many a time fed on the fear of loneliness, on the desire for togetherness, for solidarity with one another... Rudnicki spoke clearly of the "eternal dream of the solitary": "to be with someone, to be together, embedded in life, not letting anyone reject us; to be in the centre of things, involved." This dream was frequent among intellectuals, but among Jewish intellectuals it was experienced as a paroxysm... The injury of otherness? Surely; hidden deeply, with shame, under the changeability of masks. We – intellectuals, we – citizens, we – the Polish....[20]

Apart from the zealously propagated eulogy to his 'ideological homeland'[21], Segal, until the end of his literary activity, would repeatedly return to his 'private

---

[18] K. Segal, *Nad dziwną rzeką Sambation* (Warsaw, 1957) 95-6.

[19] Cf., the novels: *Ludzie z jamy, Nad dziwną rzeką Sambation, Ziemia jest dla wszystkich* as well as the numerous stories of the 1950s.

[20] Błoński, 'Autoportret żydowski' 88.

[21] This term was introduced by S. Ossowski in the work: 'Analiza socjologiczna pojęcia ojczyzny', in id., *O ojczyźnie i narodzie* (Warsaw, 1984).

homeland'[22], the Jewish *shtetl* of his youth. Segal, as the survivor, the one that had not himself experienced the hell of the Holocaust, felt that it was his duty to revive that annihilated world:

> You can ask why I am telling you about all this... I do not know why. Maybe it is not you I am telling it to but myself. Because Blima Mandelbaum, as you must have guessed, is dead. She was murdered or burnt, maybe a few bars of soap were made from her, or maybe a lampshade. And I, having been notified of her death, did not go to drown myself in the San or to hang myself in an old cemetery. And sometimes I just tell stories about her and my dear old little Town, about my sad little Town, where every shadow is washed in blood, and where at night shadows of old, stately Jews lament over Blima Mandelbaum's death; a Jewish girl who read Polish books and embroidered tablecloths for her trousseau.[23]

The effort of creating his positive Polish-Jewish identity[24] was manifest to its fullest extent in the fact that Segal wrote in the two languages, in a conscious quest to forge a unity between Jews and Poles. A specific feature of Segal's literary works was his translation of various works or the simultaneous writing of those same works in the two language versions[25]. The differences that appear between the two versions are testimony to his effort to make his mark in Polish literature.

In the essay 'From Bondage to Emancipation', Isaiah Berlin analysed the psychological transformations that accompanied the acculturation and assimilation of Jews, the consequence of which was a full identification with the culture of another nation. The effort vested in learning the values of another culture:

> ...will soon cause a natural fondness, a feeling of devotion and identification with the subject that has absorbed all the energy, time and talent, all mental and emotional resources of the researcher... With time they [i.e., the Jews] will grow in their love for the tribe... but often those feelings are not reciprocated.[26]

This was so because:

> Their [i.e., the Jews'] understanding of the tribe's affairs is too deep, their devotion too absolute; they are not members of the community, they are individual experts on the tribe... In conclusion, they want too much to appeal.[27]

---

[22] This term also comes from the work by Ossowski 'Analiza socjologiczna'.

[23] 'Rodzina Mandelbaumów', in K. Segal, *Miłość o zmierzchu* (Warsaw, 1962) 82.

[24] '...the adoption of a double identity in some situations can be a relevant method of solving the problem of the "borderline" (cultural, ethnic, social) or the "conflict" of identity, when we encounter the simultaneous "fulfilment" of the affiliation criteria or the individual's feeling of belonging to two social groups or categories.' See Melchior, *Społeczna tożsamość* 169.

[25] Those auto-translations are true of almost all his works published in Yiddish, or approximately half of the publications which appeared in Polish.

[26] I. Berlin, 'Od zniewolenia do emancypacji', *Znak* 339-340 (1983) 485-6.

[27] Ibid. 486.

A similar testimony to aspirations to a literary perfection can be found in 'Excerpts from the Diary of Mieczysław Rosenzweig (a semi-biography)' by Artur Sandauer. This is how the author assessed his first literary attempts:

> Looking through them and evaluating them for the second time, I could not overlook their impracticality and their second-rate character. Their flawless Polish language numbed me, their spotless rhymes and metaphors; that form, strained to the limits, seemed to show off in itself, to bring something to bear and to ascend something. Born – as it has been said – on the borderline of two nationalities and classes, on the ambiguous Confederation of Targowica; behind me was Blich, the home of Jewish indigence and ignorance; in front of me, on the hill was – our provincial town square. I had to ascend – in the most literary manner – this district of culture and the Polish language. Through the smell of the sewers, through the hoarse cries of the *handeles*, through the wails of beggars I ran up to the stairs, on the top of which I would pause for a moment to shrug off everything that had stuck to me on the way, to make myself stiffer, civilised. Wasn't that similar to when I came into the world of culture with my first pieces of writing. I polished them for so long that eventually I would rub out any signs of life and authenticity from them.[28]

In his work 'The Situation of a Polish Writer of Jewish Descent in the Twentieth Century', Sandauer, spoke of his split personality:

> Sandauer's pre-War history, and particularly the hazards of the occupation period, is the history of a Jew persecuted for his origins. As a writer, however, Sandauer is very much – maybe too much? a Polish man in terms of his language: his purism has something of a neophyte quality.[29] (emphasis mine)

Polish literary critics have accused Segal of some plagiarism, the copying of stylistic or fictional patterns from older Polish literature. To some extent, it would appear that such a claim could be justified. Allow me once more to quote the words of Berlin, who noted:

> ...that when Jews venture straight into the realms of art or literary fiction, their efforts can have the flavour of imitation and borrowing....Many of them first of all have to devote a lot of energy to learning naturally and effortlessly to express themselves the way their neighbours do....[30]

Culture comes into being as the result of 'an unconscious stratification of tradition'. It is difficult to compensate for deficiencies in its mastery. Those writing in a second language are dependent on the literary traditions of a given culture.

Segal's efforts to perfect his literary techniques were noted by the reviewer Zdzisław Hierowski. In one of his reviews he pointed to the fact that the writer, in changing from lyric poetry in Yiddish to the epic shaping of the world's image in

---

[28] 'Urywki z pamiętnika Mieczysława Rosenzweiga (Parabiografia)', in A. Sandauer, *Proza* (Cracow, 1974) 119.

[29] Sandauer, *O sytuacji pisarza* 94.

[30] Berlin, 'Od zniewolenia' 492.

the Polish language, had to master in his technique the arcana of Polish prose. 'He solved that second problem instantly and in a surprisingly mature manner'[31].

Work on perfecting the language[32] and the completion of the content of his Polish texts was evident in all the works that exist in the Yiddish version. Segal attempted to come to an understanding with the Polish reader, explaining the foreign culture to him, emphasising the unity of convictions, endeavouring to create a phatic communion.

Anybody who compares the texts in both languages has the impression that those differences, i.e., the saturation of the Polish texts with literary devices, the emphasis placed on a communion with the Polish reader, the rationalisation and moderation of discourse, the regard for communication – were all evidence of the author's 'defence' strategy[33], which was aimed at gaining the support of the Polish reader. When watching Segal change the content of some of his Jewish stories, making their subject-matter universal in the Polish language[34], reducing the content to human problems generally and not just specifically Jewish ones[35], and noting the 'hyper-accuracy'[36] of his use of the Polish language, one can suspect that his attitude towards his own Jewishness was full of ambivalence. In his last Israeli novel, he personally stated that even in Israel he was obsessed with a 'little old complex', 'the complex of a man who had been numbered among a national minority, and when nobody reminded him of that fact nor revealed it, he reminded himself of it and revealed it'.

Although he wrote a lot in Yiddish in the twenty-year period of his literary career in "People's" Poland, that language was the means of an intimate communication with himself and with the Jewish community, but he published far more in Polish, and he did not teach his children the *mame-loshn*... Was that a coincidence?

---

31 Z. Hierowski, 'Dwie książki z Katowic', *Odra* 4 (1959) 2.

32 Cf., comments by Jan Błoński on the language of S. Benski's prose: 'His use of the Polish language is sometimes artificial, excessively correct and simultaneously emotional, as if auto-ironical... it might have also been marked with the memory of Yiddish. In its very essence, little by little, it is a monument!' Błoński, 'Autoportret żydowski' 110-1.

33 In Błoński's opinion 'the Jewish experiences were sometimes blurred [by writers of Jewish descent]. Simultaneously they were evidence of their attempts to draw near to the Polish culture... and their fear of the Polish reader.' See Błoński, 'Autoportret żydowski' 62.

34 'Often the Polish culture was a mediation of universal values, while that which was Jewish seemed to be backward and local', states Błoński, 'Autoportret żydowski' 62.

35 Cf., my analysis of Segal's two stories in: 'O dwujęzyczności miniatur literackich Kalmana Segala', in K. Pilarczyk and S. Gąsiorowski (eds.), *Żydzi i judaizm we współczesnych badaniach polskich.* Vol. 2: *Materiały z konferencji Kraków 24.-25.XI.1998* (Cracow, 2000) 397-404.

36 About W. Labov's research on the linguistic hyperaccuracy of social media strata of Black Africans, see Kurc, 'Język, kultura' 305.

The third period of Segal's life occurred between 1969-80, the period he spent in Israel; years full of bitterness, of settling accounts with himself and his past. The negative experiences – the anti-Semitic persecutions in Poland in 1968 – once again strengthened the writer's bonds with the Jewish nation. The actual circumstances of his emigration remain unknown[37]. In his work *Gezegenung*[38] we read:

Ch'farlir dich, erd –
es hot mayn koved mich fun dir fartribn -

I am losing you, Land,
My dignity expels me far away from here...

His departure from Poland was a shock. He wrote of Poland: 'From there, from that part of the world I departed twenty-five years after the War, in a state of complete bewilderment; I landed in Jerusalem'[39]. The identity of a Polish Jew, worked at for years and years, was destroyed. In the story 'Identifications' Segal wrote:

(...) in a gevisn mas bin ich doch oych a Poliak, a Poliakozhid, a zhidopoliak, faktish bin ich a Zhid, a Yid, nisht keyn gloybiker, an umparteyisher, ober ich bin gemalt (...). Mit der identifikatsye fleg ich oft hobn farsheydene shwerikaytn, men hot tsu mir oder wegn mir gezagt: Zhidek, Zhid parch, jude shwayn, yevreyskaya morda, eyn mol hot men mich kvalifitsirt far a polski pan un polski vrag naroda. Mit der tsayt hob ich zich tsu ales tsugevoynt un ich bin zich ufgehert tsu baleydikn.

...to a certain extent I am a Pole, after all, a Pole-Jew, a Jew-Pole; in reality I am a Jew – a Yid – an unbeliever, with no party affiliation, circumcised....I have been repeatedly in various kinds of trouble for my identity, they have called me: Jew boy, a Jew-scab, a Jewish pig, Jewish shit, once I was accused of being a Polish lord and a Polish enemy of state. In time I got used to all that and ceased to take offence. [40]

---

37 Both the writer's daughter and his Polish friends emphasised that Segal had decided to leave because of his feeling of solidarity with the Jewish nation, and not as a result of any direct assaults on his person. He stated it himself in an interview for Radio Kol Israel with S. Huppert on July 27 1970: 'I was not forced to. No one tried to persuade me to do it. I persevered until the day when I requested permission to leave. No one had any intention of expelling me. On the contrary. When I asked for a passport and resigned from Polish citizenship they tried to persuade me not to do it. I had many friends not only among my co-workers, but also in the Polish community, who understood that it was a personal problem, as when the Jewish pride was hurt, I was one of those hurt.' (translated from Hebrew by T. Korzeniowski)

38 This poem is from the volume *Gezegenung* (Jerusalem, 1979).

39 The quotation comes from his last, unpublished Israeli novel.

40 'Identifikacje' in K. Segal, *Aleynkayt* (Jerusalem, 1977) 128-38.

The thoughts of the heroes of his Israeli stories reflect the sorrow and loneliness of the writer-exile. The narrator of the story 'Identifications'[41], looking at the Western Wall in his old-new homeland, states:

> Un es iz mir gevorn zeyer umetik, vayl zet oys, azdi dozike tsvey toyznt yor, vos ich hob farbracht in der kalter Eyrope – di dozike tsvey toyznt yor hobn gemacht zeyers: ich hob in zich derfilt dos verk fun alienatsye, fun glaychgiltikayt legabey (?...) dem heylikn natsyonaln denkmol. [...] Ich hob nisht geveynt, ich hob nisht gekusht di heylike vant un ich hob nisht mispalel geven.
>
> And I am seized with a great sorrow as it is evident that those two thousand years I had spent in cold Europe – those two thousand years have had their effect: I have felt within myself the work of alienation, the indifference towards that sacred national monument... I did not cry, I did not kiss that sacred wall nor did I pray.

The personality crisis the writer experienced in Israel was the subject of the many stories in Yiddish collected in the two volumes: *Aleynkayt* (Jerusalem, 1977) and *Vu shmeterlingn shvebn* (Jerusalem, 1981). The last, unpublished novel also specifically documented Segal's spiritual state at that time. The analogy between the discordant, chaotic form of that prose, extended phrases made up of a large number of discontinuous statements and the writer's spiritual condition went beyond words; all the more as Segal confirmed it in his statement:

> ...whoever we write about, it is always a disguised story about ourselves, about our defeats and triumphs...we impute to other characters the sum total of the experiences of our generation and most accurately of our own..., that is what the permissible, legal lie of literary fiction is all about.[42]

This novel written in Polish[43], extracts of which were published in Yiddish,[44] was his reconciliation with his own past, a dramatic conversation with himself

---

[41] *Iberflantsung* in ibid. 117.

[42] This quotation comes from his last, unpublished Israeli novel.

[43] Asked by J. Porat in what way emigration to Israel affected his writing, Segal answered in a radio interview: 'I can say that it affected me profoundly. It is a two-fold influence. Firstly, these are completely new subjects, of which I had no idea before I came to Israel. Secondly, it is a settlement. The settlement of a writer and a moral settlement. A historical settlement. With the past, the country in which I was born and lived. A settlement with that Jewish past in general. Now I am working on those subjects... For several months I have been writing a novel of the history of Jews in Poland. Of one city, from the beginning to the destruction and emigration of the survivors to Israel. I hope... that it will be a completely new thing in comparison to those works I have written until now. (K. Segal's conversation with J. Porat for the radio Kol Israel, Jerusalem September 21 1973.)

[44] The following stories appear in the two volumes of prose in Yiddish, *Aleynkayt* (Jerusalem, 1977) and *Vu shmeterlingn shvebn* (Jerusalem, 1981), the Polish version of which is part of the unpublished novel: *Der kayzer un mayn zeyde, Der baron, Der aynzamer noged, Tsvey in eyn kamer, Di pritshe, Der zokn vos iz dort farblibn, A dertseylung mit shmeterlingn, Iberflantsung, Identifikatsye, Yetsyes Poyln, Kadish* and others.

written in many parts, many plots, numerous dimensions of time and space. The writer, 'living and dying with the past', wrote a Requiem for the Murdered City. Simultaneously, he was bitterly aware that the destiny of Jews in all ages had been the same – eternal wandering, homelessness, slavery and degradation. The task of the writer was to give life in his memories to those who had been killed, to bring them back to memory and to weep over their fate.

The literary evidence of the Israeli period exposes Segal as a bitter, homeless exile, torn between what was here and what had been there, in his lost homeland[45]. He was revealed as a writer who knew that his duty was to bear witness for the murdered Jewish nation, as a writer, who right until the end would express himself in both languages[46]. Segal's biography was full of inferences. It is difficult to find an outline of his life in any biographical dictionary or encyclopaedia, or in his own works. The typescript of the prose he wrote in Soviet labour camps, *Uchodźcy* ('Refugees') or *Wygnańcy* ('Exiles'), was banned by censorship in the mid-1950s and disappeared. Few people have read the stories and novels published during the writer's lifetime. Even though he wrote for Polish and Jewish readers for more than twenty years, he did not succeed in preserving in Poland the world of the people who spoke (and read) in the *mame-loshn*. Thus, all the greater was his longing as he strove to find that lost world in his old-new homeland, encountering the spirits of his loved ones in the streets of Jerusalem[47].

---

[45] Cf., for example, the poem 'Gezegenung' in the collection *Gezegenung* (Jerusalem, 1979).

[46] Segal, when asked during a radio interview, whether he, now living in Israel, would endeavour to write in Hebrew, answered that it was impossible. (A. Sened's conversation with K. Segal, recorded for Radio Kol Israel in Jerusalem in 1972).

[47] Cf., 'Dos gesl' in id., *Vu shmeterlingn shvebn* (Jerusalem, 1981) 250-4.

# VI.

# ARCHIVAL RESOURCES

**Stefi Jersch-Wenzel**

# INVENTORY OF ARCHIVAL RESOURCES FOR THE HISTORY OF THE JEWS IN THE POLISH ARCHIVES (THE FORMER EAST PRUSSIAN PROVINCES 1772-1945) – A RESEARCH PROJECT

Until the first decades of the twentieth century, the history of Jews in the former Prussian eastern provinces – Pomerania, West Prussia, East Prussia, Poznań province and Silesia – was written mainly by Jews for Jews. Often the authors were rabbis or teachers. After 1945 there were individual attempts by non-Jewish historians to consider the history of the Jews as an integral part of German history, but it actually became a marginal phenomenon in historical research. In East Germany, the history of Jews did not belong to the officially approved programmes of scholarly research work. For a long time in Poland, priority was given to Polish history and not to marginal subjects such as those mentioned above. The fact that about two-thirds of all Prussian Jews and one-third of all German Jews lived in those provinces and brought their rich traditions and culture to German history makes it a great subject for scholarly research.

Therefore the aim of this project is to gain rapid and direct access to appropriate documentation, thereby facilitating opportunities to initiate research projects. The available sources should be described in as many different ways as possible and they should be made internationally and publicly available with a maximum of information. Each of the provinces involved should be highlighted, as the specific history of those areas belonging to Prussia was a determining factor in the living conditions of the Jews. The titles of the documents should be restored and should be made available through detailed entries in registers. This should result in a databank such as the one that is already at hand for the archives of the former German Democratic Republic (East Germany). Data programs and structures should be created as one unit, so that an ever-expanding databank of source records for the history of the Jews is made available.

In the former eastern Prussian provinces, which were both a unifying factor and a bone of contention between the central and east European powers, the number of Jews was much greater than in the other German states. This very fact was

seldom taken into account in historical research in Germany. In the former West Germany, the history of the Jews was the subject of a barely definable number of investigations, in which a large amount of information is present[1]. In the territories of former East Germany, interest in these subjects is on the increase and is promoted and accelerated by the special inventories of "Quellen zur Geschichte der Juden in den Archiven der neuen Bundesländer", part of which are already available and part of which are still being worked on.

First a few words about the introductory project.

In 1996, the first volume of this set was accepted by specialists in this field, and it is now quite intensively used in international research. One hopes that this volume and subsequent ones with direct access to the records will help to ensure a faster pace in carrying out research into the history of the Jews in Central and East Germany[2].

While the first detailed documentation primarily includes the contents of the regional and local archives, and the contents of the large central archives, the state's main archives, the state archives and the country's archives were introduced only in abbreviated form, the first special inventory of the main archives could only be published as the second volume. This refers to the contents of the Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz (Prussian State Archives) until 1808/10[3].

Each user of this 800-page volume will immediately recognize the extraordinary significance of the Brandenburg-Prussian files on the history of the Jews which are kept in the Confidential State Archives. First of all, the Secret Council files of the General Directorate and the other central agencies contain a wealth of materials of which until now only small parts have been used and evaluated. They make available data on the *Judenpolitik* of the Brandenburg-Prussian state as well as integrated data about the Jewish population in the Brandenburg-Prussian territories (including the Polish areas after partitioning), but they also provide extensive information about the wealth of materials on the regional and local historical development of Jewish communities, and also on the Prussian province of Silesia since 1740. The majority of the documents concern single events, such as settlement licences, employment or marriages, claim and law suits; yet a clear picture of the circumstances of Jewish life can be formed from the overall spectrum of these events. The very detailed registers are extremely helpful for the scholarly evaluation of the material. The contents of the Geheimes Preußisches Staatsarchiv on the history of the Jews in the nineteenth and twentieth century are published as vol. 5

---

1 The titles of the publications (monographs, series, essays in magazines) are available in the annual bibliography 'Year Books of the Leo-Baeck-Institut' 1-44 (1956-99).

2 S. Jersch-Wenzel and R. Rürup (eds.), *Quellen zur Geschichte der Juden in den Archiven der neuen Bundesländer* Vol. 1: *Eine Bestandsübersicht* (Munich, 1996).

3 S. Jersch-Wenzel and R. Rürup (eds.), *Quellen zur Geschichte der Juden in den Archiven der neuen Bundesländer.* Vol. 2: *Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz.* Part 1: M. Kohnke, *Ältere Zentralbehörden bis 1808/10 und Brandenburg-Preußisches Hausarchiv* (Munich, 1999).

of the series[4]. Volumes 3 and 4 contain the relevant contents and titles of files of the Berlin, Brandenburg, Sachsen-Anhalt, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Sachsen and Thüringen states[5]. Volume 6, the final volume, will form a special inventory of the contents of the extensive partial holding "Gesamtarchiv der deutschen Juden" at present held in Centrum Judaicum, Berlin.

Similar ideas for the current project of registering corresponding materials in the Polish archives should be set in motion. However, two categories of files must be distinguished even where the titles of individual items do not make it immediately clear: i.e., the "Judenakten", where the subject is classified on the basis of the title of the items; and the general official files relating to the Jewish communities, individuals, families and enterprises. In addition, there are items from non-state institutions, personal heritage, Jewish domestic sources, etc. As far as 'research to assist research' is concerned, all historians both at home and abroad – and here we are speaking above all about researchers from Israel, the USA and Poland – should have rapid access to the resource base so that this phase in research work could be less time-consuming. This is particularly relevant with regard to seeking initial information for launching research projects in the sphere of history in the eastern part of Central Europe.

Polish interest in the subject is obvious. Already individual, though fragmentary, preparations are underway[6]. Whatever preliminary work has been done on the

---

4 S. Jersch-Wenzel and R. Rürup (eds.), *Quellen zur Geschichte der Juden in den Archiven der neuen Bundesländer*. Vol. 5: *Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz*. Part 1: *Sonderverwaltungen der Übergangszeit 1806-1815, Zentralbehörden ab 1808, Preußische Parlamente 1847-1933, Preußische Armee (bis 1866/1867), Provinzialüberlieferungen, Provinzial- und Lokalbehörden, Nichtstaatliche Provenienzen und Archivische Sammlungen* (Munich, 2000).

5 S. Jersch-Wenzel and R. Rürup (eds.), *Quellen zur Geschichte der Juden in den Archiven der neuen Bundesländer*. Vol. 3: *Staatliche Archive der Länder Berlin, Brandenburg und Sachsen-Anhalt; Quellen zur Geschichte der Juden in den Archiven der neuen Bundesländer* (München, 1999); idem. Vol. 4: *Staatliche Archive der Länder Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Sachsen und Thüringen* (Munich, 1999).

6 M. Chmielewska, 'Źródła archiwalne do historii Żydów w zasobie Archiwum Państwowego we Wrocławiu', in K. Matwijowski (ed.), *Z dziejów ludności żydowskiej na Śląsku* (Wrocław, 1991) (Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis No. 1182) 159 ff. (the search covered 38 groups of files, connected mainly with Lower Silesia, the number of files connected with Jewish subject-matter given here is ca. 4250 and it covers the period from the fourteenth century until 1945); id, *Judaica w zbiorach Archiwum Państwowego we Wrocławiu*, [typescript]; M. Motas, 'O judaicach w Archiwach Głównej Komisji Badania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu', *Biuletyn Głównej Komisji Badania Zbrodni Przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej* 35 (1993) 197-206 (only 20 groups described, i.e., 1) files of the German War and occupational institutions; 2) files of international institutions until 1948; 3) files of Polish institutions from 1945-68. The search covers mainly files with the word "Jews" in their titles); K. Pilarczyk (ed.), *Przewodnik po bibliografiach polskich judaików* (Kraków, 1992) (here

German side is comparatively minor[7]. The point is that German historians' interest in this research area has only gradually increased and there also has been great difficulty in gaining access to Polish archives.

To obtain a comprehensive list of the files in the Polish archives, all the archives investigated must be visited and their holdings checked. With regard to a methodical system, access to the means of search, be they reports, inventory books or card indexes, should be made available. If there is any doubt whether the information deals with files on the Jews, time should be spent examining the files. Archivists are always a great help in such a situation.

It is foreseen that a project to examine and register the contents of the archives in the formerly Prussian provinces of Great Poland (Posen), Silesia, Pomerania (Pommern), East and West Prussia would take up to three years. As research work in Great Poland is in its final phase, investigations and research can now commence in the state archives in the former province of Silesia. Here, attention should be paid to the main archives in Wrocław, Katowice, Opole, Gliwice, Racibórz, Zielona Góra, Pszczyna and Legnica; but what was true for Great Poland, is also true for Silesia; in other words, there are many small archives as well as collections which must also be included.

Although only about 15% of all Prussian Jews lived in Silesia, there was a change in sovereignty, which was related to various, documented changes in the protection afforded to Jews. Above all, Silesia was, until the time of reorganization of the Prussian state in 1807, an independent province with its own Ministry, the effect of which is reflected in the files.

---

pp. 88-127: Guides to Library and Archives Collections of Polish Judaica. The Guide deals with libraries and archives related to the topic as well as with printed reports on several of these groups and collections); R. Żerelik and A. Dereń (eds.), *Staatsarchiv Breslau – Wegweiser durch die Bestände bis zum Jahr 1945* (Munich, 1996) (Schriften des Bundesinstituts für ostdeutsche Kultur und Geschichte, Bd. 9) (no entry for "Juden" in the subject index, however, descriptions of groups clearly indicate if there is Jewish subject-matter in their contents); similarly in the Polish version: R. Żerelik and A. Dereń (eds.), *Archiwum Państwowe we Wrocławiu. Przewodnik po zasobie archiwalnym do 1945 roku* (Wrocław, 1996); M. Szczepaniak and E. Scholz, 'Materiały źródłowe dotyczące gnieźnieńskiej społeczności żydowskiej w XIX i XX wieku w zbiorach Archiwum Państwowego i Muzeum Początków Państwa Polskiego w Gnieźnie', *Poznański Rocznik Archiwalno-Historyczny* 5 (1998) 33-44.

[7] H. Boberach, *Inventar archivalischer Quellen des NS-Staates. Die Überlieferung von Behörden und Einrichtungen des Reichs, der Länder und der NSDAP*. Vol. 2: *Regionale Behörden und wissenschaftliche Hochschulen für die fünf ostdeutschen Länder, die ehemaligen Ostprovinzen und eingegliederte Gebiete in Polen, Österreich und der Tschechischen Republik* (Munich, 1995) Texte und Materialien zur Zeitgeschichte, Vol. 3/2. E. Brachmann-Teubner, 'Die Bestände und Sammlungen des Jüdischen Instituts für Geschichte in Warschau (Żydowski Instytut Historyczny w Polsce)', *Jahrbuch für Antisemitismusforschung* 2 (1993) 421-33 (items in alphabetical order).

The contents of the files of the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw are to be included in this work. In them there is much material that is relevant especially to Wrocław, but also to other Silesian communities. To date, it has been catalogued in Polish only and has yet to be registered the way the guiding principles of the project intend.

**Significance for future investigation**

A notion of large centres of Jewish life and Jewish activity in Germany on the one hand, and of east European Jews in 'shtetl' on the other predominates in the minds of historians and others interested in the subject. The research project described here has the potential to provide a basis for a less polarizing view of history.

The existence of Jews in the formerly Prussian eastern provinces – among other nations and their cultures, as a minority in the changing circumstances of sovereignty, in the course of their own changing reality – raises a whole range of basic questions for those for whom the special inventory planned is a basic necessity. These questions touch on some of the more crucial areas of research, which I would now like to mention.

1. The basis for their being permitted to settle forced them to acquire experience as traders, an occupation in demand here in the above-mentioned districts, due to their centralised position between middle and eastern Europe. In addition, there are such aspects as money-lending to the authorities and a large part of the population, the services of various kinds rendered to lords of the manor and the far-reaching prohibition on working as craftsmen in Central Europe. Except for the larger cities with a solid upper class, Jews living in the East Elbian region where society was predominantly shaped by nobility and peasantry frequently took over the functions of the middle class citizenry for social, economic and historico-cultural reasons. The question in how far a minority served here as a kind of substitute citizenry has so far been touched only peripherally by researches.
2. The main features of Prussian policy in relation to the Jews are better served by documentary evidence. We need to take into consideration the easily accessible printed regulations, decrees, orders or laws (1750, 1797, 1812, 1871). In comparison, the everyday political experiences and the everyday interaction of Jews and non-Jews require research. Petitions, applications from individual Jews and Jewish communities and accompanying single case decisions of the Prussian-German authorities contain rich documentary evidence and should be made accessible for research.
3. The religious process of changes in the traditional world of the Jews to modern Jewry is to be found in existing research mostly in the 'enlightened' centres such as Berlin, Wrocław or Königsberg as well as for individual prominent persons. Existing, but to date unused, sources provide full information about internal decision-making in the community and the interference of the authorities that influenced developments. This relates primarily to aspects of

the religious service (organ music, German sermon instead of Hebrew prayers and others), education (secular subjects instead of the exclusive study of religious writings), the change of language from Yiddish to standard German, living conditions ranging from densely populated Jewish settlements to scattered settlements, which would correspond with the assimilation rate and property acquisition. In addition, it is possible to provide documentary evidence as to how much Jewish communities farther west in the German Empire were concerned for Jewish tradition and religious life. They employed rabbis, choir-masters, kosher butchers and other community officials from the eastern provinces as, among their own, there were insufficient followers to supply them with the necessary trained staff.

4. One of the most important reasons a large part of the Jewish population left the province of Poznań in particular, as well as West Prussia and Upper Silesia, were the national conflicts which had increasingly worsened since the middle of the nineteenth century. It also was connected with the reorganisation of states in the eastern part of central Europe after World War I, which had been very radical. As this material was mainly distributed publicly, it is easily obtainable. At the same time Jewish political movements started to form in those areas, but irrespective of significant written traditions, they were barely researched.
5. Information about the inter-War period (1918-39) comes mainly from distributed printed materials and letters of administrative, journalistic and private origin. They describe the situation of the formerly 'Prussian' Jews in the newly formed states, e.g., in Memelland (Lithuania), in Great Poland, Upper Silesia, Cieszyn Silesia (Poland), in the Hlučín area (Czechoslovakia) and in the free city of Gdańsk (League of Nations). Questions here should be concerned with their civil status, their legal status as a religious community, their social integration or exclusion and, in comparison with other minorities, their own national aspirations, including their own and recorded heritage, as well as their active participation in the public life of the countries concerned.
6. Relatively speaking, the best research has been carried out on the annihilation strategies of nationalistic institutions for which some larger overall surveys and regional studies are available. The above-mentioned inventory published by Heinz Boberach is a solid basis for further investigation.

For Silesia in particular we expect the inventory to be an indication of available source materials which will be of interest to historians working on the subject of the seminar for their specific research areas. There is no problem involved in searching inventory books or the files of the state archives under the heading 'Judenbetreffen'. What is far more difficult is to make use of remote or possibly irrelevant sources for our work. That is why we are grateful for each indication which could make access to material for our research into the history of Jews in Silesia easier.

**Miloš Kouřil**

# EMIGRÉS FROM PRUDNIK AND THE JEWISH COMMUNITY IN OSOBLAHA

Among the various forms of persecution of the Jewish population we also can find their expulsions from towns and cities. After pogroms this ranked as the most severe kind of punishment to be inflicted upon Jewish communities. Their expulsions were carried out in several waves in the countries of the Czech crown. I would like to familiarise you with some archival materials relating to the expulsion of the Jewish community in Prudnik.

At the beginning of the 1560s expulsions from Silesian towns were carried out on the orders of the Emperor and the Czech King Ferdinand I and his successor Maximillian I. In 1570 we can find emigrés from Prudnik in Osoblaha, the centre of one of the manors of the Olomouc Bishopric. They could have remained in Silesia, but under the descretionary powers of the Olomouc Bishopric which held a special juristical position in the Czech state. Some dominia of the Olomouc Bishopric were located in Silesia; there were feuds between the same bishopric and the farms of the Olomouc Chapter. All of these possessions comprised the so-called Moravian enclaves belonging to Moravia. The strengthening of the independent position of the Bishop of Olomouc, who also had his own juristical system, culminated in 1588 with the conferring on him of the title of duke. The Bishop had the same right as a nobleman or municipal lord to take retainers from other manors[1].

We can rightly ask why Prudnik Jews came specifically to Osoblaha. Obviously, there could have been several reasons. The Bishop could obtain reliable information about conditions in Prudnik, as Catholic parishes in the Prudnik area belonged to the Olomouc Diocese until 1629[2]. On the manorial lands of the Olomouc Bishopric, the Jewish population was no rare exception. As early as 1322 John Luxembourg, a Czech king, gave Konrad, the Bishop of Olomouc, the right to have a single Jew in each of his towns of Svitavy, Mohelnice, Kroměříž and

---

1 For general information see: B. Bondy and F. Dvorský, *K historii Židů v Čechách, na Moravě a ve Slezsku 906-1620.* Vol. 1 (Prague, 1906) 662, 664, 672, 679-81.

2 L. Hosák, *Historický místopis země Moravskoslezské* (Praha, 1938) 733.

Vyškov[3]. They were to be exempted from all common taxes and trials and they were „to take care of only the Bishop and the Olomouc church". The other factors that encouraged the settlement of Prudnik Jews in Osoblaha were presumably the small distance between the two Silesian towns and the disastrous fires that destroyed Osoblaha and weakened the town's economy. Moreover, there was already a Jewish community living there at that time.

The beginnings of the Jewish community there are still very unclear. In older literary sources, the year 1334 was given as the year in which the expelled Jews were expected to seek refuge in Osoblaha. However, the place of their origin was not stated[4]. They are said to have been allowed to build several houses. The given year is supposed to have been found written on a house which, because of its poor construction, was pulled down in 1847.

Two possible means of interpretation are provided in a report from the year 1415. At that time an Antiochian patriarch and administrator of Olomouc Bishopric, Václav Králík of Buřenice, set off for Osoblaha to view the consequences of a large fire in the town. To help revive economic life in the suffering town, he allocated it a number of benefits. For example, all tradesmen who came to Osoblaha to live there were granted the rights of the municipality, all those who would settle on deserted farms were exempted from payments to the landlord for three years, and would be permitted to build a mill, etc. Most interesting is a passage stating that if Jews from any other place wanted to enter the town, they should be accepted, no obstacles should be put in their way and they should enjoy all the available benefits[5]. We do not know whether the first Jewish arrivals in the town were distinguished in this way or whether the newcomers merely added to the existing local Jewish community.

The year 1570 is of fundamental significance for the organisation of the Jewish community. The respect with which the then Bishop of Olomouc, Vilém Prusinovský of Víckov, treated the arrival of the Jews in his town is evidenced by the fact that he personally set off for Osoblaha and, having discharged his duty, he published a remarkable document there on September 8 1570[6]. This document,

---

[3] J. Chytil (ed.), *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Moraviae.* Vol. 6 (Brno, 1858) No 213, 159.

[4] E. Richter, 'Geschichte der Stadt Hotzenplotz', in ZAO, Pozůstalost Edvarda Richtera, 3, 19b. Richter obtained the information about the date from the teacher J. Kohn. Richter's manuscript was used by other authors as well, e.g. A. Schmidt, 'Die Hotzenplotzer Judengemeinde 1334-1848', *Mitteilungen zur Jüdischen Volkskunde* 14/1 (1911) 29-36; A. Christ, *Geschichte der Stadt Hotzenplotz* (Hotzenplotz, 1926).

[5] Zemský Archiv Olomouc, Arcibiskupství Olomouc, K I c 5/2.

[6] Zemský Archiv Olomouc, Ústřední ředitelství arcibiskupských statků Kroměříž, urbář panství ketřského a osoblažského 1580, K I c 2/4. J. Radimský (ed.), 'Příchod Židů do Osoblahy', *Slezský sborník* 45 (1947) 254-6. The transcription of the 1570 document in this land and duties register is sometimes incorrect, e.g., it refers to the representative of the Jews of Prudnik to Kansel. In a more reliable version of the document, in the copy-

with its numerous articles, specified both the juridical and economic position of the new Jewish community. Two representatives of the exiles from Prudnik (Izac and Hanzl) begged for them to be able to come. The Bishop heard their wishes and established what the status of the refugees would be. They were accepted with 10 other co-religionists as retainers. In juridical issues they were completely under the power of the Bishop or his local administrator. The municipal authorities in Osoblaha had quite limited powers in relation to the newcomers – apart from the local administrator, the local magistrate could give his consent to loans of money, the local scrivener had to note it down in specially designated books. The Bishop allowed the 12 families to build six houses in an allotted place. The given number of families did not represent 'numerus clausus': after the Bishop's or the local administrator's consent more families could move in. After moving in, all of them were to be exempted from the obligation of manorial labour for one whole year, after which they would return payments and fulfil the same duties as the other inhabitants of Osoblaha. The arrival of the refugees from Prudnik was probably anticipated to take place in three weeks, because taxes were due from St Wenceslas Day of the following year. In addition to the other payments, every farmer and farm labourer was to return one ducat in gold to the Bishop; and a widow – half a ducat.

We can see that the newcomers were not socially homogenous; farmers and farm labourers differed considerably. A rabbi and a teacher had special status among the emigrés, they were completely exempted from any payments. Besides building houses, the exiles were permitted to have a 'school' (i.e. a synagogue). They were also permitted to establish a cemetery in an approved place. In the document, mention was made of a possible departure of the Jews from Osoblaha. If some of them or all of them wished to move from there, they would not be prevented from doing so, provided they paid the compulsory payments and were replaced by new farmers on their farms. Although the Bishop himself reserved the right to expel them from the town, he was obliged to let them know one year in advance so that they could sell their houses and gain back their claims.

Another range of regulations dealt with economic activities. As we already are aware, loans of money, as well as the accepting of deposits could be done by the Jews only with the consent of the local administrator or the magistrate. Another kind of practice was valid for strangers who could lend money on obligations or deposits at their will. Further, there was no lack of regulations governing the buying of stolen objects; the prohibition on dealing in furs and leather to harm the guilds; selling one's privately produced meat to the inhabitants of Osoblaha; brewing and drawing beer, etc.

---

book of Bishop Prusinovský, we can inter alia read the name Hanzl. Zemský Archiv Olomouc, Arcibiskupství Olomouc, úřední kniha N 57, p. 270-1.

The Jewish community in Osoblaha grew very quickly, so that in 1763 467 Jews lived there. Their number reached its peak 1842, when there were 671 of them. The structure of their settlement has recently been reconstructed together with unique pictures and has been published by Jaroslav Klenovský[7].

[7] J. Klenovský, *Židovská obec v Osoblaze* (Olomouc, 1995).

**Lenka Matušíková**

# REGISTERS OF JEWISH COMMUNITIES IN AUSTRIAN (BOHEMIAN) SILESIA 1784-1949

At present, when searching for register records for births (marriages or deaths) of Jewish families who have lived in the territory of the so-called Austrian (later Bohemian) Silesia region, one can use the collection of original registers dating from 1784-1949, as well as control registers and registers kept by Catholic parochial authorities.

The obligation to keep the registers of born, married and deceased persons for Jewish communities according to a set format in Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia was only introduced during the reign of Joseph II. This was done by an edict dated February 20 1784, which governed the keeping of registers for Christian and Jewish inhabitants. In spite of numerous amendments and modifications relating to changes in the social situation of Jews following 1848, and the size of Jewish communities and their register districts, this edict remained in force until 1949. Paragraph 6 made provision for the amendment of specific individual sections to accommodate the needs of the Jewish religion (date and place of circumcision for boys and the naming of girls, the name of the person performing the circumcision, names of witnesses, etc.). In places where a rabbi was charged with keeping a register, individual Jewish families were obliged to report a birth (marriage or death) to the rabbi of the nearest Jewish community. This order was fully adhered to and the oldest preserved registers date from as early as 1784.

The sovereign's support of attempts to maintain more precise and accurate records on Jewish inhabitants led to the issuing of a new edict three years later (on July 28 1787). This was enacted to keep records and books of circumcisions in German with strictly ordered guidelines for names and surnames. The Catholic clergy was entrusted with the supervision of the registrars and the keeping of a duplicate series (the so-called control Jewish registers – Kontrollmatriken).

There were no changes in the given division of sections and in the method of keeping registers until 1838. The 'Instructions for Keeping Jewish Registers' formed an appendix to a governmental edict dated April 24 1838. This precisely detailed individual points of the edict so that all erroneous explanations and prac-

tices could be avoided in the future. Apart from general rules for keeping the registers (the registrar, records, sections, record corrections, witnesses of foreign persons, safe storage, fees and methods of checking), it covered individual types of records in more detail and dealt with the precise establishment of records for births, marriages and deaths. These sections were expanded to make the registry records more precise. Although these instructions for keeping the registers were supposed to have come into force on November 1 1839, this was insufficient time to put it into practice and it was only in the early 1840s that registers with the new type of sections began to be kept.

The administrative reorganisation of Jewish communities following the abolition of discriminatory acts in 1848 meant that the regulations governing the keeping of Jewish registrars were also re-evaluated. After prolonged scrutiny, the Jewish registers kept by authorised registrars were declared to be public documents with full and complete records by Act No. 12 of 1868[1]. With some exceptions, the existing statutes and regulations for keeping the registers remained in force and were subject to a number of more precise modifications by several edicts up until the end of the nineteenth century. These primarily addressed the question of duplicates. As of January 1 1874 all Jewish registrars were ordered to keep duplicates of registers with appropriate indexes and to present the documents for the previous year to the district authorities. Towns which had appropriate statutes for municipal authorities were obliged to keep the duplicates safe and occasionally to verify whether they corresponded with the originals.

The registers of the Jewish communities were in real jeopardy during the autumn of 1938, when the border regions were occupied and Gestapo officials were particularly intent on securing all Jewish communities' documents. In Bohemia the registers were centralised at the seat of the Sudeten district in Liberec but they were not updated until the end of World War II. The originals of the registers from the border regions of Moravia and Silesia were not recovered until after the War. In early 1943, the municipal authorities in Prague and Brno were asked to hand over duplicates of the registers, which had been in the custody of district authorities up until this time. Thanks to the attentiveness of Czech clerical workers, the duplicates gathered by „Zentralamt zur Regelung der Judenfrage" were first handed over to the Genealogical Authorities for Bohemia and Moravia (Sippenamt für Böhmen und Mähren) and were then taken to the castle in Český Šternberk, where the control registers previously overseen by Catholic parochial authorities were also deposited. Because the original archived registers of Jewish communities were almost all deliberately destroyed by the Nazis in April 1945, it was declared in October 1945 that the duplicates kept from 1880-1945 would function as originals[2]. They were handed over to the Counsel of Jewish Congregations in Prague, which maintained the registers until 1949.

---

1 *Reichs-Gesetz-Blatt* 12 (1869) 83.

2 Ministerstvo vnitra, v Praze dne 16. října 1945, č. A-6132-1/10-45-VI/1.

The keeping of Jewish registers was ended by an Act dated December 7 1949[3]. This abolished the keeping of registers by individual churches and introduced unified state registers administered by the relevant people's committees. The administration of registers was moved to the District Committee in Prague 1. In 1983 the whole registry collection, along with other registry documents, was moved from there and placed in the care of the First Department of Central State Archives in Prague, at Milady Horákové 133, 160 00 Prague 6.

For Austrian (or Bohemian) Silesia, the registers of Jewish communities (or, as the case may be, Jewish associations considered as Jewish communities) in Bílovec, Bruntál, Těšín (Cieszyn) and Český Těšín, Frýdek-Místek, Jeseník, Fryštát (known today as Karviná), Krnov, Nový Bohumín, Opava, Osoblaha, Paskov, Třanovice and Vidnava are stored in the stacks. For the most part these are duplicates from the end of the last century and the beginning of this century (compare with Appendix I). The latter three municipalities (Paskov, Třanovice, and Vidnava) are an exception. Even though they are actually control registers, they were probably added to the register collection either during the War or immediately after it. As previously mentioned, the duplicates, as well as other files which were found accidentally (primarily control registers) following the end of World War II, were used for the administration of registers, along with the preserved originals, and they remained part of the collection after it was handed over to the archives. One should also mention the so-called „reconstructed" registers, which came into existence after 1945. These records have been compiled (reconstructed) from personal data found, for example, in school reports and school registers, in residency records and in registry lists, in censuses and other similar documents. Because of the state of register-keeping, particularly immediately after World War II, it was necessary for these types of registers to be created. They were needed to meet the demand for copies of birth certificates or marriage certificates, and the respective files had not even been preserved as duplicates (see Appendix I).

The registers, which were originally classed according to the German name of the locality with the seat of the Jewish community that kept them, were rearranged later on according to their Czech names. In the communities themselves they continued to be classified chronologically as: registers of births (N), marriages (O), and deaths (Z). In those places where such registers were together (births, marriages and deaths in one file), they were classified chronologically on the basis of the last death recorded in the file. These files are always indexed, and the indexes are also classified according to the above-mentioned system. Researchers will find detailed accounts of the register stacks and a description of individual sections in the introduction to the inventories, or else in an article dedicated to these issues in

[3] *Sbírka zákonů* (1949) 760 No 268.

the preliminary (number zero) memorial volume of the National Central Archives – *Paginae historiae*. Further mention of them is unnecessary[4].

Other important sources for researching registry records are the so-called control registers. They originate from the decision to hand over the supervision of the Jewish registrars to the Catholic clergy and to authorise them to verify inspection of the registers for births, marriages and deaths. The form and manner in which they were kept was subject to the same regulations and amendments as the original files. However, these regulations were not always fully adhered to. This was particularly so when extracts were provided for entries in control registers, which often completed the data of original files instead of actually replacing them. After 1848, the Catholic clergy's supervision of the registrars of Jewish communities was gradually limited and ultimately transferred to the civil administrative authorities, where the duplicates of corresponding indexes were supposed to be safely preserved. Now, the control registers of Bohemian Jewish communities are deposited as a special stack in the Central State Archives. No such unified register was created in Moravia and Silesia and individual files were kept in the archives of Jewish communities, in parochial archives, as well as in the documents of patrimonial administrators or of the corresponding district authorities. In the Silesia region, apart from the above-mentioned registers of Paskov, Třanovice and Vidnava, control registers from Frýdek-Místek, Frýdlant nad Ostravicí, Úvalno and Velké Albrechtice have also been preserved (compare with Appendix II).

Because the originals of the oldest registers of Jewish communities and municipalities from the regions of Lower and Upper Silesia have not been preserved up until now and because there are only a few volumes left of the control registers dating from the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries, the records of births (marriages or deaths) of Jews in Roman Catholic registers should also be studied. In the majority of cases, these refer to isolated Jewish families living in the country. Such records in the registers were always made on a separate page at the end of the relevant volume. During the period of occupation, at the insistence of the municipal authorities, they were marked with a red „J" (Jude) and their duplicates or photocopies were supposed to have been sent to the Central Jewish Register in Prague. Researchers should refer to the List of Registers of the North Moravian Region from 1571-1949 (1950), which can be viewed in the reading room of the Regional Archives in Opava (Zemský archiv v Opavě).

During the nineteenth century Jewish communities were often mobile. Outside large cities their communities were small and they rarely formed independent administrative bodies. According to governmental decrees dating from 1838, register districts were demarcated so that the community with the largest number of Jewish

[4] *Židovské matriky (HBMa) 1784-1949 (1960). Inventáře a katalogy fondů Státního ústředního archivu v Praze* (Prague, 1999); Z. Kukánová and L. Matušíková, 'Matriky židovských náboženských obcí v Čechách a na Moravě z let 1784-1949', *Paginae historiae* 0 (1992) 103-27; Z. Kukánová and L. Matušíková, 'Soupis matrik židovských náboženských obcí na Moravě', *Paginae historiae* 5 (1997) 187-218.

inhabitants was in the centre of the district and simultaneously it was the seat of the registrar. If the position of registrar was vacant, births, marriages and deaths had to be reported at the nearest register. This often extended considerably the radius of localities given in each register. Therefore a local register was created to enable better data searches and easier access for researchers. This register maintains records of all the localities given here as a place of births (marriages or deaths).

As the result of an order from the Ministry of Culture and Education of the King and Emperor in December 1892, 10 Jewish communities were established in the region of Austrian Silesia: Bielsko (Bielitz), Fryštát (Freistadt, presently part of the Karviná municipality), Jeseník (Freiwaldau), Frýdek (Friedek), Osoblaha (Hotzenplotz), Krnov (Jägerndorf), Skoczów (Skotschau), Cieszyn (Těšín – Teschen), Opava (Troppau) and Bílovec (Wagstadt). In 1910, their number was expanded by another Jewish community in Bohumín nádraží (Oderberg Banhof – the municipality in Šunychl) and in 1923 by the Jewish community in Český Těšín. The court district of Polská Ostrava was incorporated into the Israelite religious community in Moravská Ostrava, where the seat of the registry district was also located. However, separate registers were kept for each court district. Documents defining the districts for Jewish religious congregations in Silesia and the keeping of their registers are stored in the stacks of the Ministry of Culture and Education of Vienna[5] (2nd Department of the Central State Archive in Prague). We can use these annual reports to follow the changes in the size of the register districts and the number of inhabitants of these municipalities between the years 1897-1917.

An increase in requests for extracts from the registers as a result of the Restitution Act and the Act governing compensation for victims of World War II, as well as an upsurge in requests relating to background genealogical research, has been a justification for the centralisation of all those registers of Jewish municipalities (originals, duplicates and control registers) in the Central State Archive in Prague; whereas previously they had been deposited in different archives. Research into the stacks of state regional and state district archives has already produced results and the extracts made for the most part have completed the collection of control registers.

---

[5] Státní ústřední archiv v Praze, Ministerstvo kultu a vyučování Vídeň (MKV/R), D1 Schlesien in genere, f. 1349; D3, Schlesien in genere, f. 1366-7. Dr. Janusz Spyra is systematically studying the history of Jewish communities in Austrian Silesia and I express my gratitude for his valuable remarks. Compare, for example, J. Spyra, 'Organizace židovských náboženských obcí v rakouském Slezsku na základě zákona z 21. března 1890' in *Židé a Morava. Sborník příspěvků přednesených na konferenci konané 11. listopadu 1998 v Kroměříži* (Kroměříž, 1999) 17-25.

## APPENDIX I

A list of the registers of Jewish communities from the territory of Austrian (Bohemian) Silesia from 1784-1949 deposited in the collection of Jewish registers (Židovské matriky – HBMa) in the Central State Archives in Prague contains the following data:

— Whether information sought is in the register of births (N), marriages (O), deaths (Z), or whether it is in the common register (N,O,Z);
— The period for which the register was kept.

**Bílovec** (Nový Jičín district)
Z 1942-1943 (deaths reported, no location given)

**Bruntál** (Bruntál district)
N 1868-1902

**Český Těšín** (Karviná district)
N,O,Z (1903) 1916-1937, 1945-1949

**Frýdek** (Frýdek-Místek district)
N 1893-1941, 1943-1944
O 1893-1895, 1903-1940, 1943-1944
Z 1893-1944
Indexes O 1893-1938
Z 1893-1941

**Jeseník** (today Jeseník district)
N,O,Z (1867) 1874-1926, (1928) 1931-1937

**Karviná** [recte: Fryštát] (Karviná district)
N 1893-1932, 1945-1949
O 1893-1932, 1945-1949
Z 1893-1932, 1945-1949
Index N 1893-1932, 1946

**Krnov** (Bruntál district)
N,O,Z 1874-1938, 1945-1949
(O and Z only for 1945-1949)

**Nový Bohumín** (Karviná district)
N,O,Z 1910-1933, 1945-1949
Index N, O, Z 1910-1933

**Opava** (Opava district)
N 1923-1938, 1947-1949
Z 1851-1874, 1879-1938, 1946-1949
Indexes N 1874-1932
O 1874-1939
Z 1874-1939

**Osoblaha** (Bruntál district)
N,O,Z 1850-1927

**Paskov** (Frýdek-Místek district)
N (1850,1853) 1860-1871 (1879)

**Třanovice** (Frýdek-Místek district)
N,Z (1811) 1831-1851

**Vidnava** (Šumperk district)
N 1785-1864

**Reconstructed register of births for Moravia and Silesia 1866-1947**
**Reconstructed register of marriages for Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia 1882-1939**
**Index of births in all municipalities for Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia (except for Prague) 1946-1949**

## APPENDIX II

List of control registers, deposited in the stacks of the Control Register of Jewish Municipalities (HBM) in the Central State Archives in Prague

**Frýdek** (Frýdek-Místek district)
N 1876-1863

**Frýdek-Místek** (Frýdek-Místek district)
N,Z (1796) 1833-1874

**Frýdland nad Ostravicí** (Frýdek-Místek district)
N,Z (1843) 1847-1849 (1856)

**Úvalno** (Bruntál district)
N 1853-1865

**Velké Albrechtice** (Nový Jičín district)
N 1818-1869

**Pavel Šramek**

# ARCHIVAL RESOURCES ON JEWISH ASSOCIATIONS AND CORPORATIONS IN THE OPAVA AREA

In the middle of the nineteenth century, Opava, a metropolis in the Austrian part of Silesia, gained significance. A populous Jewish community congregated and began to settle in the town and its environs after the Act had been passed granting the right and freedom of residence on March 17 1849. This subsequently happened (although to a smaller extent) in other counties in the western part of what was then Austrian Silesia. One of the reasons for it was the equalisation of Jewish status on the grounds of the ministerial regulation of January 13 1860 which allowed Jews access to all occupations and, in particular, the December constitution of 1867, which guaranteed Jews (as well as all other religious communities recognised by the state) independent administration of their internal religious affairs. After settling down and subsequent adjustments in industrial and business spheres, the Jewish minority experienced a breakthrough in social and cultural spheres as well. The aim of this paper is to provide full evidence of documents showing the associations' activities in the region with regard to the two centres with the greatest concentration of Jews – Opava and Krnov[1].

Even before the passing of the laws of association of November 15 1867, the first Jewish subjects had begun to form prayer fraternities, which because of their traditional character were not, irrespective of their obvious existence, entered in the register of associations. After the mid-nineteenth century, the situation changed. From this time on, the associations were created on a legal basis – usually only after the establishment of a Jewish religious community. Also, a minimum number of Jews in the locality was a condition for the establishment of an association. A striking example of this occurred in the municipality of Osoblaha where there were no registered Jewish associations for the entire period under research.

---

[1] In this article I have drawn upon, among others, the unpublished work of J. Spyra, *Juden im Österreich-Schlesien 1742-1918. Vom jüdischen Inkolat bis zur jüdischen Kultusgemeinde* (Cieszyn, 1999). I am grateful to the author for making the typescript available.

When studying the history of Jewish associations, the most essential sources of information are, firstly, the preserved documents of particular Jewish communities collected in the Jewish Museum in Prague, as well as registers of associations[2] kept by local governments, and the sporadically preserved records in the state county archives and municipal archives – in particular the records of the associations, correspondence with authorities in political and legal administration and property-law matters.

In the area studied, no Jewish association was formed in the counties of Jeseník and Hlučín (since 1920) in 1850–1938 (a county always included several judical districts). Within the counties of Bílovec and Bruntál, two associations were recorded at that time. The **Jewish Religious Association** (Israelitischer Kultus-Verein)[3] was established in Bílovec in 1870[4] and the **Jewish Prayer Association 'Minyan'** (Israelitischer Gebet 'Minjan' Verein) was established in Klimkovice in 1883[5]. The **Jewish Prayer Association** (Israelitischer Bethaus-Verein)[6] and a **Zionist association 'Zion'** (Jüdischer Volksverein 'Zion')[7] were established in Bruntál in 1904 and 1908. In the territory of the county of Krnov, comprising four judicial districts, five Jewish associations were active; and the place with the highest concentration of Jews in the region – Opava – had 16 associations. This gives a total of 25 working associations, duly registered and recorded in the relevant registers of associations, in which Jews generally participated up until 1938. It should also be said that, with one exception, all of them were German, which is understandable for the given territory, as the majority of Jews had, since Emperor Josef's regulations of 1787, claimed German as their language and this language was necessary in business, trade and financial spheres.

In terms of numbers of members and social and economic power, the Jewish community in Opava was the most important. The establishment of the Jewish religious community in 1868 gradually made way for many Jewish associations. The boom in the growth of social activity coincides with the appointment of the community's first official rabbi, Dr. Abraham Blüh, and with the influence of the famed lawyer Dr. Ju. Theodor Sonnenschein, the head of the Jewish community in Opava (1888-1919). From the time of the pre-Munich republic, when association events were successfully co-ordinated, in particular by Rabbi Dr. Simon Friedmann, much has been documented, in particular the Zionist influence of the Opava

---

2 ZAO, Zemská vláda slezská v Opavě, 77-85.

3 In Austrian Silesia, the term religious association (Kultus-Verein) was used with reference to organisations acting on the basis of the laws of association. The structure superior to them was a community (Kultus-Gemeinde). Before the final regulation governing the structure of Jewish communities in Austrian Silesia in 1890, some religious associations actually acted as communities.

4 ZAO, Zemská vláda slezská v Opavě, 77, No. 5.

5 Ibid. No. 11.

6 Ibid. No. 117.

7 Ibid. No. 177.

Jewish associations. A modest start to the prayer and synagogue communities of orthodox followers from Osoblaha, which united in 1853 to create a religious association led by David Hirsch, Wilhelm Mandl and Emanuel and David Herz, developed in a committee of Chewra Kadischa represented by Markus Sonnenschein. The burial society itself (**Chewra Kadischa**)[8] was recorded as an association on 8.1.1882 in the register of associations under the name of the **Jewish Association for Support of the Sick and the Deceased in Opava** (Israelitischer Kranken Unterstützungs- und Beerdigungs-Verein Troppau)[9]. The purpose of the association was to look after the sick and to perform the last rites, including supervising to ensure that the burials were carried out in compliance with Jewish religious regulations and customs. The first head of the association was Bernhard Rosenzweig, after that Dr. Isidor Wolf, Dr. Robert Lichtwitz and, in 1938, Emil Löw. In 1914 the association had 217 members and owned property to the value of 7,392 Czech crowns. Its members were representatives of prominent Jewish business families in Opava (for instance, the Lichtwitz family, the Quittner family, the Karplus family, the Altschul family, the Kulka family, the Spitzer family) as well as lawyers and solicitors (Dr. Ju. Theodor Sonnenschein, Dr. Ju. Eibenschütz, Dr. Ju. Berthold Singer and Dr. Ju. Buchbinder).

In 1883, the **Association for a Temple Construction** (Tempelbauverein)[10] was established, and in 1889 it was supported by **The Women's Charitable Association** (Israelitischer Frauen-Wohltätigkeitsverein)[11]. The association did charity work. Among its sphere of activities, it supported the poor pupils of the Jewish school in Opava. Its principals were Bertha de Mayo, succeeded by Julie Sonnenschein. In 1896 one of the most enterprising associations was established – the **Jewish Literary Association in Opava** (Jüdisch-literarischer Verein). Despite a rather slow beginning, the association developed its activities to popularise literature and culture, the activities of which were replaced in particular by the teaching of Jewish religion at various schools in Opava after 1918. As an illustration: in 1921 there were 32 boys and 46 girls attending regular lessons in Jewish religion at the elementary school in Opava, 23 students at the German grammar school and 16 students at the Realschule. The president of the association was, until 1923, Dr. Lichwitz, followed by Dr. Kohn, Gustav Finzi and, in 1936, Salamon Spitzer. The school teachers, Huber and Brüll, and the head teachers, Eugen Goldberger and Ignaz Moškovics, who came as a head teacher and religious studies teacher from Příbram in 1936, should also be mentioned. Long-term members of the association

---

8 The Jewish Museum in Prague – Documentation of the Jewish Communities, The Jewish Religious Community (ŽNO) of Opava, 147f.

9 ZAO, Zemská vláda slezská v Opavě, 84, No. 38.

10 I.e., a new synagogue based on a design of the Viennese designer Eng. Arch. J. Gartner built in the fashionable oriental-Byzantine style and consecrated on December 8 1896. See ZAO, Zemská vláda slezská v Opavě, 84, No. 45. See also *Statuten des Tempelbau-Vereines in Troppau* (Troppau, [1883]).

11 ZAO, Zemská vláda slezská v Opavě, 84, No. 65.

were Rabbi Dr. Friedmann, Dr. Grün, the head financial executive Bachrach, Dr. Lederer, Dr. Oppenheimer and others. The association also had its own library, mainly for the use of the young people[12].

Apart from the **Jewish Academic Holiday Union 'Jordania'** (Jüdisch-akademische Ferialverbindung 'Jordania') established in 1898[13] and the **Association of Jewish University Students in Opava** (Vereinigung jüdischen Hochschulern) established in 1907[14], the members of which were predominantly students of Vienna's universities, there are documents concerning the activities of **The Jewish Humanity Association 'Silesia' B'nai B'rith** (Israelitischer Humanitäts-Verein 'Silesia' B'nai B'rith) established in 1898. 'Silesia' was founded by the lodge 'Austria' from Bielsko, the first such body in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. 'Silesia' was made up of the elite of the local Jewish community, it endeavoured to achieve the aims common to the B'nai-B'rith, that is, mainly charity work and maintaining proper relations between the Jews and the local people in Opava and its neighbouring areas. Before 1918 the leaders of the lodge were Dr Berthold Singer, Theodor Sonnenschein (the chairman of the Jewish religious community in Opava), and Dr Isidor Wolf. The lodge 'Silesia' was also very active after the establishment of Czechoslovakia[15].

Sporting and tourism associations also were founded in Opava: the **Jewish Gym and Sport Club** (Troppauer Jüdischer Turn- und Sportklub) in 1913[16], the **'Blau-Weiss' Jewish Tourism Union** (Jüdischer Wanderbund 'Blau-Weiss' Troppau) in 1914[17] and the **'Hakoah' Sport Club** (Sportklub 'Hakoah') in 1920[18], the president of which was Fritz Herrmann. In 1898 on the fiftieth jubilee of Emperor Franz Josef's rule **Association for Support and Organisation of the Emperor Franz Joseph Memorial Jewish Jubilee Orphanage** (Verein zur Errichtung und Erhaltung eines israelitischen Kaiser Franz Joseph Jübileums Waisenhauses) was established in Opava. The organisation changed its name in 1922 to the **Jewish Association for the Support of the Elderly and the Care of Orphans** (Jüdischer Alters- und Waisenfursorgeverein in Troppau)[19]. The first president of the association was the head of the Jewish Religious Community of Opava, Dr. Ju. Theodor Sonnen-

---

[12] ZAO, Zemská vláda slezská v Opavě, 84, No. 97. Jewish Museum in Prague – Documentation of the Jewish Communities, ŽNO Opava, 157.

[13] ZAO, Zemská vláda slezská v Opavě, 84, No. 111.

[14] Ibid. No. 206.

[15] Ibid. No. 109. See also '25. Stiftungsfest der w. Loge "Silesia" in Troppau', *B'nai B'rith. Monatsblätter der Grossloge für den Čechoslovakischen Staat X.I.O.B.B.* 2/9 (1923) 214-5. The same periodical published annual reports on the activity of the lodge 'Silesia'.

[16] ZAO, Zemská vláda slezská v Opavě, 84, No. 296.

[17] Ibid. No. 319.

[18] Jewish Museum in Prague – Documentation of the Jewish Communities Foundation, ŽNO Opava, 147f.

[19] ZAO, Zemská vláda slezská v Opavě, 84, No. 113.

schein (until 1911), after that Dr. Isidor Wolf became the head, from 1922 until 1933 it was Gustav Finzi followed by Artur Felix. In 1924 the association's property was valued at 31,733 crowns and in 1937 it had 119 members. The last general meeting of the association was held on June 23 1938.

The burgeoning of the Zionist movement after the first Zionist congress in Basle was evident in Opava as well. It resulted in the establishment of and approval for the **Association 'Jeschurun'** (Verein 'Jeschurun')[20] in Opava in 1901, which became the **'Jeschurun' Zionist Association** (Sionistický spolek Jeschurun) after World War I. The rapid growth of Zionist influences among Opava Jews was caused primarily by the obvious anti-Semitic attitudes among the city's inhabitants from the late nineteenth century onwards. Even in 1906 the Opava Zionists played a very important role in the leadership of the Jewish religious community. They also greatly contributed to the propagation of Zionist ideas not only in the Opava area, but also in the neighbouring regions of Moravia and Cieszyn Silesia. The long-term president of the association, Rabbi Dr. Friedmann, dealt also with religious topics and subjects related to a future Palestine. His successors were Gustav Finzi and Bertold Reik. The association listed among its members Dr. Brunner, Dr. Kohn, Dr. Leschner. After 1919, the leader of the Opava Zionists, Gustav Finzi, was elected president of the Jewish religious community. The **'Miriam' Zionist Girls' Association** (Zionistischen Mädchenverein 'Mirjam') was established in Opava in 1911[21]. After World War I, the **Jewish National-Democratic Association** (Jüdischer National-demokratischer Verein) was created[22].

A subsidiary of the **Union of Jewish Craftsmen** (Svaz židovských řemeslníků), established in 1927, was active in Opava[23]. One of the most typical foundations was that established by Ernestina Mojsešková, a Jewish owner of a hotel in Opava, who died on August 11 1929. In her last will and testament of July 15 1925 she left, in addition to other financial assets, 150,000 crowns to found a Jewish orphanage and almshouse in Opava. She also allocated 50,000 crowns for the provision of dowries for poor Jewish girls and an equal sum to send Jewish children to summer camps[24].

An independent Jewish community was established in Krnov only in 1877. The oldest association in Krnov was Chevra-Kadischa, which was founded in 1879 and was followed by the Jewish Women's Association in Krnov. The funeral association **Chewra Kadischa**, also called the Jewish Association for the Welfare of the Sick and the Burial of the Deceased (Israelitisch Kranken- und Beerdigungs-

---

[20] Ibid. No. 134; Jewish Museum in Prague - Documentation of the Jewish Communities Foundation, ŽNO Opava, 147. See also F. Ekstein, 'Zehn Jahre "Jeschurun"', in *Festschrift des Zionistischen Vereines "Jeschurun" – Troppau 1901-1911* (Troppau, 1911) 7-28.

[21] ZAO, Zemská vláda slezská v Opavě, 84, No. 265.

[22] Ibid. No. 350.

[23] Ibid. No. 658.

[24] ZAO, Finančni prokuratura Ostrava, 8, box 148.

verein)[25], cared for the sick and provided dignified burials in compliance with Jewish law and tradition. The first chairman of the Chewra Kadischa was A. M. Buber, succeeded by Salomon Bock and K. Müller. One of the members of this association was Dr. David Rudolfer from 1929-35. He was the second rabbi of Krnov and held the position of secretary in the association. **The Jewish Women's Association in Krnov** (Israelitische Frauenverein) supported the Jewish poor, widows and orphans and in 1890 it had 84 members. From its establishment until World War I it was presided over by Rosa Gross, who was succeseded by Sidonie Pollak[26]. The variety of associations, all five of which were located in Krnov, is characterised by a local Zionist association **'Zion'** (Ortsgruppe Vereines 'Zion')[27], which was established in Krnov in 1909, of which Salomon Bock was elected president and Rabbi Dr. Rudolfer was elected secretary. The committee of this club included a considerable number of manufacturers, lawyers, doctors and businessmen living in Krnov. The association was famous above all for its numerous lectures and massive propagation of Zionist ideas. The youngest association in Krnov was **The Jewish Sport Club 'Makabi'** (Židovský sportovní spolek Makabi)[28] founded in 1933. Its main activity was the promotion of winter sports, in particular skiing. From 1933-8 the office of president was held by Adolf Rosner, Prof. Karl Weinfeld and Eng. Julius Walter. The last Jewish association to be active in Krnov was **The Tempel Choir Association** (Tempelchorverein). The association was registered in 1898 but there are no preserved materials concerning it.[29]

---

[25] ZAO, Zemská vláda slezská v Opavě, 83, No. 23; ZAO, Státní policejní uřad Krnov, 4, No. 22. See also *Statuten des israelitischen Krankenpflege- und Beerdigungs-Vereines (Chewra-Kadischa) in Jägerndorf* ([Jägerndorf] n.d.).

[26] ZAO, Zemská vláda slezská v Opavě, 83, No. 34; ZAO, Státní policejní uřad Krnov, 12, No. 152. See also *Statuten des Israelitischen Frauenvereines in Jägerndorf* ([Jägerndorf], 1932).

[27] ZAO, Zemská vláda slezská v Opavě , 83, No. 188; ZAO, Státní policejní uřad Krnov, 4, No. 33. See also *Statuten des Vereines Zion, Ortsgruppe Jägerndorf, Verlag des Vereines Zion, Ortsgruppe Jägerndorf* (Jägerndorf, n.d.).

[28] ZAO, Zemská vláda slezská v Opavě, 83, No. 517; ZAO, Státní policejní uřad Krnov, 4, No. 33a.

[29] ZAO, Zemská vláda slezská v Opavě, 83, No. 87.

**Mirosław Sadowski**
**Tomasz Scheffler**

# FROM THE STUDIES OF THE DEATH RATE OF JEWISH PEOPLE IN WROCŁAW IN THE PERIOD OF NAZI DEPORTATIONS 1941-1944

The subject of the annihilation of Jews is rich in biographical sources. Thanks to the work carried out by Wrocław's researchers, the history of the local Jewish community has been relatively well researched[1]. Although we have considerable knowledge of the living conditions or the circumstances of the deportation of 'non-Aryans' from Wrocław, it seems that to have a full picture of the history of the Jews in Wrocław during the period when the 'Endslösung' was being carried out, it is crucial to analyse the facts concerning the death rate of Jews who escaped the deportation.

Data on the number of Jewish people living in Wrocław during World War II are not precise. There is more detailed information from the late 1930s and early 1940s. Relying on this information, the size of the Jewish diaspora in this city can

---

[1] Treatises on the extermination of Wrocław Jews are numerous. It may be worth mentioning such publications as: K. Jonca, 'Etapy polityki rasistowskiej w Trzeciej Rzeszy (ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem Śląska)', *Dzieje Najnowsze* 18/3-4 (1986) 165-93; id., 'Deportacje niemieckich Żydów z Wrocławia w świetle relacji naocznych świadków (1941-1944)', *Studia nad Faszyzmem i Zbrodniami Hitlerowskimi* 17 (1994) 219-52, F. Połomski, *Prawo własności a tzw. "rozwiązanie kwestii żydowskiej" w Niemczech hitlerowskich* (Wrocław, 1991); A. Konieczny, 'Ludność żydowska na Śląsku w świetle spisu z 17 maja 1939 r.', *Studia nad Faszyzmem i Zbrodniami Hitlerowskimi* 15 (1992) 375-82, D. Bogacz, 'Samobójstwa niemieckich Żydów we Wrocławiu. Ze studiów nad zagładą Żydów w okresie "ostatecznego rozwiązania" kwestii żydowskiej 1941-1944', *Studia nad Faszyzmem i Zbrodniami Hitlerowskimi* 13 (1990) 235-64, M. Sadowski, 'Deportacje niemieckich Żydów z Wrocławia do KZ-Theresienstadt w styczniu i kwietniu 1944 r.', *Studia nad Faszyzmem i Zbrodniami Hitlerowskimi* 17 (1995) 261-70.

be estimated at around 11,000 people in 1939[2]. In subsequent years, Wrocław's Jewish population gradually decreased[3], reaching its low in the deportation period (1941-4)[4]. That process led to 'the final liquidation of the Jewish community in Wrocław'[5]. Beginning with the second half of 1943, the number of Jewish people living in Wrocław fluctuated at around a few hundred, only to fall below 100 at the turn of 1944-5[6]. The vast majority of the 'non-Aryans' who remained in Wrocław were members of so-called mixed families or were classified by the racist legislation of the Third Reich as so-called half-breeds or hybrids (Mischlinge)[7].

We analysed the deaths of Jewish people registered in the Registrar's Office in Wrocław in the years 1941-5[8]. We took a close look at the death certificates of seven of eight of the civil districts into which Wrocław was divided during World War II. As we cannot write at length on this subject, we would like to present a

---

2 B. Blau, 'The Jewish Population of Germany 1939-1945', *Jewish Social Studies* 12 (1950) 163. According to Blau, Wrocław Jews in 1939 numbered 10,848 – assuming race to be the base of count, or 10,309 if religion is to be a distinguishing feature. The Polish historian Alfred Konieczny found, relying on the archives concerning May 17 1939 census, that 11,172 Jews dwelled in Wrocław (municipal) district. Id., 'Ludność żydowska na Śląsku w świetle spisu' 376.

3 Relying on the data established by Karol Jonca it has to be assumed that the number of Jews living in Wrocław at the end of March 1941 numbered 9,184. Id., 'Przemiany struktury społecznej Żydów w Trzeciej Rzeszy', *Studia nad Faszyzmem i Zbrodniami Hitlerowskimi* 15 (1992) 118 (Aneks II). See also T. Kruszewski, 'Obóz dla ludności żydowskiej w Rybnej koło Brzegu (1941-1943)', Ibid. 317. According to Moshe Ayalon, 6,000-7,000 thousand Jews lived in Wrocław in the years 1940-41. Id., 'Jewish Life in Breslau 1938-1941', *Leo Baeck Year Book* 41 (1996) 332.

4 Concerning the deportation, see F. Połomski, *Deportacje Żydów z Dolnego Śląska w latach 1941-1944. Próba rekonstrukcji*, in K. Matwijowski (ed.), *Z dziejów ludności żydowskiej na Śląsku* (Wrocław, 1991) 83f Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis No 1182; Jonca, 'Deportacje' 219f.

5 Quoted after Bogacz, 'Samobójstwa niemieckich Żydów' 247. See also Jonca, 'Deportacje' 224-5.

6 According to Gertruda Breslauer who was in Wrocław at that time, the last large deportation operation from that city took place in October 1944. As a result 'around 150 people, together with the families from mixed marrieges and hybrids (Mischlinge) were sent to Gross-Rosen'. A convergent account was given by Karla Grabowski. Jonca, 'Deportacje' 242-3. The Nazi anuthorities intended to murder the handful of 'non-Aryans' who avoided the deportation in March 1945. E. Horning, *Breslau 1945. Erlebnisse in der eingeschlossenen Stadt* (Mnich, 1975) 83.

7 Concerning the 'hybrids' see F. Połomski, *Ustawodawstwo rasistowskie III Rzeszy i jego stosowanie na Górnym Śląsku* (Katowice, 1970) 114f with particular emphasis placed on the situation of the 'mixed' families; the study by U. Büttner, *'Nichtarier – Judenmischlinge – privilegirte Mischehen*: Die Verfolgung der christlich-jüdischen Familien im Dritten Reich', *Studia nad Faszyzmem i Zbrodniami Hitlerowskimi* 14 (1991) 139f.

8 Source: 'The books of the dead in the Wrocław Municipal Office in the years 1941-45'.

part of our research concerning the death rate in the 1st civil district located near Wallstrasse (today's Włodkowica Street) i.e., in the 'Jewish quarters'.

It stems from the research into death certificates for the years 1941-5 from the 1st civil district when a total of 394 people who qualified as Jews died. In consecutive years the statistics are: 1941 – 175 people (i.e. 44,4%); 1942 – 164 (41,6%); 1943 – 54 (13,7%); 1944 – 1 person (0,25%); in 1945 no deaths of Jewish people were able to be ascertained, which seems to confirm the thesis of the liquidation of the Jewish religious community in Wrocław[9]. It is worth mentioning here that in their death certificates, Jewish people were identified by religious criteria. In the analysed documents, the word 'Jude' appears very rarely. Usually the term 'jüdisch', meaning the Jewish religion, is used. In the case of neophytes, mention is made of the person's previous association with the Jewish religion (e.g. 'evangelisch früher jüdisch').

Of the 394 death certificates we have analysed, there are 231 female deaths (i.e. 59,3%), male deaths make up 160 cases (i.e. 41,6%), and there are three infant deaths. The death rate according to age group is as follows: born in the years 1840-9 – 7 persons (1,7%); 1850-9 – 56 (14,2%); 1860-9 – 124 (31,4%); 1870-9 – 97 (24,6%), 1880-9 – 52 (13,1%); 1890-9 – 21 (5,3%); 1900-9 – 11 (2,7%); 1910-9 – 8 (2%); 1920-9 – 7 (1,7%); 1930-9 – 3 (0,76%); 1940-5 – 7 (1,7%). The oldest person registered in the files was Chaim Salzmann born in Nasielsk near Pułtusk on February 2 1841, deceased on October 3 1942. The analysis of the death rate in individual age groups confirms previous results for the age structure of the Jewish people to be deported.

Among the most frequent causes of death, diseases linked with heart muscle weakness are mentioned: Herzmuskelschwäsche – 186 cases (47,2%) and Herzschlag – 10 cases (2,5%); respiratory system deficiencies: Lungenentzündung – 21 cases (5,3%) and Lungentuberkulose – 25 cases (6,3%); arteriosclerosis – Arterienverkalkung – 21 cases (5,3%) and stroke – Schlaganfal – 36 cases (9,1%) Of the analysed causes of deaths, no less than 53, i.e.13,4% of the total number were suicides. Our results confirmed previous research carried out by Daniel Bogacz, which showed that the number of suicides would rise during the deportations[10]. An analogous correlation could not be ascertained for the other causes of death.

The death certificates examined showed that as many as 273 deaths (69,2%) occurred in Jüdisches Krankenhaus at 9 Wallstr. (the Jewish Hospital in today's Włodkowica Street), and 110 deaths (28,1%) occurred at home. As the registers report, in 365 cases (91,3%) the deceased's last abode was Wrocław, and only in 29 cases (7,3%) was another locality noted.

---

9 See Jonca, 'Deportacje' 251, who wrote that 'the Jewish community in Wrocław and in Silesia, with its ample age-long traditions, was annihilated by Nazism'.

10 Bogacz, 'Samobójstwa niemieckich Żydów' 254.

## Appendix

Register of Jews died in Wrocław in the years 1941-1945

Source: The books of the dead in (1941-5), 1st civil district Municipality of Wrocław. Original spelling, geographic, medical, and administrative terminology has been preserved.

| Family name | First name | Place of residence | Date of birth | Place of birth | Date of death | Place of death | Cause of death |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Aber | Julius | Br., Gartenstr. 31 | 9.06. 1855 | Rawitsch | 28.01.1941 | JK[1] | Herzschwäche infolge Alters |
| Aber, geb. Loewenthal | Hermine | Br., Wallstr. 14[2] | 16.07.1859 | Zerkow im Warthegau | 13.01.1941 | home | Brustkrebs, Tochtergeschwulste am Bein, Herzschwäche |
| Adler | Simon | Br., Schweidnitzer Stadtgraben 28 | 21.04.1877 | Schlüchtern, Hessen-Nassau | 14.02.1941 | JK | Rückenmarkschindsucht, Lungen-entzündung, Herzschwäche |
| Alexander | Erich | Br., Augustastr. 61 | 4.02.1891 | Br. | 13.10.1941 | JK | Bauchwassersucht, Lebergeschwulst, Blutarmut, Herzschwäche |
| Aron | Georg | Br., Charlottenstr. 7 | 24.07.1866 | Zielenzig, Kr. Ost-Sternberg in der Mark | 30.11.1941 | JK | Schlaganfall, Herzschwäche |
| Aron, geb. Königsberger | Else | Br., Charlttenstr. 7 | 10.09.1875 | Kattowitz O/S | 6.09.1941 | JK | Anaemie, Biermersche Kramkheit |
| Aschheim, geb. Baruchsen | Lydia Margarete | Br., Straße der SA 54 | 1.07.1902 | Litzmannstadt | 2.03.1943 | JK | Selbstmord durch Einnhmen von Schlafmitteln |
| Aschner | Max | Br., Berliner Str. 9 | 20.09.1895 | Kattowitz O/S | 21.02.1941 | home | Lähmungserscheinungen der Beine, Herzschwäche, plötzliche Herzlähmung |
| Aschner, geb. Goliner | Cicel (Cecilie) | Br., Schweidnitzer Stadtgraben 28 | 14.10.1856 | Ostrovo | 3.08.1941 | JK | Hasdrüsentuberkulose, Herzmuskelschwäche |
| Aschner, geb. Weißenberg | Berta | Br., Wallstr. 5 | 1.03.1873 | Rosdzin, Kr. Myslowitz | 3.12.1942 | JK | Alters- Herzschwäche, Altersbrand |

[1] Hospital at Wallstrasse 9 in Wrocław.

[2] Address of Jüdische Sichenheim.

| Aufrichtig | Gerson | Br., Sonnenstr. 38 | 6.03. 1939 | Neustadt O/S | 11.12.1941 | JK | Ausgedehntes Beinekzem. Sepsis. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Back | Isidor | Br., Wallstr. 14 | 18.09.1864 | Wronke, Kr. Samter | 27.01.1943 | JK | Krebsgeschwulst der Brustwirbelsäule |
| Baer, geb. Kuttner | Henriette | Br., Wallstr. 5 | 1.10. 1854 | Gollub in Westpreußen | 25.01.1943 | home | Alters-Herzschwäche |
| Baer, geb. Zimmt | Doris | Br., Schweidnitzer Stadtgraben 28 | 12,07.1864 | Schrimm in Posen | 7.04.1941 | JK | Hirnaderverkalkung, Herzschwäche |
| Bartenstein | Emanuel | Br., Viktoriastr. 33 | 30.03.1882 | Buchenlust, Kr. Tost-Gleiwitz | 11.07.1941 | Br.[3] | Natürlicher Tod, Herztod |
| Baruchsen, geb. Segall | Flora | Br., Straße der SA 54 | 29.04.1875 | Goldingen in Lettland | 3.03.1943 | JK | Selbstmord durch Einnhmen von Schlafmitteln |
| Basch, geb. Metz | Selma | Br., Wallstr. 11 | 12.10.1869 | Lissa in Posen | 4.05.1942 | home | Herzbräune, Aderverkalkung, Stauungen vom Herzen, Gehirnverkalkung, Herzmuskelschwäche, Herzschlag |
| Beck, geb. Seldis | Rosalie | Br., Wallstr. 5 | 15.07.1852 | Liegnitz | 23.09.1942 | home | Alters- Herzschwäche |
| Behr | Baruch | Br., Wallstr. 5 | 25.04.1862 | Linnich, Kr. Jülich | 20.01.1941 | home | Herzmuskelschwäche, Kranzgefäßverkalkung |
| Bender | Grete | Br., Lothringerstr. 8/10 | 2.08.1887 | Tost, Kr. Gleiwitz | 10.04.1942 | JK | Selbstmord, Veronalvergiftung, Herzschwäche |
| Benjamin, geb. Stein | Pauline | Br., Höfchenstr. 71 | 30.11.1870 | Tarnowitz O/S | 26.06.1942 | JK | Darmkatarrh, Anaemie, Herzschwäche |
| Berg, geb. Kallmann | Herta | Br., Trinitasstr. 8 | 28.07.1900 | Br. | 22.02.1943 | JK | Selbstmord durch Einnehmen von Schlafmitteltabletten |
| Berger | Arnold | Br., Wallstr. 5 | 7.05.1919 | Br. | 28.02.1943 | home | Selbstmord durch Einnhmen von Cyankali |
| Berger | Artur Isidor | Br., Wallstr. 5 | 20.06.1882 | Striegau, Kr. Schweidnitz | 28.02.1943 | home | Selbstmord durch Einnhmen von Cyankali |
| Berger | Marianne Eva | Br., Wallstr. 5 | 13.12.1921 | Br. | 28.02.1943 | home | Selbstmord durch Einnhmen von Cyankali |

[3] ...in Breslau bei der Beförderung von der Kopischstraße nach dem Krankenhospital zu Allerheiligen verstorben.

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Berger, geb. Baruch | Alice Helene | Br., Wallstr. 5 | 9.08.1890 | Br. | 28.02.1943 | JK | Selbstmord. Schlafmittelvergiftung. |
| Berliner | Rosalie | Br., Gräbschener Str. 51 | 20.01.1866 | Br. | 22.08.1942 | JK | Alters- Herzschwäche, Geschwulst am linken Auge |
| Berliner, geb. Cashirer | Jenni | Br., Götzenstr. 19 | 19.07.1852 | Gogolin O/S | 24.01.1942 | JK | Alters- Herzschwäche |
| Berliner, geb. Wiener | Anna | Liegnitz, Luisenstr. 34 | 2.07. 1865 | Hirschberg im Riesengebirge | 16.10.1942 | JK | Alters- Herzschwäche, Schlaganfall |
| Bernstein | Heinrich | Br., Götzenstr. 19 | 23.11.1876 | Schwetz an der Weichsel | 7.01. 1941 | JK | Pemphigus vegetans, Herzschwäche |
| Bieschowsky, geb. Liebrecht | Margareta Paula | Br., Wölfstr. 20 | 16.12.1883 | Roßberg, Kr. Beuthen O/S | 14.09.1941 | JK | Selbstmord – Schlafmittelvergiftung |
| Bildhauer | Anna | Grüssau, Kr. Landeshut | 29.08.1860 | Lissa in Posen | 31.08.1942 | JK | Arterienverkalkung, Bronchialkatarrh, Herzschwäche |
| Bileski, geb. Taucher | Nora | Br., Freiburger Str. 23 | 17.11.1882 | Br. | 19.10.1942 | JK | Offene Lungentuberkulose |
| Blaschke | Siegmund | Br., Wallstr. 5 | 1.07.1875 | Frankfurt an der Oder | 30.03.1942 | home | Kranzaderverkalkung, Kranzaderinfarkt |
| Blumberg, geb. Flatow | Jetta | Br., Wallstr. 5 | 28.10.1859 | Schönlanke, Kr. Czarnikau | 15.01.1941 | home | Asthma, Herzleiden, Herzschlag |
| Boehm | Minna | Br., Wallstr. 14 | 5.01.1857 | Deutsch Würbitz, Kr. Kreuzburg O/S | 16.09.1942 | home | Alters- Herzschwäche |
| Böhm | Jacob | Br., Neudorfstr. 15 | 10.03.1867 | Neudorf, Kr. Beuthen O/S | 26.06.1941 | JK | Herzasthma |
| Böhm | Wilhelm | Br., Roonstr. 37 | 26.05.1889 | Miottek, Kr. Lublinitz O/S | 27.07.1941 | JK | Leukämie, (lzmphatische) |
| Boldes | Max | Br., Freiburger Str. 16 | 28.01.1880 | Lissa | 28.03.1943 | JK | Magenkrebs, Herzschwäche |
| Borenstein, geb. Dymak | Hedwig | Br., Wallstr. 5 | 9.12.1876 | Gollub, Kr. Briesen | 5.04.1943 | home | Sepsis, Druckgeschwür am Gesäß |
| Borinski | Gustav | Br., Häfschenstr. 23 | 18.11.1864 | Guttentag O/S | 22.07.1941 | JK | Alters-Herzschwäche |
| Brauer, geb. Süßmann | Berta | Guttentag O/S, Hindenburgstr. 16 | 18.01.1882 | Kokotek, Kr. Guttentag O/S | 29.10.1941 | JK | Herzschwäche infolge Herzschlagaderverkalkung, Zuckerkrankheit |
| Brieger | Dagobert | Br., Wallstr. 14 | 15.11.1879 | Chemnitz/ Sachsen | 23.07.1941 | JK | Schrumfniere, Zuckerkrankheit |
| Brinitzer | Benno | Br., Augustastr. 55 | 9.05.1876 | Neisse O/S | 11.02.1942 | JK | Schlaganfall, Lungenentzündung |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Brinitzer, geb. Kochmann | Dorothea | Br., Augustastr. 52 | 27.01.1873 | Nikolai, Kr. Pleß O/S | 14.12.1941 | JK | Chronische Nierenentzündung, Herzmuskelschwäche |
| Brinnitzer, geb. Charig | Cäcilie | Br., Höfchenstr. 17 | 25.08.1849 | Lissa in Posen | 11.12.1941 | JK | Alters- Herzschwäche |
| Bromberger, geb. Morgenstern | Ilse Edith | Br., Sonnenstr. 21 | 18.01.1911 | Petershofen, Kr. Ratibor | 11.02.1943 | JK | Perniziöse Anaemie, Herzmuskelentzündung, eingeklemmter Schenkelbruch |
| Bucki, geb. Lichtwitz | Franziska | Br., Lothringer Str. 8/10 | 18.09.1865 | Neisse O/S | 7.04.1941 | JK | Alters-Herzschwäche, kleine Verletzung am rechten Zeigefinger |
| Burchard | Adelheid | Br., Kronprinzenstr. 30 | 1.04.1886 | Br. | 20.07.1942 | JK | Selbstmord durch Schlafmittelvergiftung |
| Bursch, geb. Szeps | Augusta | Br., Gartenstr. 51 | 3.08.1864 | Koschmin in Posen | 6.05.1942 | JK | Hirnaderverkalkung, Herzschwäche |
| Casriel | Herman | Br., Gartenstr. 10 | 12.02.1875 | Jarotschin in Posen | 28.04.1942 | JK | Lungenentzündung, Herzschwäche |
| Cassriel, geb. Richter | Käthe Erna | Br., Kronprinzenstr. 38 | 12.12.1900 | Rosenberg O/S | 9.01.1943 | JK | Selbstmord. Schlafmittelvergiftung. Lungenentzündung, Herzschwäche |
| Cheimowitz | Hermann | Br., Schweidnitzer Stadtgraben 28 | 1.06.1860 | Lutomiersk in Polen | 22.05.1941 | JK | Schlaganfall, Herzschwäche |
| Chrzanowski | Max | Br., Alsenstr. 93 | 8.11.1865 | Rumian, Kr. Loebau | 25.08.1941 | home | Herzklappenfehler, Herzschwäche |
| Cohn | Dorothea | Br., Wallstr. 31 | 17.02.1863 | Krotoschin in Posen | 9.01.1941 | JK | Lungenentzündung, Herzmuskel-schwäche |
| Cohn | Emma | Br., Schuhbrücke 32 | 9.01.1867 | Langendorf, Kr. Gleiwitz | 9.05.1942 | home | Herzmuskelschwäche, Lungenoedem |
| Cohn | Ilse Johanna | Br., Wallstr. 14 | 6.03.1913 | Br. | 5.01.1942 | home | Selbstmord durch wahrscheinlich Schlafmitteltabletten |
| Cohn | Isidor | Br., Friedrich Wilhelm Str. 25 | 12.21.1855 | Beuthen | 20.05.1942 | home | Geschwulst der Harnblase |
| Cohn | Klara | Br., Höfschenstr. 97 | 2.02.1862 | Bernstadt in Schlesien | 7.06.1941 | JK | Galenblasenkrebs, Herzschwäche |
| Cohn | Klara | Br., Wallstr. 31 | 15.01.1867 | Krotoschin in Posen | 9.01.1941 | JK | Alters-Herzschwäche |
| Cohn | Max | Br., Neue Graupenstr. 3/4 | 7.08.1868 | Altkloster, Kr. Bomst | 2.07.1942 | JK | Darmkatarrh, Herzschwäche |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Cohn | Siegfried | Br., Zimmerstr. 6 | 3.11.1876 | Jastrow in Westpreußen | 20.03.1942 | JK | Lungenentzündung, Rippenfellvereiterung |
| Creutzberger | Sigismund Samuel | Br., Gutenbergstr. 8 | 26.10.1862 | Groß Strehlitz | 21.11.1941 | JK | Selbstmord infolge Veronalvergiftung |
| Czapski, geb. Stern | Olga Charlotte | Br., Eichendorffstr. 49 | 11.06.1867 | Br. | 5.09.1941 | JK | Herzmuskelschwäche, Arterienverkalkung |
| Daniel, geb. Schreiber | Auguste | Br., Wallstr. 16 | 15.02.1871 | Schrimm in Posen | 28.09.1941 | JK | Lungenentzündung, Herzschwäche |
| Dessauer | Paul | Grüssau, Kr. Landeshut | 11.07.1872 | Hochkretscham, Kr. Leobschütz O/S | 22.03.1943 | JK | Offene Lungentuberkulose |
| Deutschkron[4] | Lea | Br., Höfchenstr.96 | 30.12.1888 | Meseritz | 24.11.1941 | JK | Veronalvergiftung, Selbstmord |
| Deutschmann, geb. Prager | Hedwig | Br., Wallstr. 14 | 8.10. 1859 | Frankenstein | 27.01.1941 | home | Herzschwäche infolge hohen Alters |
| Dienemann | Georg | Br., Karlstr. 47 | 9.11.1885 | Krotoschin | 25.03.1943 | JK | Schrumpfniere, Herzmuskelschwäche |
| Dienstfertig | Olga | Leobschütz, Laubenstr. 15 | 25.04.1862 | Leobschütz | 28.05.1942 | JK | Altersschwäche, Herzschwäche |
| Dresel | Friedrich Wilhelm | Br., Lothringer Str. 8/10 | 21.05.1861 | Kottwitz, Kr. Sagen in Schlesien | 11.12.1941 | JK | Arterienverkalkung, Brand am rechten Fuß, Herzschwäche |
| Dresel, geb. Bernhardt | Regina | Br., Wallstr. 14 | 15.02.1867 | Unter-Gennin, Kr. Landsberg an der Warthe | 20.10.1941 | home | Alters-Herzschwäche |
| Eckerling, geb. Schwarzfeld | Babette | Br., Willmanstr. 8 | 28.08.1866 | Horodenka in Polen | 20.03.1942 | JK | Alters- Herzschwäche, Gehirnaderverkalkung |
| Edel | Gad | Br., Fischergasse 16 | 29.09.1940 | Br. | 11.09.1941 | JK | Schwerste Dyspepsie, Exsudative Diathese, Herzschwäche |
| Ehrlich | Bela | Br., Augustastr.70 | 16.12.1940 | Br. | 6.01.1941 | JK | Frühgeburt, Untergewichtigkeit, Lungenentzündung, Herzschwäche |
| Eisner | Emil Isidor | Br., Wallstr. 33 | 2.11.1943 | Beuthen O/S | 25.11.1943 | home | Zuckerharnruhr, Kranzaderverkalkung, Embolie der Kranzader |
| Eisner | Walli | Br., Wallstr. 14 | 11.10.1864 | Br. | 24.12.1941 | home | Arterienverkalkung, Schlaganfall rechtsseitig |

[4] Note: evangelisch, jüdisch.

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Eisner, geb. May | Berta | Br., Höfchenstr. 1 | 4.07. 1870 | Br. | 20.08.1942 | JK | Alters- Herzschwäche, Darmkatarrh |
| Eisner, geb. Schäfer | Jeanette Jenny | Br., Goethestr. 10 | 2.02.1876 | Br. | 11.04.1942 | JK | Selbstmord durch Schlafmittelvergiftung |
| Elkeles | Leo | Br., Schleier-macherstr. 40 | 4.04.1869 | Posen | 22.05.1942 | JK | Pemphigus vegetans, Herzschwäche |
| Epstein | Martha | Br., Götzenstr. 19 | 23.10.1872 | Gleiwitz | 25.08.1942 | JK | Veronalvergiftung. Selbstmord |
| Epstein | Salo Felix | Br., Wallstr. 14 | 14.01.1868 | Guttentag, Kr. Lublinitz O/S | 3.02.1942 | home | Lungenentzündung, Herzschwäche |
| Epstein | Simon | Br., Wallstr. 14 | 30.08.1854 | Falkowitz, Kr. Oppeln | 5.02.1942 | home | Arterienverkalkung, Herzmuskelschwäche |
| Faerber | Max | Waldheim in Sachsen | 14.07.1894 | Ostrog, Kr. Ratibor | 11.06.1941 | JK | Lungentuberkulose, Herzschwäche |
| Falk | Martin | Br., Augustastr. 51 | 12.05.1891 | Br. | 30.03.1943 | JK | Herzmuskelschwäche |
| Feibelsohn, geb. Grzymisch | Hulda | Br., Höfchenstr. 99 | 5.05.1861 | Pleschen | 20.09.1942 | JK | Alters- Herzschwäche, Geschwürsbildung am Gesäß |
| Fein | Leo | Br., Gabitzstr. 6 | 4.04. 1870 | Kempen in Posen | 29.01.1941 | JK | Gehirnblutung, Darmkrebs, Herzschwäche |
| Fink, geb. Sieradz | Friederike | Br., Wallstr. 14 | 19.03.1860 | Kriewen, Kr. Kosten in Posen | 26.05.1941 | home | Lungenentzündung, Arterienverkalkung, Schlaganfall |
| Fraenkel, geb. Kaufmann | Amalie | Br., Wallstr. 14 | 26.02.1873 | Rosdzin O/S | 6.04.1941 | JK | Zuckerkrankheit, Säurevergiftung, Kreislaufschwäche, Lungenentzündung |
| Freund | Doris | Br., Sonnenstr. 19 | 12.09.1877 | Gleiwitz O/S | 15.01.1942 | JK | Schlafmittelvergiftung. Selbstmord. |
| Freund | Eugen | Br., Goethestr. 12 | 25.06.1875 | Loslau, Kr. Rybnik O/S | 28.12.1941 | JK | Herzmuskelschwäche, Wassersucht |
| Freund | Margarete | Br., Wallstr. 9 | 17.02.1884 | Br. | 11.12.1941 | JK | Typhus abdominalis, multiple Sklerose (Verkalungsherde im Gehirn und Rückenmark), Herzschwäche |
| Freund, geb. Daniel | Recha | Br., Brandenburger Str. 24 | 5.07. 1864 | Krotoschin in Posen | 6.02. 1941 | JK | Lungenentzündung, Rippenfellentzündung |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Friedländer | Emma | Br., Wallstr. 13 | 23.09.1856 | Gleiwitz, O/S | 1.03.1941 | home | Altersverkalkung, Herzmuskelschwäche |
| Friedländer, geb. Dombrowsky | Friederike Henriette Anna | Br., Augustastr.33 | 19.05.1875 | Kattowitz | 24.08.1942 | JK | Schlafmittelvergiftung. Selbstmord. |
| Friedländer, geb. Heimann | Meta | Br., Hohenzollernstr. 34 | 2.07. 1863 | Ohlau | 12.01.1941 | JK | Arterienverkalkung, Schlaganfall, Herzschwäche |
| Friedmann | Wolfgang | Br., Neueweltgasse 5 | 15.01.1935 | Br. | 28.05.1941 | home | Scharlach, Otitis, Sepsis |
| Fröhlich | Hermann | Br., Sonnenstr. 21 | 24.01.1867 | Beuthen O/S | 27.02.1942 | JK | Lungentuberkulose |
| Fuchs, geb. Schlesinger | Elise | Br., Gartenstr. 12 | 15.11.1887 | Krotoschin in Posen | 11.03.1943 | JK | Lungentuberkulose, Darmtuberkulose |
| Futter | Michael | Br., Freiburger Str. 18 | 17.12.1868 | Jaraczewo in Posen | 5.03.1942 | JK | Schlaganfall |
| Gadiel | Siegfried | Br., Wallstr. 5 | 10.09.1865 | Wallendorf, Kr. Namslau | 13.02.1942 | home | Chronische Gefäßverkalkung, Herzschlag |
| Gassmann | Artur | Br., Kronprinzenstr. 29 | 27.10.1872 | Beuthen O/S | 14.02.1941 | JK | Herzschwäche infolge Alters |
| Gedalje | Fanny | Br., Wallstr. 14 | 23.07.1859 | Neustadt | 5.09.1942 | home | Alters- Herzschwäche |
| Gerstmann, geb. Gottschalk | Erna | Br., Scharnhorststr. 10 | 29.10.1883 | Leipzig | 21.11.1941 | JK | Selbstmord infolge Veronalvergiftung |
| Glücksmann | Hans Heinrich | Br., Wallstr. 14 | 23.11.1889 | Br. | 4.01.1942 | JK | Lungenkrebs |
| Goldmann | Hedwig | Br., Telegraphenstr. 3 | 8.03.1874 | Br. | 27.06.1942 | JK | Veronalvergiftung. Selbstmord |
| Goldmann, geb. Efrem | Lisbeth | Br., Wallstr. 14 | 17.12.1873 | Bernstadt, Kr. Oels | 26.02.1943 | JK | Unfall in der Wohnung. Bruch des linken Oberschenkels. Herzmuskelentartung |
| Goldschmidt, geb. Guhrauer | Rosalie | Br., Wallstr. 14 | 2.04. 1859 | Jauer | 22.04.1942 | home | Schlaganfall |
| Goldstein | Martha | Wohlau | 15.03.1868 | Fürsten-Ellguth, Kr. Oels | 25.05.1942 | JK | Selbstmord durch Einatmen von Leuchtgas |
| Gossler | Eli | Br., Alsenstr. 93 | 10.06.1941 | Br. | 19.07.1941 | JK | Ernährungsstörung und Lungenentzündung |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Gottheiner, geb. Schrubski | Rosa Anna | Br., Gartenstr. 63 | 15.08.1864 | Hohensalza | 7.03.1942 | JK | Schlaganfall |
| Gotthilf | Julian | Br., Wallstr. 11 | 5.11.1904 | Wongrowitz (Eichenbrück) | 30.03.1943 | JK | Selbstmord. Schlafmittelvergiftung. |
| Grabowski | Hulda | Br., Wallstr. 14 | 2.12.1866 | Grabow, Kr. Schildberg | 16.02.1943 | home | Alters-Herzschwäche |
| Großmann[5] | Boss, Bruno | Br., Friedrich Karl-Str. 10 | 17.11.1887 | Br. | 15.02.1942 | home | Lungentuberkulose, Lungenentzündung, Herzschwäche |
| Gruber, geb. Weißenberg | Berta | Br., Wallstr. 5 | 19.09.1860 | Ratibor O/S | 27.09.1941 | JK | Alters-Herzschwäche |
| Grünberg | Olga | Br., Wallstr. 14 | 24.06.1861 | Rosenberg O/S | 9.12.1941 | home | Arterienverkalkung, Gebärmutterpolypen, Lungenentzündung |
| Grunwald, geb. Kuznitzky | Johanna | Br., Wallstr. 14 | 17.04.1864 | Myslowitz O/S | 23.07.1941 | JK | Lungenentzündung |
| Grünzweig | Charlotte | Br., Friedrich Wilhelm Str. 25 | 29.03.1867 | Ellguth-Tworkau, Kr. Ratibor | 27.08.1942 | JK | Selbstmord. Schlafmittelvergiftung. |
| Gurowski, geb. Loewenstein | Anna | Br., Schwertstr. 5 | 24.11.1852 | Plateinen, Kr. Osterode, Ostpreußen | 7.03.1942 | home | Altersschwäche, Herzschwäche |
| Guttentag | Josef Hezmann | Br., Wallstr. 18 | 27.06.1865 | Loslau, Kr. Rybnik O/S | 7.06.1941 | home | Magen- und Leberkrebs, Herzschwäche mit Wasersucht |
| Guttermann | Layb Istal | Br., Groß Masselwitz, ZAL | 15.05.1906 | Peliza in Polen | 1.11.1942 | JK | Offene Lungentuberkulose, Rippen-fellvereiterung, Herzschwäche |
| Guttmann | David | Br., Wallstr. 5 | 20.02.1878 | Krotoschin | 13.11.1942 | home | Herzasthmaanfall |
| Guttmann | Otto | Br., Fischergasse 14 | 29.12.1873 | Kattowitz O/S | 19.08.1944 | home | Gehirnschlag |
| Hahn | Rudolf | Br., Franz Seldte-Platz 9 | 18.12.1876 | Wien | 22.10.1942 | JK | Herzmuskelentartung |
| Hamburger | Hans | Br., Blücherplatz 4 | 30.03.1899 | Br. | 16.09.1941 | home | Selbstmord durch Erhängen |
| Hauschner | Georg | Br., Wallstr. 14 | 27.10.1872 | Br. | 5.09.1942 | JK | Lungenentzündung, Herzschwäche |
| Hausmann, geb. Levy | Mathilde | Br., Wallstr. 14 | 14.02.1844 | Fordon, Bezirk Bromberg | 31.01.1942 | home | Alters- Herzschwäche |
| Hecht | Paula | Br., Wallstr. 14 | 28.11.1867 | Br. | 9.02.1942 | home | Alters- Herzschwäche |

[5] Evangelisch, früher jüdisch

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Hecht, geb. Kosterlitz | Ernestine | Br., Gräbschener Str. 51 | 23.03.1859 | Ober-Sodow (Waldhof), Kr. Lublinitz | 28.08.1942 | JK | Schlaganfall, Herzschwäche |
| Heidenfeld, geb. Dresdner | Margot Johanna | Br., Gutenbergstr. 9 | 15.10.1892 | Cels in Schlesien | 7.10.1941 | JK | Schüttellähmung, Lungenentzündung, Herzschwäche |
| Heimann | Ruth | Br., Wallstr. 5 | 2.02.1911 | Schildberg | 4.04.1943 | home | Lungenentzündung, Herzschwäche |
| Herczka[6] | Jakob Josef | Br., Alsenstr. 41 | 30.10.1867 | Rattnocz in Ungarn | 8.02.1942 | home | Arteriensklerose, Gallengangs-Geschwulst (Carcinom), Ikterus, allgemeiner Kräfteverfall |
| Herzberg | Felix | Br., Fiedrich Wilhelm Str. 109 | 19.10.1859 | Br. | 30.01.1942 | JK | Herzmuskelschwäche, Rippenfellerguß |
| Hesel, geb. Schalmach | Veronika Flora | Liegnitz, Bäckerstr. 16 | 22.03.1859 | Czempin, Kr. Kosten | 13.02.1942 | JK | Altersschwachsinn, Lungenentzündung |
| Heydemann, geb. Sternberg | Therese | Br., Höfchenstr. 99 | 23.06.1876 | Br. | 27.02.1942 | JK | Veronalvergiftung, Herzschwäche, Selbstmord |
| Heymann | Herman | Br., Augustastr. 25 | 24.01.1868 | Br. | 14.05.1942 | JK | Hirnaderverkalkung, Herzschwäche |
| Hirsch, geb. Kaufmann | Malka (Mathilde) | Br., Wallstr. 5 | 23.07.1869 | Tarnow in Galizien | 4.11.1942 | JK | Gehirnarterienverkalkung |
| Hirsch, geb. Perlinski | Natalie | Br., Gartenstr. 51 | 3.04. 1861 | Gostyn in Posen | 25.01.1941 | JK | Lungenentzündung, Herzmuskelschwäche |
| Hirschberg | Georg | Tormersdorf bei Rothenburg in der Lausitz | 20.12.1857 | Br. | 3.08. 1942 | JK | Lungentuberkulose, Herzschwäche |
| Hirschberg | Heinrich | Br., Sonnenstr. 19 | 28.05.1874 | Bromberg | 21.01.1941 | JK | Herzmuskelschwäche |
| Hirschel | Georg | Br., Wallstr. 16 | 7.08.1859 | Br. | 15.10.1941 | JK | Herzmuskelschwäche |
| Hirschfeld | Hans | Br., Gutenbergstr. 27 | 23.07.1917 | Br. | 23.05.1941 | JK | Fallsucht, Zustand von Bewußlosigkeit,Herzschwäche |
| Hochhäuser | Schmaje | Br., Sonnenstr. 13 | 3.03.1868 | Neu-Sandec in Polen | 27.05.1941 | JK | Lungenentzündung, Herzschwäche |
| Hoffmann | Eduard | Br., Gartenstr. 26 | 11.07.1869 | Grabow, Bezirk Posen | 6.04.1941 | JK | Arterienverkalkung, Schlaganfall, Lungenentzündung |

[6] Katholisch, früher jüdisch.

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Hoffmann | Rudolf Raphael | Br., Willmannstr. 5/7 | 9.06.1869 | Storchnest, Kr. Lissa | 22.09.1941 | home | Herzmuskelschwäche, Herzasthma, Kranzarterienverschluß |
| Holzmann | Josef | Br., Wallstr. 9 | 19.01.1880 | Mixstadt, Kr. Schildberg | 22.01.1942 | JK | Lungentuberkulose |
| Israel | Albert | Br., Neue Graupenstr. 3/4 | 23.10.1876 | Br. | 14.01.1942 | JK | Schlaganfall |
| Jacob, geb. Lewy | Rosalie | Br., Zimmerstr. 5/7 | 17.04.1875 | Karlsruhe O/S | 10.04.1942 | JK | Selbstmord, Veronalvergiftung |
| Jacobowitz | Regina | Br., Friedrich Karl Str. 25 | 31.07.1869 | Brieg, Bezirk Br. | 8.05.1941 | home | Sklerose der Hirn- und Kranzarterien des Herzens, Epilepsie, Apoplexie, Coma |
| Jaffe | Jenni | Br., Sonnenstr. 21 | 25.03.1875 | Br. | 2.11.1941 | JK | Herzmuskelschwäche, Herzgefäßkrampf, Zuckerkrankheit |
| Jakubowicz, geb. Keiler | Rosa | Br., Wallstr. 33 | 16.02.1873 | Krotoschin, Provinz Posen | 24.05.1941 | JK | Herzmuskelschwäche |
| Jelsch[7], geb. Durra | Else | Br., Uferstr. 22 | 9.04. 1881 | Br. | 4.03.1941 | JK | Schlaganfall |
| Jereslaw | Bertold Baruch | Br., Sadowastr. 56 | 19.01.1878 | Liegnitz | 19.05.1941 | JK | Carcinom im Gehirn, Metastasen in der Lunge, Herzschwäche |
| Johsmann, geb. Mendelsohn | Flora | Br., Goethestr. 9 | 4.11. 1861 | Krotoschin | 28.08.1942 | JK | Herzmuskelschwäche |
| Jonas | Alfred | Br., Wallstr. 14 | 23.02.1864 | Neisse | 29.07.1941 | JK | Herzkranzarterienverkalkung |
| Joseph | Jakob | Br., Reuschestr. 66 | 1.03.1873 | Briesen in Westpreußen | 21.06.1941 | home | Magenkrebs |
| Juliusberg, geb. Hänflein | Walli | Br., Gräbschener Str. 51 | 16.03.1863 | Br. | 23.04.1942 | JK | Alters- Herzschwäche, senile Demenz |
| Juliusberger, geb. Marcusy | Rosa Margarete | Br., Wallstr. 11 | 29.03.1892 | Waldenburg in Schlesien | 2.03.1943 | JK | Selbstmord durch Einnhmen von Schlafmitteln |
| Juliusburg | Moritz | Br., Fischergasse 14 | 4.12.1864 | Plania, Kr. Ratibor O/S | 13.03.1941 | home | Sklerose der Kranzarterien des Herzens, der Hirnarterien und der Extremitätenarterien, Thrombose, Lungenödem |

[7] Evangelisch, früher jüdisch.

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Juliusburger | Anna Rosalie | Br., Wallstr. 5 | 5.11.1858 | Br. | 1.11.1942 | home | Arterienverkalkung, Herzschwäche |
| Jungmann | Jenny | Br., Wallstr. 5 | 23.06.1849 | Rawitsch | 20.12.1942 | home | Arterienverkalkung, Herzschwäche |
| Jurke, geb. Danziger | Helene | Grüssau, Kr. Landeshut | 29.01.1867 | Reichenbach im Eulengebirge | 10.08.1942 | JK | Alters- Herzschwäche |
| Jurman | Leib | Br., Wallstr. 5 | 3.09.1881 | Horodenka in Polen | 21.08.1941 | JK | Lungentuberkulose, Bronchial-asthma, Herzmuskelschwäche |
| Karmeinski, geb. Haase | Rosa | Br., Wallstr. 14 | 14.05.1856 | Murowana Goslin in Posen | 29.09.1941 | home | Arteriosklerotische Gehirnblutung, Gehirnblutung |
| Kattner, geb. Bielschowski | Adelheid | Br., Wallstr. 14 | 3.09. 1858 | Br. | 20.01.1941 | home | Altersschwachsinn, Herzmuskelschwäche |
| Katz, geb. Scheye | Zamira | Br., Wallstr. 14 | 10.08.1856 | Myloslaw | 7.07.1942 | home | Arterienverkalkung, Herzschwäche |
| Katz, geb. Zolkowitz | Helene | Br., Antonienstr. 5 | 11.03.1882 | Jellowa (Ilnau), Kr. Oppeln | 12.05.1941 | JK | Herzklappenfehler, Herzmuskelschwäche |
| Kempner | Ludwig | Br., Augustastr.77 | 20.11.1873 | Br. | 17.07.1942 | JK | Lungentuberkulose, Darmtuberkulose |
| Klasmer, geb. Berliner | Judith | Br., Höfschenstr. 97 | 19.07.1866 | Nicolai, Kr. Pleß | 17.01.1942 | JK | Schlaganfall |
| Kleczewski, geb. Reimann | Rosa | Br., Wallstr. 5 | 28.05.1859 | Deutsch Krone | 8.10.1942 | home | Alters- Herzschwäche, geschlossene Tbc. |
| Klein, geb. Aronsbach | Berta | Br.,Schweidnitzer Stadtgraben 28 | 27.08.1858 | Treptow a/Rega | 26.07.1941 | JK | Herzschwäche infolge hohen Alters |
| Kober, geb. Cohn | Regine | Br., Wallstr. 14 | 27.04.1860 | Schwerin in Macklenburg | 26.01.1942 | home | Alters- Herzschwäche |
| Kochmann | Herman | Br. O/S, Tarnowitzer Str. 8 | 14.07.1874 | Königshütte O/S | 27.04.1942 | JK | Perniciöse Anömie, Rippenfellentzündung, Herzschwäche |
| Kohn | Emma | Br., Willmannstr. 8 | 16.04.1889 | Wien | 18.05.1942 | JK | Selbstmord. Schlafmittelvergiftung |
| Kohnke, geb. Steiner | Jachet (Henriette) | Br., Wallstr. 14 | 24.08.1855 | Oswiecim bei Krakau | 10.02.1941 | home | Alters-Herzschwäche |
| Korn, geb. Bentscher | Rose (Dora) | Br., Wallstr. 5 | 21.11.1866 | Br. | 20.09.1942 | JK | Altersherzschwäche, Gelenkver-steinfungen, Lungenentzündung |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Körpel | Georg | Br., Bodelschwinghweg, Bodelschwinghhaus | 16.02.1894 | Samter, Warteland | 3.06.1942 | home | Schizophrenie, Herzschwäche |
| Kosterlitz | Josef | Br., Lothringer Str. 8/10 | 26.10.1859 | Langendorf, Kr. Gleiwitz | 23.02.1941 | JK | Entkräftungszustand |
| Krause, geb. Langer | Ida | Riebnig, Kr. Brieg | 4.01.1863 | Ratibor O/S | 23.03.1943 | JK | Altersherzschwäche, Schlaganfall |
| Krzesny, geb. Zadek | Eva | Br., Trinitasstr. 4 | 27.01.1870 | Abbau Kolonie Brinsk bei Lautenburg in Westpreußen | 22.02.1941 | JK | Schüttellähmung, Herzschwäche |
| Krzuk, geb. Wolff | Herta | Grüssau, Kr. Landeshut | 19.05.1894 | Schildberg | 29.01.1943 | JK | Lungenentzündung, Spaltungsirresein, Herzschwäche |
| Kuh | Albine | Br., Wallstr. 5 | 28.11.1868 | Eidlitz, Kr. Komotau | 30.03.1943 | JK | Unfall in der Wohnung. Bruch des linken Oberschenkelhalses, arteriosklerotische Herzmuskelentartung |
| Kuhn[8] | Ferdinand | Br., Moltkestr. 4 | 22.12.1867 | Glogau | 31.01.1942 | JK | Rippenfellvereiterung, Herzschwäche |
| Kurzbart | Siegfried Friedrich | Br., Wildenbruchstr. 10 | 29.10.1888 | Glogau | 9.04.1941 | JK | Lungentuberkulose, Zuckerkrankheit, Rippenfellerguß |
| Kuschnitzky, geb. Winkler | Sofie | Gleiwitz, Kaffankestr. 3 | 15.11.1864 | Wien | 13.12.1942 | JK | Mastdarmkrebs, Lungenentzündung |
| Kuznitzky | Erna | Br., Willmannstr. 7 | 11.01.1900 | Br. | 29.03.1943 | JK | Selbstmord. Schlafmittelvergiftung. |
| Kuznitzky, geb. Loebel | Josephine | Br., Willmannstr. 7 | 16.01.1869 | Groß Chelm, Kr. Pleß | 29.03.1943 | JK | Selbstmord. Schlafmittelvergiftung.[9] |
| Lachmann | Joachim | Br., Neue Graupenstr. 3/4 | 25.07.1861 | Rynarzewo bei Schubin | 1.03.1942 | JK | Alters- Herzschwäche |

[8] Katholisch, früher jüdisch.

[9] Note: Motiv: Schwermut.

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Lack, geb. Wolff | Minna | Tormersdorf, Kr. Rothenburg, Beate Guttmann Heim | 9.01. 1863 | Cottbus | 7.11.1942 | JK | Alters- Herzschwäche |
| Landau, geb. Kaff | Minna | Br., Wallstr. 5 | 10.06.1869 | Brünn in Mähren | 17.05.1942 | JK | Arterienverkalkung, Bronchialkatarrh, Herzschwäche |
| Landerer, geb. Müller | Lina | Br., Augustastr. 47 | 12.07.1879 | Ostrowo in Posen | 23.10.1941 | JK | Chronische Nierenentzündung, Harnvergiftung |
| Landsberg | Eva | Br., Wallstr. 14 | 21.12.1896 | Schweidnitz | 3.02. 1941 | home | Multiple Sklerose, Grippe |
| Landsberger | Herbert Moritz | Standorf bei Gleiwitz O/S | 5.11.1912 | Georgenberg, Kr. Tarnowitz O/S | 11.06.1941 | JK | Lungentuberkulose, Herzschwäche |
| Landsberger, geb. Rahmer | Käte | Br., Gutenbergstr. 37 | 7.10.1879 | Berlin | 23.10.1941 | Br.[10] | Warf sich in selbstmörderischer Absicht vor eine Zugmaschine und wurde vom Anhänger überfahren |
| Lange, geb. Schüfftan | Gertrud | Riebnig, Kr. Brieg | 3.04.1886 | Landeshut | 27.02.1943 | JK | Selbstmord durch Einnhmen von Schlafmitteln |
| Lasch | Berta | Br., Antonienstr. 40 | 16.02.1867 | Br. | 31.01.1942 | home | Allgemeine Blutgefäß-Verkalkung, Herzmuskelschwäche |
| Lederer, geb. Bodländer | Hulda | Br., Telegraphenstr. 6 | 17.11.1871 | Beuthen O/S | 23.12.1941 | JK | Lungenentzündung, Arterienverkalkung, Herzschwäche |
| Ledermann, geb. Fröhlich | Rosa | Br., Adalbertstr. 16 | 9.04.1876 | Br. | 21.11.1941 | JK | Selbstmord durch Einnahme von Schlaffmitteltabletten |
| Lehmann[11], geb. Bondy | Zilla | Br., Michaelisstr. 18 | 10.04.1884 | Königsaal, Bezirk Smichow bei Prag | 20.12.1941 | Br.[12] | Natürlicher Tod. Vermutlich Herzschlag |
| Leipziger, geb. Baszynska | Dorothea | Br., Kirschallee 36a | 17.07.1851 | Posen | 21.07.1941 | JK | Herzschwäche infolge Aderverkalkung |
| Leschcziner | Moritz | Br., Wallstr. 14 | 20.09.1857 | Stein, Kr. Rybnik | 13.02.1942 | home | Herzkranzgefäßverkalkung, Herzschwäche |
| Leschziner | Max Markus | Br., Reuschestr. 52 | 29.04.1864 | Ober-Lagiewnik, Kr. Beuthen | 7.06.1942 | home | Arteriosklerose, Gehirnleiden, Hirnhautentzündung |

[10] Breslau, Nikolai-Stadtgraben, Ecke Antonienstraße.

[11] Gottgläubig, - jüdisch. Document stated Kamilla as a first name, but the note in the left-hand upper corner of the card corected the mistake.

[12] Breslau bei der Beförderung nach dem Krankenhospital zu Allerheiligen verstorben.

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Lesser | Meta | Br., Schwerinstr. 46 | 24.03.1891 | Ohlau | 23.08.1942 | JK | Chronische Leberentzündung mit Venenerweiterungen, Depression, Speiseröhrenblutung |
| Levi (Levy), geb. Singer | Elsa | Br., Königsplatz 3a | 16.05.1877 | Neisse | 7.09.1942 | home | Schlaganfall, Herzschwäche |
| Levy | Salo | Br., Wallstr. 14 | 29.01.1859 | Rybnik | 21.12.1942 | JK | Alters- Herzschwäche, Darmkrebs |
| Lewin | Aron | Br., Wallstr. 14 | 25.10.1860 | Pogorzela, Kr. Koschmin | 29.05.1941 | home | Herzschwäche infolge hohen Alters |
| Lewin | Schmul | Br., Freiburger Str. 19 | 31.05.1878 | Wreschen in Posen | 1.01. 1941 | JK | Schüttellähmung, Blasenentzündung, Herzmuskelschwäche |
| Lewin, geb. Reinstein | Adela | Br., Wallstr. 14 | 27.01.1870 | Posen | 5.06.1943 | Home | Herzmuskelschwäche |
| Lewinsohn, geb. Mandowsky | Irma | Br., Wallstr. 11 | 24.09.1979 | Hultschin, Kr. Ratibor | 3.04.1943 | JK | Krebs der rechten Niere – Tochtergeschwülste der Knochen |
| Lewkowitz | Adolf | Br., Wallstr. 14 | 23.04.1863 | Klein-Steinersdorf, Kr. Namslau | 30.01.1943 | JK | Alters-Herzschwäche |
| Lewy[13] | Franz Joseph | Br., Augustastr. 25 | 5.02. 1882 | Br. | 9.04.1942 | JK | Veronalvergifftung, Herzschwäche, Selbstmord |
| Lewy, geb. Bacher | Rosalie | Br., Wallstr. 14 | 13.08.1861 | Groß Tinz, Kr. Liegnitz | 22.10.1941 | JK | Basedow, Herzschwäche |
| Lewysohn | Joseph | Br., Körnerstr. 24/26 | 5.07. 1873 | Nakel, Kr. Wirsitz | 18.02.1942 | JK | Offene Lungentuberkulose, doppelseitig Rippenfellerguß, Herzschwäche |
| Lewy-Vulkan | Heinz Günter | Br., Kronprinzenstr. 64 | 13.04.1921 | Br. | 26.10.1941 | JK | Sepsis, Leukocytenschwund |
| Libermann | Hermann | Br., Viktoriastr. 115 | 13.10.1871 | Trebnitz | 4.12.1942 | JK | Lungentuberkulose |
| Lichtstern | David | Br., Goethestr. 9 | 2.08. 1867 | Gnesen | 23.04.1942 | JK | Geschlossene Lungentuberkulose, Nierenbeckenentzündung, Herzschwäche |
| Liebrecht | Alfred | Br., Goethestr. 12 | 7.12. 1872 | Kreutzburg O/S | 8.04.1942 | JK | Schlaganfall, Herzschwäche |

[13] Glaubenslos, früher jüdisch.

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Lippmann, geb. David | Hanna | Br., Willmannstr. 7 | 22.12.1870 | Hohensalza in Posen | 23.11.1941 | JK | Chronischer Gelenkrheumatismus, Arterienverkalkung, Herzschwäche |
| Lippmann, geb. Praeger | Rebecke | Br., Wallstr. 14 | 15.11.1850 | Posen | 29.10.1941 | home | Arterienverkalkung, Hochdruck, Herzschwäche |
| Löbel, geb. Karpe | Frieda | Br., Zimmerstr. 5 | 4.05.1878 | Reichenbach im Eulengebirge | 27.11.1941 | JK | Selbstmord durch Einnehmen von Veronal |
| Löbenstein, geb. Kohn | Berta | Br., Wallstr. 5 | 19.06.1862 | Kollesovice (Hermannsdorf) in Böhmen | 24.10.1942 | home | Alters- Herzschwäche |
| Loebinger | Ernst | Gleiwitz, Marienstr. 6 | 15.10.1881 | Schloß Goldmannsdorf, Kr. Pleß O/S | 18.02.1942 | JK | Lungengeschwulst (Tumor) |
| Loewy, geb. Glogauer | Fanny | Br., Gartenstr. 51 | 17.09.1863 | Falkenberg O/S | 15.08.1941 | JK | Herzschwäche infolge Alters |
| Lomnitz | Meta | Br., Wallstr. 14 | 10.10.1869 | Lublinitz O/S | 15.01.1942 | home | Herzschwäche infolge Alters |
| Lustig | Simon | Br., Wallstr. 14 | 8.10.1861 | Razionkau, Kr. Tarnowitz | 6.11.1942 | JK | Altersschwäche, Blasenkatarrh |
| Lustig, geb. Pollak | Johanna | Br., Wallstr. 14 | 24.09.1861 | Mzslowitz O/S | 15.02.1943 | home | Herzmuskelschwäche |
| Machol | Bertold Max | Br., Goethestr. 10 | 18.12.1867 | Kosten in Posen | 6.04.1941 | JK | Lungenentzündung, Nierenentzündung, Rippenfellerguß, Herzschwäche |
| Mamlok | Eugen | Br., Bohrauer Str. 6 | 6.04.1870 | Koschmin in Posen | 9.10.1941 | JK | Selbstmord durch Einnahme einer größeren Menge von Veronaltabletten. Arterienverkalkung, Lungenentzündung |
| Mannheim, geb. Fürst | Paula | Br., Hohenzollernstr. 8 | 5.11. 1875 | Br. | 13.03.1941 | JK | Schlaganfall, Herzschwäche |
| Marck | Moritz | Br., Schweidnitzer Str. 19 | 14.01.1857 | Br. | 22.05.1941 | home | Altersschwäche, Herzmuskelschwäche |
| Marcusy, geb. Böhm | Klara | Br., Adalbertstr. 16 | 13.06.1871 | Landsberg O/S | 25.07.1941 | JK | Herzschwäche infolge Alters, eingeklemmter Nabelbruch |
| Maretzky, geb. Finkenstein | Nanny | Br., Tauentzienstr. 53 | 6.02. 1889 | Br. | 15.03.1942 | JK | Selbstmord durch Einnahme von Schlafmitteltabetten |
| Margoliner | Simon | Br., Leuthenstr. 23 | 16.06.1849 | Rogasen in Posen | 4.05.1941 | home | Altersschwäche, Herzlähmung |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Marienfeld | Emanuel | Br., Neue Graupenstr. 3/4 | 1.02.1875 | Br. | 9.07.1942 | JK | Alters- Herschwäche |
| Mark, geb. Meckauer | Klara | Br., Wallstr. 5 | 26.06.1842 | Kreuzburg O/S | 15.01.1943 | JK | Alters-Herzschwäche, Luftröhrenkatarrh |
| Markus, geb. Langner | Rebekka | Br., Wallstr.14 | 6.03.1861 | Kempen in Posen | 15.11.1941 | home | Lungenentzündung, Herzschwäche, Herzlähmung |
| Meister | David | Br., Wallstr. 14 | 12.12.1873 | Kempen in Posen | 25.10.1941 | home | Schlaganfall |
| Metz | Simon | Br., Sonnenstr. 15 | 20.05.1875 | Lissa in Posen | 6.02.1942 | JK | Herzgefäßverkalkung, Schlaganfall |
| Meyer | Minna | Br., Gräbschener Str. 51 | 26.10.1870 | Schmiegel | 9.11.1941 | JK | Arterienverkalkung, Herzmuskel-schwäche, Lungenentzündung |
| Michlowitz | Ilse Lina | Br., Trinitasstr. 4 | 2.06.1925 | Br. | 18.11.1942 | JK | Nierentuberkulose, Lungentuberkulose |
| Miodowski, geb. Jacobius | Henriette | Br., Wallstr. 14 | 23.05.1880 | Br. | 8.04.1943 | home | Herzschlag |
| Mokrauer, geb. Danziger | Anna | Br., Wallstr. 14 | 15.05.1865 | Oppeln | 14.05.1942 | home | Alters- Herzschwäche |
| Monschkowitz | David | Br., Dessauer Str. 10 | 16.09.1886 | Kadlub- Turawa, Kr. Oppeln | 15.04.1942 | home | chron. Herzmuskentzündung, Wassersucht |
| Müller | Jonathan | Br., Sonnenstr. 21 | 17.12.1941 | Br. | 5.07.1942 | JK | Lungenentzündung |
| Müller, geb. Krzywynos | Ida | Br., Kronprinzenstr. 49 | 8.02.1878 | Gnesen | 24.09.1941 | JK | Herzmuskeldegeneration, Rippenfellerguß |
| Nathan | Hermann Wolf | Br., Fischergasse 14 | 30.01.1854 | Schildberg | 2.06.1942 | home | Darmverengung, Darmverschluß |
| Nathan | Isidor | Br., Höfchenstr. 99 | 17.03.1882 | Schwarzwald, Kr. Adelnau | 18.02.1943 | JK | Offene Lungentuberkulose |
| Nathan, geb. Linker | Elsa | Br., Höfschenstr. 23 | 10.09.1881 | Dresden | 4.04.1941 | JK | Multiple Slerrose, Herzschwäche |
| Nelken | Abraham | Br., Wallstr. 14 | 23.11.1864 | Kalish | 9.07.1942 | JK | Alters- Herzschwäche, Gehirn-Aderverkalkung |
| Nellhaus | Siegbert | Br., Körnerstr. 5/7 | 18.12.1892 | Br. | 7.01. 1941 | JK | Selbstmord durch Einnahme von Schlafmitteltabletten |
| Neumann | Adolf | Br., Friedrich Wilhelm Str. 25 | 6.07.1880 | Mixstadt, Kr. Schildberg | 14.10.1941 | home | Magenkrebs, Lebermetasen, Gallensteine, allgemeine Kachexie, Inanition |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nitke | Selma | Br., Wallstr. 5 | 13.12.1852 | Kempen in Posen | 16.10.1941 | JK | Lungenentzündung, Herzschwäche |
| NN[14] | ---------- | ---------- | 9.02.1943 | JK | 09.01.1943 | JK | Totgeburt |
| Ochsenhändler | Ejzyk | Br.-Masselwitz, Arbeitslager | 1.09.1902 | Wislica in Polen | 10.02.1942 | JK | Lungenentzündung |
| Ollendorff, geb. Frank | Else | Br., Kronprizenstr. 42 | 2.06.1877 | Delmenhorst in Oldenburg | 17.06.1941 | JK | Herzschwäche |
| Pelz | Itzig (Isidor) | Br., Wallstr. 14 | 4.05.1853 | Dolzig, Kr. Schrimm | 2.04.1941 | JK | Altersschwäche, Bluterguß am linken Bein |
| Pinkus, geb. Bernstein | Emilie | Br., Gräbschener Str. 51 | 13.06.1862 | Zippnow, Kr. Jastrow | 23.04.1941 | JK | Altersschwäche, Herzschwäche |
| Pollak, geb. Bial | Anna | Br., Goethestr. 9 | 15.08.1872 | Ohlau | 14.12.1941 | JK | Apoplexie (Schlaganfall), Lungenentzündung, Herzschwäche |
| Posner | Moritz, Richard | Br., Trinitasstr.4 | 21.02.1883 | Worms am Rhein | 22.04.1941 | JK | Herzaderverkalkung |
| Prager | Berta | Br., Gartenstr. 51 | 26.02.1871 | Br. | 16.07.1942 | Br.[15] | Selbstmord durch Einnehmen von Gift |
| Prager, geb. Graetzer | Klara | Br., Brandenburger Str. 56 | 23.01.1865 | Groß-Strehlitz O/S | 3.01. 1941 | JK | Schlaganfall, Herzschwäche infolge hohen Alters |
| Presser | Antonie | Br., Wallstr. 9 | 14.11.1891 | Br. | 27.02.1943 | JK | Selbstmord durch Einnhmen von Gift |
| Proskauer | Natalie Marianne | Br., Schweidnitzer Stadtgraben 28 | 20.08.1874 | Kreuzburg O/S | 15.07.1941 | JK | Lungenentzündung, Herzschwäche |
| Pulvermacher | Benjamin | Br., Willmannstr. 7 | 23.06.1862 | Berlin | 26.08.1942 | JK | Selbstmord durch Einatmen von Leuchtgas |
| Pulvermacher, geb. Finkelstein | Jettka Fromka | Br., Willmannstr. 7 | 19.02.1860 | Seyne bei Suwalki in Rußland | 18.09.1942 | JK | Alters- Herzschwäche |
| Radziminski | Felicia Rachel Zipora | Br., Wallstr. 14 | 22.06.1881 | Br. | 15.04.1942 | home | Spinale Kinderlähmung, Herzschwäche |
| Raphael | Jenni | Br., Gartenstr. 63 | 6.03. 1861 | Br. | 15.08.1942 | JK | Alters- Herzschwäche |

[14] Ein totes Mädchen ist .... geboren worden. Vater Wilhelm Niklas, Mutter Margarete Niklas, geborene Berger.

[15] ...ist ... in Breslau, Flughafenstr. 51, auf dem Gelände des JüdischenFriedhofes, tot aufgefunden worden.

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Redlich | Else | Br., Augustastr. 37 | 6.11. 1891 | Br. | 8.04.1942 | JK | Selbstmord durch Leuchtgasvergiftung |
| Redlich | Emma | Br., Augustastr. 37 | 14.05.1894 | Br. | 8.04.1942 | Br.[16] | Selbstmord durch Leuchtgasvergiftung |
| Reich | Cheim Feiwel | Sosnowitz, Beskidenstr. 15 | 15.03.1908 | Sosnowitz | 7.07.1942 | JK | Darmkatarrh, Ruhrverdacht, Herzschwäche |
| Reichert, geb. Gruner | Bianka | Br., Sonnenstr. 21 | 7.01. 1918 | Lissa | 20.02.1943 | JK | Darmverschluß (paralyt. Ileus) nach Entbindung durch Kaiserschnitt |
| Reichert, geb. Hirsch | Natalie | Br., Wallstr. 14 | 23.05.1877 | Br. | 15.12.1942 | JK | Offene Lungentuberkulose |
| Remak, geb. Brandt | Florentine | Tormersdorf, Kr. Rothenburg, Beate Guttmann Heim | 28.03.1862 | Grandorf, Kr. Adelnau | 17.11.1942 | JK | Alters- Herzschwäche |
| Riesenfeld | Ernst | Br., Götzenstr. 19 | 18.03.1878 | Br. | 6.09.1942 | JK | Offene Lungentuberkulose, Rippenfellentzündung |
| Riesenfeld | Nathan | Br., Kronprinzenstr. 27 | 19.09.1863 | Zülz O/S | 10.09.1941 | JK | Magenkrebs, Herzschwäche |
| Riesenfeld, geb. Epstein | Margot | Br., Höfchenstr. 17 | 26.01.1888 | Groß Strehlitz O/S | 10.03.1941 | JK | Herzmuskelentartung, Lungenentzündung, Herzschwäche |
| Riesenfeld, geb. Schatzky | Selma | Br., Trinitasstr. 4 | 25.06.1862 | Bunzlau | 23.08.1942 | JK | Magenkrebs, Herzschwäche |
| Ritter | Edmund | Riebnig, Kr. Brieg | 24.12.1878 | Kempen in Posen | 2.04.1942 | JK | Rückenmarkschwindsucht, Blutarmut, Herzschwäche |
| Robinson, geb. Blumenthal | Ida | Ratibor O/S, Schuhbankstr. 4 | 13.01.1861 | Hultschin, Kr. Ratibor | 5.12.1942 | JK | Alters- Herzschwäche |
| Rosen, geb. Totschek | Ernestine | Br., Wallstr. 11 | 8.02.1877 | Bahnhofs-Kolonie Schwientochlowitz | 16.07.1942 | JK | Gehirnhautentzündung mit unbekanten Erregern, Herzschwäche |
| Rosenbaum, geb. Goldstein | Rachel | Br., Wallstr. 5 | 26.04.1861 | Groß Schimnitz, Kr. Oppeln | 7.10.1941 | home | Hochgradige Blutarmut, Rippenfellentzündung, Herzschwäche |

[16] ...bei der Beförderung nach dem Jüdischen Krankenhause, hier, Wallstraße 9, verstorben.

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Rosenbaum, geb. Wartenberg | Pauline | Br., Wallstr. 14 | 26.09.1864 | Br. | 16.07.1942 | home | Alters- Herzschwäche |
| Rosenberger | Simon | Br., Sonnenstr. 21 | 14.06.1880 | Gogolin, Kr. Groß Strehlitz | 15.08.1942 | JK | Alte Szphilis, Herzschwäche, Darmkatarrh |
| Rosenfarb | Mordka | Niwka, Kr. Bendsburg | 15.06.1904 | unknown | 19.05.1942 | JK | Darmperforation, Herzschwäche |
| Rosenthal | Irma | Br., Wallstr. 5 | 30.03.1897 | Br. | 12.06.1943 | JK | Selbstmord durch Einnehmen von Schlafmittel |
| Rosenthal | Max | Br., Goethestr. 17 | 8.07.1859 | Rawitsch | 25.11.1941 | JK | Selbstmord durch Einnahme von Schlafmitteltabletten |
| Rosenthal, geb. Hammer | Rosamunde | Br., Wallstr. 5 | 9.11.1862 | Kattowitz | 22.03.1943 | JK | Magenkrebs, Herzschwäche |
| Roth | Hermann | Br., Viktoriastr. 94 | 1.01.1880 | Br. | 2.06.1941 | JK | Schlaganfall |
| Roth | Ida | Br., Wallstr. 14 | 8.06.1877 | Br. | 12.05.1942 | home | Herzmuskelentartung, Wirbesäulenverkrümmung |
| Roth[17] | Dagobert | Br., Alsenstr. 95 | 21.05.1887 | Br. | 10.05.1941 | JK | Rippenfellentzündung mit Ergruß, Herzschwäche |
| Rothenberg | Harri | Br., Freiburger Str. 31 | 16.03,1874 | Mackensen, Kr. Einbeck, Hannover | 1.04.1942 | JK | Rippenfellvereiterung |
| Rothgießer, geb. Wittenberg | Laura | Br., Wallstr. 5 | 5.08.1866 | Br. | 15.01.1943 | home | Herzmuskelschwäche, Stauungskatarrh |
| Rottner | Ernst | Br., Taschenstr. 20 | 17.12.1907 | Cosel O/S | 15.05.1941 | home | Lungentuberkulose, Herzschwäche, Urämie |
| Rottner, geb. Eisner | Wanda | Kloster Grüssau, Kr. Landeshut | 16.11.1882 | Guttentag O/S | 8.06.1942 | JK | Knochen- (Wirbelsäulen-) und Weichteiltuberkulose, Herzschwäche |
| Sachs | Artur | Br., Neue Graupenstr. 3/4 | 26.03. 1876 | Br. | 3.07.1942 | JK | Spaltungsirresein (Schizophrenie), Darmkatarrh, Herzschwäche |

[17] Katholisch, früher jüdisch.

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sachs | Gustav | Leobschütz O/S, Straße der SA 1 | 13.11.1861 | Leobschütz | 9.02.1943 | JK | Wocherung der Vorsteherdrüse, Artheriosklerose, besonders der Kranzschlagader |
| Sachs | Selma | Br., Friedrichstr. 13 | 8.10.1859 | Groß Zöllnig, Kr. Oels | 8.11.1941 | JK | Alters-Herzschwäche |
| Salzmann | Chaim (Heimann) | Br., Wallstr. 14 | 2.02.1841 | Nasielsk, Kr. Pultusk | 3.10.1942 | home | Oberschenkelhalsbruch durch Sturz, Herzschwäche, Unglücksfall |
| Sander | Max Hermann | Br., Wallstr. 31 | 7.09. 1864 | Br. | 28.01.1941 | home | Chronischer Bronchialasthma, Herzschwäche |
| Schäfer | Georg | Br., Friedrich Wilhelm Str. 25 | 6.08. 1883 | Beuthen O/S | 14.03.1942 | JK | Selbstmord durch Einnahme von Schlafmittel |
| Schiftan | Moritz | Br., Wallstr. 14 | 17.03.1869 | Schwirz, Kr. Namslau | 2.03.1943 | home | Herzschlag |
| Schiller | Ludwig | Br., Opitzstr. 36 | 19.02.1889 | Klein Zabrze O/S | 4.02. 1941 | JK | Herzmuskelschwäche, Asthma, Lungenentzündung |
| Schindler | Peter David | Br., Zimmerstr. 11 | 5.02.1938 | Regensburg | 20.08.1941 | JK | Toxische Ruhr, Herzschwäche |
| Schindler | Siegfried | Br., Gartenstr. 10 | 19.11.1872 | Charzow, Kr. Kattowitz O/S | 24.08.1941 | JK | Basedowsche Krankheit, Blutdrucksteigerung, Schlaganfall |
| Schlamme, geb. Hirchbach | Klara Theressa | Br., Wallstr. 5 | 9.07.1863 | Glogau | 13.09.1941 | JK | Herzschwäche, Rippenfellerguß |
| Schlesinger, geb. Guttentag | Berta | Br., Wallstr. 14 | 20.01.1856 | Br. | 15.05.1941 | JK | Selbstmord durch Einnahme Schlafmitteltabletten – Phanodormtabletten |
| Schlesinger, geb. Hochmann | Josephine | Br., Wallstr. 14 | 28.01.1856 | Wehlau in Ostpreußen | 19.11.1942 | home | Alters- Herzschwäche |
| Schmul | Alwine | Br., Wallstr. 33 | 23.01.1886 | Berlin | 19.03.1942 | JK | Sepsis, Herzschwäche |
| Schmul, geb. Wendriner | Charlotte | Br., Wallstr. 33 | 26.03.1860 | Konstadt O/S | 10.04.1941 | JK | Magencarcinom, Herzschwäche |
| Schneider | Gerson | Br., Bärenstr. 6 | 25.10.1874 | Schönbach, Kr. Eger | 14.02.1941 | home | Zuckerkrankheit, chronische Nierenentzündung, Zehenbrand |
| Schneider, geb. Nitke | Johanna | Br., Viktoriastr. 61 | 7.02.1855 | Kempen | 26.04.1942 | JK | Bösartige Lungengeschwulst, Rippenfellerguß, Herzschwäche |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Schocken | Samuel | Br., Wallstr. 14 | 5.05.1866 | Rogasen in Posen | 23.01.1942 | home | Verkalkung der Herzkranzgefäße, Herzasthma |
| Schönwald | Salo | Br., Friedrich-Wilhelm Str. 25 | 25.05.1875 | Löwen, Kr. Brieg | 26.10.1941 | home | Selbstmord durch Einatmen von Leuchtgas, Schwermut |
| Schönwald, geb. Lomnitz | Margarete | Br., Friedrich-Wilhelm Str. 25 | 10.09.1881 | Gera | 26.10.1941 | home | Selbstmord durch Einatmen von Leuchtgas |
| Schott | Erwin | Glatz, Böhmische Str. 40 | 20.04.1920 | Glatz | 27.04.1942 | JK | Hirnentzündung, Herzschwäche |
| Schottlaender, geb. Danziger | Johanna | Br., Steinstr. 3/5 | 23.12.1873 | Schwersenz | 17.03.1942 | JK | Zuckerkrankheit |
| Schreiber, geb. Mendelsohn | Flora | Br., Karuthstr. 20 | 17.02.1881 | Wartenburg, Landkreis Allenstein (Ostpreußen) | 31.07.1941 | JK | Selbstmord durch Sprung aus einem Fenster im 2. Stock des Jüdischen Krankenhauses. Motiv: Unheilbare Darmkrankheit |
| Schreyer | Friedrich | Br., Wallstr. 14 | 11.10.1888 | Zerkow (Bergstadt), Kr. Jarotschin, Bezirk Posen | 27.06.1941 | home | Schüttellähmung, Herzschwäche |
| Schüftan, geb. Jakob | Sara | Br., Trinitasstr. 4 | 4.06. 1891 | Pleschen | 31.10.1942 | JK | Lungentuberkulose, Herzschwäche |
| Schüftan, geb. Myslowitzer | Helene | Br., Schweidnitzer Stadtgraben 28 | 19.12.1879 | Rosenberg O/S | 18.12.1941 | JK | Schlaganfall, Mittelchrentzündung |
| Schwarzbaum, geb. Goldberg | Johanna | Br., Wallstr. 33 | 7.01.1892 | Br. | 25.11.1941 | JK | Veronalvergiftung, Selbstmord |
| Schwedenberg | Wilhelm | Br., Goethestr. 68/70 | 18.05.1867 | Beuthen O/S | 17.04.1942 | JK | Lungenabzess |
| Schweitzer[18], geb. Schaefer | Gertrud | Br., Wallstr. 5 | 1.05. 1871 | Antonienhütte, Kr. Kattowitz | 2.01.1943 | home | Alters- Herzschwäche, Magengeschwür |
| Seidenberg | Georg | Br., Wallstr. 14 | 16.02.1860 | Br. | 15.02.1942 | JK | Alters- Herzschwäche |
| Seidenberg, geb. Heilborn | Friederike Berta | Br., Wallstr. 14 | 18.07.1871 | Br. | 7.05.1942 | home | Alters- Herzschwäche |
| Seliger, geb. Rosenthal | Martha | Br., Gartenstr. 51 | 1.02.1883 | Beuthen O/S | 23.11.1941 | JK | Selbstmord durch Einnahme von Schlafmitteltabletten |

[18] Evangelisch, früher jüdisch.

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Silber | Max | Br., Wallstr. 37 | 31.03.1868 | Adelnau in Posen | 23.02.1941 | JK | Verdacht auf Lungengeschwulst, Herzschwäche |
| Silber, geb. Hellinger | Amalie | Br., Wallstr. 37 | 19.02.1877 | Br. | 3.03.1942 | JK | Alters- Herzschwäche, Zuckerkrankheit, Abceßbildung |
| Silber, geb. Roth | Cäcilie | Br., Sonnenstr. 19 | 18.05.1853 | Wierzbie, Kr. Lublinitz | 8.10.1941 | JK | Schalganfall, Herzschwäche |
| Silbergleit, geb. Riesenfeld | Amalie | Br., Wallstr. 14 | 29.09.1857 | Gleiwitz | 12.10.1941 | home | Brustkrebs, Herzschwäche |
| Silbermann | Max | Br., Antonienstr. 8 | 20.03.1870 | Hindenburg O/S | 28.12.1941 | JK | Alters- Herzschwäche |
| Silberstein, geb. Freundlich | Malwine | Br., Augustastr. 58 | 19.07.1851 | Stolp in Pommern | 23.02.1943 | JK | Oberschenkelhalsbruch links durch Sturz in der Wohnung. Altersschwäche. – Unglücksfall |
| Simmenauer, geb. Lehr | Klara | Br., Schweidnitzer Stadtgraben 28 | 30.11.1877 | Friedenshütte, Kr. Beuthen | 6.03.1941 | JK | Magenkrebs, Herzschwäche |
| Simson | Meta | Br., Wallstr. 14 | 1.01.1887 | Lublinitz O/S | 22.06.1942 | JK | Uraemie |
| Singer | Artur | Br., Brandenburger Str. 85 | 5.02. 1881 | Pleschen in Posen | 3.01. 1941 | JK | Schlaganfall, Lungenentzündung |
| Singer | Heinrich | Br., Schweidnitzer Stadtgraben 28 | 3.06. 1878 | Br. | 16.05.1941 | JK | Schlaganfall, Herzschwäche |
| Sklarek, geb. Hoffmann | Marie | Br., Wallstr. 14 | 21.02.1862 | Neustadt | 22.11.1942 | home | Alters- Herzschwäche |
| Soberski, geb. Flatow | Rosalie | Br., Kronprinzenstr. 16 | 29.11.1869 | Schönlanke, Kr. Czarnikau | 23.08.1941 | JK | Herzmuskelschwäche, Herzasthma, Zuckerkrankheit |
| Sonnenfeld | Max | Br., Augustastr. 67 | 4.08. 1857 | Myslowitz | 23.08.1942 | JK | Selbstmord durch Einnhmen von Schlafmitteltabletten |
| Sonnenfeld, geb. Danziger | Ida | Br., Augustastr. 67 | 19.04.1858 | Brsenskowitz, Kr. Kattowitz | 25.08.1942 | JK | Selbstmord durch Einnhmen von Schlafmitteltabletten |
| Spingarn, geb. Pick | Hulda | Br., Willmannstr. 7 | 29.12.1872 | Peiskretscham, Kr. Gleiwitz | 18.06.1941 | home | Herzmuskelentartung, Herzschlag |
| Spitz | Artur | Hindenburg O/S, Königshütter Str. 1 | 22.05.1878 | Cosel | 22.01.1941 | JK | Schlaganfall, Verkalkung der Kranzgefäße, Herzschwäche |
| Spitz | Sally | Br., Viktoriastr. 56 | 10.04.1880 | Br. | 1.03.1943 | JK | Selbstmord durch Einnhmen von Schlafmitteln |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Spitz, geb. Bodlaender | Anna | Br., Wallstr. 5 | 4.01. 1855 | Rosenberg O/S | 19.07.1942 | home | Altersschwäche und Gefäßverkalkung, Herzlähmung |
| Spitzer, geb. Münchheimer | Margarete | Br., Wallstr. 5 | 25.06.1868 | Striegau | 2.04.1942 | home | Herzmuskelerkrankung und Nierenkolik, Herzlähmung |
| Stein | Ernestine | Br., Freiburger Str. 40 | 20.10.1877 | Krotoschin in Posen | 23.09.1941 | JK | Schädelbruch, linksseitiger Fersenbeinbruch. Folgen eines Selbstmordversuches durchSprung aus dem Fenster |
| Steinauer | Paul | Br., Willmannstr. 7 | 3.04.1873 | Kotzenau Kr. Lüben | 27.11.1941 | home | Verkalkung der Hirn- und Kranzarterien des Herzens, Herzschwäche, Schlaganfall mit halbseitiger Lähmung |
| Steinhardt, geb. Rosenbaum | Jettel | Br., Wallstr. 14 | 13.03.1859 | Sohrau, Kr. Rybnik | 6.03.1941 | home | Lungenentzündung |
| Steinitz, geb. Freund | Rosalie | Br., Wallstr. 14 | 30.09.1846 | Nieder-Hayduk O/S | 18.06.1941 | home | Herzschwäche infolge hohen Alters |
| Steinitz, geb. Schott | Sophie | Br., Willmannstr. 1/3 | 30.08. 1860 | Schrau O/S | 2.03.1943 | JK | Schlaganfall, Herzschwäche |
| Stempel | Leopold | Br., Neue Graupenstr. 3/4 | 15.01.1870 | Br. | 6.09.1942 | JK | Arterienverkalkung, Lungenentzündung |
| Stern | Leonor | Br., Wallstr. 14 | 25.08.1857 | Bützow in Mecklenburg | 25.12.1941 | home | Alters- Herzschwäche |
| Sternfeld | Leo | Br., Wallstr. 5 | 18.12.1875 | Br. | 19.07.1942 | JK | Selbstmord durch Veronalvergiftung |
| Steuer | Helene | Br., Straße der SA 56 | 10.06.1873 | Br. | 22.10.1941 | JK | Veronalvergiftung, Herzschwäche, Selbstmord |
| Straßner | Max | Br., Lothringer Str. 5 | 16.02.1866 | Br. | 4.05.1941 | JK | Gehirnarterienverkalkung, Herzmuskelschwäche |
| Strietzel | Heinz | Br., Höfchenstr. 71 | 12.07.1921 | Br. | 3.06.1943 | JK | Offene Lungentuberkulose, Kehlkopftuberkulose |
| Strumpfner, geb. Glücksmann | Rosa | Br., Höfchenstr. 19 | 20.06.1863 | Br. | 22.09.1941 | JK | Alters-Herzschwäche, Diarrhoe, Druck-Wunsein |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Szer | Jehuda | Markstädt, Kr. Ohlau, ZAL | 30.10.1913 | Sosnowitz O/S | 1.03.1943 | JK | Offene Lungentuberkulose, Blutsturz |
| Thau | Max | Br., Brandenburger Str. 32 | 12.03.1871 | Körlin in Pommern | 30.07.1941 | JK | Schlaganfall, Herzschwäche |
| Tichauer, geb. Kiksmann | Friederike | Br., Königsplatz 8 | 24.02.1863 | Myslowitz O/S | 16.04.1941 | JK | Blutzersetzung, perniciöse Anämie, Darmkrebs |
| Tischauer, geb. Schwesenski | Walli | Br., Wallstr. 14 | 6.11.1880 | Br. | 16.01.1943 | home | Herzmuskelschwäche, Schüttellähmung |
| Töpfer, geb. Hamburger | Therese | Br., Roonstr. 41 | 17.10.1871 | Sternalitz O/S | 31.01.1941 | JK | Herzaderverkalkung, Zuckerkrankheit |
| Tramer, geb. Tramer | Sophie | Grüssau, Kr. Landeshut | 28.10.1866 | Bielany in Galizien | 18.03.1943 | JK | Alters- Herzschwäche |
| Treitel | Anita | Br., Straße der SA 95 | 29.01.1920 | Br. | 16.11.1941 | JK | Selbstmord. Schlafmittelvergiftung und Herzschwäche |
| Triber | Ferdinand | Br., Sonnenstr. 14 | 19.06.1882 | Leipzig | 3.06.1942 | JK | Offene Lungentuberkulose |
| Tuch, geb. Rosenfeld | Emilie | Br., Herrenstr. 24 | 21.07.1857 | Lissa in Posen | 2.12.1941 | home | Coronarsklerose, allgemeine Körperschwäche, chronische Colitis, Herzschwäche |
| Tuch, geb. Schiftan | Sofie | Br., Antonienstr. 6 | 25.07.1897 | München | 6.12.1942 | JK | Schädelbruch. Sturz von der Treppe. Unglücksfall |
| Tuch, geb. Seidenberg | Emma | Br., Wallstr. 14 | 30.05.1858 | Br. | 11.08.1941 | home | Allgemeine Arterienverkalkung, Herzmuskelschwäche |
| Ucko | Anna | Br., Friedrich Wilhelm Str. 25 | 30.12.1869 | Schönfeld, Keis Kreuzburg O/S | 20.07.1942 | JK | Selbstmord durch Veronalvergiftung |
| Ucko | Betty | Hirschberg in Schlesien, Jägerstr. 20 | 11.05.1876 | Lauben in Schlesien | 26.01.1941 | JK | Brustkrebs operiert, Tochtergeschwulst an Wirbelsäule, Herzschwäche |
| Ucko, geb. Tockus | Rosalie | Br., Willmannstr. 7 | 23.05.1863 | Gülchen, Kr. Namslau | 27.03.1941 | JK | Darmkrebs, Herzschwäche infolge Alters |
| Urbainczyk | Issak | Br., Trinitasstr. 5 | 17.02.1867 | Woischnik O/S | 19.01.1942 | JK | Alters- Herzschwäche |
| Wagner | Max | Br., Wallstr. 5 | 8.10.1865 | Jutroschin | 15.05.1942 | home | Herzmuskelerkrankung, Darmlähmung, Herzschalg |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Waschsner | Marcus | Br., Augustastr. 118 | 4.10. 1860 | Brzezinka, Kr. Kattowitz | 4.03.1941 | JK | Gehirn- Adernverkalkung |
| Wechselmann | Martin, Samuel | Br., Schweidnitzer Stadtgraben 28 | 23.09.1886 | Ostrowo in Posen | 12.04.1941 | JK | Schlaganfall, Herzschwäche |
| Weil, geb. Jaretzki | Philippine | Br., Wallstr. 13 | 25.08.1869 | Br. | 3.07.1942 | hme[19] | Schlaganfall |
| Weinberg | Rudolf | Br., Wallstr. 31 | 21.10.1906 | Br. | 12.07.1942 | home | Selbstmord. Veronalvergiftung. |
| Weinberg, geb. Petersdorf | Irma | Br., Gabitzstr. 186 | 9.11. 1893 | Posen | 25.02.1942 | JK | Selbstmord. – Schlafmittelvergiftung |
| Weisler | Hulda | Br., Wallstr. 5 | 12.10.1859 | Br. | 7.02.1942 | home | Verkalkung der Herzgefäß, Herzschlag |
| Weiss | Leopold | Br., Höfchenstr. 28 | 6.01. 1874 | Myslowitz | 19.06.1942 | JK | Arterienverkalkung, Schlaganfall, Herzmuskelschwäche |
| Weißstein, geb. Cohn | Elise | Grüssau, Kr.Landeshut in Schlesien | 31.08.1866 | Hirschberg im Riesengebirge | 31.01.1942 | JK | Alters- Herzschwäche. Erfrierungen an den Beinen. |
| Weißstein, geb. Fuchs | Hermine | Br., Wallstr. 5 | 6.06. 1857 | Br. | 19.10.1942 | home | Lungenentzündung, Herzmuskelschwäche |
| Wendriner | Lothar Bertold | Br., Antonienstr. 16 | 22.06.1858 | Br. | 2.08.1941 | home | Herzmuskelschwäche, Herzlähmung |
| Wiener | Ida | Br., Alsenstr. 93 | 9.09. 1859 | Winzig, Kr. Wohlau | 26.04.1941 | home | Verkalkung der Kranzarterien des Herzens, Krampfadergeschwüre, Herzschwäche, Lungenödem |
| Wiener, geb. Epstein | Charlotte | Br., Wallstr. 14 | 11.03.1862 | Tarnowitz | 30.03.1941 | home | Thyreotoxikose, Herzmuskelschwäche |
| Wimmer | Theodor | Br., Berliner Str. 18 | 1.10. 1871 | Wien | 7.02.1941 | JK | Herzschwäche infolge Alters |
| Wohlgemuth, geb. Epstein | Martha | Br., Freiburger Str. 31 | 24.04.1863 | Guttentag, Kr. Lublinitz O/S | 7.02.1942 | JK | Lungenentzündung, Herzschwäche |
| Wolffberg, geb. Arnholz | Rahel | Br., Wallstr. 5 | 21.01.1858 | Insterburg in Preußen | 2.08. 1942 | JK | Schlaganfall, Herzschwäche |
| Zerkowski | Eugen | Br., Goethestr. 9 | 19.05.1860 | Raschkow, Kr. Ostrowo | 15.04.1942 | Br..[20] | Alters- Herzschwäche |

[19] Daughter of Philippine Weil was Sara Gertrud Weil, PhD.

[20] Breslau, Wallstr. 14.

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Zülzer, geb. Glaser | Friederike | Br., Augustastr.152 | 4.06.1872 | Löwen, Kr. Brieg | 29.09.1942 | JK | Alters- Herzschwäche, Gehirnaderverkalkung |
| Zweig | Alma | Br., Antonienstr. 36/38 | 30.09.1885 | Gleiwitz O/S | 20.10.1941 | JK | Leberschrumfung, Herzschwäche |
| Zweig[21] | Hugo | Br., Goethestr. 53 | 24.11.1872 | Brieg | 24.09.1943 | Br.[22] | Vermutlich Herzschlag. Natürlicher Tod. |
| Zweig, geb. Stahl | Fani | Br., Willmannstr. 8 | 1.09.1863 | Namslau | 10.06.1941 | JK | Lungentuberkulose, Abmagerung, Herzschwäche |
| Zymbler | Feiwel | Br.-Neukirch, ZAL | 30.12.1924 | Bendsburg O/S | 20.08.1942 | JK | Sepsis (Blutvergiftung) Herzschwäche |

Br. – Breslau
JK – Jüdisches Krankenhaus
Kr. – Kreis
ZAL – Zwangsarbeitslager

[21] Glaubenslos, früher jüdisch
[22] Breslau, Ohlauer Str. 30

**Mirosław Sadowski**
**Tomasz Scheffler**

# SOME STUDIES OF NAZI EUTHANASIA IN WROCŁAW IN THE PERIOD OF THE 'FINAL SOLUTION OF THE JEWISH PROBLEM'

One of the tasks of Nazism was to heal the German people by eliminating any sources of decay, spread mostly by the Jews, but also by the mentally sick, the incurably ill and the handicapped. As noted by Michael R. Marrus, those concepts did not belong to the realms of theory only; they were put into practice: 'Beginning with small children, the programme of killing people who were mentally or physically handicapped' was intended to free the Reich from those who had been doomed to annihilation anyway, those deemed as 'not deserving to live'[1]. As far as the opinions of the majority of authors dealing with the problem of Nazi euthanasia are concerned, this was linked to the question of the 'Final Solution'[2] and that is why we decided to discuss a number of little-known documents concerning the Nazi euthanasia campaign in Lower Silesia[3].

## I. Cardinal Bertram's stance on euthanasia

The campaign of committing the handicapped and the mentally ill to euthanasia, which fundamentally was incompatible with the basic principles of Christianity[4] was strongly opposed by representatives of the Catholic Church[5]. Members of

---

1 M. R. Marrus, *Holocaust. Historiografia* (Warsaw, 1993) 82. For the situation of Jews in the Axis occupied countries, see R. Lemkin, *Axis rule in occupied Europe. Laws of Occupation. Analysis of Government. Proposals for Redress* (Washington, 1944).

2 See M. R. Marrus, *Holocaust* 82 and R. J. Lifton, *The Nazi Doctors: Medical Killing and the Psychology of Genocide* (New York, 1986) 18.

3 For more on Nazi euthanasia in Wrocław, see M. Sadowski and T. Scheffler, 'Z badań nad nazistowską eutanazją we Wrocławiu', *Studia nad Faszyzmem i Zbrodniami Hitlerowskimi* 19 (1996) 219-223.

4 It is worth mentioning though, that ideas combining euthanasia with Christian charity appeared as early as the beginning of the twentieth century, e.g., in the writings of the Magdeburg theologian Karl Weidel; see Y. Ternon and S. Helman, *Eksterminacja cho-*

the German church repeatedly expressed their negative stance on these practices as well as the theories which were intended to justify those ideas. We have found evidence of the bishops' reaction to the Nazi practice of killing those 'beings who do not deserve to live' in the archives of the Archdiocese of Wrocław. In the files of Adolf Cardinal Bertram, the Archbishop of Wrocław and the president of the Conference of German Bishops, there remain a number of documents, notes and press cuttings collected by that priest, which refer to the problem of euthanasia[6]. Some of them are of interest to us[7].

The first of the documents is a typical example of an official notification of a patient's death which was sent to his family by a welfare institution[8]. It is a notification sent by the National Welfare Institution in Hartheim near Linz to an unknown Mrs S. Zybulska, who dwelled in Berlin. This letter may be characteristic because it came from one of the better-known places where euthanasia was practised[9]. The administration of the institution notified Mrs Zybulska that her sister Elizabeth had died of a serious case of epilepsy. A characteristic feature of that

---

*rych psychicznie w III Rzeszy. Od teoretyków narodowosocjalistycznych do praktyków z SS* (Warsaw, 1974) 73, n. 22.

5 On Bertram's attitude towards euthanasia see E. Brzoska (ed.), *Ein Tedeum für kardinal Bertram. Adolf Kardinal Bertram. Vorsitzender der Deutschen Bischofskonferenz im Bündnis mit dem Heiligen Stuhl während des Kirchenkampfes 1933-1945* (Köln, 1981) 32, 41. For more on the Catholic Church versus euthanasia, see G. Lewy, *Die katholische Kirche und das Dritte Reich* (Munich, 1965) 289f; R. Eatwell, *Faszyzm. Historia* (Poznań, 1999) 209.

6 The documents of Cardinal Bertram have already been used by other historians, e.g., K. Jonca, 'Polityka kościelna na obszarach włączonych do Trzeciej Rzeszy w świetle memoriałów kardynała A. Bertrama (1939-1944)', *Studia nad Faszyzmem i Zbrodniami Hitlerowskimi* 7 (1981); id., 'Kościół katolicki na Śląsku wobec problemu oznakowania niemieckich Żydów (1941 r.)', *Studia śląskie* 41 (1983) 81-106; id., 'Relacja anonimowego Żyda o zagładzie społeczności żydowskiej w Generalnym Gubernatorstwie', *Studia nad Faszyzmem i Zbrodniami Hitlerowskimi* 13 (1990); id., 'Kardynał Adolf Bertram wobec ideologii totalitarnych (1930-1945)', in K. Matwijowski (ed.), *Ludzie śląskiego Kościoła katolickiego* (Wrocław, 1992); M. Sadowski, 'Korespondencja kardynała Adolfa Bertrama z Adolfem Hitlerem (1933-1944)', Ibid.

7 Archiwum Archidiecezjalne we Wrocławiu, Akta kard. A. Bertrama, I J. 117, non fol.

8 Archiwum Archidiecezjalne we Wrocławiu, Akta kard. A. Bertrama, I J. 117, non fol. See similar letters published by G. Schmidt, *Selektion in der Heilanstalt 1939-1945* (Stuttgart, 1965) 81-2 (one from Hartheim) and by Ternon and Helman, *Eksterminacja chorych* 123-5.

9 The chief physician in Hartheim was Dr Rudolf Lonauer, who in 1945 commited suicide with all his family. His assistants were Dr Georg Reno and Dr Hans Gorgass. Statements by Dr Gorgass, given during the trial, seem to confirm existence of the "school of euthanasia" in Hartheim; Ternon and Helman, *Eksterminacja chorych* 4, 121, 295-6. One can also read about Gorgass's attitude towards euthanasia in A. Platen-Hellermund, *Die Tötung Geisteskrunker in Deutschland. Aus der Deutschen Ärztekommission beim Amerikanischen Militärgericht* (Frankfurt, 1948) 99.

letter, common to the majority of letters of condolence sent by the welfare institutions that practised euthanasia, is the passage informing that the deceased, in accordance with a police order, had to be cremated immediately in order to avoid a potential epidemic[10].

The second of the discussed documents is a letter written by Count August Clemens von Galen, the Bishop of Münster and a sworn enemy of Nazism, addressed to Cardinal Bertram[11]. In the letter, Bishop von Galen, informing Bertram of the order to fill in forms addressed to St Roch Asylum in Bielefeld[12] (Eastern Westphalia) subordinate to the church, expressed his opinion that the entire Episcopate should take measures to defend the laws of nature and moral principles proclaimed by the church.

A univocal protest against euthanasia was expressed in the letter signed by Archbishop of Freiburg im Breisgau, Conrad Gröber[13] addressed to the minister – Secretary of State in the Chancellery of the Reich – Hans Lammers. Archbishop Gröber, quoting the numerous items of information reaching his ears about the euthanisation of the mentally ill, 'insistently requested' Lammers to take advantage of his 'considerable influence' to stop practices forbidden by the laws of nature and Christian principles. In the letter he pointed to the negative reactions which would be elicited abroad, and to the great burden it placed on the nation's conscience. Significantly, the document included an obligation to take over all the expenses the state would have to bear by way of caring for those mentally ill persons 'doomed to death'.

The fourth document is Bertram's reply to the previous letter from Bishop von Galen[14]. The Archbishop of Wrocław confirmed the need for the Episcopate to take a stand on the problem presented by von Galen. At the same time he quoted the constant teachings of the Church, which were manifest in work on the new

---

[10] Mrs. Zybulska was informed about the possibility of collecting an urn with the ashes of the deceased. As the situation seemed suspicious, Mrs Zybulska passed the letter of condolence to Church officials and ultimately to Cardinal Bertram. It is worth mentioning that the Nazis treated the action as top secret, which raised additional suspicions among patients' families. Schmidt (*Selektion in der Heilanstalt* 80) published two letters sent by the families to the institution in Hertheim. See also Ternon and Helman, *Eksterminacja chorych* 122-3.

[11] Archiwum Archidiecezjalne we Wrocławiu, Akta kard. A. Bertrama, I J. 117, non fol.

[12] On euthanasia in this region (especially in Bethel) see Ternon and Helman, *Eksterminacja chorych* 70f; E. Klee, *"Euthanasie" im NS-Staat. Die "Vernichtung lebensunwerten Lebens"* (Frankfurt, 1994) 255f. See also id., *Was sie taten – Was sie wurden. Ärzte, Juristen und andere Beteiligte am Kranken- oder Judenmord* (Frankfort, 1994) 239f.

[13] Archiwum Archidiecezjalne we Wrocławiu, Akta kard. A. Bertrama, I J. 117, non fol. The typescript contains the information, that the document was signed by the general vicar of Rottenburg, Dr Kottman. See Klee, *"Euthanasie" im NS-Staat* 220. In the 1920s Archbishop Gröber showed some interest in the Nazi movement.

[14] Archiwum Archidiecezjalne we Wrocławiu, Akta kard. A. Bertrama, I J. 117, non fol.

German penal code in 1934, in which legalisation with any potential to kill the crippled and ill, including the mentally ill, was excluded. The last passages of the letter are worth noting. Here, Bertram stated that, as far as 'a local expert's' opinion was concerned, the documentation is insufficient for any effective measures to be taken by the Episcopate. In our opinion that statement was by no means an expression of any fear of taking a stand on that matter[15]; it only gave utterance to a conviction that the Conference of German Bishops should carefully work on its image in order that it not be belittled by the authorities.

Another of the discussed documents was prepared in Salzburg by Sister Anna Berth Köningsegg and addressed to the Military Commissioner of the Reich in the 18th military district in Insbruck[16]. The author of the letter informed the commissioner that the head of the Welfare Institution of Scherneberg near Schwarzach-St.Veit had notified her of the planned removal of the ill to other institutions. It was an open secret – as Sister Anna noted – what fate the patients to be removed would meet, as, shortly after the patients' removal, the institution would receive notifications of their deaths. The nun also pointed to the consequences of such practices, e.g., the anxiety of soldiers about their loved ones' fate, social concern and negative reactions from abroad. Thus Sister Anna proposed that the commissioner agree to the patients' staying in Schernberg, while in return her congregation would forgo state subsidies and undertake responsibility for the living expenses of their charges until the war ended. If not, as the author of the letter emphasised, the authorities should not count on any co-operation from members of the congregation in the delivery and transport of the ill.

The consequences of Sister Anna's letter are evident in a letter sent by the Archbishop of Salzburg to Cardinal Bertram[17], in which he notified the Archbishop of Wrocław that Sister Anna had been summoned to the headquarters of Gestapo in Salzburg and asked about her source of information on the fate of those mentally ill persons to be removed. As no answer was given to that question, she was imprisoned[18]. Thus Archbishop Waitz asked for advice as to whether acquainting the Gestapo with the final resolutions of the Conference of German Bishops, which presented its postulate addressed to the boards of welfare institutions actively protesting against the delivering of charges to destroy those 'human beings who do not deserve to live', could be of any help in that problem. The emphases and punctuation (question marks and an exclamation) in the document show, it would appear, that the text had been carefully read.

---

15 Six days later, on August 11 1940, Bertram as president of the Conference of Bishops in Fulda officially condemned the crime of euthanasia. Lewy, *Die katholische Kirche* 290-1. See also *Das III. Reich 1939-1945. Eine Tageschronik der Politik, Wirtschaft, Kultur* (Augsburg, 1991) 106.

16 Archiwum Archidiecezjalne we Wrocławiu, Akta kard. A. Bertrama, I J. 117, non fol.

17 Ibid.

18 For such Gestapo activities, see the sermon of the Bishop of Limburg, Antonius Hilfrich (Ternon and Helman, *Eksterminacja chorych* 179-180).

The fact that the highest officials of the Catholic Church continuously intervened in the problem of euthanasia is evident from a copy of the letter written by the Archbishop of Munich and Freising, Michael Cardinal Faulhaber, to the Minister of Justice of the Reich, Franz Gürtner, which was kept by Cardinal Bertram's group[19]. Fulhaber pointed to the disturbing phenomenon of removing the ill from their old welfare institutions to new places, where, after eight days or so, they would die of suspicious diseases. He also criticised the practice of cremating the dead bodies without the families' consent. Those facts – as far as he was concerned – forced him to lodge a complaint to the Minister of Justice against the killing of the mentally ill by means of euthanasia in medical and welfare institutions. An interesting aspect of the accusation presented in the letter was the cardinal's quotation of subpara 16 of the Concordat concluded in 1933, which obliged clergy to avoid any harmful activity that could constitute a threat to German statehood. Other interesting aspects of the letter written by the Archbishop of Munich were references to the existence of boundaries, determined by Christian moral principles and fundamental citizens' rights, within which the state was allowed to make laws, as well as to the infringement of Nietsche's moral axioms[20].

A report from a meeting of the Chairmen of National Courts (*Landgerichtsdirektoren*), in which the problem of euthanasia was discussed, was among the documents gathered by Cardinal Bertram[21]. That report seems worth discussing primarily for the specific attitude of Nazi officials to euthanasia which was presented therein. During the meeting, the officials were shown a photocopy of Führer's order of September 1 1939, which constituted the basis for the application of euthanasia. To justify the measures taken, they quoted the supposed savings for welfare staff in respect of food. They also discussed the means of killing, mainly by gas. The contents of the report lead to the conclusion that families' attempts to trace their beloved ones' fate was a serious problem for the authorities, as the participants of the conference were ordered to stop the relatives searching at a local administrative level, and thus prevent them from appealing to Berlin, and staff were expected to leave the letters from the families unanswered. It is worth mentioning that 200,000 people yet to be euthanised is the number quoted in the document.

---

[19] The copy of Faulhaber's letter to the Minister of Justice, Franz Gürtner, dated November 6 1940. On Faulhaber, see L. Volk, 'Kardinal Faulhabers Stellung zur Weimarer Republik und zum NS-Staat', *Stimmen der Zeit* 91 (1966) 173f.

[20] On Faulhaber's letter, see Lewy, *Die katholische Kirche* 291; Ternon and Helman falsely wrote about the "paragraphs of 1936 law". Faulhaber did not mention a state law, but the work of F. Gürtner on the projects of changes in German law. For Faulhaber's attitude towards euthanasia, see Klee, *"Euthanasie" im NS-Staat* 53, 286f.

[21] Archiwum Archidiecezjalne we Wrocławiu, Akta kard. A. Bertrama, I J. 117, non fol. dated 1941. It can be assumed that conference took place in the late winter or early spring of 1941. The low number of euthanasia victims given in the report might suggest, however, a much earlier date. We do not know how the top secret document came into the hands of Cardinal Bertram.

In August 1941, the bishops of Köln-Pardeborn province submitted a letter of protest to the Manager of the Chancellery of the Reich against the campaign of killing the ill in asylums. A copy of the letter of protest was sent, in compliance with the usual procedure, to the president of the Conference of German Bishops[22]. The authors of the letter pointed to the generally held opinion that the mentally ill were deliberately being killed, which – according to them – was an offence against §211 of the *Penal Code*. In their opinion anxiety in society was evoked by the impunity of those responsible for the transportation and killing of 'the unproductive members of the nation.' The bishops univocally favoured the existence of a supernatural, God-given norm which forbade murder, and which should be obeyed by the church and each Christian, whatever the circumstances. The authors of the letter in this context cited the enunciation of the bishops gathered at the Conference of the German Episcopate held in Fulda on June 26 1941, according to which a man must never, apart from war and permissible necessary defence, kill an innocent human being[23].

One of the most ardent enemies of national socialism from among the members of the German Episcopate was Conrad Graf von Preysing, the Bishop of Berlin[24]. Early in November 1941 his sermon in the capital city's St Hedwig Cathedral criticised the Nazi policy of killing the mentally ill and the handicapped. Cardinal Bertram also was acquainted with the contents of Preysing's homily[25]. The essence of the sermon was the statement that God alone was the Lord of life and death, thus He was the one to decide on those matters. Numerous examples and quotations from the Bible were aimed at facilitating this thesis for the listener and, what is more important, helping the listener to realise the consequences of accepting that thesis, i.e. understanding the principle that forbade worldly communities (state, nation, society) to be responsible for deciding who has the right to life. In this context, the author of the homily mentioned the exceptional situations indicated by the Catholic Church, in which it is permissible to kill another man: namely in a just war to defend the homeland, and in the case of a death sentence for a criminal by the 'law-abiding superior authority'. In his sermon, the Bishop of Berlin also mentioned materialistic philosophy, whose representative, in his opinion, was also Nazism, which affirmed worldly pleasures and negated the existence of 'the other aspect'. He was convinced that such beliefs were wrong as they approved of the idea of euthanasia. The German nation's approval of a concept that

---

22 Archiwum Archidiecezjalne we Wrocławiu, Akta kard. A. Bertrama, I J. 117, non fol. Dated August 28 1941. Letter signed by Wilhelm Barning, Bishop of Osnabrück.

23 Ibid.

24 G. van Roon, *Widerstand im Dritten Reich* (Munich, 1979) 115-6. On the activities of von Preysing see B. Schwerdtfeger, *Konrad Kardinal Preysing* (Berlin, 1950). Preysing maintained close contact with anti-Nazi opposition circles, especially with *Kreisauer Kreis* of Helmuth James von Moltke.

25 Archiwum Archidiecezjalne we Wrocławiu, Akta kard. A. Bertrama, I J. 117, non fol., copy of the sermon made on November 21 1940.

deemed killing those 'beings who do not deserve to live' to be appropriate in addition to killing on request, as far as Preysing was concerned, would result in the transformation of the German nation, which had given birth to such people as St Elisabeth of Thüringen, into a primitive and degenerate nation.

As has been mentioned, Hitler's order of August 24 1941 did not result in stopping euthanasia in German asylums. The last three documents we have found among the files kept by Cardinal Bertram are confirmation of this[26]. According to these documents in 1942-43 there were further 'reviews' of mentally ill patients as a way of selecting the people to be moved to other institutions. At the same time, as Bertram noted, society was convinced and constantly afraid that this was merely a continuation of the campaign aimed at the annihilation of those 'beings who do not deserve to live'. New forms sent to welfare institutions and asylums, which, apart from some minor changes, were no different from those used in 1940 seemed to serve this purpose. Once again, the German Episcopate was forced to condemn euthanasia and warn managers of welfare institutions and asylums of their involvement in euthanasia if the new forms were filled in. Bertram, as the president of the Conference of Bishops in Fulda, submitted a letter of protest to the Home Secretary of the Reich, in which, quoting his previous addresses of August 11 1940, once again he objected to euthanasia and refused to recognise the state's right to cross beyond the sphere of 'what was permissible' to breaking the laws of nature and 'God's positive prohibitions.'

**II. Nazi euthanasia in Lower Silesia**

Some information on Nazi euthanasia in Lower Silesia[27] also can be found in the registers of the deceased for the years 1943-44 in the psychiatric ward of the Municipal Welfare and Medical Institution in Wrocław[28]. Of the 3,535 death certificates for 1943-44, we investigated 222 cases, i.e. around 8% were issued for deaths of patients in the welfare and medical institution[29]. In this group there were

---

[26] Archiwum Archidiecezjalne we Wrocławiu, Akta kard. A. Bertrama, I J. 117, non fol. documents dated June 30 1942, February 6 1943, and May 6 1943.

[27] On the annihilation of mentally ill Jews in Silesia, see A. Konieczny, 'Rozwiązanie kwestii umysłowo chorych Żydów na Śląsku w latach 1938-1943', *Studia nad Faszyzmem i Zbrodniami Hitlerowskimi* 18 (1995) 235-260.

[28] Städtische Heil- und Pflegeanstalt Nord, located at Einbaumstr. 25 (today Kraszewskiego). The data analysed here were purchased in Archiwum Urzędu Stanu Cywilnego we Wrocławiu, books of the third municipal district. The register is not full, as books no. 3, 4, 5 and 6 from 1943 as well as book no. 1 of 1944 have been lost. See D. Bogacz, 'Samobójstwa niemieckich Żydów w okresie "ostatecznego rozwiązania kwestii żydowskiej" (1941-1944)', *Studia nad Faszyzmem i Zbrodniami Hitlerowskimi* 13 (1990) 235-264 n. 55; 254. We did not manage to obtain archives of the hospital. The files were probably burnt during the siege of Wrocław in 1945.

[29] Data for subsequent years as follows: 1943 – of 1,242 deaths 84 (6.8%) originated from the analysed institution (book 1 – 25 deaths, i.e., 6.25% of its contents; book 2 – 29, i.e., 7.25%; book 7 – 30, i.e., 6.8%); 1944 – of 2,293 deaths 198 (8.6%) come from the ana-

159 (56.4%) women, and 123 (43.6%) men[30]. Among the deceased there were almost twice as many members of the reformed churches (156, i.e. 61.2%), as there were Roman Catholics (81, i.e. 32.3%). A relatively high percentage, 5.6% (14), had the following annotation: 'do not belong to any church' (*gottgläubig*)[31].

It has to be pointed out that in 41 cases there was no information on the religion of the deceased[32]. Of 280 death certificates giving birth and death dates, 104 (i.e. 37.1%) were for patients of 20 or below, and this included 70 people (25%) who were below 10 at the time of death. It should be mentioned, that both in 1943 and 1944 exactly one-quarter of the deaths occurred in the youngest age group. Moreover, at the time of death 93 (33.2%) had turned 60, 61 (21.8%) were 40-60, and only 22 (7.9%) at the time of death were 20-40. Thus the dominance of the youngest and oldest generation is very clear.

The ratios quoted largely confirm the data for given years[33]. Departures from these years, considerable as they might sometimes be, were noted only in some death registers. It is interesting that the number of deaths in the oldest age group in 1943 exceeded the average, which was noted at the beginning and the end of the year[34]. In 1944 the correlation that existed between the death rate of the oldest and youngest age groups should be pointed out. In book no. 2 the numbers for both

lysed institution (book 2 – 32 deaths, i.e., 8%; book 4 – 30, i.e., 7.5%; book 5 – 40, i.e., 10%; book 6 – 24, i.e., 6%; book 7 – 33, i.e., 11.3%).

30 In 1943 the rate of death among men and women was equal (42 cases in each group). In the books it is as follows: book 1 – 60% women, 40% men; book 2 – respectively 34.5% and 65.5%; book 7 – 56.7% and 43.3%. In 1944 women constituted 59.1% (117 cases), men – 40.9% (81 cases). In the books as follows: book 2 – 40.6% and 59.4%; book 3 – 66.7% and 37.5%; book 4 – 73.3% and 26.7%; book 5 – 62.5% and 37.5%; book 6 – 62.5% and 37.5%; book 7 – 48.5% and 51.5%.

31 The given numbers do not cover deaths where the religion of the deceased is not specified. The exact numbers are as follows: 1943 Protestants – 63.1% (book 1 – 60%; book 2 – 55.2%; book 7 – 73.3%); Catholics – 33.3% (book 1 – 32%; book 2 – 41.4%; book 7 – 26.7%); "believers" – 5.6% (book 1 – 8%; book 2 – 3.4%; book 7 – 0%). 944 Protestants – 61.7% (book 2 – 58.1%; book 3 – 68.4%; book 4 – 66.7%; book 5 – 62.5%; book 6 – 54.5%; book 7 – 47.1%); Catholics – 31.7% (book 2 – 32.2%; book 3 – 23.7%; book 4 – 26.7%; book 5 – 37.5%; book 6 – 45.5%; book 7 – 35.3%; people not registered in any church 6.6% (book 2 – 9,7%; book 3 – 7.9%; book 4 – 6.7%; book 5 – 0%; book 6 – 0%; book 7 – 17.6%).

32 Some notes are in pencil, and therefore are doubtful.

33 In 1943 patients under 20 constituted 36.9% (including patients younger than 10 years old – 25%), in 1944 – 37.2% (and under 10 years old – 25%). In 1943 patients between 20 and 40 – 8.3%, in 1944 – 7.7%. In 1943 patients between 40 and 60 – 15.5%, in 1944 – 24.5%. In 1943 patients over 60 – 39.3%, in 1944 – 30.6%. As can be seen, serious differences can be noted in the youngest and oldest groups.

34 In 1943 the death rate in the age groups was as follows: book 1 – up to 20 years old – 36% (including children below 10 – 24%), between 20 and 40 – 8%, between 40 and 60 – 8%, above 60 – 48%; in book 2 – respectively – 41,4% (27,6%), 6,9%, 24.1%, 27.6%; in book 7 – 33.3% (23.3%), 10%, 13.3%, 43.3%.

groups fluctuated around average for the whole year (the death rate among patients aged 20 and below was 36.7%), including 10-year-olds and younger – 26.7%, while for patients over 60 it was 33.3%. In book no. 3, the death rate of the younger generation decreased to 20.5% (10 years and below – 17.9%) while that of the older generation increased to 38.5%. This trend can also be seen in another book (mean: 23.3% [20%]; 40%). In book no. 5, however, it was reversed (mean: 40% [27.5%]; 27.5%) and it increased markedly in this manner in book no.6 (mean: 75% [45.8%]; 8.3%). In the last book those ratios once again tend towards the average (mean: 39.4% [18.2%]; 30.3%)[35].

One should note that there were some regularities in relation to the causes of the deaths quoted. The death certificates included in the death registers most often mentioned any one of a few causes of death, although it is difficult to conclude which of them was decisive. The list shows 422 causes among which 91 diseases were singled out.[36] More often than not, the deaths were linked with pneumonia (list no. 58) – 72 times, i.e. 17%; and imbecility (no. 47) – 54 times, i.e. 12,8%; and circulatory system deficiency (no. 52) – 50 times, i.e. 11,8%. Cases of paralysis of the respiratory system were relatively numerous (no. 6) – 29 times, i.e. 5,9%; mental disorders (no. 26) – 26 times, 6.1%, bronchopneumonia (no. 7) – 25 times, 5.9%; or heart deficiencies (no. 34) – 21 times, 5%.

It is worth mentioning that cases of imbecility listed in death certificates, and the more rarely occurring cases of hydrocephalus (no. 48) 8 cases, 1,9%; and Down's syndrome (no. 65 – 7 cases, 1.6%) were connected with patients of 20 and younger, and virtually did not appear among the cases of death of older patients. It is interesting that some diseases appeared in pairs in some certificates. The most frequent pairings are imbecility and pneumonia; imbecility and paralysis of the respiratory system; and epilepsy with paralysis of the respiratory system.

The data presented are too fragmentary to be the basis for any significant and regularly occurring patterns. But even the incomplete information we have obtained is the basis for expressing a hypothesis that the sick children were killed in the Welfare and Medical Institution in Wrocław. The high percentage of deaths in this age group, combined with numerous diagnoses of imbecility, seems to be indicative of a Nazi euthanasia programme, the victims of which were sick and handicapped children. Unfortunately, neither in the archives of the hospital, nor in the State Archives have we managed to find any other documents to confirm the results of our research. We hope that further archival research will allow to univocally explain the discussed issue.

---

[35] The remaining data for the year 1944 for patients between 20 and 40 and between 40 and 60 is as follows: book 2 – 0% and 30%; book 3 – 17.9% and 23.1%; book 4 – 3.3% and 33.3%; book 5 – 7.5% and 25%; book 6 – 8.3% and 8.3%, book 7 – 6% and 24.3%.

[36] In some cases different names are given for the same or a very similar disease. We have tried to standardise it, but in doubtful cases we have kept the original form.

**List of diseases**

(Akute) Gemüttsstörung
(Akuter) Herztod
(Allgemeine) Körperschwäche
(Deformierende) Gelenkentzündung
(Klimakterische) Psychose
(Schwere motorische) Erregung
(Senile) Demenz
(Ungeklärte) Geisteserkrankung
(Zentrale) Kinderlähmung
Aderverkalkung
Alterschwäche (Arteriosklerotische Demenz)
Altersdemenz
Apoplexie
Arteriosklerose
Atemlähmung
Bronchopneumonie
Bronchualkrebs
Büger'sche Krankheit
Chondrodystophie
Congenital Lues
Depressive Gemütsstörung
Druckgeschwüre
Eiterfieber
Epilesie
Erregungszustände
Gangrän
Gehirnblutung
Gehirngeschwulst
Gehirn-Rückenmarksleiden
Gehirnschlag
Gehirnsklerose
Gehirnsyphilis
Geisteskrankheit
Geistesstörung
Gemütskrankheit
Herzfehler
Herzinsuffiziens
Herzmuskelentartung
Herzmuskelschwäche
Hirnabzess
Hirnarterienverkalkung
Hirnblutung
Hirndruck
Hirngefässverkalkung
Hirngeschwulst
Hirnhautentzündung
Hirntumor
Hochdruck
Hydrocephalus
Idiotie
Imbezillität
Ischialgien
Kopfphlegmone
Kräfteverfall
Kreislaufschwäche
Lähmung
Little'sche Krankheit
Lungenabscess
Lungenentzündung
Lungenkrebs
Lungentuberkulose
Manie
Meningitis
Microcephalie
Mittelohreiterung
Mongolismus
Multiple Sklerose
Nervlähmung
Neuritis (nach Handphlegmone)
Ohrspeicheldrüsenentzündung
Pneumonie
Porencephalis
Progressive-Paralyse
Rachitis
Rückenmarksleiden
Ruh (Darmblutung)
Schizophrenie
Schlaganfall
Schüttellähmung
Schwachsinn
Sepsis
Tabes-Dorralis
Unterleibskrebs
Verkrüpplung der Beine
Verletzung
Verwirrheitszustände
Vorsteherdrüsengeschwulst
Wochenbettpsychose
Wundrose
Zellgewebsentzündung
Zuckerkranheit

**Janusz Oszytko**

# JEWISH MATTERS IN THE 1930S IN THE ARCHIVES OF THE OPOLE GESTAPO

In the Opole archives, in the group Gestapo Oppeln there still survives a valuable collection of materials concerning the Jewish people living in Opole District [Regierungsbezirk Oppeln] in the years 1930-39. Mostly they comprise the membership cards of the Central-Verein deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens [hereafter CV], Landesverband Oberschlesien and Central Verein der Juden in Deutschland. Initially they made up the archive CV that was probably taken over by the Opole branch of the Gestapo after the Kristallnacht. In the years 1938-39 this archive was supplemented by an anonymous officer of the Geheime Staatspolizei. It includes over 600 files (drawer no. 12) which, apart from the organisations referred to also concerned the Deutsch-jüdische Jugendgemeinschaft, as well as Jewish schools, welfare institutions and places of religious worship[1].

Those materials mention over 23 localities in the Upper-Silesian province where there were Jewish communities: Bytom, Gliwice, Zabrze, Racibórz, Opole, Nysa, Strzelce Opolskie, Głubczyce, Prudnik, Kluczbork, Olesno, Wołczyn, Pyskowice, Koźle, Głogówek, Kietrz, Toszek, Dobrodzień, Gorzów Śląski, Grodków, Wielowieś near Toszek, Byczyna, Pokój. The person responsible for the religious life of the community in Bytom was the apothecary, Kunz, in the office at 6 Schiesshausstrasse; in Gliwice it was the court counsellor Kochmann, working at 9 Niederwallstrasse; and in Zabrze this function was performed by the lawyer Dr. Schaefer and the private doctor of medicine Weinstein[2]; in Opole the lawyer Dr. Wolf; in Nysa – Kallmann; in Strzelce – Dr. König; in Głubczyce the merchants Bachrach and Guttfreund; in Prudnik Hermann Cohn; in Olesno – the forwarding agent Karmeinsky; in Wołczyn – an anonymous teacher; in Pyskowice – Gutmann and Koch; in Koźle – the merchant Lippmann; in Głogówek – the merchants Ledermann and Hartmann. These were the people who headed the local Jewish

---

1 Archiwum Państwowe w Opolu, Gestapo Oppeln, drawer 12 f. not numbered.

2 Ibid. f. not numbered.

communities. By the Kluczbork entry, 'aufgelöst' (abandoned) was written (the function of the community's president or the rabbinate office?)[3].

Five Upper-Silesian rabbis were mentioned by name in the file, and it was confirmed that two of them left for America (most likely to the USA). These were a rabbi from Racibórz (Dr. Kengel departed in 1938) and from Opole (Dr. Hirschberg left on February 1 1939). The other three rabbis were Prof. Dr. Golinski from Bytom, Dr. Ochs from Gliwice and Dr. Kaatz in Zabrze[4].

Religious primary schools were open in Gliwice (three forms – about 100 children), Bytom (120 pupils), Zabrze (about 80 pupils), and in Racibórz the district school for the communities of Racibórz, Koźle, Kietrz and Głubczyce (about 35 children)[5].

Jewish homes for the aged were located in Gliwice and Bytom. The Home for the Aged in Bytom in Kasernenstrasse housed 58-65 people, and the monthly cost for a person was 10 RM, while the Home for the Aged in Gliwice in Kirchstrasse housed 45 people, but it was burdened with a land charge for the allotment of 200,000 RM. Thanks to the director of the brewery, Engelhardt Nache, the house could finance itself without any state's subsidies[6].

On November 10 1938 Jewish lawyers were renamed Jewish counsellors. In the area of Upper Silesia there were seven of them: two in Gliwice, three in Bytom and two in Opole. In Gliwice the rightful representatives of Jewish people were Dr. Ernst Cohn and Leopold Brieger – a solicitor. In Bytom the counsellors were Dr. Böhm, Dr. George Ehrlih and Dr. Kurt Mandowski – lawyers. In Opole the function of counsellors was performed by Dr. Harry Wolf and Dr. Otto Jungmann[7].

Jewish doctors registered by the Gestapo in Opole lived in Gliwice, Bytom and Zabrze, from which towns some of them 'wandered away' (ausgewandert) from Upper Silesia till January 1939 at the very latest. The sanitary counsellor Schlesinger, Dr. I. Blumfeld and Dr. E. Werner were the last three Jewish doctors in Gliwice. In Bytom four out of six doctors 'wandered away', namely Dr. Auerbach, Dr. Pick, Dr. Sonnenfeld, Dr. Weil, and two doctors remained: the surgeon Dr. Levi and the dermatologist Dr. Heller, who had their surgeries in the house at 6 Schiesshausstrasse owned by the Jewish community in Gliwice. In Zabrze two doctors remained, one of whom – Dr. Ernst Michaelis – 'wandered away' from the town on June 3 1939, while Dr. Arthur Weinstein remained[8].

An interesting issue, from the point of view of a historian studying Jewish centres in Upper Silesia is that of the preservation of the archives created by the Jewish communities and the libraries keeping them. As concerns the archives, we quote 'Die abgetretenen Ostoberschles. Gemeinden haben ihr Material an das

3 Ibid. f. not numbered.
4 Ibid. f. not numbered.
5 Ibid. f. not numbered.
6 Ibid. f. not numbered.
7 Ibid. f. not numbered.
8 Ibid. f. not numbered.

Archiv der Reichsvereinigung in Berlin Abgegeben. In Oberschles. bestehen jetzt keine Archive. Archiv = Matrikelbücher in Beuthen Verbrannt'[9]. The remark testifies to the destruction of the archives from the western part of Upper Silesia, which had not been transferred to the Gesamtarchiv der deutschen Juden and must have burnt during the so-called 'Crystal Night' in 1938, while the Berlin head office was supposed to receive the archives from the so-called eastern Upper Silesia (The Dąbrowa Będzin).

The largest Jewish libraries were located in four towns: Gliwice, Bytom, Zabrze and Opole; but there is no detailed information on the Opole institution. They were situated in the houses owned by the Jewish communities (Gemeindehaus). In Gliwice the manager of the library was Ernst Cohn and the librarian was Gerda Lewin; in Bytom – Prof Dr. Golinski and Benno Reich with his wife, while in Zabrze the function was performed by Olga Cohn[10].

Apart from the libraries, the Upper-Silesian Jews of pro-German orientation ran their cultural and educational activities among the members of the Central Verein; among other things, there were lectures and talks, sometimes with the use of slides, especially in the industrial part of Upper Silesia. Central-Verein deutscher Staaatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens Landesverband Oberschlesien actively participated in the German celebration of the tenth anniversary of the Upper-Silesian plebiscite.[11] This was particularly true of its president, counsellor Dr. Skaller, who organised the celebration among the local groups of the union, and also within the Upper-Silesian synagogues[12]. Information concerning a meeting of the local branch Central–Verein in Bytom on March 20 [1935], during which the apothecary Kunz had a lecture entitled 'The Work of the Community with a particular emphasis on its social activity' still survives. After the lecture there was a little Purim party for the members of the union and friends[13]. The event was organised by Felix Pinczower and Dr. Jakobowitz in the premises at 6 Schiesshasstrasse. Problems for German Jews caused by racist legislation intensified during that year; however, in Upper Silesia the regulations of the Geneva Convention would remain in force for two more years. The activities of the Bytom German-Jewish Youth (Deutsch-jüdische Jugendgemeinschaft) ceased altogether. On Wednesday June 10 1931 it organised a lecture on racial issues led by the police medical counsellor Dr. Paul Immerwahr from Gliwice in the biological hall at 6 Realgymnasium, Friedrich Ebertstr., and he was heard by young people interested in this issue irrespective of their religion – all those invited had the so-called Einladungskarte[14].

In 1936 Polish Jews in the German part of Upper Silesia constituted a minority numbering 114 people associated with the Union of Polish Jews (Bytom – 88

9 Ibid. f. not numbered.
10 Ibid. f. not numbered.
11 Ibid. f.19.
12 Ibid.
13 Ibid. f. 3.
14 Ibid.

people, Zabrze – 26, Gliwice – 28). The president of the Polish Jews in Bytom was the merchant Simon Tiefenbrunn. They gathered in the hall at 19 Humboldtstrasse. In Zabrze there were two active leaders of the Polish Jews: the merchant Oscar Weinberger and Iser Rosenbaum (both performed the function of president). Similarly there were two presidents in Gliwice: Scheja Fleischhaker and Moritz Liss[15].

In time in the German part of Upper Silesia a Nazi-favouring atmosphere was developing and as the Jewish people became more and more alienated they became involved in the activities of their German Jewish associations hoping to retain their status quo. On the night of Wednesday March 18 (1936?) a festive lecture in memory of Dr. Holländer took place in the Kaiserhofsaal Hall in Bytom, where Dr. Hans Reichmann from Berlin had a speech entitled 'The legacy of Ludwig Holländer'[16]. The event was prepared by the Central-Verein der Juden in Deutschland Ortsgruppe Beuthen OS. The next lecture took place on the traditional Wednesday night of April 21 (1936?) in the building at 6 Schiesshausstrasse. During the meeting the sanitary counsellor from Bytom, Dr. Pick had a speech entitled 'The opportunities of Education for Jewish Youth in Holland by the example of Nieuwes Luis'. Another speech, made by the division official Alfred Boehm from Zabrze, was entitled 'Jewish Emigrant Schools and other problems of Youth'[17]. On May 14 that year in Zabrze there was a lecture by the engineer Wilhelm Jacob from Sao Paulo titled 'Is Brazil a country of limitless opportunities?'[18] On September 14 1936 the rabbi Dr. Keller spoke in Bytom on 'The Introduction to Festival Prayers'[19]. The shaping of the future was discussed with Jewish youth on October 18 1936 in Bytom within the so-called Jugendausspracheabend, i.e. a youth discussion evening[20]. On February 24 1937 president of the Lower-Silesian National Union of the CV, the lawyer Dr. Erich Bry, member of the Presidium Council of the CV, made a speech entitled 'The Pressure to Depart to South America'[21]. On June 21/22 1937 in Gliwice and Bytom, in the face of the deteriorating legal situation of Jews in Upper Silesia, the lecturer of the Hauptgeschäftstelle des Jüdischen Centralverein, the court counsellor Dr. Goldschmidt from Berlin, advised on how to behave in the face of anti-Jewish legislation[22].

Because of the role of the town of Opole as the capital of the district, the local activists of the CV were described in the referred documents in a more detailed way. The surviving file contains data on 62 German Jews from Opole, whose personal files, in alphabetical order, amount to 0,01 mb of the files. Those cards are 15 cm long and 10 cm high; in the top right-hand corner they have an underlined

[15] Ibid. f. 10, 12.
[16] Ibid.. f. 2.
[17] Ibid. f. 4.
[18] Ibid. f. 5.
[19] Ibid. f. 8.
[20] Ibid. f. 6.
[21] Ibid. f. 1.
[22] Ibid. f. 18.

overprint C.V. Oberschlesien, under which there appears the name of the locality, the address and place of employment of the CV member, and on the left there is information on the period of membership and the amount of the fees. Remarks concerning the deletion of members because of departure, death or other reasons, such as non-payment of fees, were typed.

The list of Opole Jews is headed by the director of Darmstadtbank – first name unknown, Berliner, who left for Wrocław on February 19 1932 after being a member for at least a year. Bruno Boëhm died on December 12 1931. A Brand from Szczepanowice (now the district of Zaodrze in Opole) had been a member of the CV from as early as October 1 1931. The wife of Rabbi Dr. Braunschweiger left for Berlin and was crossed off the membership list on March 21 1932. The widowed Selma Cohn died and was crossed off the register on March 29 1934. The doctor of medicine Eppenheim left for Vienna and was crossed off on May 27 1934. Max Fink was a member of the CV from May 1 1930. Siegfried Freund was crossed off on November 30 1936 – he left for Wrocław on December 1 of that year. Ludwig Gallop was a member of the CV from January 1931. A minor, Werner Hartmann, a member from March 22 until June 14 was crossed off due to his age (noch nicht 18 jährig). Samuel Juliusburger, resident in Antoniow near Opole, emigrated to Columbia and was crossed off the CV on April 6 1938[23].

A Jockel, member of the CV from March 18 1932 left for Ostrava in Czechoslovakia and on May 8 1933 was crossed off the membership list. Jacob was crossed off for not paying fees on July 24 1934. Widowed Agnes Jungmann left for Berlin and was crossed off the list of members on October 31 1933. Erich Kassel left the groups of the CV members on October 27 1930. Max Kassel left for Wrocław and was crossed off on July 7 1933, while his widowed wife ceased to be a member on February 9 1936. Both of them were well-off, which is indicated by the large fee (3 RM). The teacher Miss Helstein departed from Wrocław and was crossed off from the Opole local group of the CV on April 5 1934. Michael Kreutzberger, member from October 1930 died in Berlin. Otto Kreutzberger left for Wrocław in 1930, Bruno Lehr from Opole was a member from October 1 1937 to February 22 1938 and then left for Wrocław. Miss Hilde Lewin, the manager of the kindergarten was crossed off 'for economic reasons'; she was a member of the CV from December 28 1936 until May 29 1937. Leslie Lewinski, a widow – died and was crossed off on January 22 1936. Leo Loser's departure was reported on February 5 1929. Martin Loser was a member of the CV from December 1 1934 but he emigrated and was crossed off on August 20 1937. Emanuel Meth was a member of the CV from June 1 1930; N. Mickler's departure for Wrocław was announced on February 27 1931. The Railway Commissar, Mirauer, left for Halle on December 1 1933 and was crossed off the Opole list on December 15 1933. Isidor Nebel was a member from March 1 1932. The Merchant Neisser, who ran

[23] Ibid. f. 448-52, 23, 453-6,26.

his business in Opole, was a member from March 17 1930 and left on September 28 1931 for an unknown destination.

Max Oppenheimer died before May 26 1932 – the date of his being crossed off the membership list. The widow Toni Orgler was crossed off on March 29 1934. Erich Perl worked for the firm Hermann Schlesinger, but in 1938 he left for Dösseldorf. Erich Prager and Mrs Pringsheim were members from October 1 1931. Rabbi Dr. Pfingst had membership of the CV from November 1 1931. He had previously been a member of the same organisation in Nordhausen in Turingia, which he had left, and he was crossed off on April 9 1934. On December 27 1935 Joseph Prinz was crossed off the CV's local membership list. Nathan Proskauer, a member from October 11 1933, paid a very low fee. Hans Redlich was a member of the CV from March 22 until May 29 1937. Fritz Reiter was crossed off 'for economic reasons', but he was a member from March 31 1937 until August 27 1938. The cash-clerk of the local branch of the CV was Max Reznikow, whose departure was reported on April 29. George Rosenbaum, a member from July 26 1932 was crossed off on January 28 the following year due to his refusal to pay the fees. Kurt Sachs was a member in the period December 28 1936 until August 27 1938. Elise Salinger, the widow of a legal advisor, left for Berlin. Siegfried Scheyer died and was crossed off the membership list of the CV most likely in 1931. Schitzkowsky, employed by the company Scheyer, was a member in the years 1937-38, but 'for economic reasons' was crossed off on August 27 1938. The sanitary counsellor died, and his widowed wife left for Wrocław on December 1 1936. Heinz Schüftan, a member of the CV from April 1 1937, departed for Berlin, and from there he left the German border. This was described by the Opole Gestapo by the brief word 'ausgewandert' and the statement 'war in Berlin nicht gemeldet'. This meant that he had secretly escaped from the Third Reich. Louis Siedner left for Berlin and was crossed off on March 24 1938. The delegate Bruno Silberstein, most likely as a result of his 'wandering away', was crossed off on February 22 1938. Bruno Schierokauer, employed by a tinsmith firm, was crossed off on July 28 1935 because of his departure to Palestine. Hans Simon, a member of the CV from July 1 1929, and who lived first in Bytom, and then in Opole left for Wrocław in 1937. Sorsky was a member in the period January 23 until March 22 1935. Dr. Steinhardt emigrated and was crossed off on May 29 1937. Stiebel was a member of the CV from March 5 1931 and was employed by the firm Stiebel & Wolff. The apothecary Strauch was crossed off on March 21 1932. Emanuel Tauber from Opole was a member from April 1 until July 2 1933. The Lawyer Tichauer, who ran a lawyer's office at 42 Nicolaistrasse, left for Berlin and was crossed off the membership list on October 28 1937. Ismar Translateur, employed by Gurass'a company died and was crossed off on November 28 1934. Fritz Wachsmann was crossed off 'for economic reasons' on August 27 1938. Arnold Weiss was crossed off on September 26 1935. The court counsellor Dr. Weiss left for Wałbrzych and was crossed off on July 24 1934. Weissmann, working for the firm Kochmann, was a member from March 22 until October 28 1937. The widow Friede Wendriner was a member in

the years 1929-36. Paul Wiener was crossed off on March 21 1932. Heinz Wolf – a member of the CV from March 31 until October 28 1937 - left for Wrocław[24].

Other localities of Opole Silesia were discussed in alphabetical order according to their German names in a brief form, providing details of of the CV's members. In Branice (Branitz) the only member from March 1 1932 was S. Kulka[25]. In Pokój (Carlsruhe) there were several members of the association: the first was Mrs L. Bielschowsky, then the Bielschowsky brothers, who left for Wrocław on July 1 1937. The merchant S. Gottheimer left for Wrocław and was crossed off on May 25 1938. The officer of religious community (Kultusbeamter) Mamlok from Pokój died and was crossed off the membership list on August 31 1937[26].

In the Koźle (Cosel) locality there were several members of the CV, among them: Simon Berger, Ernst Brill, Max Brauer, Max Friedmann, D. Schlesinger, and Tichauer. Paul Heymann left for Berlin in March 1938. Bernhard was a member of the organisation from May 11 1931. Martin Neuweck was a member from January 1 1936 (the original access declaration still survives). Ernst Pollack, a member from April 27 1933, paid a 24 RM fee per annum. Edith Preiss, a merchant's wife was crossed off due to her departure for Kluczbork on December 1 1937. Bruno Steiner was a member only from January 24 until April 23 1934. Dr. Windmüller was a member from January 1 1936 and left for Berlin in March 1938, as did Fritz Urbach[27].

The only Jew belonging to the CV in Kamień Śląski (Gross Stein) was Salo Cohn, who paid a fee of 2 RM[28].

In Grodków (Grottkau) Artur Friedmann was a member of the CV from March 9 1934, while Fedor Fränkel left for Berlin on September 1 1938. Ludwig Löwy died, and his widowed wife left for America; they were crossed off on 7 October 1937[29].

In Gogolin, Bruno Breslauer was a member of the CV from July 1931 until May 5 1937. Moritz Hausdorf, the owner of an inn in Gogolin, was a member of the CV from July 3 1933. Paul Jacobus, employed by M. Schaefer's company, was an old member of the CV from as early as July 1927. The declaration of access to the CV of the doctor of medicine, Hans Schein, still is in existence. He left to take over the preacher's post in 1938 and was crossed off in Gogolin on October 8 1937[30].

In Strzelce Opolskie (Gross Strehlitz) Max and Paula Angress were members of the CV from January 1 1937, but after their departure for Berlin they were crossed off the list on January 5 1938. In February 1930 cantor Cohn left for Bytów

[24] Ibid. f. 25, 33, 457-510.
[25] Ibid. f. 336.
[26] Ibid. f. 511-3.
[27] Ibid. f. 376-90.
[28] Ibid. f. 645.
[29] Ibid. f. 339, 28.
[30] Ibid. f. 640-4 and Urząd Stanu Cywilnego Gogolin, death register 1941, s.13.

in Pomerania. Rabbi Dr. G. Feinberg was a member of the CV from April 10 1930 while Margot Pese and Hermann Rosenberg from 1930. The group of former members included Mrs Riesenfeld. A. Sachs and Edith Sachs were members of the CV in 1937, but they left for Wrocław on June 1 1938. Max Seife also belonged to the group of later members of the CV and like the Sachses, left for Wrocław and were crossed off on May 5 1938[31].

In Dobrodzień (Guttentag), the dentist, Dr. Wolff, was a member of the CV from July 1925. He followed the call of the Jewish organisation Hachscharach and left (for Palestine?) and was crossed off on June 14 1937. The vet Nathan Hirsch and cantor S. Hirschmann left for Berlin and were crossed off on April 19 and February 22 1938. The doctor of medicine S. A. Heymann was a member of the CV from May 22 1934. The horsetrader Hugo Brauer was crossed off on July 30 1938, as was Wilhelm Brauer[32].

The files on Gliwice (Gleiwitz) for the most part comprise access declarations to the Centralverein deutscher Staatsbuerger jüdischen Glaubens, Ortsgruppe Gleiwitz (24 cards) as well as CV registry cards (9). The members of the first union were: W. Bergen – the inspector of the Jewish Home for the Aged in Gliwice at 2 Kirchstrasse and S. Robert, a Jewish businessman dealing in the distillation of alcohol and the production of liquor and beer in Gliwice. The Gliwice Jews who joined the CV in 1934 – Erich Berliner, Gerson Baer from Łabędy, Max Fuchs, Berthold Fleischer, Herbert Löwkowitz, Siegfried Michael, August Münzer, Karl Weißenberg and Hano Zellner – were all from Gliwice.

In Zabrze (Hindenburg), the following became members in the years 1930-33: Erwin Aronheim, Leopold Fischer and Kurt Frohlich (the director of the bank Kundenkredit). The widow Friedericke Freund, resident in Zabrze-Biskupice; Kurt Grünberger and Dr. Kaiser, doctor of medicine working for the lawyer Gutkauer's firm, had all joined the CV by 1934; some were crossed off because they had left the town[33].

In Kluczbork (Kreutzburg) Henry Brauer left for Wrocław and was crossed off the Kluczbork list on October 6 1937. Hedwig Epstein was in a local branch from May 19 1930. The dentist, Dr. Josef Fraenkel, a member from April 15 1933 returned to Tilsit in November the same year. The doctor of medicine, Fuchs, died in 1931; his widowed wife left for Wrocław. The merchant, Carl Geisenberg, left for Berlin. They were both crossed off on March 31 1938. H. Krebs also left for Wrocław. Ludwig Krebs left for Berlin and was crossed off on October 18 1937. The innkeeper in Bąków near Kluczbork, Moritz Kary, a member of the association from July 18 1933, left for Wrocław. He was crossed off on May 16 1938. The merchant, Günther (Louis) Pariser, first left for Wrocław, and then went to the USA and he was crossed off the membership list on July 16 1938. Mrs Helene Prentki was an activist

[31] Ibid. f. 632-9.

[32] Ibid. f. 44, 259-62, 256.

[33] Ibid. f. 267, 268, 299, 290, 293, 287, 284, 285, 272, 279, 295, 644, 647, 648, 650, 651.

of the CV from January 30 1934 until May 16 1938, and then she left for Wrocław. Erich Schwarz was a member of the CV from April 15 1933, and Hermann Süßmann was one that same year. Oswald Schweitzer, employed by S. Danziger's firm, left for Berlin and was crossed off on January 25 1938. Siegfried Translateur left for Wrocław, and in Kluczbork he was crossed off on September 21 1938. The merchant, Moritz Kaufmann, emigrated and was crossed off on April 14 1938. Lise Wendriner, who ran an alcohol distillery, was involved in the work of the CV from December 2 1933[34].

In the locality of Kup (Kupp) there was only one German Jew belonging to the referred organisation – a Carl Dallmann, crossed off the membership list on February 12 1934[35].

In Wołczyn (Konstadt) members of the CV were: Golinski, owner of a shoe-firm and Heinrich Adler. On May 26 1933 Alfred Loewkowitz became a member of the CV. In 1938 three Jews left Wołczyn for Wrocław: M. Dallmann , B. Ehmann and G. Lange[36].

Three Jews from Kietrz belonged to the CV: Curt Loewy (previously a member in Wrocław), Alfred Werner (emigrated to Palestine in 1938) and Leo Widawer[37].

The only Jew living in Kędzierzyn belonging to the CV from 1929, was a Scheyer, who was crossed off the list on March 24 1932[38].

In the CV's branch in Gorzów Śląski (Landsberg) there were: Klara Boehm, the widows Regina Tischler and Rosa Persikaner, Gerhardt (Julius?) Schwarz (who also worked as a delegate) and Max Meyer[39].

In Wielowieś (Langendorf) near Toszek there lived three other members of the association, two of whom had never paid membership fees. The merchant Lange was a member from July 18 1935 and was crossed off on September 24 1938 after he had moved to Wrocław. Miss Hermine Pinkus was an activist from July 18 1935 and was crossed for not paying fees on August 10 1938. Max Eisner was crossed off for the same reasons on August 12 1938. Fritz Ehrlich from Łabędy was crossed off on August 20 1930[40].

In the town of Głubczyce (Leobschütz) there lived a secret state counsellor Aufrecht, who died on February 20 1933. Another member from August 28 1927 until October 7 1934 was Albert Cohn. S. Blankenstein's departure from Głubczyce was reported on August 13 1930, and S. Goldmann was crossed off on May 11 1931. Mrs Betti Hiller was an activist in the local branch of the CV from February 1 1932. The merchant, Eugen Gallus, was a member from February 1 1930, and

---

34 Ibid. f. 30, 342-57.
35 Ibid. f. 514.
36 Ibid. f. 359-64.
37 Ibid. f. 43, 337, 391.
38 Ibid. f. 441-6.
39 Ibid. f. 296, 309-11.
40 Ibid. f. 336.

Alfred Miodownik (previously an inhabitant of Mysłowice), from February 6 1934. The merchant, Heinrich Schweiger, gained membership on February 1 1932, however, from as early as November 10 that year he was crossed off the Głubczyce membership list. A former inhabitant of Gliwice, Dora Bergmann moved his company to Głubczyce in 1932. Carl Magen, a member from July 1 1931, died the following year and was crossed off on June 3 1932. Eugen Silbermann, a former inhabitant of Zabrze, was crossed off the membership list on May 11 1931, while the sanitary counsellor, Dr. Georg Wiener, was a member of the CV from January 1 1934. Eduard Sussmann died and was crossed off on July 18 1935, and Hedwig Wohl was an active member from January 21 1932. However, because of her age she resigned from this work and was crossed off on June 17 1936. The lawyer, Dr. Zweig from Głubczyce, was a member of the CV from January 24 1932[41].

In Nysa (Neisse) we know of several local activists in the association: Max Bernstein (a member from March 17 1934), Sigbert Berger (a member from April 23 1934), the wife of the solicitor, Hirsch (active in the CV from January 1934), the merchant Georg Hammer, a member from February 1 1930; likewise a Leschnitzer. Schiff (first name unknown) was a member of the CV from January 20 1934. A younger male from the Taschymkis family was a member of the association from January 27 1932. Wendriner, first name unknown, was a member from May 22 1931[42].

In nearby Prudnik (Neustadt) the list of the organisation's members is headed by the ceremonial official L. Loewenstein, who was crossed off on August 29 1934, because he did not pay any fees. The town's councillor, S. Mueller, died and was crossed off on February 12 1932. Arthur Mueller's wife worked for the association until August 5 1936, and at that time, 'for economic reasons', was crossed off the Prudnik list. The economic counsellor, M. Pinkus, died and was crossed off on July 22 1934. The lawyer, Dr. G. Stern, emigrated to Palestine and was crossed off on October 11 1933. M. Tauber's wife was crossed off 'for economic reasons' on August 5 1936[43].

In Miechowice (Miechowitz-Mechtal) there were only two members of the CV: the merchant Hugo Weiß – a member from June 1 1933 and Louis Lentschutz, who died and was crossed off the list on March 9 1936[44].

In Mikulczyce (Mikultschutz-Klausberg) there were four members of the CV, among them Leo Pollak, crossed off on March 22 1933. Emanuel Brauer, who by order of Schirokauer, despite his not paying fees, was still a member of the CV, died in 1935 and was crossed off on October 1 1935. The widow, S. Brauer, was crossed off in 1937. Margot Wertheim was a member from March 17 1930 until July 1933[45].

---

41 Ibid. f. 320-35.
42 Ibid. f. 7.392-9.
43 Ibid. f. 516-20, 41.
44 Ibid. f. 251, 252.
45 Ibid. f. 253-6.

In Otmuchów (Ottmachau) the only CV member was the apothecary, Ludwig Rosenbaum, who left for Wrocław and was crossed off the membership list on November 8 1937[46].

In Głogówek (Oberglogau) Heinrich Fröhlich was a member from January 4 1934, while a former inhabitant of Kluczbork, cantor Erich Cohn, was member from March 28 1930 until July 16 1936. Werner Leschnitzer declared himself a member of the CV from July 1 1936, but was crossed off on March 17 1937 because he did not contribute to its work (undoubtedly financially). Tichauer was member from May 14 1933. Hermann Weissmann was active in the local group of the CV from August 1 1930 until May 25 1933[47].

In Popielów (Poppelau) there was only one member of the CV, Josef Armer, who died on July 13 1931[48].

The Jewish delegate, Dr. Arthur Herrnstadt, who left for Berlin, lived in Pyskowice (Peiskretscham). From February 22 until November 8 1937 Dr. Gerhard Steinitz was a member of the CV, but he left for the USA. The baker Jacobus' wife, Flora, was an active member only in 1931. Nathan Guttmann and his relative Lene paid fees until March 31 1938, but Lene left for Berlin in spring that year, while Nathan, for economic reasons, was crossed off the membership list. The other members were: Rosa Leubuscher, Fritz Perl (emigrated on July 30 1938), Josef Karliner (active only in 1933), Max Luft (died in 1936), Lothar Scheyer (member in the years 1931-34) as well as Kurt Scheyer. Max Weißenberg lived near Pyskowice, in the locality of Obersersno. He left for Wrocław and was crossed off on July 30 1938[49].

In Byczyna (Pitschen) the members of the CV included: Maks Heymann's widow, Miss Kaliski, Louis Unikower, Miss Ehrlich – relative of the shoe-shop owner, Max Skop as well as Max Perl, who left for Wrocław in the autumn of 1938 and was crossed off on October 8 1938. Apart from the above, four Jews lived here who were not members of the CV (nicht–Mitglied), but were all registered in 1931: Dr. Matzdorff, Ism.(ar) Matzdorff, Abraham and Martin Heymann[50].

In Paczków (Patschkau) the Jewish delegate was Hans Leipziger, while Dr. Freund – a certified teacher from Opole (in Oberrealschule) – left for Wrocůaw to work for Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek and was crossed off on February 10 1936. Eugen Sachs left for Wrocław a year later, and was crossed off on November 8 1937[51].

In Stolarzowice (Stillerfeld) the only member of the CV was Jacob Jacobowitz – the owner of the local inn[52].

---

[46] Ibid. f. 341, 522.
[47] Ibid. f. 515.
[48] Ibid. f. 39, 297, 299, 300-8.
[49] Ibid. f. 366-75.
[50] Ibid. f. 400-2.
[51] Ibid. f. 257.
[52] Ibid. f. 365.

In Szymonków (Simmenau) near Wołczyn an S. Schein was a member of the above-mentioned social organisation of the German Jews in the years 1933-36. After being crossed off, he refused to acknowledge that fact[53].

Only S. Hiller, who died on August 30, and was crossed off on September 4 1932 lived in Krzywiczyny[54].

In Olesno (Rosenberg) members of the CV were: the master cabinetmaker Katschinski, Siegmund Baginski, Betty Berg (left for Wrocław on June 7 1938), Franz and Max Bodlaender, Amalie, Josef and Wilhelm Bohm, Miss Rosa Breitbarth, Alfred Freund, I. Gruenpeter, Ewald Karmeinsky, Erwin Kary, Kiksmann, Marie Kochmann, Georg Kohn, Edm.[und] Lehrer, the preacher Lewin, the specialist doctor of medicine, Dr. Kurt Matzdorff, the doctor of medicine, Preiss (simultaneously the manager of the local Zionist group), Ernst Roth, Benno Schlamm, Dr. L. Schlesinger, Vally Schlesinger, Walther Seelig (former inhabitant of Nysa), the practising doctor of medicine, Suessbach, Hulda Translateur and Ernst Wartenberg[55].

In Racibórz (Ratibor) there were over a hundred members of the CV, from among whom many left for Berlin, Wrocław, Opole or abroad, while some of them died in Racibórz of natural causes. In 1938 the apothecary, Suesskind left for Wrocław and Dr. Mamlok, the local rabbi left for the USA. Martin Koplowitz, the local treasurer (Schatzmeister) left for Brazil and was crossed off the list on May 24 1937. The leader of the Racibórz local branch of the CV, Dr. R. A. Weber, a member from November 13 1929, emigrated to Holland and was crossed off on February 14 1938. Else Glaser left for Berlin and on June 11 her 'departure was noted'. Otto Pick also left for Berlin in that year and was crossed off on May 5 1938. Josef Strauss left for Lubeka and was crossed off on July 13 1937. Three people left from Racibórz for Wrocław: Hans Bielschowsky on May 1 1938, Max Bohm in July 1937 and Ilse Fischer. The widowed wife of the sanitary counsellor Eisner moved from Racibórz to Opole, to live with Dr. R. A. Brauer after 1933. In the 1930s nine of the Racibórz members of the CV died[56].

The following members of the CV lived in Toszek (Toschek): Jakob Aronsohn, Leo Boehm, S. W. Cohn, Arthur Kornblum, Paul Kornblum, Fanny Kornblum, Moritz Koplowitz, Fritz Rosenthal (left for Thum – im Erzgebirge Strumpffabrik Grossman) as well as Louis Schüftan[57].

In Zawisna the only German Jew belonging to the association was Julius Watelsky from Rot Landsberg[58].

In Zawadzkie a sworn Zionist, Willy Boehm, was crossed off the local list on October 11 1934[59].

---

[53] Ibid. f. 362.
[54] Ibid. f. 326, 420-40.
[55] Ibid. f. 29, 32, 42, 540, 549, 560, 570, 599, 617, 619.
[56] Ibid. f. 312-9.
[57] Ibid. f. 447.
[58] Ibid. f. 646.

A Jakubowski, living in Głuchołazy (Ziegenhals) left for Wrocław in October 1934 and was crossed off on the 29th of that month. Dr. Ernst Fischer, the school associate judge (Studienassessor), left for Wrocław and was crossed off on April 8 1934. The following three owners of factories in Głuchołazy were members of the CV: Erwin Kassel, Dr. Erhardt Sachs as well as Josef Singer. The remaining members were: Miss Daniel – crossed off on March 31 1935 and N. Goldschmidt whose departure was noted on June 4 1933. Of the Głuchołazy members of the CV, one died in January 1936 – Oskar Fraenkel[60].

Biała near Prudnik (Zülz) is mentioned as the last locality. However, only one member of the CV lived there – Eugen Hollaender who belonged to the local group (Ortsgruppe) in Prudnik[61].

The source material gathered here to a large extent relies on the archives kept by Jewish institutions and organisations. It shows the intricate nature of the Jewish centre in Upper Silesia in the 1930s, but it is shown in a fragmented manner. An analysis of those materials confirms otherwise known facts; firstly, the Silesian Jewish centre was constantly shrinking, and a large portion of the Upper-Silesian Jews chose to migrate to larger cities (Berlin, Wrocław, Vienna), or to emigrate, mostly to the USA and Palestine. At the same time, to an increasingly greater extent, the social activities of people of Jewish descent were being circumscribed. It also is an illustration of the Gestapo's interest in Jewish domestic affairs.

[59] Ibid. f. 405.
[60] Ibid. f. 403, 404, 407, 408, 409-11.
[61] Ibid. f. 526.

# VII.

# REMINISCENCES, MISCELLANEA

**Leon Chameides**

# RABBI KALMAN CHAMEIDES – ONE OF THE LAST SPIRITUAL LEADERS OF KATOWICE A TRIBUTE

Rabbi Kalman Chameides was one of two Rabbis who served the Jewish community of Katowice in Upper Silesia from September 1 1928 until the outbreak of WWII in September, 1939. The purpose of this paper is to review the known aspects of his life and contributions.

## Early Life and Education

Kalman Chameides was born on April 5 1902 to Miryam (Luft) and Szulim Chameides in Szczerzec (approximately 30 km south of Lwów), a town that was overwhelmingly Jewish; in 1900, there were 1,324 Jews out of a total population of 1,730[1]. He was one of five children and received his early religious education from his father, who was the town's ritual slaughterer (shochet), and from local Rabbis. The outbreak of WWI and the turmoil, poverty, and destruction that occurred in its wake,[2] forced him to leave Public School at the end of the 5th grade.

With the help of relatives, he moved to Vienna in 1920 and 'under the most trying living conditions', he studied for the matriculation examination which he passed in 1923. During this time, he attended the Hebrew Pedagogium, a seminary for the training of Hebrew teachers which was under the direction of Rabbi Hirsch Zvi Perez Chajes, Chief Rabbi of Vienna. Chajes had a magnetic personality, was a great orator, a fervent Zionist, and tended towards liberal orthodox religious views. He appears to have influenced the young Chameides and acted as his mentor. As soon as he passed the matriculation, Kalman Chameides was admitted to the Beit Midrash LeRabanim (Israelitisch-Theologische Lehranstalt)[3] and the Phi-

---

1 *Pinkas Hakehilot. Polin.* Vol. 2: *East Galicia* (Jerusalem, 1979) 520 (Hebrew).

2 K. Chameides, 'Curriculum Vitae. Wrocław August 6, 1928', in APK, UWŚ (Wydział Administracyjny), 1992 p. 278-9.

3 R. Mas, *Sefer hazikaron lebet midrash lerabanim bevina. Divrei Zichronot Vedivrei Mada* (Jerusalem, 1946) (Hebrew).

losophy Department of the University of Vienna[4], both Chajes' alma maters. The Beit Midrash LeRabanim (Israelitisch-Theologische Lehranstalt) was founded in Vienna in 1893 and was directed by Adolph (Arye) Schwartz, a formidable Talmudic scholar who had been a pupil and friend of Zechariah Frankel and who had graduated from the Jüdisch-Theologisches Seminar in Breslau. Chameides' enrollment at the Israelitisch-Theologische Lehranstalt in Vienna was obviously a conscious decision and represented an intellectual departure from his past. After two years of study in Vienna, and with the help of Rabbi Chajes, he won a Hamelitz scholarship that enabled him to study Hebrew language and literature for a year at the newly opened Hebrew University in Jerusalem.

In 1926, Chameides returned to Europe and attended the Beit Midrash Lerabanim (Jüdisch-Theologisches Seminar) and the University of Breslau (Wrocław), where he studied ancient philology. He was ordained on Sunday, January 29 1929 and received the prestigious Rosin-Preis prize for his studies on the midrash and Philo[5].

**Rabbi in Katowice**

Rabbi Dr. Jecheskel Lewin was the Rabbi of the Jewish community of Katowice from 1924 to 1928, when he accepted a position as Rabbi of the progressive synagogue in Lwów[6]. The Katowice Community Administration decided that the rapidly increasing population and the concomitant increased demand, necessitated two Rabbis[7]. Rabbi Kalman Chameides was appointed on September 1 1928 and Rabbi Mordechaj Vogelmann on November 15 1928[8]. There are recollections from former members of the community that community leaders were concerned that Rabbi Chameides did not speak fluent Polish and that part of the agreement was that he learn Polish within two years and that Rabbi Vogelmann, who spoke Polish fluently, was initially hired on a temporary basis[9]. In fact, he did learn Polish, delivered a sermon in Polish within the two-year period and, judging from the essays that he wrote in that language in the local community newspaper, he mastered that language as he had previously mastered Yiddish (his mother tongue), German, and Hebrew.

It should be noted that September 1, the day that Rabbi Chameides began his service to the community coincided in 1928 with the first day of the Jewish New Year. His predecessor, Rabbi J. Lewin, apparently took the position in Lwów just

---

4 Application for Admission supplied by the University of Vienna.

5 *Bericht des Jüdisch-Theologisches Seminars für das Jahr 1928* (Breslau 1929) 4.

6 K. I. Lewin, *A Journey Through Illusions* (Santa Barbara, 1994) 12.

7 Letter from the Jewish Community to the Silesian government dated September 5 1928. APK, UWŚ (Wydział Administracyjny), 1992 p. 276.

8 Letter from the Police Department to the Security Division of the Silesian Government dated 26 October, 1937, in APK, Dyrekcja Policji w Katowicach 180, p. 19.

9 A. Eshel-Kaufman, 'Qĕhila qĕṯana vĕtoseset', in Y. Khrust, Y. Frenkel (eds.) *Katowitz prihata ushkiata shel hakhila hayehudith. Sefer Zikaron* (Tel Aviv, 1996) 37 (Hebrew).

before the High Holy Days and gave the community little notice. The community leaders turned to the Jewish Theological Seminary in Breslau for help in filling the position for the Holy Days. Among their requirements was that that the candidate be an excellent orator with a superior command of German. The 26 year old Rabbi Chameides who was sent by the Seminary must have made a deep impression since he was immediately offered the position on a permanent basis. While in Katowice for the Holy Days, he stayed at the home of Bruno Altmann on Rynek 11 (now Warszawska 1).

Bruno was one of 10 children of Leopold and Charlotte (Timmendorfer) Altmann who came to Katowice in the 1860s. Leopold Altmann had been a community leader, a member of the Assembly of Representatives (from 1872 to at least 1900)[10], and President of the Chevra Kadisha (burial society from 1898 to at least 1900)[11]. He had opened a successful hardware and ironware store on Rynek 11 (now Warszawska 1). Their son, Bruno became the head of the Community Administration in 1919 and held that position until 1939. He made a major contribution to mutual cooperation and understanding between the established German Jews of the city and the Jewish residents who arrived in Katowice from different parts of Poland. Bruno Altmann was married to Jettchen Königshöfer from Fürth. When she died in childbirth, he married her sister, Hanna. The family ties were strengthened still further when Bruno's sister, Martha, married Isaak Königshöfer, brother of Jettchen and Hanna. It is not clear whether it was fate or human intervention that caused Gertrude (Trude) Königshöfer, daughter of Martha and Isaak, to visit her uncle and aunt for the holidays. Whichever it was, the wedding of Rabbi Kalman Chameides and Trude Königshöfer was celebrated at the Altmann home on September 24, 1929.

**A Community in Transition**

Before describing Rabbi Chameides' activities in Katowice during his 11 year tenure, it is important to briefly review the makeup of the Jewish community and some of the problems that he faced. Until 1922, the community was an almost homogenous German Jewish community with one Synagogue. When the territory was transferred to Poland, many of the German Jews left and settled in other parts of Germany, especially Lower Silesia and there was an influx of Jews from the East, especially from Galicia. This movement accelerated with the economic catastrophe that started in 1929 and lasted through the mid 1930s. Large numbers of impoverished Jews came seeking the slightly better economic opportunities provided by Upper Silesia with its rich natural resources of coal and other minerals.

The Jewish community, which had been homogeneously German, now became a mixture of the diminishing percentage of German Jews, who continued to hold power for some time, and the newly arrived Polish Jews. The inevitable fric-

[10] J. Cohn, *Geschichte der Synagogen-Gemeinde Kattowitz O.S.* (Kattowitz, 1900) 18.
[11] Ibid. 42.

tion developed. This was made worse by the increasing factionalism among Polish Jews in general into various political and religious ideologies. Yiddish and Polish replaced the German language. The new arrivals were not satisfied with the formality of services in the Synagogue and a number of smaller prayer houses were established. Inevitably, assimilation and even conversions took place as Jews were displaced from the tight societies of the small towns (Shtetl) into big, increasingly cosmopolitan cities like Katowice.

In addition, the Jewish community had to deal with growing anti-Semitism and increasing concern about its future. After Hitler's ascent to power in 1933, anti-Jewish legislation and actions led to the pauperization of German Jews and removal of their civil rights, and thousands of refugees fled to nearby countries, seeking shelter. The Jewish community of Katowice, already burdened with its own problems, found itself host to many of these desperate refugees. In Poland, anti-Semitic incidents continued to increase, especially after the death of Piłsudski in 1935. Jewish merchants were boycotted and on December 9 1935, a bomb was thrown into the Katowice Synagogue. Anti-Jewish agitation became so pronounced that a delegation from the Jewish community and from the Silesian Union of Rabbis requested the Governor to take measures to put it down.

During his 11 years of service, Rabbi Chameides became a beloved advisor, confidant, and religious authority to the members of the Katowice Jewish community. He was known as a fine orator in four languages (German, Polish, Yiddish, and Hebrew). It was common for him to start a sermon in Polish, continue it in German, and finish in Yiddish in order to reach the entire community. The following is a contemporary description of him: 'Rabbi Kalman Chameides is an impressive presence. He does not give up the 'spiritual' in his everyday behavior, bearing, or speech; his speech is refined and his tone, lofty. An excellent orator, he knows how to mold the rules of the various languages. He speaks German with conviction and Polish with feeling. He knows his heterogeneous community quite accurately and wields a strong influence on them. We dare not judge his Jewish scholarship which, by reputation, is quite distinguished. He is Orthodox with a strong Zionist ideology'[12].

In addition to his Rabbinic duties which he shared with Rabbi Vogelmann, Rabbi Chameides was the 'Av Beth Din' or head of the Jewish court system which adjudicated disputes between Jews according to Jewish law, an army chaplain (1937), and a local educational leader. He served as an expert witness in the successful slander suit against Chowański, editor of 'Błyskawica', an anti-Semitic newspaper[13].

His influence reached beyond the town borders. In 1934, he was elected President of the Association of Silesian Rabbis[14]; in 1936, he took an active role in

---

[12] 'Aus Polnisch-Schlesien. Unserer Rabbiner', JWW 3/1 (1936) 2.

[13] UGGIK 56 (1934) 2. M. Wodziński, '«Walking in the Steel Boots of Faith...». Anti-Semitic Journalism in the Voivodship of Silesia' (in this volume).

[14] UGGIK 53 (1934) 8.

the Jewish defense against a proposal in the Sejm to ban Jewish ritual slaughter[15]; and, when the nearby community of Będzin could not agree on a successor to their deceased Rabbi, they called on Rabbi Chameides to serve as their temporary Rabbi[16]. He travelled there three times a week from 1937 to 1939.

**Educator for Adults and Children**

Rabbi Chameides was very involved in the education of children and adults. The community newspaper has many notices of lectures he gave to the many Jewish social organizations in Katowice. He spoke frequently at the B'nai B'rith Lodge, took an active part in the Hebrew Club, and was an active participant in the religious Zionist organization. He also gave religious instruction to Jewish children in the public schools.

The community maintained a separate supplementary educational system. Rabbi Chameides headed the Talmud Torah, a 5-year school for religious instruction founded in 1927/28. He broadened its scope of education and introduced many pedagogic innovations. He was the major force behind the establishment of a girls' school, Beis Yaacov[17], in 1930 and brought Ms. Chava Taube, a graduate of the Beis Yaacov Teachers' Seminary in Będzin to head it. The first class included eight girls and met in the Chameides home. The course of study was five years and by 1939, the school was attended by 250 girls. In 1935, he initiated the establishment of a Co-educational Hebrew School in which the language of instruction in all subjects was Hebrew[18]. This school emphasized Jewish nationalism, Zionism, and Hebrew language in a religious atmosphere in an attempt to synthesize modern Hebrew culture with traditional Judaism[19].

**The Community Newspaper**

Rabbi Chameides initiated and edited the publication of a bi-weekly community newspaper and wrote for it regularly. Fortunately, 118 issues of this newspaper, 'Urzędowa Gazeta Gminy Izraelickiej w Katowicach', which represent all issues between 1932 and 1937 have been preserved and are a rich resource for the study of the community. About half the articles written by Rabbi Chameides are in German and half in Polish. It should be noted that these are not academic papers; they were written for intelligent laymen with a variety of backgrounds and Jewish religious practices and beliefs. They do, however, constitute a body of work that gives insight into his philosophy and outlook. Each essay is carefully crafted. The

---

15 Ibid., 98(1936) 2.

16 A. S. Stein (ed.), *Pinkas Bendin* (Tel Aviv, 1959) 63, 161 (Yiddish).

17 Formal religious education for girls was instituted in 1917 when Sarah Schenirer established the first Beis Yaacov school. The schools were affiliated with the Aguda movement.

18 Y. Teitelbaum, 'Haqĕhila hayĕhudit bĕQaṭoviz̲', in Y. Khrust, Y. Frenkel (eds.), *Katowitz* 78.

19 UGGIK 105 (1936) 2.

language is soaring, at times almost poetic, and the ideas are always well grounded on Jewish classical texts. His attention to the details of orthodox Jewish practice and laws are evident from his elaboration of the Laws of Passover[20] and the involved and detailed question that he poses to a Talmudic authority[21], but his essays deal mainly with behaviour, ethical conduct, national and Jewish existential issues, the gathering storm of anti-Semitism, and words of encouragement and hope. Each of these issues is carefully woven into a tapestry of Jewish tradition and sources. He tends to use the Agadic literature, consisting of stories and parables, much more than strictly legal sources. His broad education is evident from his use of quotes from Polish poets, German authors, English writers, and quotations in Hebrew, Aramaic, Latin, English, and French. It is impossible to summarize their content because of their diversity but it is worthwhile to give some examples which will be limited here to observations on the Jewish predicament as viewed by him in the 1930s.

Rabbi Chameides was much concerned with discord and division within the Jewish community. 'Since time immemorial, we Jews have suffered from a malady, a disease that seems almost to be incurable: disunity, factionalism, and discord. Our tragedy is not only that we are tossed around the whole world; that we are constantly confronted by hatred and contempt; ...our misfortune and oppressor is an absence of internal unity and unanimity; an almost unbridgeable cleft that is opening between brother and brother'[22]. He emphasized the universal application of the prophetic teachings[23], and the value of each human being. 'The work of a sage and that of a manual labourer, of a philosopher, or a field hand has an equal value from an ethical standpoint. Each of us has been endowed by God with certain strengths and abilities'[24]. He emphasized the importance of mutual support, especially in times of distress. 'Misfortune is the test of a community. When misfortune strikes a community, no one may say: 'I will go home, satisfy my hunger and thirst and I will not allow any distress to disturb my soul' ... Instead everyone's obligation is to participate in the misfortune of the community and to suffer together with others [Taanit IIa]'[25].

Rabbi Chameides was a Zionist and never tired of singing the praises of the rebirth of the Jewish people on their native soil. He saw this as the only ray of sunshine and hope for the Jewish people on an otherwise gloomy horizon. 'And indeed have we not ourselves survived to see the miracle of the splinters coming together and becoming whole again? Have we not witnessed parts, torn asunder come together into a new community? Haven't we defied all satanic powers and, in

---

[20] K. Chameides, 'Przepisy Paschalne', UGGIK 28 (1933) 3.

[21] A. Z. Fromer, *Sheloth Utshuvoth Eretz Zwi* (Lublin, 1939) 81 p. 180.

[22] K. Chameides, 'Einigkeit!', UGGIK 27 (1933), p. 8.

[23] Id., 'O etyce żydostwa', Ibid. 4 (1932) 3.

[24] Id., 'O etyce żydostwa IV', Ibid. 9 (1932) 3.

[25] Id., 'O etyce żydostwa VIII: Jednostka i społeczeństwo', Ibid. 13 (1932) 4.

spite of universal derision, haven't we accomplished, or more correctly haven't we begun, something that should fill us with a feeling of pride and satisfaction?'[26]

The essays show that the author was a realist who clearly understood the temper of the times and the mortal danger that awaited the Jews individually. In November 1933, on the occasion of the 15th anniversary of Polish independence he stated: '...we have not yet come to terms with the idea that in the enlightened twentieth century, the Middle Ages could arise for us – a dark era of anguish and suffering. But are we going to be the only sacrifices to that dangerous rage? Doesn't that megalomania contain within itself the spark of a new world war, a spark of *bellum omnium contra omnes*? ...We [Poland and the Jews] have a common enemy who lies in wait for our destruction but who, given the opportunity, will not hesitate to lift his sword and remove the crown of freedom from Poland. Freedom for which the nation has suffered so much and fought so hard'[27]. In 1935, he stated: 'They want to defame and degrade us. They first pronounce a sentence of death on our spirit, in order then, with a clear conscience, to bury our physical existence'[28]. 'A threatening reality has overtaken us and is demanding the greatest sacrifices from us. Accordingly, let each of us understand the first verse of our daily prayer 'Shema': 'Love your eternal God with all your heart, with all your soul, and with all your might'. With all your soul – even if you have to pay for loving the God of your ancestors with your life. Let Jewish martyrology not weaken our resolve for self-preservation. For after this dark night, the dawn of freedom will shine at last and the words of our prophet will be fulfilled: 'The nation that walked in darkness will see a great light; A great light will shine on those who walk in the shadow of death'[29]. 'Here, we have been and unfortunately continue for the time being to be martyrs. Here we must be prepared to suffer for our Judaism. Our surrounding world demands this sacrifice of us. Here we must often pay with our happiness and the happiness of our children for our Jewish existence'[30].

His major concern, however was with the continuity of the nation. In a Chanukah commentary, he points out that in their destructive zeal, the enemy overlooked a small vial of pure oil that served to revive Jewish national life and religion. 'The Jewish nation is pressed by boundless burdens of suffering. Hatred from the outside and poverty from the inside. Our youth is wasting away. Hope for a better future is melting away. Our only joy is blooming in the East. A silent, deep joy. A new Jewish reality is being established in the Holy Land. A new generation is growing up on the old land. The eyes of millions of believers are turned towards it. A land of eternal longing. The cradle and source of religion. The fire of faith. Our only harbor for the future! Our small vial. Will the miracle of Hanukkah re-

[26] Id., 'Die Zerbrochenen Tafeln', Ibid. 56 (1934) 5-6.
[27] Id., 'Rocznica zmartwychwstania Państwa Polskiego', Ibid. 44 (1933) 5.
[28] Id., 'Hamans Argumente', Ibid. 75 (1935) 7-8.
[29] Id., 'Seder w Bnej-brak', Ibid. 29 (1933) 4.
[30] Id., 'Held und Märtyrer', Ibid. 46 (1933).

peat itself? Will there be enough oil? Let us believe and work for it! Let us work and believe!'[31].

Nowhere is the change of mood from hope to despair as the 1930s progressed, better reflected than in the only two essays he wrote about children. The first[32], written in 1932, the week before the birth of his first son is full of hope. It emphasizes the role of innocent children in Jewish legend and their ability through their innocence to influence God's actions. The second[33], was a speech given on the 9th of Ab, the saddest day of the Jewish liturgical calendar, which commemorates the destruction of the Temple and was given in 1935 shortly after the birth of his second son. He speaks of the silent suffering of children and their disregard by adults ('They bloom like flowers, decorate our path of thorns and, like flowers, are often trampled under foot by the relentless march of ruthless events... Their souls break early because they need so much joy and have none. Everywhere there is only sorrow, apprehension, and distress'). He presents several legends from Jewish literature of the martyrdom of children and then returns to the twentieth century:

> Like little David facing the giant Goliath, so today a Jewish child sees a world of enemies confronting him. His martyrdom begins on the school bench where the first principles of racial ethnology are taught. He knows no golden, youthful dreams for the youth of a Jewish child are filled with great anxieties about the future.
>
> He has hardly become conscious of life and joy, when he is surrounded by enemies, encircled by hatred and distrust... In which port will his ship drop anchor? Will he be allowed to feel firm land under his feet or is he irrevocably condemned to perish in the wildly surging waves?
>
> The mother stands outside, frightened and worried... about her child. Will the tyrant on the throne have pity on her children? Today, Caesar is no longer trying to win Jewish hearts; he no longer tries to convert them to his own religion. He wants to annihilate them. He knows no pity; mercy is a stranger to him.
>
> And that is the reason that Jewish children must once again become heroes. Teach your children the affirmation of one God early so that in their hour of distress they don't worship false gods and say: 'Father and mother told me nothing about a Jewish God'. Teach them to bear humiliation with pride; to accept degradation with peace. Teach them never to deny in suffering and never to lose hope in a hostile assault.
>
> Hope in human enlightenment. Hope in the deliverance of the Jewish people.

He stressed that hope was a source of strength. He used Adam Mickiewicz's phrase to Poland: 'and you will be awakened from the grave because you believe,

---

31 Id., 'Pachim ketanini', Ibid. 22 (1932) 1.

32 Id., 'O etyce żydostwa IX: Dziecko', Ibid. 15 (1932) 5.

33 Id., 'Jüdische Heldenkinder', Ibid. 85 (1935) 4.

love, and have hope' as consolation for the Jews and recalled with nostalgia the days of Marshall J. Piłsudski who kept the opposition, anti-Jewish party, the Endeks, under control. 'Despite distress and pain, we have not stopped being a 'believing, loving and hopeful' people. Others in our position would long ago have been spiritually broken and would have lost the last spark of hope in the possibility of salvation and rescue. But we still believe, love, and hope. We believe in eternity, immortality, and the indestructibility of our prophets. We love the ideals of peace and justice and yearn to serve them. And we have a deep hope that Poland will follow the path set for it by her great son and first Marshall who is sleeping an eternal sleep on the Wawel, a path paved with love and harmonious cooperation of all its citizens to happiness and praise for a free State of Poland'[34].

He never tired of pointing out to the Christian community that their actions were opposed to the fundamental principles of their religion. 'When the shadows grow longer and the night approaches, we Jews light the small Chanukah candles. As the world sinks into chaos and disorder, we, the last Priests of the Temple of love of one's fellow man, want to renew the flame in our candles; to once more give the world a gift of a gospel, since the old one has been forgotten. A gospel of love, of compassion, of pity... Since you have broken the old tablets we want to chisel new ones for you. New tablets with the old commandments: Do not murder, do not hate...'[35]

**The War Years**

Days before the outbreak of World War II on September 1 1939, Rabbi Chameides, together with his wife and two sons, Herbert (born in 1932) and Leon (born in 1935) fled to Szczerzec and subsequently to Lwów, then under Russian control. Since under Soviet rules, communal occupations were considered to be 'parasitic', Rabbi Chameides was employed in a store selling jams. During this time, several postcards sent to family in England reveal a desperate attempt to obtain exit visas. In 1940 he wrote: 'You must not remain silent. Trude must once again regain her health. I mean this literally and do not exaggerate. Help us!' On another occasion, his wife wrote: 'So far, thank God, we have not yet gone hungry' and Rabbi Chameides added, 'hopefully we will see each other again'.

The Germans attacked Russia on June 22 1941 and entered Lwów on July 1. In August 1941 the German authorities established a Judenrat (officially known as Jüdische Gemeinde der Stadt Lemberg) with Dr. Yoseph Parnas as its first Chairman. Rabbi Kalman Chameides was appointed to its Religious Affairs Department which was responsible for religious matters within the community. The other members of this department were Rabbi Moshe Elhanan Alter, Rabbi Israel Leib Wolfsberg, Rabbi Nathan Nute Leiter, Rabbi Shmulke Rappaport, Rabbi Moshe Ehrenpreiss, Rabbi Hersh Rosenfeld, Rabbi Anschel Schreiber, and Rabbi Dawid

[34] Id., 'Święta narodowe', Ibid. 92 (1935).
[35] Id., 'Wahres Heldentum', Ibid. 45 (1933) 6.

Kahane[36]. Only one, Rabbi Dawid Kahane, remained alive at the end of the war. In addition to their religious duties, the Religious Affairs Department tried to advise the leadership of the Judenrat. For example, in March 1942, as part of their practice of deception, the Germans announced plans for a 'resettlement' and asked the Judenrat to prepare lists and participate in the roundup of Jews. After two days of discussions by the Religious Affairs Department, a decision was reached to warn Dr. Landesberg, then Head of the Judenrat, that such participation was not in accordance with Jewish Law. The delegation consisted of Rabbis Yisrael Leib Wolfsberg, Moshe Elchanan Alter, Kalman Chameides, and Dawid Kahane[37]. 'We explained that in times of trial such as these we were duty bound to draw attention of the leader of such a large Jewish community to the enormous responsibility associated with complying with the German orders. According to Jewish law and morality, he was to seek other ways. When our enemies come to us saying: 'Bring one of you so that we may kill him. If not we will kill you all' – it is better that all die and not one Jew be delivered to the enemy. This is what the Halakha rules'[38].

The administration of Jewish affairs in Lwów was transferred to the SS during the summer of 1942. A massive, systematic, and well planned *Aktion* started on August 10, lasted until August 29, and resulted in the deaths of 50,000 – 60,000 Jews. Victims included hospitalized patients, infants in delivery suites, and children in orphanages. Prior to August, the killing of Jews in Lwów had been sporadic and random and the mood remained optimistic that the free labor the Jews provided would somehow allow most to survive[39]. The cruelty and organized killing during the August *Aktion* destroyed any illusion that any Jew would survive. That this almost became a reality is borne out by the statistics. In October 1941 there were 119,000 Jews in the ghetto; by November 1942, only 29,000 remained alive[40]. When Lwów was liberated by the Soviet army on July 27 1944 only 823 Jews, who managed to hide, remained alive[41].

On August 14 1942, Rabbis Dawid Kahane and Kalman Chameides met with Metropolitan Andrei Sheptyts'kyi, a meeting arranged through a Ukrainian priest, Dr. Gabriel Kostelnik[42]. The main purpose of the meeting was to request on behalf of the Religious Affairs Department that the Church hide several hundred Torah scrolls which had been collected at 12 Bernstein Street. They also resolved to ask the Metropolitan for shelter for the duration of the *Aktion*. Shelter for the Rabbis' children was then raised. The Metropolitan offered to shelter both Rabbis and their daughters but was concerned about hiding boys since they could easily be identi-

---

36 D. Kahane, *Lwów Ghetto Diary* (Amherst, 1990) 23-4.

37 P. Friedman, *Roads To Extinction: The Destruction of the Jews of Lwow* (1980) 269.

38 Kahane, *Lwów* 43-4, 156-7.

39 F. Friedman, *Zagłada Żydów lwowskich* (Łódź, 1945) 15 (Wydawnictwa Centralnej Żydowskiej Komisji Historycznej przy Centralnym Komitecie Żydów Polskich 4).

40 Friedman, *Roads* 288; Friedman, *Zagłada* 23.

41 Ibid. 25.

42 Kahane, *Lwów* 57-8.

fied as Jews. After consulting with his brother, Ihumen Klementyi, head of the Studite Order, he agreed to also offer shelter to the Rabbis' sons.

Andrei Sheptyts'kyi (1865-1944) attained the highest ecclesiastical post in the Greek Catholic, also known as the Uniate or Ukrainian Catholic Church which was established at Brest in 1596 as a union between the Orthodox and Roman churches. He occupied the position of Metropolitan-Archbishop of Lwów and Halych with jurisdiction over the province of Galicia in western Ukraine for more than four decades (1901-1944)[43]. In the pre-war years, Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi maintained warm relations with the Jewish community, contributed to the welfare of Jewish poor, and showed evidence of a knowledge of both spoken and written Hebrew[44]. In the first days after the German attack on the Soviet Union on June 22 1941, Rabbi Jecheskel Lewin, Rabbi Chameides' predecessor in Katowice and a long-time friend of the Archbishop went to ask for his help in stemming a campaign of terror and murder unleashed by Ukrainian nationalists against the Jewish community. Rabbi Lewin was urged by the Metropolitan to remain in his residence but insisted on going home and on the way was attacked, beaten, and taken to the Brygidki prison where he was killed[45]. Under the Metropolitan's leadership, and with the co-operation of the church hierarchy, especially his brother Ihumen Kliment, about 100-200 Jews were saved[46]. Klementyi Sheptyts'kyi was honored by Yad Vashem as a Righteous Among the Nations in 1995. The Metropolitan has not been similarly honored. The Commission for the Righteous of Yad Vashem acknowledged his role in saving individual Jews, but felt that he did not satisfy the higher requirements of a leader of the Church[47].

In September 1942, Rabbi Chameides made two successful but highly dangerous journeys to Szczerzec traveling in trucks used to transport workers and brought his two sons to the Metropolitan's residence at St. Jur in Lwów. His wife, Gertrude, now joined him in the Lwów ghetto.

The ghetto was closed on September 7, and the Judenrat was liquidated. Only those with a work assignment were left alive; Rabbi Chameides' name appears on a list[48] of 'unentgeltlichen Arbeitnehmer für Oktober 1942' (uncompensated workers for October 1942) under the heading 'Friedhofsabteilung Gruppe R (Cemetery

---

43 P. R. Magocsi, *Morality and Reality. The Life and Times of Andrei Sheptyts'kyi* (University of Alberta, 1989).

44 S. Redlich, 'Sheptyc'kyi and the Jews During World War II', in Magocsi (ed.), *Morality* 45-162; P. Friedman, 'Hurban Yehudei Lwów', in *Enziklopedia shel Galuyot* (Jerusalem, 1955) 670.

45 K. I. Lewin, *A Journey Through Illusions* (Santa Barbara, 1994) 36.

46 P. Friedman, 'Ukrainian-Jewish Relations' *YIVO Annual of Jewish Social Science* (1959) 259-96.

47 Letter dated April 29 1996 from Dr. Mordecai Paldiel, Director, Department for the Righteous, Yad Vashem, Jerusalem.

48 United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington DC.

Division group R). Apparently he was assigned at this time as a grave digger in the cemetery.

### Final Letter

In this atmosphere of hunger, terror, and murder, with the borders of his world narrowing and closing in on him, with his two sons in a strange world of a Christian monastery, Rabbi Chameides wrote a remarkable letter full of despair, hope, compassion, and love (Figs 1 & 2) which was recently discovered in the private files of Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi . I am most grateful to Bishop Michael Hrynchyshyn who came across it in the Historical Archives of the city of Lwów and made a copy of it available to me.

The letter was written on October 26 1942 and since the ghetto had been closed on September 7, the letter undoubtedly had to be smuggled out. Apparently out of fear that it might get into the wrong hands, only the author's name is mentioned. Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi's name does not appear in the letter and the author deliberately misspells Rabbi Kahane's name as Kohane, and leaves a blank for the intermediary priest's name.

The letter is beautifully handwritten in elegant German. Each word was obviously very carefully chosen for maximum meaning to its recipient and to emphasize the common bond of humanity and brotherhood of the writer and recipient despite their different theological world views. Some words are chosen to evoke a clear emotional response in a prince of the Church. For example in the fourth paragraph the word 'Leidensgeschichte' (history of suffering) is used in Christian theological terminology for Christ's Passion. In the third paragraph the word 'Dome' (dome) can also refer to a Cathedral. In the fourth paragraph the phrase 'Dornenkrone auf unserem gebeugten Haupte' (a crown of thorns on our bent heads) would evoke a sympathetic understanding in a Christian theologian. For the same reason, the author uses the phrase 'eli, eli, lama schebaktani' which, according to the Gospels of Mark and Matthew[49] were Jesus' last words, rather than the Hebrew version from Psalms ('Eli, eli lama azavtani').

The first paragraph is an expression of gratitude to the Metropolitan for hiding the writer's children but also for his warmth and understanding. The 'alterer Freund' (older friend) must refer to Rabbi Dawid Kahane despite the fact that they were contemporaries since the two went to see the Metropolitan together. The temporary feeling of peace that he describes finding in the Metropolitan's presence is reminiscent of Rabbi Kahane's description of that same visit. 'The walls of the Jura Mountain palace left an odd impression on me. It seemed as if I had been suddenly lifted from a raging sea whose mighty gales threatened to overwhelm everything in their range, onto a quiet and peaceful island where every tree, every blade of grass, every flower seemed to ask in astonishment: 'Is it really true that a terrible storm rages out on the sea?' The stillness prevailing among these walls

[49] The Gospel According to St. Mark 15:34; St. Matthew 47:46.

was so soft we could hear clearly the beating of our hearts. After a wild, nervous tumult of the ghetto, I really thought we were walking on a different planet'[50].

The second paragraph is a reference to the terrible days of the *Aktions* during the months of August and September. It is not clear as to whom he refers to as his 'Leidensgenosse' (fellow sufferer). His wife was still alive. Rabbi Kahane was in hiding but it is possible that he might have thought that he had succumbed during the *Aktions.*

In the third and fourth paragraphs, Rabbi Chameides feels a need to explain why he sought refuge in the Church which, for unknown reasons, he never used. It is an expression of hope in a hopeless world. A conviction that those who suffered so much, derived from that suffering a unique insight and perspective for perfecting the world. It is not clear why he indented the fourth paragraph. He ends the fourth paragraph on a note of reality by indicating the special place that those martyred for the sanctification of God have had in Jewish history.

The final two paragraphs are a plea for help. It is not clear how the writer hoped the Metropolitan could help. In November 1942, Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi published a pastoral letter, 'Thou Shalt Not Kill' in the *Lwiwski Arkhieparkhialni Widomosti,* the organ of the Galician Uniate Church, in which he stressed the importance of this commandment and threatened all offenders with excommunication[51]. The letter was written 'in order to fulfil our duty to the Almighty as shepherds of souls and preachers of the Gospel, to warn our faithful, with heaven and earth as our witnesses, against the evil deeds which have recently spread among us so frightfully, and call for penitence on the part of persons who committed the sin of murder'[52]. It is not known whether the timing or publication of this pastoral letter was influenced in any way by the October 26 letter from Rabbi Chameides.

The quote at the beginning of the letter is from Habakkuk 2:4 ('And the righteous lives according to his faith'). In view of the last two paragraphs of the letter, the quote may at first reading be viewed as a challenge to the faith of the recipient. In other words, a truly righteous person is challenged to put into action his expressions of faith. However, considering the care with which the writer selected every word, it is important to examine the context in which the sentence appears. It will then be understood that this is both an expression of the writer's despair as well as his faith in the eventual victory of good over evil.

Habakkuk prophesied about Nebuchadnezzar's invasion of Israel, the suffering that would result, and the eventual downfall of the aggressor at the hands of Persia and Medea. The prophet complains to God about the seeming lack of justice; that the wicked seem to prosper while the righteous (Israel) suffer. He is advised to wait with patience for the eventual victory of good over evil. Habakkuk's description of events, so similar to those of the German occupation, must have

---

[50] Kahane, *Lwów* 58.

[51] Friedman, 'Ukrainian-Jewish Relations' 291.

[52] Kahane, *Lwów* 159.

given the writer a measure of comfort and allowed him to use it as an expression of spiritual defiance. The righteous (the Jews) must have patience for in the end they will survive as a people.

Approximately 10 years before this letter was written, Rabbi Chameides wrote an article[53] in which he enumerated the attempts by the Rabbis to summarize the entire Jewish religion in as succinct a manner as possible: 'Finally, Habbakuk condensed them into one rule 'The just shall live by his faith (in God)'. Thus is established that faith in God and trust in Him is the last link in the chain of regulations and maxims with which our sages strove to express the essence of our religion. One word: 'Emunah', which in Hebrew means faith, trust, loyalty, and constancy, revealed itself in the final analysis, as the most appropriate and exact description of the Jewish entity'.

On November 18, a new registration of Jews took place in the ghetto and those working in military factories received the letter W (Wermacht) and those working in defence industry received the letter R (Ruestungsindustrie)[54]. Rabbi Chameides acquired a work certificate from the Rohstoff company[55].

The last information available on Rabbi Chameides is contained in a penciled note that his wife, Gertrude, wrote and managed to have saved for her sons. It reads: 'My husband died on the 18th of Teveth or 25th of December at 11 o'clock in the evening from typhus. My parents-in-law died on the 4th day of Chanukah. Kalman is buried next to Rabbi Laib Breude and Dayan Ehrenpreiss. At his head and feet is buried a bottle which contains his name, Kalman Ch'. Gertrude Chameides died under unknown circumstances between the end of December, 1942 and the liquidation of the Lwów ghetto in June, 1943[56]. At the time of their deaths, he was 40 years of age and his wife 38.

Rabbi Dr. Jacob Cohn wrote a history of the community for the dedication of the Katowice Synagogue in 1900[57]. He started it in the traditional Jewish manner with a quotation from the Bible. He used a phrase from Job: 'though your beginning be small; In the end you will grow very great'. It was a summary of his hopes for the community. But strange as it seems, he made an error. For the sentence he quoted was not Job 8,9 (the reference he gave), but Job 8,7. Job 8,9 reads: 'We are of yesterday and know nothing; our days on earth are like a shadow.' Rabbi Cohn proved to be not only a Rabbi, and a historian, but also a prophet.

---

53 K. Chameides, 'O etyce żydostwa', UGGIK 5 (1932) 5.

54 Friedman, *Zagłada* 21.

55 Kahane, *Lwów* 84.

56 E. Jones, *Żydzi Lwowa w okresie okupacji 1939-1945* (Łódź, 1999) 234.

57 Cohn, *Geschichte*.

Lemberg, October 26, 1942

'And the righteous lives according to his faith'
Hab.

Excellency!

In view of the treacherous circumstances, I have not, until today, had the opportunity to express to you, excellency, my deepest gratitude for the warm, brotherly reception that I received from you in the hour of need. From the depths of my distressed soul I prayed then for G-D's blessings for you, excellency, and for your household, while my elder friend and I allowed ourselves, in your presence, to rest momentarily from the ferocious vicissitudes of the persecutions of the last few days.

Unfortunately, we left too soon! My fellow-sufferer is no longer here. Also I have suffered through months of difficult struggles and bitter experiences. Only my faith in God has sustained me! Only the hope in the speedy revelation of His grace has been my guiding star during these weeks, overshadowed by death!

When my dear colleague, Dr. Kohane and I – as stated personally in the verbal explanation given by Dr. Kohane to his eminence Father... decided to place ourselves under the wings of the Church and to beg for your favour and aid, it was not only because of an inborn instinct for self preservation common to all of us, but also out of a firm conviction and hope that in the future we might have an opportunity to work for the welfare of humanity and for a world <u>united</u> in faith in the spirit of that eternal truth which reconciles and liberates all creatures, love of one's fellow man. We want to participate in the erection of that large sublime dome of love under which all men of good will will find a place.

Who more than we has the capacity to empathize so deeply with the long suffering history of the masses of divine victims? Who more than we has the capacity to understand the light that is reflected by faces engraved by pain? For we cry to Him daily and hourly: 'eli, eli, lama schebaktani!' When we have to bear the crown of thorns on our bent heads – the derision of a world seething with hatred – among the images of countless martyrs of our sorely tested people that hover before our eyes, there shines forth, as a comforting beacon, the halo of him who is a martyr in God's name!

Excellency! Haste is essential! You can still snatch away the abyss whose jaws are about to swallow us.

May you soon be able to help us outlast this time of world conflagration, so that we too, as true servants and followers of G-D, in unity with all people of faith, may greet the approaching dawn of a purified humanity! –

K. Chameides

Fig. 2. Translation of Letter from Lwów Ghetto.



Rabbi Kalman Chameides (from the private collection of the author)

35

Lemberg, den 26 Oktober 1942.

„Und der Gerechte lebt in seinem Glauben."
Hab.

Exzellenz!

Infolge der Tücke der Verhältnisse war es mir bis heute nicht vergönnt, Ihnen, Exzellenz, meinen innigsten Dank für die warme brüderliche Aufnahme abzustatten, die ich bei Ihnen in der Stunde der Not gefunden habe. Aus der Tiefe meiner betrübte Seele habe ich damals Gottes Segen auf Sie, Exzellenz und Ihr Haus herabgefleht, als mein älterer Freund und ich in Ihrer Nähe von den Mühsalen der grausamsten aller Verfolgungen wenige Tage hindurch ausruhen durften.

Unser Exodus erfolgte leider zu früh! Mein Leidensgenosse ist nicht mehr da. Aber auch ich habe Monate schweren Ringens und bitterer Erlebnisse hinter mir. Nur der Glaube an Gott war meine Stütze! Nur die Hoffnung auf die baldige Offenbarung Seiner Huld war mein Leitstern in diesen vom Tode überschatteten Wochen!

Wenn mein lieber Kollege dr. Kohane und ich uns nun – im Einklang mit der mündlichen Erklärung des H. dr. Kohane Seiner Eminenz Pater ... gegenüber – unter die Fittige der Kirche zu begeben entschlossen haben und um Ihre Zuneigung und Ihren Beistand bitten, so geschieht dies nicht allein aus dem uns allen angeborenen Selbsterhaltungstrieb heraus, sondern gleichzeitig in der festen Zuversicht und Hoffnung, daß es uns in der Zukunft gegeben sein wird, für das Wohl der Menschheit und einer im Glauben geeinten Welt im Geiste der unsterblichen Lehre der alle Wesen versöhnenden und erlösenden Nächstenliebe zu wirken. Wir wollen an der Errichtung des großen erhabenen Domes der Liebe teilhaben, in dem alle, die guten Willens sind, Platz finden werden.

Wer wie wir vermag so tief die Leidensgeschichte des großen göttlichen Dulders nachzuempfinden? Wer wie wir vermag das Licht zu erfassen, das aus Seinem vom Schmerz gezeichneten Gesicht uns entgegenstrahlt? Gleich Ihm rufen wir täglich und stündlich: „eli, eli, lama schebaktani!" Unter den Bildern der unzähligen Märtyrer unseres schwergeprüften Volkes, die uns vor Augen schweben, wenn wir die Dornenkrone auf unserem gebeugten Haupte – den Spott einer haßerfüllten Welt zu ertragen haben, ragt Sein vom Glorienschein des göttlichen Martyriums umgebenes Bild tröstend hervor!

Exzellenz! Eile tut not! Noch könnten Sie uns dem Abgrund entreissen, der seinen Rachen nach uns auftut!

Mögen Sie uns bald dazu verhelfen, diese Zeit des Weltbrandes zu überdauern, auf daß wir als treue Diener Gottes und Seiner Willensvollstrecker auf Erden den heranbrechenden Morgen einer geläuterten Menschheit im Verein mit allen Gläubigen begrüßen dürfen! —

M. Chmielas

Letter from Lwów Ghetto (26th October 1942)

**Petr Beck**

## SAMUEL SCHARF OF ORLOVÁ

While studying the history of fire brigades in the Czech part of historical Cieszyn Silesia, I came across the case of Samuel Scharf from Orlová. I carried out my research programme by documenting over 90 fire brigades, recording the memories of contemporaries and important members of existing or former fire departments, and assembling the old fire service families. Research is based on personal notes, private chronicles, records of fire departments, their chronicles and miscellaneous items of business, which have been often destroyed elsewhere[1]. Much of this material is private and thus it is not subject to archive laws on obligatory references. The case of Samuel Scharf seems interesting as it points to a very characteristic involvement of the Jewish inhabitants of Austrian, and then Czech Silesia in citizens' initiatives as well as their contribution to the development of independent social institutions, among which the fire brigades played a primary role.

The Jewish Scharf family came to Orlová together with many other Jewish inhabitants at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries because of the development then of coal mining and heavy industry. In 1900, there were 306 Jews in Orlová, a town with a population of 6,679 inhabitants. The Jews created their own religious organisation in Orlová, which was a part of the Jewish community in Fryštát (today the district of Karviná). They also constructed a synagogue, which was destroyed by the Germans at the beginning of World War II.

Some Jews can be found among the founders of the fire brigade in Orlová, e.g., Blumenthal in 1890, the innkeeper, Jakob Stern before 1900, Silberstein in 1903, Jakob Weissberger before 1905. During the next decades, three more mem-

---

[1] The basic resources for this paper are: The record book and history of the establishment of the fire brigade in Orlová 1890-1937; Minutes from the meetings of the fire brigade in Orlová, 1892-1929; Records of proceedings 1929-1937; The District Archives in Karviná, the Chronicle of the town of Orlová, I. (Tesárek); Ibid. the records of the District National Committee in Fryštát; The State Archives in Opava, the State National Committee records, the Ostrava subsidiary, federal documents; Memoirs of contemporaries F. Kyjonka and Š. Panaš; P. Beck, *Příspěvky k dejinám požární ochrany okresu Karviná* (Prague, 1994).

bers of the Scharf family participated in this organisation. However, the most significant and interesting person was Samuel Scharf.

During his 47-year participation in the fire service, he was gradually promoted from rank fireman up to commander. He joined the fire brigade in Orlová on January 6 1900, by which time he had been a member of the fire service in his original hometown, Lipník, for 10 years. Due to his considerable experience, he was elected deputy of the 2nd company of the interventionist fire group at a fire brigade annual general meeting on January 19 1902. Less than one year later, he had become sergeant. At the annual general meeting on January 12 1908 he was elected foreman of the 2nd platoon of the interventionist fire group to replace the deceased Pavel Kania (Scharf rented Kania's hotel in what was then Orlovská Square). After the change of the Orlová fire brigade from a German organisation to a Czech one, Samuel Scharf was elected deputy commander, at the annual general meeting of April 6 1919 and then he was elected commander of the fire brigade at the annual general meeting on January 9 1921. During his long-term service in the fire group, he was awarded the silver and later the gold medal of the Silesian State Fire Centre in Opava. He received the silver medal on September 23 1928 for 37 years of service to the fire brigade. The fire district administrator, Lev Kazík, ceremoniously awarded him a gold medal with a lion on a ribbon, for 40 years of service to the fire brigade, on October 19 1930.

Scharf was very much involved in the construction of the new fire station in 1924. He enthusiastically took part in proceedings to gain the piece of land for the fire station to be built upon, resolved complicated property-law disputes concerning the station and went out of his way to hire Engineer Zatloukal, an experienced master builder. He found a solution to the concerns of the firemen that the fire service would not be utilising a lot of the space in the fire station, which had been constructed on a rather generous scale, with future needs in mind. Scharf rented out the upstairs rooms as residential units to firemen. The basement was rented for an annual fee of 3,600 crowns to a former Jewish fireman, Weissberger, on condition that he would completely repair it. In this manner, the Orlová fire department was able to earn more money. Scharf also endeavoured to provide solid social policies for members of his brigade during the period of high unemployment and the great economic crisis at the beginning of the 1920s and in the 1930s.

As a bicycle merchant, tenant of the Kania hotel and an entrepreneur, Scharf was a talented businessman, who also had mastered accountancy. In the records of fire brigade meetings we can see regular reports on the finances and accounts of the fire department, even though the institution had a treasurer. The treasurer, František Kocián, did not attend meetings very often therefore it was Samuel Scharf who had to stand in, even though it was not his duty. Scharf also oversaw the 'Fire Co-operative' provident fund. He persuaded 309 people in the Orlová fire brigade and in neighbouring brigades to take part in this special insurance scheme.

Scharf was a long-term commander in the fire brigade and often stood in for the frequently-absent administrator of the fire brigade. Significantly, he always opened meetings by acclaiming the president, Tomaš G. Masaryk. He also assisted

in organising fire department balls, dances, preparing refreshments, etc. He participated in establishing a theatre club and in 1921 he set up the fire brigade entertainment club. Only Scharf was able to handle the department's fire agenda as well as the agenda for the higher central regional and state authorities. He took care of many diverse tasks such as securing and installing water pipes in the fire station, providing safety masks for fire-fighting, obtaining identity cards for new members of the fire brigade, organising leaflets and posters for various fire events, co-operation with the Red Cross and organising voluntary work. It was not rare for Samuel Scharf to pay the Orlová fire brigade's bad debts from his own pocket. He also subscribed to fire service newspapers and books for the fire department from his own pocket.

As the records clearly show, Scharf was a very enthusiastic and creative personality. In 1932 he was very busy with the preparations for the nation-wide fire congress in Orlová. Even one year before he died, he submitted proposals to the Fire Centre in Prague for a practical, new design for firemen's uniforms. For example, the changes included ridding the uniforms of superfluous decorations, such as decorative braid, which had been characteristic of Czech firemen's uniforms.

Most significantly, Scharf attracted the attention of numerous anti-Semites in the Orlová area, for whom he was the personification of the Jewish threat. His position in the fire brigade raised so many opponents that Scharf himself felt obliged to tender his resignation. The suggestion was rejected, however. When the supporters of the Catholic People's Party were unsuccessful in making all fire department members participate in Catholic celebrations, wearing full regalia, the first one to blame for it was Scharf. In fact, during the inter-War period in the Czechoslovak Republic, this was forbidden by the head office of the fire brigade, as it could be construed as a political gesture in support of a political party - in this case, in favour of the People's Party. Moreover, Orlová firemen claimed that they would look ridiculous standing at the altar of God in full regalia wearing uniforms, which because of a lack of funding, were not all the same, or wearing only part of a uniform plus civilian clothes. This is stated in a record from 1921. As head of the Orlová brigade, Scharf decided that firemen were not forbidden to attend the celebrations. However, only those who wanted to needed to and then only dressed in civilian clothes. It provoked virulent attacks from anti-Semitic circles, including accusations of blood-sacrilege and crucifying Jesus Christ.

Scharf died on February 2 1937 to the sorrow of most Orlová firemen, who always saw him as one of their own, as he was capable of adapting so perfectly to his surroundings. He was a kindly and patient father figure to them. Samuel Scharf made great efforts to help members of his Orlová fire brigade to be victorious in their fight against fires and floods.

**Ruth Atzmon-Cohn**

## THIS IS THE STORY OF THOSE TIMES

Several generations of my family, the family of Willy Cohn, lived in Wrocław (Breslau). Both my father and his parents were born there. Their origins were particularly evident in their connection with Germany and Silesia, as well as with Jews and Zionism. My father was very involved in all those areas. He served on the western front as a soldier for four years during World War I and was decorated with the iron cross. Afterwards he would say: 'I am certain of my fatherland's gratitude!' But things were to turn out to be 'different'. After studying in Wrocław (Breslau) and Heidelberg, he became a teacher at Johannisgymnasium, at the same school my brothers attended. The love and devotion he showed his students brought him a lot of gratitude even during hard times.

He had a socialistic philosophy of life and all his political actions were with this philosophy in mind. As a consequence, he was one of the first to be fired after the Nazi *Machtübernahme*.

He wrote a lot of books. Among them he wrote popular biographies of Marx, Engels, Lassalle and many others. He also wrote a lot of historical books, for example, about the age of the Hohenstaufen Dynasty in Sicily (*Das Zeitalter der Hohenstaufen in Sizilien*).

My mother gave him a lot of help as she typed most of this. I can remember times when my father was dictating his lectures, walking up and down our flat, My mother also helped him to correct the written matriculation exams.

Our home was a place full of reading, learning and intellectual activities. For many years it was also my father's contribution to 'University Extension courses'. When Jewish teachers were no longer allowed to teach, he became active in the school for Jews.

For a long time he enjoyed the hospitality of the Cathedral Library. He was able to continue his scientific work there. The nuns gave him sweets for the children, when they were no longer sold to Jewish people. We, I mean his elder children, left Germany one after the other. My eldest brother left Germany in 1933, after his 'good friends' threatened to kill him. My parents immediately sent him to Paris; unfortunately without any money. Consequently, that young man was all of

a sudden quite alone in the world. My other brother went to Palestine after having had some practical experience on a Jewish farm. It had always been his dream. Our parents helped him a little with the equipment. The parting was very painful and afterwards the family's life was very difficult. The children were scattered in various countries and living conditions were becoming increasingly more difficult. My parents visited my brother in the kibbutz, but, unfortunately, they came back to Wrocław. This was because my father felt at home there. He knew each mountain in Silesia and Wrocław was his 'Fatherland'.

My mother always supported him, even if her opinions did not match his. In all those difficult years my father tried to make an intellectual contribution to the Jewish community. Even people who were not Jews sought his advice.

I left Wrocław at the age of fourteen and a half. It was a very traumatic parting and one which my father could not bear. I was accompanied to the railway station by my mother only. This was the railway station which is still standing in Wrocław. Those moments have always remained in my memory.

Until the last moment, my parents had hoped to join us. But they did not succeed. Emigration to Palestine cost a lot of money, which they did not have. My father fought a constant battle with himself as to what to choose – the family or his relationship with the 'Fatherland'.

However, it was Hitler who was the one who 'solved' his dilemma. Both my parents and my two little sisters were deported in November 1941 to Kaunas and they were assassinated on the same day.

All that I have told you is from my memories of my childhood. Nevertheless, I do have some nice memories from Wrocław. My private memories are not identical to the history and the policies of those days. Circumstances taught me to understand things which actually should not have to be a part of the inner life of a young girl.

**Peter Chmiel**

# CONTEMPORARY GERMAN RESEARCH ON THE HISTORY OF UPPER-SILESIAN JEWS

The development of a Jewish settlement in the former eastern lands of Germany played rather a secondary role in historical research after World War II. It resulted both from the specific nature of that issue after the tragic experiences of the years 1939-45 and the initial lack of public interest, as well as from the condition and accessibility of the sources, which – in most cases – were kept beyond the 'Iron Curtain' which divided Europe.

Only a very small number of Jews managed to escape the Holocaust. Two who did were Leo Baeck (1873-1956), linked with Opole at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and Max Ruben Guttmann, born in Katowice in 1921. After the War, Baeck settled in London, and Guttmann, living in Cleveland, Ohio, began to examine the history of his family in Upper Silesia only as late as the end of 1980s. In the Dortmund periodical entitled *Mittelungen des Beuthener Geschichts- und Museumsvereins,* he published memories of his childhood spent in Bytom[1].

The first, though not particularly, extensive articles, which contributed to research on the history of Jews in the Austrian part of Upper Silesia, were written in the 1960s by a well-known historian and archivist from Wrocław, Bernhard Brilling (1906-1987)[2]. Brilling is also the author of a short chapter dealing with the history of Jews in Zabrze, which appeared in the monograph of that town published in 1979[3].

---

1 M. R. Guttmann, 'Kindheitserinnerungen an Beuthen O/S', *Mitteilungen des Beuthener Geschichts- und Museumsvereins* 49 (1989) 73-102.

2 B. Brilling, 'Zur Frühgeschichte der Juden von Bielitz 1677-1816', *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden* 1 (1964) 117-23; id., 'Die Archivalien der jüdischen Gemeinde Hotzenplotz (Österreichisch-Schlesien)', Ibid. 2 (1965) 53-7; id., 'Zur Geschichte der Juden in Österreichisch-Schlesien 1640-1737', *Judaica Bohemiae* 4 (1968) 101-1; id., 'Geschichte der Juden in Weidenau (Österreichisch-Schlesien)', *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden* 10 (1973) 155-61.

3 Id., 'Chronik der jüdischen Gemeinde Hindenburg (Zabrze)' in H. Schröder (ed.), *Hindenburg OS. Stadt der Gruben und Hütten* (Essen, 1979). For more see 'Bibliographie

In the monographs of other Upper-Silesian towns, e.g., Gliwice[4] and Katowice[5], a number of quite short articles on Jewish people can be found. These are based on pre-War literature, while, beginning with the 1960s, contributory articles, based partly on reliable sources, were published in scientific magazines and newsletters[6].

Complex research aimed at creating a synthesis of the history of Upper-Silesian Jews began as late as the second half of 1980s.

The pioneering research project embarked on in 1988 by the foundation 'Stiftung Haus Oberschlesien' from Ratingen and the University of Münster, *Oberschlesisches Judentum,* was quite specific in nature. During work on that project, a vast bibliography was gathered; a part of the accessible source materials was examined and numerous interviews with Jews of Upper-Silesian descent who were still alive at that time were conducted. Shortly after research on the project began, an article on Upper-Silesian synagogues was published in the year-book *Oberschlesisches Jahrbuch*[7]. The results of that work appeared in the volume entitled *Juden in Oberschlesien I,* which was published in 1992[8]. The volume includes a general outline of the history of Jews in Upper Silesia, the fate of the Jewish communities in Bytom, Bielsko, Gliwice, Katowice, Chorzów, Kluczbork, Głogówek, Opole and Żory, together with a bibliography.

Maser's project met with considerable response from German research circles. Accordingly, other scholars also included the Jewish aspect in the subject-matter of their research, and as a result subsequent articles dealing with the history of Upper-

Bernhard Brilling 1928-1968', *Theokratia. Jahrbuch des Institutum Judaicum Delitschianum* 1 (1967-9) 195-220; 'Bibliographie Bernhard Brilling 1968-1978', Ibid. 3 (1973-5) 264-70.

4 W. Lustig, 'Von den Juden in Gleiwitz' in *Alte Heimat. Stadt und Landkreis Gleiwitz Oberschlesien in Wort und Bild. 10 Jahre Patenschaft Bottrop-Gleiwitz O/S* (Bottrop, 1961) 53-55 (also in *Gleiwitzer und Beuthener Heimatblatt* 4/4 (1954) 23-4).

5 W. Majowski, *100 Jahre Stadt Kattowitz 1865-1965. Ein Jubiläums- und Gedenkbuch* (Bad Saltzgitter 1965), 73-4; R. P. Schmitz, 'Die jüdische Gemeinde in Kattowitz' in H. Kostorz, S. Karski (eds.), *Kattowitz, seine Geschichte und Gegenwart. Ein Jubiläumsbuch zum 120. Gründungsjahr* (Dülmen, 1985) 230-236.

6 G. Weissmann, 'Die Durchsetzung des jüdischen Minderheitsrechts in Oberschlesien 1933-1937', *Leo Baeck Institute Bulletin* 6/22 (1963) 148-198; K. Fuchs, 'Rolle des schlesischen Judentums bei der wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung Oberschlesiens', *Zeitschrift für Ostforschung* 28 (1979) 270-83; T. Pierenkemper, 'Jüdische Industrielle in Oberschlesien im 19. Jahrhundert', *Jahrbuch der Schlesischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Breslau* 32 (1991) 197-220.

7 A. Weiser, 'Synagogen in Oberschlesien', *Oberschlesisches Jahrbuch* 5 (1989) 259-61.

8 P. Maser, A. Weiser, *Juden in Oberschlesien.* Vol. 1. *Historischer Überblick. Jüdische Gemeinden (I)* (Berlin, 1992) Schriften der Stiftung Haus Oberschlesien. Landeskundliche Reihe. Vol. 3,1.

Silesian Jews could be published in the year-book *Oberschlesisches Jahrbuch* within a fairly short period of time[9].

In the early 1990s the 'Stiftung Haus Oberschlesien' foundation began to work closely with a scholar from the museum in Cieszyn, Janusz Spyra. He promptly agreed to the idea of creating a synthetic history of the Jewish people in Cieszyn Silesia, which was accomplished in an unusually short time. In 1993-95, in subsequent volumes of the above-mentioned year-book, three extensive articles by Spyra appeared. They were based on a vast research base, and embraced the history of Cieszyn's Jews from the Middle Ages until the end of Empress Maria Theresa's reign (1780)[10]. In 1995 Spyra, within the framework of research undertaken by the foundation, began work on a study of the complex history of the Jewish people in the entire area of former Austrian Silesia in the period from the Silesian wars to the fall of the Habsburg Dynasty (1742-1918). The project was carried out under the guidance of Jan Drabina. The result of the three-year study, based on in-depth source research in Polish, German, Austrian and Czech archives (outside Poland mainly in Opava, Brno, Prague, Vienna and Frankfurt-on-Main), is a several-hundred-page typescript, at present with the printer. Its first part includes a detailed history of the Jewish people in the Austrian part of Silesia, with particular emphasis on the authorities' policy towards the Jews and their legal status. The second part comprises the history of individual Jewish communities, from Jeseník in the west, through Osoblaha, Krnov, Opava, Bílovec, Frýdek-Místek, Bohumín, Fryštát (known today as Karviná), Cieszyn, Skoczów to Bielsko in the east. Apart from statistics, the Appendix contains an extensive bibliography.

Before undertaking the research project, Janusz Spyra had already made contact with Franz George Löw (English spelling of the surname: 'Francis George Low'), who was still living in London at that time. Löw was from Vienna and was related to a well-known Cieszyn Jewish family – the Singers. At the end of his life he began intensive work on the genealogy of the Singer-Glesinger family and pub-

---

9 P. Chmiel, 'Sprachen und Konfessionen in Österreichisch-Ostschlesien um die Jahrhundertwende im Spiegel der Volkszählungen', *Oberschlesisches Jahrbuch* 6 (1990) 101-21; H. Fuhrmann, 'Die Einweihung der Kreuzburger Synagoge 1886', Ibid. 7 (1991) 157-62; H. Patzelt, 'Zur Geschichte der Juden in Österreichisch-Schlesien', Ibid. 8 (1992) 25-41; K. Fuchs, 'Der Mathematiker Richard Courant aus Lublinitz (1888-1972)', Ibid. 8 (1992) 125-42.

10 J. Spyra, 'Die Juden im Teschener Schlesien bis Anfang des 18. Jh.', Ibid. 9 (1993) 41-66; id., 'Juden im Teschener Schlesien unter der Herrschaft Karls VI. (1711-1740)', Ibid. 10 (1994) 25-49; id., 'Juden im Herzogtum Teschen unter der Herrschaft von Maria Theresia (1740-1780)', Ibid. 11 (1995) 67-96.

lished an article on that subject in *Oberschlesisches Jahrbuch*[11]. Spyra included critical comments on that work in a consecutive volume of the year-book[12].

Recently, two articles have been published in the year-book on the activities and the legal protection of Jewish people in Upper Silesia in the inter-War period with regard to the role of the Geneva Convention of 1922, which guaranteed all national minorities dwelling in the plebiscite area additional rights exceeding normal international standards. It was of particular significance in the German part of Upper Silesia after the Nazis took control of that area and anti-Jewish legislation was systematically introduced[13].

The topic of the third project undertaken by the foundation was the origins of Jewish settlement in Upper Silesia in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, by Zofia Kowalska. The results of that work will be published in the next volume of the year-book[14].

Jewish subject-matter is an important aspect of the agendas of numerous scholarly conferences organised by the foundation. In 1994, a Polish-German symposium devoted to the history of Upper-Silesian towns (*Stadtgeschichte Oberschlesiens)* was held in Königswinter. Zofia Kowalska presented a paper on Jewish settlement in Upper Silesian towns in the Middle Ages[15]. The subject-matter of the next conference, organised by the foundation together with the Institute of Religious Sciences of the Jagiellonian University, was religious relations in Cieszyn Silesia from the Middle Ages to the present. It met with considerable response in scholarly circles. The conference was held at Cieszyn's branch of the Silesian University in October 1996 and was attended by historians and theologists from Poland, Germany and the Czech Republic. Spyra lectured at the symposium on the organisational development of Jewish religious communities in Cieszyn Silesia[16]. In his speech, Václav Štěpán dealt with the problem of anti-Semitism in

---

[11] F. G. Low, 'Die Teschener Mautpächterfamilie Singer und ihre Nachkommen 1490-1992', Ibid. 10 (1994) 11-23.

[12] 'Einige Bemerkungen zum Beitrag von Francis G. Low *Die Teschener Mautpächterfamilie Singer und ihre Nachkommen* (OS JB 10)', Ibid. 11 (1995) 277-79.

[13] A. Namysło, 'Die Rolle und das Wirken der jüdischen Glaubensgemeinde in Kattowitz in den Jahren 1922-1939', Ibid. 12 (1996) 93-105; A. Schmidt-Rösler, 'Das Judentum in Deutsch-Oberschlesien nach der nationalsozialistischen Machtergreifung (1933-1937)', Ibid. 13 (1999) 67-91.

[14] Z. Kowalska, 'Die Anfänge der jüdischen Ansiedlungen in Oberschlesien im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert', Ibid. 14-15 (1998-1999) 13-29.

[15] 'Die jüdische Bevölkerung in oberschlesischen Städten des Mittelalters' in T. Wünsch (ed.), *Stadtgeschichte Oberschlesiens. Studien zur städtischen Entwicklung und Kultur einer ostmitteleuropäischen Region vom Mittelalter bis zum Vorabend der Industrialisierung* (Berlin, 1995) 75-92 Tagungsreihe der Stiftung Haus Oberschlesien 5.

[16] 'Rozwój organizacji żydowskich gmin wyznaniowych na Śląsku Cieszyńskim' in P. Chmiel, J. Drabina (eds.), *Die konfessionellen Verhältnisse im Teschener Schlesien vom Mittelater bis zur Gegenwart / Stosunki wyznaniowe na Śląsku Cieszyńskim od średnio-*

the programme and activities of Polish and Czech national movements in Cieszyn Silesia at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries[17].

Apart from historical research, it is also worth mentioning work on the history of Upper-Silesian literature, on which the foundation has been focusing for a few years.

The Gustav Freytag Society (*Gustav Freytag Gesellschaft*), which works in co-operation with the foundation, deals with various aspects of the works of that well-known representative of German realism, who came from Kluczbork (1816-95). The problem of Jews as presented in Freytag's works and the author's alleged anti-Semitism are discussed in a controversial manner. That subject has been taken up by Jürgen Matoni in an article published in 1992[18].

There are also representatives of Jewish people among quite a small group of German-speaking writers from Upper Silesia, such as the novelist, essayist and publisher Max Tau (1897-1976) from Bytom. Like many Jews, Tau had to leave Germany before World War II and he settled in Norway. He was the winner of the prestigious peace award granted by German booksellers (Friedenspreis des Deutschen Buchhandels) and his life and works were the subject of a symposium held on the centenary of his birth (1997). A volume of papers from that conference is in print[19].

In the 1997/98 academic year the University of Oldenburg Lower Saxony hosted a series of lectures entitled *Jüdische Autoren Ostmitteleuropas im 20. Jahrhundert* (Jewish Authors in Eastern Europe in the Twentieth Century.) The co-organiser of that undertaking was the federal institute *Bundesinstitut für ostdeutsche Kultur und Geschichte* in Oldenburg. The scripts of the lectures will be published in the near future. Among the lecturers and authors who contributed to that volume is Detlef Haberland, who has been conducting detailed research and a systematic study into the works of Arthur Silbergleit[20] – a Jewish writer born in 1881 in Gliwice and murdered in KL Auschwitz around 1943. In that same volume

---

*wiecza do współczesności* (Ratingen, 2000) 123-140 Tagungsreihe der Stiftung Haus Oberschlesien 9.

17 'Der Antisemitismus und die nationale Bewegung im Teschener Land um die Jahrhundertwende', Ibid. 173-185.

18 'Die Juden in Gustav Freytags Werken', *Oberschlesisches Jahrbuch* 8 (1992) 107-16.

19 D. Haberland (ed.), 'Ein symbolisches Leben'. Beiträge anläßlich des 100. Geburstages von Max Tau (1897-1976) (Heidelberg, 2000) Tagungsreihe der Stiftung Haus Oberschlesien 10.

20 D. Haberland, 'Der "oberschlesische Orpheus". Aspekte des Werkes von Arthur Silbergleit' in H. Hahn, J. Stüben (eds.), *Jüdische Autoren Ostmitteleuropas im 20. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt on the Main-Berlin-Bern-New York-Paris-Vienna, 2000) 61-75 Mitteleuropa – Osteuropa. Oldenburger Beiträge zur Kultur und Geschichte Ostmitteleuropas 1.

there is an article about Ulla Wolf (1850-1924), a writer of stories and dramas, who wrote under the pen-name 'Ulrich Frank'[21].

The history and culture of Jews in Silesia, Pomerania and Eastern Prussia is the subject of a research project that has been worked on since 1988 by the Institute for German-Jewish Relations at the University of Duisburg (*Salomon-Ludwig-Steinheim-Institut für deutsch-jüdische Geschichte an der Gerhard-Mercator-Universität Duisburg*) in co-operation with the Historical Committee (*Historische Kommission*) in Berlin. The Institute in Duisburg, established in 1986, organises annual scientific symposia called 'Steinheim-Kolloquien', the second of which (held in 1989) was devoted to Silesian subject-matter[22]. An extensive bibliography of the history of Silesian Jews, from both the former Prussian and Austrian part of Upper Silesia, appeared in 1995 as part of the project[23]. In its 22 chapters it includes encyclopaedias, bibliographies, archival materials and sources as well as periodicals, while in its detailed part there is a list of publications on the history, demography and statistics, anti-Judaism and anti-Semitism, the history of Jewish communities, biographical treatises as well as the literature on various aspects of the Jewish communities' life (synagogues, Jewish cemeteries, charity work, educational system, unions and associations, publishing, religious worship and art).

Researchers at the University of Duisburg authored a short outline of the history of Jews in Silesia which was published in 1995 as a Polish-German collective work[24]. The article also includes the history of the Upper-Silesian Jews.

Apart from the two institutions mentioned so far (the foundation 'Stiftung Haus Oberschlesien' and the Steinheim Institute in Duisburg), which are at the cutting edge of research into the history of Jews in Upper Silesia, publications on that subject in recent years by researchers at the University of Dortmund's Institute of Central-Eastern European Affairs (*Forschungsstelle Ostmitteleuropa*) also should be mentioned. A two-volume biographical dictionary about the Jewish community in former Czech crown lands entitled *Biographia Judaica Bohemiae*[25] appeared in

---

[21] G. von Glasenapp, 'Annäherung an Preußens östliche Kulturlandschaften. Oberschlesien und die Provinz Posen im Werk von Ulla Frankfurter-Wolff und Isaak Herzberg', Ibid. 19-60.

[22] *Steinheim-Kolloquium: Forschungen zur jüdischen Regionalgeschichte unter besonderer Berücksichtigung Schlesiens, Salomon-Ludwig-Steinheim-Institut für deutsch-jüdische Geschichte* (Duisburg, 1989).

[23] M. Heitmann, A. Reinke, *Bibliographie zur Geschichte der Juden in Schlesien* (Munich-New Providence-London-Paris, 1995) Bibliograhien zur deutsch-jüdischen Geschichte, Bd. 6.

[24] M. Heitmann, H. Lordick, 'Zur Geschichte des Judentums in Schlesien / Przyczynek do historii Żydów na Śląsku' in K. Bździach (ed.), *"Wach auf, mein Herz, und denke". Zur Geschichte der Beziehungen zwischen Schlesien und Berlin - Brandenburg von 1740 bis heute / "Przebudź się, serce moje, i pomyśl". Przyczynek do historii stosunków między Śląskiem a Berlinem-Brandenburgią od 1740 roku do dziś* (Berlin-Opole, 1995) 52-60.

[25] R. M. Wlaschek, *Biographia Judaica Bohemiae*. Vol. 1 (Dortmund, 1995) Veröffentlichungen der Forschungsstelle Ostmitteleuropa an der Universität Dortmund, Reihe B,

a series of publications by that institute in 1995. That work includes short biographies of persons of Jewish descent, also from the area of what was formerly Austrian Silesia, with particular emphasis placed on the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

I would like to end this review with a brief comment on two synthetic works on Silesian history that were published recently.

In 1994, the historian Norbert Conrads, from Wrocław, who is known for his many publications on Silesia, published an extensive one-volume history of Silesia. It also includes a chapter on the life and activity of Jews with regard to the role they played in the economic growth of Upper Silesia in the period of industrialisation[26].

At the end of 1999, the third volume of the history of Silesia published by the Historical Committee for Silesia (*Historische Kommission für Schlesien*) in Marburg, for the years 1740-1945 finally saw the light of day. In the chapter on the Jewish community, Peter Maser touches upon the matter of special legal status granted to the Jews in Upper Silesia in the pre-War period[27].

An outline of the state of research on Jewish history and culture in Upper Silesia in research institutions in the Federal Republic of Germany presented here allows the following conclusions to be drawn:

1. In recent years there has been an evident increase in scholarly interest in the above-mentioned area. This is primarily the result of considerable Polish-German and German-Czech co-operation[28]. In terms of historical research, this co-operative venture, having overcome initial difficulties, is now on a par with international standards.
2. The language barrier is not a fundamental obstacle to the development of Polish-German scholarly co-operation, even though the vast majority of sources and some older authoritative literature on Jewish history in Silesia was written in German. The majority of Polish historians dealing with Jewish subject-matter has sufficient knowledge of German to allow them to freely use those resources and literature. On the other hand, more and more German scholars examining the history of Silesia are attempting to master the Polish language in order to gain access to more recent Polish literature.

---

Vol. 52; id., *Biographia Judaica Bohemiae. Ergänzungsband* (Dortmund, 1997) Veröffentlichungen der Forschungsstelle..., Reihe B, Vol. 59.

[26] K. Fuchs, 'Jüdisches Leben und Wirken in Schlesien' in N. Conrads (ed.), *Deutsche Geschichte im Osten Europas. Schlesien* (Berlin, 1994) 654-661.

[27] 'Das schlesische Judentum' in *Geschichte Schlesiens.* Vol. 3: *Preußisch-Schlesien 1740-1945, Österreichisch-Schlesien 1740-1918/45* (Stuttgart, 1999) 333-360.

[28] One should note that German researchers participate more and more frequently in Polish and Czech historical conferences, though their papers rarely focus on Upper Silesian Jewry. See, e.g., M. Lis, A. Trzcielińska-Polus (eds.), *Colloqium Opole'98. 60 rocznica pogromu Żydów w Niemczech. Materiały sesji naukowej odbytej w Opolu w dniach 9-10 listopada 1998* (Opole, 2000); *Židé v Sudetech – Juden in Sudetenland* (Praha, 2000).

3. Jewish subject-matter is of particular significance to German scholars. This in part stems from the tragic historic legacy of the Third Reich epoch, and also from the fact that the majority of Jews represented German popular opinion, which found expression with them in a specific way during World War I and in the struggle of the plebiscite.
4. In addition to the above-mentioned avenues of direct co-operation between scholars and research institutions in Poland, Germany and the Czech Republic, we must still undertake to intensify the exchange of information. In this manner, some research projects can be simplified and they can progress at a greater speed. The institute in Oldenburg (*Bundesinstitut für ostdeutsche Kultur und Geschichte*) plays a leading role in the exchange of information. Since 1993 this institution has made available a register of those research areas that are being worked on but are as yet unpublished[29]. Polish Germanists have set us a good example in this area, as they generally are willing to take advantage of opportunities to exchange information.

[29] The last issue: 'Wissenschaftlicher Informationsdienst', *Berichte und Forschungen. Jahrbuch des Bundesinstituts für ostdeutsche Kultur und Geschichte* 8 (2000) 201-352.

## INDEX OF NAMES


Aba son of Aba 267
Aber Julius 348
Aber, geb. Loewenthal Hermine 348
Abetz Otto 165
Abrah[am]e 26
Abraham 278
Abraham Hirschel 270, 273
Abraham Judeus of Legnica 25, 26, 29, 32
Abraham Lazar 42
Abraham of Złotoryja 29
Abrahamer Elias 130
Abramski J. 127
Adamczyk Joseph J. 143, 155, 156
Adamus Wenceslaus 52
Adelson J. 229, 237
Adler Heinrich 393
Adler Siegfried 72
Adler Simon 348
Agnes, duchess of Świdnica 25
Albertus Brotspyser 23
Albrecht blude 23
Alexander Erich 348
Alexander of Cieszyn 33, 34, 50
Alter Moshe Elhanan 409, 410
Altmann Bruno 115, 127, 129, 130, 133, 403
Altmann Charlotte 134, 403
Altmann Josef 97
Altmann Leopold 403
Altmann Rosa 134, 135
Altschul, family 341
Angress 170
Angress Max 391
Angress Paula 391
Anielewicz Mordechaj 255
Anna Jakobin 55
Anna Maria Josepha 51
Anna Susanna Clara 51
Anna Victoria 55
Apfel Ludwik 252
Arendt Hannah 202
Armer Josef 395
Aron Georg 348
Aron, geb. Königsberger Else 348
Aronheim Erwin 392
Aronsohn Jakob 396
Arzt Zygmunt 68, 107
Aschheim, geb. Baruchsen Lydia Margarete 348
Aschner Max 348
Aschner, geb. Goliner Cicel (Cecilie) 348
Aschner, geb. Weißenberg Berta 348
Asseldonck Anton van 194
Atilla 114
Atzmon-Cohn Ruth 9, 421
Auerbach 81
Auerbach Dr. 386
Aufrecht 393
Aufrichtig Gerson 349
August, emperor 113
Austerlitz Jacob 40,
Ayalon Moshe 346
Bach 86-7
Bachrach 342
Bachrach 385
Bachrach Josefina 76
Back Isidor 349
Badrian Alfred 95
Baeck Leo 423
Baer Gerson 392
Baer, geb. Kuttner Henriette 349
Baer, geb. Zimmt Doris 349

Baginsky Siegmunt 396
Bahlcke J. 153
Bajtner Lajb 252
Bander 112
Badziak K. 188
Barbara Carolina Elisabetha (Rachel Moysesin) 53
Barbara daughter of Isaac 36
Barber Hermann 69
Barmaper Benzion 75
Barning Wilhelm 380
Bartenstein Emanuel 349
Barton P.F. 46
Bartoš J. 183
Bartosz J. 205
Baruch David 55
Baruchsen, geb. Segall Flora 349
Basch, geb. Metz Selma 349
Bass August 154
Bass Emil 154
Baum Fryderyka 69
Baum Ignacy 69
Baum Juliusz 69
Baum M. 230
Baum Moritz 75
Baum Róża 75
Baumgardt Emil 93
Beamish M. 166
Beck Dr. 185
Beck Petr 9, 417
Beck, geb. Seldis Rosalie 349
Becker Georg 92
Bees Anna von 37
Behr Baruch 349
Beinhof Margret 135
Bender Grete 349
Benedict Dominicus 40
Benjamin, geb. Stein Pauline 349
Benski S. 314
Beran 191
Berg Betty 396
Berg J. 244
Berg, geb. Kallmann Herta 349
Bergen W. 392
Berger Arnold 349
Berger Artur Isidor 349
Berger Marianne Eva 349
Berger Sigbert 394
Berger Simon 391
Berger, geb. Baruch Alice Helene 350
Bergmann Dora 394
Bergmann O. 103
Berlin Isaiah 312-13
Berliner 389
Berliner Erich 392
Berliner Rosalie 350
Berliner, geb. Cashirer Jenni 350
Berliner, geb. Wiener Anna 350
Bermann Salo 93
Bernard (Marcus) 40, 52
Bernard K. 308
Bernardt Johann 46, 47
Bernhard 391
Bernstein Heinrich 350
Bernstein Max 394
Bertram Adolf 169, 194, 204, 206-8, 375-81
Bessel R. 144, 153, 156
Bester Adolf 69
Bezen Samuel 237
Biały Franciszek 144, 150, 154-5
Bielschowsky L. 391
Bienenstock Józef 68
Bierut Bolesław 232
Bieschowsky, geb. Liebrecht Margareta Paula 350
Bildhauer Anna 350
Bileschowsky Hans 396
Bileski, geb. Taucher Nora 350
Biskupek 155
Bitschen Ambrosius 18, 20
Blacha Susanna von 37
Blankenstein S. 393
Blaschke Siegmund 350
Blau B. 346
Bleicher Löbel 69
Bloch Alfred 95
Bloch Conrad 159
Bloch Jonathan 289, 291-2
Bloch Max 95
Bludowski, family 41
Bludowski George Friderick 37
Blüh Abraham 340
Blumberg, geb. Flatow Jetta 350

Blumenfeld Arthur 94
Blumenthal 417
Blumenthal Babetta 69
Blumfeld I. 386
Bluth Fritz 93
Błoński Jan 307-8, 311, 314
Boberach Heinz 324, 326
Bobowski Kazimierz 23
Bobrecki (Kaizar) Anna 45, 49
Bobrecki Anna Josepha 45, 54
Bobrecki Catharine Josepha 45, 54
Bobrecki Dominic Francis 45, 46, 48, 54
Bobrecki Dominic Vaclav Adam (Föltin Mendel) 45, 54
Bobrecki Faygele (Anna) 45, 54
Bobrecki Josepha Magdalene 45
Bobrecki Leopold Vaclav 45, 54
Bobrecki Mary Josepha 45, 54
Bobrecki Mendel Löbel (Dominic) 45, 54
Bobrecki Theresa Anna 45
Bobrecki Vincent Joseph Rudolph 45, 48, 49, 54
Bochner Jakub 252
Bock Salomon 344
Bodlaender Franz 396
Bodlaender Max 396
Boehm Alfred 388
Boehm Bruno 389
Boehm Klara 393
Boehm Leo 396
Boehm Minna 350
Boehm Willy 396
Bogacz Daniel 345-7, 381
Böhm 386
Bohm Amalie 396
Böhm Ernst 97
Böhm Georg 94
Böhm Jacob 350
Bohm Josef 396
Bohm Max 396
Böhm Max 87
Böhm Wilhelm 350
Bohm Wilhelm 396
Boldes Max 350
Bolesław III, prince of Legnica 18
Bondy B. 327
Bonnet Georges 160
Borák Mečislav 8, 181, 185, 188-92
Borenstein, geb. Dymak Hedwig 350
Borinski Gustav 350
Borinski Simon 92
Born Max 159
Bornstein Israel 132
Boronow Joseph 95
Boruch Perel 232
Borzek 115
Borzek Otmar 40, 41
Bożek Arka 154
Brachmann-Teubner E. 324
Bracht Fritz 169
Brand 389
Brandstadter Adolf 69
Brandys Adam 261
Brann Marcus 23, 25, 27, 29, 88, 91, 286-7, 189-91, 298, 306
Brauer Emanuel 394
Brauer Ernst 97
Brauer Henry 392
Brauer Hugo 392
Brauer Max 391
Brauer R. A. 396
Brauer S. 394
Brauer Wilhelm 392
Brauer, geb. Süßmann Berta 350
Braunberg Moritz 73, 76
Braunberg Samuel 71
Braunschweiger Dr. 87, 389
Breitbarth Rosa 396
Breslauer Bruno 392
Breslauer Gertrde 346
Breslauerin Anna 53
Breude Laib 414
Breuer Alfred 72
Brieger Dagobert 350
Brieger Leopold 94, 386
Brill Ernst 391
Brilling Bernhard 35, 40, 41, 283, 287, 289-90, 298, 306, 423-4
Brinitzer Benno 350
Brinitzer, geb. Kochmann Dorothea 351
Brinnitzer, geb. Charig Cäcilie 351
Bromberger, geb. Morgenstern Ilse Edith 351

Bronstein Jakub 235
Brückner Helmuth 147-52, 155-6
Brüll 341
Brüll Fanny 76
Brumer Juda 253
Brunner Dr. 343
Brusch 38
Bry Erich 388
Brzozka E. 206 (Brzoska E. 376)
Buber A. M. 344
Buchbinder Dr. 341
Bucki, geb. Lichtwitz Franziska 351
Bukszpan Józef 235
Bum Golda 235
Burchard Adelheid 351
Bursch, geb. Szeps Augusta 351
Büttner V. 346
Bździach Klaus 428
Caro Joseph 84, 131
Casriel Herman 351
Cassel 82
Cassriel, geb. Richter Käthe Erna 351
Catharina Josepha Francisca 54
Chajes Hirsch Zvi Perez 401-2
Chameides Gertrude 135, 403, 409, 411, 414
Chameides Herbert 409
Chameides Kalman 9, 132, 135, 401-3, 409-10, 414
Chameides Leon 6, 9, 401, 409
Chameides Miryam (Luft) 401
Chameides Sulim 401
Chamiec Józef Jaxa 101, 109, 111, 113, 116, 121
Charles VI, emperor 35, 41, 271, 425
Charles XII, king of Sweden 35
Cheimowitz Hermann 351
Chitrecius Johannes 38
Chmiel Peter 9, 423, 425-6
Chmielewska Mieczysława 323
Chmielnicki Bohdan 282
Cholewa Hans 150
Chowański 101, 404
Christ A. 328
Christin Maria Anna Rosa 52
Chrzanowski Max 351
Chrząszcz Johannes 12, 287
Chrzelliter Emil 92
Chytil J. 328
Cohn 391
Cohn Albert 393
Cohn Dorothea 351
Cohn Emil 94
Cohn Emma 351
Cohn Erich 395
Cohn Ernst 386-7
Cohn Hermann 385
Cohn Ilse Johanna 351
Cohn Isidor 351
Cohn Jacob 82, 87, 128, 132, 135, 403, 414
Cohn Klara 351
Cohn Max 351
Cohn Olga 387
Cohn S.W. 396
Cohn Salo 391
Cohn Selma 389
Cohn Siegfried 352
Cohn Willy 421
Conrads Norbert 429
Conway S. 202-3
Cosens Sarah 6
Courant Richard 425
Creutzberger Sigismund Samuel 352
Cuncze rote 23
Cygański M. 145
Czackis Dawid 231
Czapliński W. 84
Czapski, geb. Stern Olga Charlotte 352
Dallman Carl 393
Dallman M. 393
Daniel 397
Daniel, geb. Schreiber Auguste 352
David Pinkus 46
David, king 84, 86
Dereń A. 324
Desbuqois 200
Dessauer Paul 352
Deutch Bernard 69, 71
Deutsch David 90
Deutsch Emanuel 90, 92
Deutsch Israel 90
Deutsch Julius 72
Deutsch Regina 69, 71

Deutsch Rosa 76
Deutschkron Lea 352
Deutschmann, geb. Prager Hedwig 352
Dienemann Georg 352
Dienstfertig Olga 352
Długajczyk Edward 100, 101-2, 188
Dobresh 294
Dobrowolski Johannes Antonius 37, 51
Dobrowolski S. 18
Dombrowski 155
Dorothea Josepha 54
Dov Mordecai 290
Drabina Jan 425-6
Drancz Julius 72
Dreier Hans 175
Dresel Friedrich Wilhelm 352
Dresel, geb. Bernhardt Regina 352
Dudała Halina 7, 79, 82, 87
Dvorský F. 327
Dziewulski Władysław 17, 18, 19
Eatwell R. 202, 376
Eber Max 72
Eberson Ludwik 251
Ebstein Leopold 93
Eckerling, geb. Schwarzfeld Babette 352
Edel Gad 352
Egit Jakub 213, 215-16, 220, 226
Ehl Petr 298
Ehmann B. 393
Ehrenberg Dr. 68
Ehrenpreiss Dayan 414
Ehrenpreiss Moshe 409
Ehrlich Bela 352
Ehrlich Fritz 393
Ehrlich Miss 395
Ehrlich Paul 159
Ehrlih George 386
Eibenschütz Dr. 341
Eichmann Adolph 165, 167, 178, 192
Eisener 396
Eisner Emil 95
Eisner Emil Isidor 352
Eisner Max 393
Eisner Walli 352
Eisner, geb. May Berta 353
Eisner, geb. Schäfer Jeanette Jenny 353
Ejges Szlom 230-1, 234
Ekstein Fritz 343
Elias of Legnica 23, 25
Elisabeth Lukretia 33, 34
Elisabeth, duchess of Legnica 20, 26
Elisabeth, St. of Thüringen 381
Elkeles Leo 353
Elsass Ryszard 251
Elstein 252
Emmanuel III, king 199
Englard Abram Issachar 252, 254
Englard Szyja 252
Eppenheim 389
Epstein Hedwig 392
Epstein Martha 353
Epstein Salo Felix 353
Epstein Simon 353
Erman Nachman 235
Eshel-Kaufan A. 402
Espe W.M. 144
Eva dauther of Jacob 51
Eva Roser 55
Eysymontt Rafał 17, 18, 27, 29,
Faber Karl 283, 287
Fabiszkiewicz Henryk 71
Faerber Max 353
Falk Martin 353
Färber Grete 68
Farnicki John Peter 35, 50
Farnik Jacobus Antonius Nepomucenus 51
Faulhaber, cardinal 203-4, 206, 379
Feder Gottfried 142, 146, 154
Fehse 149
Feibelsohn, geb. Grzymisch Hulda 353
Feiler Filip 75
Fein Leo 353
Feit Dr 83
Feitel Wolf 269-70, 276
Fejgel Volf 55
Felix Artur 343
Feller Dawid 235
Ferdinand I, emperor 327
Feuerstein Eduard 73, 75, 77
Feuerstein Hirsch 68
Fibich F. 224
Fiedler Jiři 187, 298, 306
Fiedor Karol 156
Filip Johann 55

Fillusch Max 150-1
Fink Max 389
Fink, geb. Sieradz Friederike 353
Finkelstein Laja 235
Finkelsztejn Pejsach 234
Finzi Gustav 341, 343
Fischer Ernst 397
Fischer Ilse 396
Fischer Leopold 392
Flam J. 233
Fleischer Berthold 392
Fleischhaker Scheja 388
Flussman 115
Folk Lejzor 252
Foltin Esther (Susanna) 42, 53
Foltin Eva (Anna Mary) 42, 53
Foltin Löbel 42, , 45, 53
Foltin Mendel 46
Föltin Mendel see Bobrecki Dominic Vaclav Adam
Förster Karl 69
Fraenckel Daniel 88
Fraenckel Jonas 88
Fraenkel Isidor 94
Fraenkel Josef 392
Fraenkel Oswald 397
Fraenkel, geb. Kaufmann Amalie 353
Fraenkl Karl 93
Franciscus Josephus (David Herschel) 52
Franek J. 37, 38, 39
Frank Hans 154, 165
Frank Ulrich 428
Fränkel Abraham 83
Fränkel Albert 83
Fränkel Fedor 391
Fränkel Herman 83
Fränkel Siegfried 96
Fränkel Walter 96
Fränkl Julie 76
Fränkl Max 94
Fränkl Samuel 69
Franz Josef, emperor 342
Franz-Willing G. 144
Freifeld Zygmunt 252
Freinberg G. 392
Frenkel Yosef 101, 402, 405
Freund Alfred 396
Freund Bruno 129
Freund Doris 353
Freund Eugen 353
Freund Eugen 96
Freund Friedericke 392
Freund Hugo 92
Freund Margarete 353
Freund Richard 92
Freund Siegfried 389
Freund, geb. Daniel Recha 353
Frey Paul 94
Freysinger 170
Freywill Josephus 37, 51
Fridman Mair 297
Friedenberg M. 267
Friedheim Julia 69
Friedländer Adolf 96
Friedländer Emma 354
Friedländer Paul 97
Friedländer, geb. Dombrowsky Friederike Henriette Anna 354
Friedländer, geb. Heimann Meta 34
Friedman 252
Friedman Philip (Filip) 410-11, 413-14
Friedmann Artur 391
Friedmann Max 391
Friedmann Salo 95
Friedmann Simon 340, 342-3
Friedmann Wolfgang 354
Froehlich Isaac 83
Fröhlich Heinrich 395
Fröhlich Hermann 354
Frohlich Kurt 392
Fromer A.Z. 405
Fryman Efraim 262
Fuchs Dr. 392
Fuchs Konrad 424-5, 429
Fuchs Max 392
Fuchs, geb. Schlesinger Elise 354
Fuhrmann H. 425
Fuks Marian 307
Futter Michael 354
Gabel Szymon 248, 253-4
Gabryś 107
Gadiel Siegfried 354
Galen August Clemens von 377
Gallop Ludwig 389

Gallus Eugen 393
Galos Adam 84
Gartner Jakob 305, 341
Gärtner Max 92
Gaschin 41
Gaschin Charles Ludwig 40
Gassmann Artur 354
Gatz E. 206
Gąsiorowski Stefan 314
Gąsowski T. 62
Gedalje Fanny 354
Geiger Abraham 87
Geisenberg Carl 392
Geller M. 251
Genghis-Khan 114
Gengler 152
Gerstmann, geb. Gottschalk Erna 354
Gĕshuri Meir 100
Gilewska-Dubis J. 23
Ginsberg Mendel 261
Glaser Else 396
Glaser Friedrich 97
Glaser Max 93
Gleicher Izrael 106
Glesinger Joachim Marcus see Joachim Marcus (Glesinger)
Glogauer Heinrich 92
Glomboski F. 144
Glücklich Fritz 72
Glücksmann Hans Heinrich 354
Glum F. 203
Gnadenreich Joannes Rudolphus 54
Goebbels Joseph 149, 157, 162-3
Goldberg 106
Goldberger Eugen 341
Goldmann Hedwig 354
Goldmann Hugo 97
Goldmann S. 393
Goldmann, geb. Efrem Lisbeth 354
Goldschmidt Dr. 388
Goldschmidt Ernst Daniel 83, 89
Goldschmidt Joseph Simon 268, 271
Goldschmidt N. 397
Goldschmidt Salomon 84-5, 87, 89
Goldschmidt, geb. Guhrauer Rosalie 354
Goldschmied Berta 76
Goldstein 83
Goldstein Erwin 96
Goldstein Hans 96
Goldstein Ismar 96
Goldstein Martha 354
Golinski Dr 385, 387, 393
Goliński Mateusz 7, 17, 18, 23, 25
Gorgass Hans 376
Göring Hermann 145, 157, 162-7
Görke Berhardt 96
Görke Max 95
Görke Paul 95
Gössinger 37
Gossler Eli 354
Goszewski 145
Gottfreund 385
Gottheimer S. 391
Gottheiner, geb. Schrubski Rosa Anna 355
Gotthelf Fedor 96
Gotthilf Julian 355
Gottlob Rosa 45
Gotto K. 193-4, 204-5, 208
Gottwill Frances 45
Górnik 106
Grabowski Herbert 97
Grabowski Hulda 355
Grabowski Karla 346
Gracová Blažena 188, 191
Gradenwitz 86-7, 89
Graetz Beracha 289
Graetz Salomon 289
Graetzer Eugen 95
Grażyński Wojciech 130
Greisler Arthur 165
Gröber Conrad 377
Groetschel E. 80, 86
Gross Kiwa (Herman) 253
Gross Markus 234
Gross Mojżesz 233
Gross Moritz 93
Gross Rosa 344
Großmann Boss, Bruno 355
Gruber, geb. Weißenberg Berta 355
Grubner 68
Grubner Moritz 69
Gruenpeter I. 396
Grün Dr 342
Grünberg Olga 355

Grünberger Kurt 392
Gruner W. 179
Grünfeld Hugo 126
Grünfeld Ignaz (son) 131
Grünfeld Ignaz 131
Grünthal Salo 93
Grünwald Karl 97
Grunwald Max 35
Grunwald Max 94
Grunwald, geb. Kuznitzky Johanna 35
Grünzweig Charlotte 355
Gruszczyk George 41
Grynberg Michał 233-4
Grynszpan Herschel 156
Grzesiński Albert 152
Grzibek Maximilianus Elias 37, 51
Gundlach Gustaw 200
Gurowski, geb. Loewenstein Anna 355
Gürtner Franz 379
Guthertz Emil 95
Gutmann 385
Guttentag Josef Hezmann 355
Guttermann Layb Istal 355
Guttmann David 355
Guttmann Lene 395
Guttmann Max 94
Guttmann Max Ruben 423
Guttmann Nathan 395
Guttmann Otto 355
Haas Philip 132
Habakkuk, prophet 413
Haber Fritz 159
Haberland Detlef 427
Hacke 191
Hadas of Legnica 23
Hahn H. 427
Hahn Julius 92
Hahn Max 93
Hahn Rudolf 355
Halban L. 195
Halberstam Salomon J. 77
Halberstamm Markus 252
Halevi Jehuda 84
Hamburger Hans 355
Hamburger Karl 94
Hamburger Sally 96
Hamburger Siegfried 97
Hammer Anna 83
Hammer Georg 394
Hanco Opetz 23
Handke Edward 123
Hanenstein Karl G.O. 144
Hankes Julius 69
Hanns Molner 26
Hanns schulchars 23
Hanns Wygil 23
Hannus Schirwicz 23, 25
Hannus syboth 26
Hans Czedlitz 27
Hans Meißener 32
Hans von der Newkirchen 27
Hantsche 279
Hanzl Izac 329
Hartmann 385
Hartmann Werner 389
Hasiewicz Małgorzata 8, 201
Hauke Karl 166
Hauschner Georg 355
Hausdorf Moritz 391
Hausmann, geb. Levy Mathilde 355
Hawellek Alfred 143
Hayn Julius 95
Hecht Paula 355
Hecht, geb. Kosterlitz Ernestine 356
Heidenfeld Eugen 94
Heidenfeld, geb. Dresdner Margot Johanna 356
Heiduk F. 88-90
Heilpern Heinrich 73
Heimann Ruth 356
Hein Samson 69
Heines Edmund 143
Heinz of Oława, knight 28, 29
Heitmann Margret 13, 428
Held H. 205
Helias iudeus see Elias of Legnica
Heller Dr 388
Helman S. 375-7, 379
Helmigk H.J. 291, 298
Helstein 389
Henlein Kondrad 182
Henner Joseph 36
Henner Stanisław 256
Henning E. 267

Hensil koler 23
Herczka Jakob Josef 356
Herlinger Catharina Theresia Marianna 53
Herlinger Fabianus 53
Herlinger Sara 53
Herman Adolf 261
Heřman Jan 306
Hermann Fritz 342
Herrnastadt Arthur 395
Herxheimer 82
Herz Emanuel 341
Herzberg Felix 356
Hesel, geb. Schalmach Veronika Flora 356
Heydebreck Peter von 143, 145
Heydemann, geb. Sternberg Therese 356
Heydrich Reinhard 162-9
Heyman S. A. 392
Heymann Abraham 395
Heymann Herman 356
Heymann Martin 395
Heymann Max 395
Heymann Paul 389
Heynrich Tartschener 23
Hierowski Zdzisław 102, 313-14
Hilfrich Antonius 378
Hiller Betti 393
Hiller S. 396
Himmler Heinrich 165-7, 169, 175, 177
Hindenburg Paul von 157
Hinricus olaw see Heinz of Oława, knight
Hirsch 394
Hirsch David 341
Hirsch Johannes Christophorus 52
Hirsch Nathan 392
Hirsch, geb. Kaufmann Malka (Mathilde) 356
Hirsch, geb. Perlinski Natalie 356
Hirschberg Dr 386
Hirschberg Georg 356
Hirschberg Heinrich 356
Hirschberg Simon 69
Hirschel Georg 356
Hirschel Isaac 270, 278
Hirschel Israel 269-70, 274
Hirschel Marcus 269-270, 279
Hirschfeld Dr 85, 87
Hirschfeld Hans 356
Hirschl Löbel 46
Hirschmann S. 392
Hitler Adolf 101, 113, 118, 121, 142-6, 149-52, 154-5, 157-61, 163-5, 167, 169, 173, 189, 195, 202, 205, 208-9, 376, 381, 404, 422
Hochhäuser Schmaje 356
Hoffmann Eduard 356
Hoffmann Otto 167
Hoffmann Rudolf Raphael 357
Hofman J. 237
Hofmann Josef 305
Holcman Julian 255
Holender Szlama 252
Hollaender Eugen
Holländer Dr 388
Holländer Isaac Moses 45
Holzmann Josef 357
Höniger Dawid 69
Horning E. 346
Hosák L. 327
Höss Rudolf 166, 169, 178-9
Hoyer von Prittwitz 18
Hruschla Josef 305
Hrynchyshyn Michael 412
Huber 341
Hugo L. 205
Huldschiner Richard 94
Huppert Martha 73
Huppert S. 308, 315
Hutterer Adolf 129
Ichheiser Bernard 71
Immerwahr Paul 387
Immerwahr Rosalie 134
Isaac Marcus of Drogomyśl 41
Isac Wolf of Krnov 35
Isidor Walter 87
Israel Albert 357
Israel Löbel 40
Israel Löbel of Pierściec 41
Issac Moyses of Wrocław 53
J.B. 99
J.N. 107
Jäckel Herman 185
Jackson Roman 163
Jacob Hirschl 271

Jacob Hirschl 40
Jacob Jackerle (Josephus Christophorus Franciscus) 37, 38
Jacob Joachim of Bludovice 45
Jacob Lobel 274
Jacob Löbel of Místek 47
Jacob Marcus 46
Jacob Master 27, 28
Jacob Scheyer 269, 279
Jacob Wilhelm 388
Jacob, geb. Lewy Rosalie 357
Jacobowitz Jacob 395
Jacobowitz Regina 357
Jacobus Flora 391
Jacobus iudeus 23
Jacobus Paul 391
Jadrzelowski Jacob 51
Jaffe Jenni 357
Jäger Karl 167
Jagosch Fransic 45
Jakob Frantzischek 55
Jakobowitz 170
Jakobowitz Dr. 387
Jakubaschek Paul W. 147
Jakubowicz, geb. Keiler Rosa 357
Jakubowski 397
Jasik K. 148
Jaworski Charles George (Jacob Marcus) 48
Jaworski Wojciech 8, 75, 126, 247
Jaworsky Gabriel von 48
Jaworsky Joseph von 48
Jekil of Legnica 25
Jelsch, geb. Durra Else 357
Jereslaw Bertold Baruch 357
Jersch-Wenzel Stefi 9, 321-3
Jiřík Karel 66
Joachim 36
Joachim Hirsch (Johannes Christophorus Hirsch) 37, 38
Joachim Hirschl 52
Joachim Marcus (Glesinger) 270, 275
Jochem Marcus of Ropica 46
Jochums G. 267
Jockel 389
Johannes 55
Johannes Adamus 51
Johannes Batista (Abraham Lebl) 53
Johannes Franciscus Ludovicus 51
Johannes olim militis 28
John (Johannes) of Cieszyn 33, 34, 50
John Jacob (Christophorus) 34, 50
John Luxembourg, king of Bohemia 20, 327
John Matthias 35
John of Capistrano 31
Johnes E. 414
Johnson Paul 202-3, 208
Johsmann, geb. Mendelsohn Flora 357
Jonas Alfred 357
Jonca Karol 6, 8, 149, 156-7, 159, 171, 194-5, 199, 206, 208-10, 345-6, 376
Jordan 23
Jordanynne 23
Jorge Katcz 32
Josef David 269, 277
Josef I, emperor 271
Josef II, emperor 46, 47, 48, 299, 331, 340
Josef Wolf 276
Joseph 45, 53
Joseph iudeus 23
Joseph Jacob 41
Joseph Jakob 357
Joseph Löwi 274
Josepha Dorothea 55
Josephus 51
Josephus 54
Josephus Christophorus Franciscus 52
Josephus Ludovicus 51
Josephus Teophilus (Wenceslaus) 52
Joshua, prophet 86
Juda Iscariot 108
Judel Haskel 290
Juliusberg, geb. Hänflein Walli 357
Juliusberger, geb. Marcusy Rosa Margarete 357
Juliusburg Moritz 357
Juliusburger Anna Rosalie 358
Juliusburger Samuel 289
Jung August 76
Jungmann Agnes 389
Jungmann Jenny 358
Jungmann Otto 386

Jurke, geb. Danziger Helene 358
Jurman Leib 358
(kr.) 308
Kaatz Dr 386
Kaatz Saul 86-7
Kahane Dawid 410, 412-15
Kaiser Dr 392
Kaiser Ernst 92
Kaiser Max 92
Kaiser Salo 93
Kaizar Paul 49
Kaliski 395
Kallmann 385
Kalmaus Richard 92
Kania Pavel 418
Kantor M. 189
Kantorowsky Georg 90
Kapauner Hans 97
Kapłan Dora 112
Karewski 170
Karfunkel Albert 92
Karliner Josef 395
Karmeinski, geb. Haase Rosa 358
Karmeinsky 385
Karmeinsky 396
Karniel J. 43, 44, 46, 47
Kárný M 192
Karplus, family 341
Karski S. 424
Karwiński 41
Kary Erwin 396
Kary Moritz 392
Kassel Erich 389
Kassel Erwin 397
Katschinsky 396
Kattner, geb. Bielschowski Adelheid 358
Katz I. 232
Katz J. 142
Katz Wolf 43
Katz, geb. Scheye Zamira 358
Katz, geb. Zolkowitz Helene 358
Kaufmann Leo 129, 133
Kaufmann Moritz 393
Kawalec Krzysztof 109
Kayserling 81
Kazík Lev 418
Keins Fritz 96
Keins Maximilian 96
Keller Dr 388
Kellerman Albert 261
Kempner Ludwig 358
Kengel Dr 386
Kenig P. 263
Khrust Yosef 101, 402, 405
Kiksmann 396
Kisch Guido 33
Klajman Mojżesz Beniamin 251
Klasmer, geb. Berliner Judith 358
Kleczewski, geb. Reimann Rosa 358
Klee E. 377
Kleiman 252
Klein E. 154
Klein Josefina 76
Klein, geb. Aronsbach Berta 358
Klementz H. 127
Klempner Siegfried 93
Klenovský Jaroslav 8, 192, 299, 330
Kłapsia John 48
Kłoskowska Aldona 309
Knie J.G. 290, 298
Knopf Wolf 237
Knosalla J. 87
Kober, geb. Cohn Regine 358
Koch 385
Kochmann 385
Kochmann 396
Kochmann Adolf 93
Kochmann Berthold 126, 129
Kochmann Emil 93
Kochmann Friedrich 97
Kochmann Georg 94
Kochmann Herman 358
Kochmann Moritz 93
Kochmann Walther 97
Kocián František 418
Kocourek L. 184, 186
Kohn Dr 341, 343
Kohn Emma 358
Kohn Georg 396
Kohn J. 328
Kohn Marie 396
Kohnke M. 322
Kohnke, geb. Steiner Jachet (Henriette) 358

Komar S. 155
Konderla 39
Konick (König) Nikolas 43
Konick (König) Rosalie 43, 44
Konieczny Alfred 8, 171, 173, 179, 345-6, 381
König 73
König Dr 385
König Jan 73
Königshöfer Gertrude see Chameides Gertrude
Königshöfer Isaak 403
Königshöfer Jettchen 403
Königshöfer Martha 403
KönigshöferHanna 403
Köningsegg Anna 378
Konrad, bishop 327
Kopfstein Max 82, 87-8
Koplowitz Martin 396
Koplowitz Moritz 396
Koratkowsky Emil 96
Korfanty Wojciech 100
Korn Lilly 73
Korn Paula 76
Korn, geb. Bentscher Rose (Dora) 358
Kornblum Fanny 396
Kornblum Paul 396
Korobowicz A. 209
Korowicz Marek 155
Körpel Georg 359
Korta Wacław 84
Korzeniowski T. 308, 314
Koslowsky Otto 93
Koslowsky Salo 96
Kößler Josepha Anna 55
Kößler Levi 55
Kostelnik Gabriel 410
Kosterlitz Josef 359
Kostorz H. 424
Kosubek R. 298
Kottman Dr 377
Kouřil Miloš 9, 327
Kowal Lipiński Józef 102, 108, 122
Kowalska Zofia 426
Kozerska Ewa 8, 193, 196
Kozik 155
Kozub-Ciembroniewicz W. 198-9
Králík Václav, bishop 328
Krantz-Koblitz Karolina 72
Krantz-Scharf Emilia 72
Krasowski K. 130
Kraus Albert 69
Krause, geb. Langer Ida 359
Krebs Georg 93
Krebs H. 392
Krebs Ludwig 392
Kreisel Franz 302
Krejčík T. 267
Krejčová Helena 186, 188, 191
Kreutzberger Michael 389
Kreutzberger Otto 389
Krieck E. 193
Krisner Jakub 69
Kroll Dr 166
Król E.C. 147
Krupa 236
Kruszewski Tomasz 153, 346
Kruszyński 111
Kryjonka F. 417
Krysiński A. 126
Krzesny, geb. Zadek Eva 359
Krzidlowski 41
Krzuk, geb. Wolff Herta 359
Kuča Karel 306
Kuczyński Friedrich 179
Kuffner Jakub 69
Kuh Albine 359
Kuhn Ferdinand 359
Kuhn Paula 134
Kühnl R. 150
Kukánová Z. 334
Kulak Teresa 109
Kulik A. 99
Kulka S. 391
Kulka, family 341
Kunewälder Dr 185
Künstlinger Georg 129
Kunz 385
Kunz 387
Kurc Alexander 308, 314
Kurka Anton 302
Kurz Selma 69
Kurzbart Siegfried Friedrich 359
Kuschnitzky, geb. Winkler Sofie 359

Kutner Reinhold 95
Kuznitzki Alfred 92
Kuznitzki Max 92
Kuznitzky Erna 359
Kuznitzky, geb. Loebel Josephine 359
Kwapuliński, priest 107
Kwiatek 110
Kwiatkowski Czesław 233
Kwiatkowski Giedele 237
Labov W. 314
Lachmann Joachim 359
Lack, geb. Wolff Minna 360
LaFarge John 200
Lammers Hans 377
Landau Dr 73
Landau Samuel 72
Landau, geb. Kaff Minna 360
Landerer, geb. Müller Lina 360
Landesberg Dr 410
Landsberg Eva 360
Landsberger Herbert Moritz 360
Landsberger Otto 249
Landsberger, geb. Rahmer Käte 360
Landvehr von Pragenau M. 36
Lange 393
Lange G. 393
Lange, geb. Schüfftan Gertrud 360
Langer Ernst 92
Langfelder Brunon 68
Langfelder Ludwig 75-6
Lasar 29
Lasch Berta 360
Lassalle Heinrich Ferdinand 159
Latzel Ernst 302
Lawrence Schultz see Lorencz Schulcz
Lawsenstorch 28
Lazar (?) 25
Lazarowic Moses (Andreas) 34
Lazarus Joachim 276
Lazarus Josef 276
Lazarus Rebeka 272
Lazarus Zacharias Gerson 272
Lazarynne (?) 25
Lebel Herschel 54
Lebenbaum Szymon 237
Lederer Dr 342
Lederer, geb. Bodländer Hulda 360
Ledermann 385
Ledermann Fryda 235
Ledermann, geb. Fröhlich Rosa 360
Lehmann, geb. Bondy Zilla 360
Lehr Bruno 389
Lehrer Edmund 386
Leibel Hirsch 68
Leipziger Hans 395
Leipziger, geb. Baszynska Dorothea 360
Leiter Nathan Nute 409
Leitner Israel 252
Lemkin Rafał 163, 375
Lentschutz Louis 394
Leschcziner Moritz 360
Leschinzer Leo 95
Leschner Dr 343
Leschnitzer Werner 395
Leschziner Max Markus 360
Lesser Meta 361
Leśnobrodzki 112
Leubuscher Rosa 395
Levi (Levy), geb. Singer Elsa 361
Levi Dr 386
Levy 81, 87
Levy G. 195-6, 199
Levy Jecheskel 88
Levy Salo 361
Lewin 396
Lewin Aron 361
Lewin Gerda 387
Lewin Hilde 389
Lewin Jecheskiel 132, 402, 411
Lewin K.J. 402, 411
Lewin Louis 132
Lewin Schmul 361
Lewin, geb. Reinstein Adela 361
Lewinski Leslie 389
Lewinsohn, geb. Mandowsky Irma 361
Lewkowitz 55
Lewkowitz Adolf 361
Lewkowitz Albert 89, 90
Lewkowitz Julius 90
Lewy Franz Joseph 361
Lewy G. 375, 378-9
Lewy, geb. Bacher Rosalie 361
Lewysohn Joseph 361
Lewy-Vulkan Heinz Günter 361

Lia (Marianna Josepha) 51
Liberman Natan 251, 256
Libermann Hermann 361
Lichnovský, count 277
Lichtenstein L. 230-1
Lichtenstern 301
Lichtstern David 361
Lichtwitz Robert 341
Lichtwitz, family 341
Liebes Icchak Eisig 248, 253-4
Liebrecht Alfred 361
Lieser Mordechaj (Markus) 253
Lifton J. 375
Lill R. 193
Lindner Heinrich 179
Linz 170
Lipowski John Charles 35
Lippmann 385
Lippmann, geb. David Hanna 362
Lippmann, geb. Praeger Rebecke 362
Lis M. 429
Lisa dauther of Jochem Marcus of Ropica 46
Lisiewicz A. 196
Löbel 40
Löbel Gotzel 46
Löbel Joseph 290
Löbel, geb. Karpe Frieda 362
Löbenstein, geb. Kohn Berta 362
Loebinger Ernst 362
Loebinger Max 95
Loewenberg Ignacy 69
Loewenfeld Wiliam 92
Loewenstein L. 394
Loewkowitz Alfred 393
Loewy Curt 393
Löewy Izrael Izydor 71, 75
Loewy, geb. Glogauer Fanny 362
Löhn, deacon 44
Lomnitz Meta 362
Lonauer Rudolf 376
Lordick Harald 428
Lorencz Schulcz (Lawrence Schulcz) parchener 28
Loser Leo 389
Loser Martin 389
Loss Moritz 388
Louis XIV, king of France 113
Löw Dora 73
Löw Emil 341
Löw Franz George 49, 425
Löwkowitz Herbert
Löwy Abraham 69
Löwy Ludwig 391
Lubich 305
Lubowski Ernst 94
Lubowski Georg 93
Lubowski Victor 94
Lubowsky Max 93
Ludendorff Erich von 144
Ludwig II, prince of Legnica 27, 29
Ludwig, prince of Legnica 20, 29
Luft Max 395
Lunenfeld Izaak 261
Luschwitz 106
Lustig Eugen 92
Lustig Simon 362
Lustig W. 424
Lustig, geb. Pollak Johanna 362
Luther Martin 167-8
Łado A. 148
Łagiewski Maciej 87-8
Łobozek M.M. 44
Mach Alojzy 100-2, 104-12, 115-20, 124
Machauf Hanz 68
Machol Bertold Max 362
Maciejewski Marek 8, 141-2, 144, 152, 201-2
Magen Carl 394
Magosci P.R. 411
Maimonides 84-5
Majka J. 196
Majowski W. 424
Malarczyk J. 209
Malka 40
Mamlok 391, 396
Mamlok Eugen 362
Mandel Josef 69
Mandl Wilhelm 341
Mandowski Kurt 386
Mannheim, geb. Fürst Paula 362
Marburg Isaak 303
Marburg Meshulam Zalman 303
Marck Moritz 362

Marcus 55
Marcus David 46
Marcus Löbel 290
Marcus Mayer 276
Marcus Moyrer (Mordecai Zwi) 270, 274
Marcus Samuel from Rudzica 275
Marcusy, geb. Böhm Klara 362
Maretzky, geb. Finkenstein Nanny 362
Margoliner Simon 362
Margules Joseph 129
Maria Magdalena 53
Maria Theresa, empress 39, 40, 42-4, 52, 268, 299, 425
Marianna Carolina Clara (Eva) 51
Marienfeld Emanuel 363
Mark, geb. Meckauer Klara 363
Markiewitz Bruno 96
Markowicz Artur 251
Markus, geb. Langner Rebekka 363
Markusfeld Siegmund 76
Marmor Ignatz 75
Marrus Michael R. 375
Marschall W. 206
Martiník L. 187
Marx Karl 109, 111
Mary Anna 39
Mary Josepha 41
Mary Josepha 50
Mary Josepha Sidonia 37, 51
Mary Magdalene Rosina 45, 53
Mary Theresa Barbara Catharina 40, 52
Maryański Michael Joseph 37, 51
Mas R. 401
Masaryk Tomaš G. 419
Maser Peter 128, 131, 132, 424, 429
Mathias Cuprifaber 23
Matoni Jürgen 427
Mattersdorf Dr 87
Mattersdorf Georg 93
Matušíková Lenka 9, 331, 334
Matuszka 281
Matwiejew G. 188
Matwijowski Krystyn 23, 88, 194, 206, 323, 346, 376
Matzdorff Dr 395
Matzdorff Ismar 395
Matzdorff Kurt 396
Maximillian I, emperor 327
Mayer Jacob 205, 207
Mayer Samuel 130
Mayersfeld Stanisław 233
Mayo Bertha dr 341
Meister David 363
Melcer Klara 235
Melcher 298
Melchior M. 309, 312
Menczel Salo 106
Mendelssohn Moses 80, 89
Mendl Joachim from Bielsko 274
Mendl Menachem 297
Merbota von Hayn 18
Merc Marianna 72
Merin Moszek 175
Merkil iudeus 23
Meth Emanuel 389
Metz Simon 363
Meyer Max 393
Meyer Minna 363
Michael Siegfried 392
Michaelis Ernst 386
Michalewicz Jerzy 62-3
Michalkiewicz S. 79
Michalski R. 103
Michalsky 96
Michil happhener 26
Michlowitz Ilse Lina 363
Michna Andrzej 103, 123
Mickiewicz Adam 405
Mickler N. 389
Mika Dr 69
Mikołajczyk Henryk 233
Miodownik Alfred 394
Miodowski, geb. Jacobius Henriette 363
Mirauer 389
Misztal Jan 229
Mitrowsky Wratislaw de 37
Mokrauer, geb. Danziger Anna 363
Moltke Helmuth James von 380
Mommsen Hans 163
Monschkowitz David 363
Monx Josephus Franciscus 50
Moreau P. 150
Morgenstern Emil 93
Morsey K.R. 194, 204-5, 207-9

Moses 35
Moses Isaac 46
Moses Löbel 46
Moses, prophet 86
Moskovics Ignaz 341
Mossche iudeus 23, 25, 27, 28, 29, 32
Mosschil Judeus 28, 29, 32
Mosse G.L. 141
Mosse W.E. 143, 148
Moszkowska Dora 136
Motas M. 323
Movier-Hultschin J.C. 195
Moyses Hirschel 269-70, 278
Moyses Jacob Isaac from Suchá 270, 273
Mozart Wolfgang Amadeus 43
Mózg Wincenty 233-4
Mückenbrunn Jakub 69
Mueller Arthur 394
Mueller S. 394
Müller Alfred 129
Müller Jonathan 363
Müller Karel 8, 267, 344
Müller, geb. Krzywynos Ida 363
Munk Baruch 43, 44
Munz Wilhelm 85, 87
Münzer August 393
Münzer Felix 94
Münzer Josef 72
Münzer Max 95
Münzer Salo 95
Mussolini Benito 113, 165, 199
Muszel Aron 240
Muthmann John 36
Myška Milan 60, 65, 188
Nache Engelhardt 386
Namysło Aleksandra 7, 125, 426
Napoleon Bonaparte, emperor 113
Nathan Hermann Wolf 363
Nathan Isidor 363
Nathan, geb. Linker Elsa 363
Nebel Isidor 389
Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babilonia 413
Nelken Abraham 363
Nellhaus Siegbert 363
Nesládkova Ludmila 191
Neuhäusler J. 197, 200
Neuman Markus 73
Neuman Mojżesz 247, 251
Neumann Adolf 363
Neumann Margret 134
Neumann Samuel 94
Neurath 191
Neuweck Martin 391
Nichtenhauser Karol 68, 74
Nicklos Czegenbart 23
Niclas Landman 26
Niclas Salmon of Legnica 32
Nicolai mertins 26
Nicolaus Cuprifaber 23
Nieberding C. 85
Niebieskikwiat Szlama 232
Niebudek S. 118
Niegler Moses 232
Niemojewski Andrzej 102, 108, 111
Niemöller Martin 209
Niklil Reycheln 29
Niklos Storketel 20
Nitke Selma 364
Nitsche Heyder 23
Nitschmann Oskar 69
Norchan Joseph 232
Norden Albert 89, 91
Norden Dr 85, 87
Norman 115
Nowak A. 154
Nowak Andrzej 8, 229
Nowicka Bronisława 235
Noyel iudeus 23
Oberstreck Andreas 34
Ochotski Francis 39
Ochs Dr 386
Ochsenhändler Ejzyk 364
Ollendorff, geb. Frank Else 364
Olszewski Henryk 209
Openheim Jakub 272
Oppenheimer Dr 342
Oppenheimer Ela 53
Oppenheimer Jacob (Franciscus Philipus Christophorus) 40, 52
Oppenheimer Max 390
Oppenheimer Moses (Ignatz John Francis) 42, 53
Oppenheimer Samuel 35, 42, 53
Oppersdorf Pauline 40

Orgler Toni 390
Orlík J. 185
Orzechowski Marian 146, 156
Oser of Legnica 25
Ossowski Stanisław 311-12
Oszytko Janusz 9, 385
Ozar 29
Pacelli, cardinal 200
Paczyński Adam Vaclav 36
Padawer Juda 262
Paldiel Mordecai 411
Paluch Andrzej 62
Panaš Š. 417
Panic Idzi 40
Pantener (Panthenawer) brothers 27, 28, 32
Parasol Izaak 253
Parasol Izrael 251
Pařík Arno 298
Pariser Günther 392
Parnas Yoseph 409
Paskowsky Johannes 42
Passelecq G. 194, 198-200
Pastuszka J. 197
Pasz Franciszek 189
Patzelt H. 425
Paulus 26
Pavelčíková 186
Peker Johanne Petrus (Josephus) 52
Pelz Itzig (Isidor) 364
Pericles 113
Perl Erich 390
Perl Flora 76
Perl Fritz 395
Perl Josef 69
Perl Maurycy 69
Perl Max 395
Persikaner Rosa 393
Pese Margot 392
Petir Frederich 26
Petir Kottewicz 26
Petrizi Eva 49
Pfingst Dr 390
Pfütschner von 39
Piasts, dukes 281
Pichler Elias 38
Pick Dr 386, 388
Pick Ernst 96
Pick Otto 396
Piechotka Kazimierz 17, 18
Piechotka Maria 17, 18
Piecuch Konrad 154
Pierenkemper T. 424
Pilarczyk Krzysztof 314, 324
Piłsudski Józef 404
Pinczower Felix 387
Pinczower Israel Chajim 289-90, 296
Pinczower Yehuda Löb 290
Pinkus Hermine 393
Pinkus M. 394
Pinkus, geb. Bernstein Emilie 364
Pitronová Blanka 66
Pius XI, pope 193-4, 197-200, 204
Plaček J. 186
Plaček V. 186, 190
Platten-Hellermund A. 376
Podolecki 106
Pogwizdowski John Nepomuk Francis Antonius 37, 51
Polaczek Franciscus Josephus 52
Polaczek Jacob 37, 52
Polaczek Regina 52
Polak 108, 111, 122
Polak Jerzy 72, 75, 263
Pollack Ernst 391
Pollak Adolf 69
Pollak Albert 69
Pollak Bernhard 69
Pollak Evelina 73, 76
Pollak Leo
Pollak Salomon 68, 70, 75
Pollak Salomona 73
Pollak Sidonie 344
Pollak Sigmund 76
Pollak Theodor 73
Pollak, geb. Bial Anna 364
Pollatschek Hedwig 76
Pollatschek Regin 76
Polna Zofia 236
Poloczkowa Barbara 44, 45
Połomski Franciszek 144, 157, 171, 345-6
Popiołek Franciszek 306
Popiół Maurycy 68

Poppelauer Georg 92
Porat J. 316
Porekunan Zelman 232
Posłuszny Leon 100
Posner Moritz, Richard 364
Potocki F. 204
Prager Berta 364
Prager, geb. Graetzer Klara 364
Praschma Justus 41
Praschma, count 37
Prażmowski A. 136
Preiss 396
Preiss Edith 391
Prentki Helene 392
Presser Antonie 364
Pressner Abraham 72
Preuss Joseph 96
Preysing Conrad von 380
Pringsheim 390
Pringsheim M. 83
Prinz Joseph 390
Prochasek Prof. 82, 85
Prochasel 96
Pröckel Maximilian von Procksdorf 34
Prohaska Johann 69
Proskauer Natalie Marianne 364
Proszyk Jacek 7, 67
Prusinovský Vilém of Víckov 328-9
Pruszkowski 281
Przewodzik 155
Przybylová Blažena 191
Pudełko Janusz 21-22, 24, 27-31
Pulvermacher Benjamin 364
Pulvermacher, geb. Finkelstein Jettka Fromka 364
Putík Alexandr 267, 269
Puzyna, cardinal 108, 114-115
Quittner, family 341
Rabin Israel 12, 88
Rabinowicz Solomon 127
Rabinowitz F. 74
Radda K. 35, 44, 45
Rademacher Franz 165-6
Radimský Jiří 328
Radziminski Felicia Rachel Zipora 364
Rahmer Siegmund 93
Rajewski 231
Rajman Tauba 235
Raphael Jenni 364
Rapoport Dr 129
Rappaport Shmulke 409
Rathenau Walther 148, 152
Rausch Franz 59
Rechnitz Salomon 289
Redlich Else 365
Redlich Emma 365
Redlich Hans 390
Redlich S. 411
Reibnitz E. von 154
Reich Benno 387
Reich Carl 92
Reich Cheim Feiwel 365
Reich Ludig 72
Reichert, geb. Gruner Bianka 365
Reichert, geb. Hirsch Natalie 365
Reichmann Fritz 126, 129-30
Reichmann Hans 388
Reik Bertold 343
Reiner B. 127
Reinke Andreas 13, 428
Reiter Fritz 390
Remak, geb. Brandt Florentine 365
Rentneister 150
Repgen K. 193-4, 204, 208
Reznikow Max 390
Rhode G. 90
Ribbentrop Joachim von 160, 165
Richter E. 328
Riesenfeld 392
Riesenfeld Ernst 365
Riesenfeld Feliks 69
Riesenfeld Gabriela 69
Riesenfeld Ignatz 69
Riesenfeld Jakub 69
Riesenfeld Karl 73
Riesenfeld Mojżesz 69
Riesenfeld Nathan 365
Riesenfeld Paweł 69
Riesenfeld Sidonia 69
Riesenfeld Sophie 76
Riesenfeld, geb. Epstein Margot 365
Riesenfeld, geb. Schatzky Selma 365
Rifke 35

Ringshausen G. 206
Ritter Edmund 365
Rittermann Salo 74
Rivka 55
Robert S. 392
Robinson Siegmund 76
Robinson, geb. Blumenthal Ida 365
Rodał Juda Lajb 251, 253
Rode 145
Röder Julius 39, 41, 45
Röhm E. 148
Rokossowski Konstanty 257
Roller Josef 38
Ronke Wilhelm 79-80, 85, 94
Roon G. Van 380
Ropitzky Josephus Antonius 54
Rosen Anna Catharine 47
Rosen Benjamin 47
Rosen Eva 47
Rosen, geb. Totschek Ernestine 365
Rosenbaum George 390
Rosenbaum Iser 388
Rosenbaum Ludwig 395
Rosenbaum, geb. Goldstein Rachel 365
Rosenbaum, geb. Wartenberg Pauline 366
Rosenberg Alfred 142, 202-3
Rosenberg Hermann 392
Rosenberger Simon 366
Rosenfarb Mordka 366
Rosenfeld 231
Rosenfeld Hersch 409
Rosenthal Ferdinand 84, 87-8
Rosenthal Fritz 396
Rosenthal Irma 366
Rosenthal Max 366
Rosenthal, geb. Hammer Rosamunde 366
Rosenthal, rabbi 132
Rosenzweig 300
Rosenzweig Charles 35
Rosenzweig Ernhard 31
Roser Anna Catharina
Roser Beniamin 55
Rosikat Erich 149-50, 156
Rosner Adolf 344
Rosner M. 68
Rossbach Gerhard 143-5
Rostek Bernard 37
Rotblit Rachela 235
Rotem F. 215
Roth A. 143
Roth Dagobert 366
Roth Ernst 396
Roth Hermann 366
Roth Ida 366
Rothenberg Harri 366
Rothgießer, geb. Wittenberg Laura 366
Rotner Chaim 261
Rotschild Edmund 113, 115
Rottner Ernst 366
Rottner, geb. Eisner Wanda 366
Rubin Samuel 255
Rudnicki 311
Rudolfel David 344
Rund Emanuel 69
Rürup Reinhard 322-3
Rusiecki George 36
Ruta Magdalena 9, 307, 314
Ryfka Ox 267
Ryszka Franciszek 195, 201
Sachs A. 392
Sachs Artur 366
Sachs Edith 392
Sachs Erhardt 397
Sachs Eugen 395
Sachs Gustav 367
Sachs Josef 94
Sachs Kurt 390
Sachs Selma 367
Sadowski Mirosław 9, 171, 239, 345, 375-6
Salinger Elise 390
Salomon Izrael 290
Salomon Marcus 290
Salzmann Chaim (Heimann) 367
Salzmann Chaim 347
Samson Katz 273
Samuel Löbel 42, 53
Samuel Mendel 46, 47
Samuel, prophet 84
Samuś P. 188
Sandauer Artur 307, 313
Sander Max Hermann 367
Sara (Maria Magdalena) 50

Sarcander 45
Sarcander Ignatius 45
Sarzyński Piotr 308
Scari H. von 43, 44, 47
Schabdey iudeus 23, 25
Schächter Chuna 253
Schaefer Dr 385
Schäfer Erich 69
Schäfer Georg 367
Schäfer Heinrich 69
Schäfer Julie 76
Schäfer Margarete 76
Schäfer Oskar 69
Schäfer Paula 71
Schäfer Wilhelm 69
Schäfer Zygmund 69
Schaffir Lajb 252
Schalscha Laura 134
Schanzer Jakob 72
Schanzer Oskar 77
Scharf Emilia 72
Scharf Hani 72
Scharf Nina 72
Scharf Samuel 9, 417-419
Scheffer Tomasz 9, 345, 375
Schein Hans 391
Schein S. 396
Schenirer Sarah 405
Scherschnick John 45
Scherschnick Leopold J. 48
Scheuer Löbel 46
Schewick B. von 193, 195, 205
Scheyer 393
Scheyer Abraham (Sonnenbaum) 269, 278-9
Scheyer Kurt 395
Scheyer Lothar 395
Scheyer Siegfried 390
Schierokauer Bruno 390
Schiffer Moyses Josef 267
Schiftan Moritz 367
Schilchin 26
Schiller Ludwig 367
Schindler Josef Callmann 290
Schindler Peter David 367
Schindler Siegfried 367
Schirokauer 394
Schirrmacher F.W. 18, 20, 27, 29
Schitzkowsky 390
Schlam Jacob 53
Schlam Johanna Helena 53
Schlamm Benno 396
Schlamme, geb. Hirchbach Klara Theressa 367
Schlesinger 385
Schlesinger Arthur 93
Schlesinger D. 391
Schlesinger Erich 170
Schlesinger Ernst 93
Schlesinger Fritz 94
Schlesinger Georg 92-3
Schlesinger Herman 83
Schlesinger Hermann 390
Schlesinger Hugo 83
Schlesinger L. 396
Schlesinger Otto 92
Schlesinger Richard 93
Schlesinger Samuel 83
Schlesinger Vally 396
Schlesinger Victor 93
Schlesinger, geb. Guttentag Berta 367
Schlesinger, geb. Hochmann Josephine 367
Schlesinger Minna 83
Schmalenberg 105
Schmauser Erich Heinrich 169
Schmelt Albrecht 175-7, 179
Schmeltz Berta 76
Schmelz Martha 73
Schmelz Osias 72
Schmerl Salomon 269, 273
Schmetterling Josefina 76
Schmidt G. 376-7
Schmidt-Rösler A. 426
Schmitz R.P. 126, 132, 134, 424
Schmul Alwine 367
Schmul, geb. Wendriner Charlotte 367
Schneider Gerson 367
Schneider, geb. Nitke Johanna 367
Schocken Samuel 368
Scholz E. 324
Schönborn Theodor 17, 18
Schöngut Rosa 73
Schöngut Siegmund 73

Schönwald Salo 368
Schönwald, geb. Lomnitz Margarete 368
Schott Erwin 368
Schottlaender Ottokar 94
Schottlaender Richard 94
Schottlaender, geb. Danziger Johanna 368
Schreiber Anschel 409
Schreiber, geb. Mendelsohn Flora 368
Schreitzer Oswald 393
Schreyer Friedrich 368
Schröder H. 423
Schüftan Heinz 390
Schüftan Louis 396
Schüftan, geb. Jakob Sara 368
Schüftan, geb. Myslowitzer Helene 368
Schüller Georg 92
Schündler Isidor 129
Schutz Leopold 97
Schwartz Adolph (Arye) 402
Schwarz Erich 393
Schwarz Gerhardt (Julius?) 393
Schwarzbaum, geb. Goldberg Johanna 368
Schwedenberg Wilhelm 368
Schweiger Heinrich 394
Schweitzer, geb. Schaefer Gertrud 368
Schwerdfeger B. 380
Schwerin Kurt 90, 170-1
Sedlnicki 41
Seelig Walther 396
Segal Ita 310
Segal Kalman 9, 307-317
Seideman 135
Seideman 252
Seidenberg Georg 368
Seidenberg, geb. Heilborn Friederike Berta 368
Seidler Erich 96
Seife Max 392
Seldte Franz 156
Seliger, geb. Rosenthal Martha 368
Sered A. 317
Severing Carl 147
Sfard David 223
Sheptyts'kyi Andrei 410-13
Sheptyts'kyi Klementyi 411
Shlomi Hana 223, 226
Siedner Louis 390
Silber Max 369
Silber, geb. Hellinger Amalie 369
Silber, geb. Roth Cäcilie 369
Silbergleit Arthur 427
Silbergleit Isidor 92
Silbergleit, geb. Riesenfeld Amalie 369
Silbermann Eugen 394
Silbermann Max 369
Silberschein David 68
Silberstein 417
Silberstein Bruno 390
Silberstein, geb. Freundlich Malwine 369
Simachowicz Anna 70, 76-7
Simachowicz Berthold 70, 77
Simmenauer, geb. Lehr Klara 369
Simon (Andreas) 34, 50
Simon 87
Simon from Cieszyn 271
Simon Hans 390
Simon Jüdel 44
Simon Löbel (Steingraber) 270, 276-7
Simon Löbel 45
Simon Löbel from Odry 277
Simon Moyses 53
Simone N. 53
Simson Meta 369
Singer Anna 39, 52
Singer Anna Maria Felicitas 39, 52
Singer Artur 369
Singer Berthold 341-2
Singer de Wisogurski, family 49
Singer Eufrosina Catharina Leopoldina 39, 52
Singer Feygele 272
Singer Heinrich 369
Singer Hirschel Moyses 269-72
Singer Jacob (Matthias Jacob Christophorus) 39, 52
Singer Jacob 34, 41
Singer Josef 397
Singer Lea 272
Singer Ludwig 46
Singer Matthias Christophorus 49
Singer Moses 39, 40, 41
Singer Moyses 272

Singer Rebeka 271
Singer Samuel 34, 38, 252, 271
Singer, family 34, 38, 41, 49, 425
Six F.A. 142
Skaller Dr 387
Sklarek, geb. Hoffmann Marie 369
Skop Max 395
Skrbensky Charles 37
Skrbensky Georg 37
Smerlyn iudeus 23
Soberski, geb. Flatow Rosalie 369
Sobol Boruch 248
Sokołow Nachum 113
Sommerstein E. 214
Sondheimer 81
Sonnenbaum Lobel 278
Sonnenbaum Scheyer Abraham see Scheyer Abraham (Sonnenbaum)
Sonnenfeld Dr 386
Sonnenfeld Max 369
Sonnenfeld, geb. Danziger Ida 369
Sonnenschein Julie 341
Sonnenschein Markus 341
Sonnenschein Theodor 340-2
Sorsky 390
Spaltenstein 122
Speer A. 177
Spens Ignatius Daniel von Boden 49
Spingarn, geb. Pick Hulda 369
Spitz Artur 369
Spitz Sally 369
Spitz, geb. Bodlaender Anna 370
Spitzer Karl 97
Spitzer Salomon 341
Spitzer, family 341
Spitzer, geb. Münchheimer Margarete 370
Springer Bernard 235
Springer H. 231
Springt Heinrich 69
Spyra Janusz 3, 6, 7, 33-35, 38-42, 60, 72, 75, 263, 268, 271, 335, 339, 425-6
Šramek Pavel 9, 339
St. Genois 41
Stahlecker Walther 167
Stalin Josef 226-7
Steckel Josef 72
Stein 135
Stein A.S. 405
Stein Edith 90, 159
Stein Ernestine 370
Steinauer Paul 370
Steinberg J. 200
Steiner Berta 76
Steiner Bruno 391
Steiner Ludwig 95
Steiner Markus 70, 73, 75-6
Steingraber Simon Löbel see Simon Löbel (Steingraber)
Steinhardt Dr 390
Steinhardt Helmuth 96
Steinhardt Isaak 95
Steinhardt, geb. Rosenbaum Jettel 370
Steinitz Alexander 96
Steinitz Gerhard 395
Steinitz Hans 95
Steinitz, geb. Freund Rosalie 370
Steinitz, geb. Schott Sophie 370
Stekel Berta 73
Stekel Josef 73
Stempel Leopold 370
Stenczlaw mewerer 28
Stenzil Mewrer 27
Štěpán Václav 426
Stern Arthur 95
Stern G. 304
Stern Izaak 253
Stern Jakob 417
Stern Kurt 97
Stern Leonor 370
Stern Martin 95
Stern Otto 159
Sternfeld Leo 370
Steuer Helene 370
Stiebel 390
Stobiecka 134
Stopnicki Jehuda 251
Storketel see Niklos Storketel
Stourz G. 61
Strasser Gregor 146, 149-50, 152, 154, 157
Strasser Otto 150, 157
Straßner Max 370

Strauch 390
Strauss Herbert 160
Strauss Josef 396
Strażnicky Johannes Ignatius 52
Streckenbach 173
Strietzel Heinz 370
Stroheim Josef 92
Strumpfner, geb. Glücksmann Rosa 370
Stryjkowski Julian 308
Stüben J. 427
Suchecky B. 194, 198-200
Suessbach Dr 396
Suesskind 396
Süsskind Salomon 69
Sussman Eduard 394
Süßmann Hermann 393
Szabsy 231
Szaynok Bożena 8, 213, 218, 229, 232
Szczepaniak M. 324
Szenberg Henryk 248
Szenkelbach Wiktor 235-6
Szer Jehuda 371
Szlamkowicz 115
Szolowicz 251
Szperling Stanisław 235
Szpigielman Gitman 252
Sztejberg Dawid 261
Sztrubel 104
Sztyglic 253
Szumer Josef 247
Śliż Małgorzata 7, 59
Świder, deakon 37
Tadamer Emil 256
Tamburlaine 114
Targ Alojzy 102-4, 108, 116, 123-4
Taschymskis 394
Tau Max 427
Taube Chava 405
Tauber Emanuel 390
Tauber M. 394
Teige Josef 267
Teilhaber Fritz 160
Teitelbaum Y. 405
Ternon X 375-9
Teschner Benjamin Elias 48, 55
Teschner Joseph 47, 55
Teschner Theresa 48, 55
Thau Max 371
Theresia 54
Thieberger Simon 71
Thuretzky Hermann 75
Tichauer 390
Tichauer 391
Tichauer 395
Tichauer, geb. Kiksmann Friederike 371
Tiefenbrunn Simon 388
Tieszynsky Matthaus Josephus 54
Tisch Rosalia 76
Tischauer, geb. Schwesenski Walli 371
Tischler Regina 393
Tluk Eva 36
Tochten 73
Tomaszewski Jerzy 229
Töpfer, geb. Hamburger Therese 371
Trajtsman Szulim 240
Tramer, geb. Tramer Sophie 371
Translateur 290
Translateur Hulda 396
Translateur Ismar 390
Translateur Siegfried 393
Treitel Anita 371
Triber Ferdinand 371
Triebl Adolf 73
Troplowitz Max 93
Trzcielińska-Polus A. 429
Tschammler Bruno 179
Tuch, geb. Rosenfeld Emilie 371
Tuch, geb. Schiftan Sofie 371
Tuch, geb. Seidenberg Emma 371
Tugendhat Samuel 72
Türk 152
Tuwim Julian 308
Twaruszka 35
Ucko Anna 371
Ucko Betty 371
Ucko, geb. Tockus Rosalie 371
Unger 170
Unger Joanna 69
Unikower Louis 395
Urbach Fritz 391
Urbainczyk Issak 371
Vincent Charles 45, 53
Visser B.J.J. 194, 200
Vogelmann Mordechaj 132-3, 402

Volk J. 196-7, 203, 379
Volz H. 153
Voss R. von 206
Wachsmann Fritz 390
Wachsmann Siegfried 95
Wachsner Simon 92
Wachstein Bernhard 295, 298
Wachtel Siegmund 73
Wachtl Adolf 75
Wadyas M. 100
Wagner Josef 154
Wagner Max 371
Wagner O. 35
Waitz, bishop 378
Wajs Meisek 232
Walter Julius 344
Wanat 116
Wanderburg V. 187
Wappler Christian 48
Wartenberg Ernst 396
Waschsner Marcus 372
Wasserstrum Jakub 221
Waszkiewicz Ewa 8, 239
Watelsky Julius 396
Wawro I. 234
Weber A. 396
Wechselmann Martin, Samuel 372
Weidel Karl 375
Weil Dr 386
Weil, geb. Jaretzki Philippine 372
Weinberg Josef 247-8, 251
Weinberg Rudolf 372
Weinberg, geb. Petersdorf Irma 372
Weinberger 388
Weinfeld Karl 344
Weinreb Dr 68
Weinstein Arthur 386
Weinstein Dr 385
Weintraub Ita 235
Weiselberg Jakub 252
Weiser Adalheit 128, 131-2, 424
Weisler Hulda 372
Weiss Alexander 71
Weiss Arnold 390
Weiss Dr 390
Weiß Hugo 394
Weiss Leopold 372
Weissberger Jakob 417-18
Weissenberg 170
Weißenberg 392
Weißenberg Max 395
Weissmann 390
Weissmann G. 424
Weissmann Georg 161
Weissmann Hermann 395
Weißstein, geb. Cohn Elise 372
Weißstein, geb. Fuchs Hermine 372
Weizsäcker Ernst von 168
Wendriner 394
Wendriner Lise 393
Wendriner Lothar Bertold 372
Wentzel Hermann 80, 84
Wenzeslaus, prince of Legnica 18, 20, 21, 29
Werber Ernest 68
Werner Arthur 93
Werner E. 386
Wertheim Margot 394
Wexberg Salo 75
Widawer Leo 393
Wiedmann Bertha 69
Wiedmann Joachim 69
Wiener Arnold 161
Wiener Georg 394
Wiener Hugo 93
Wiener Ida 372
Wiener Paul 391
Wiener Solomon 131
Wiener, geb. Epstein Charlotte 372
Wilchfort Markus 69
Wilhelm II, emperor 80
Willner Regina 134
Wimmer Theodor 372
Windmüller Dr 391
Winer 135
Winer Dr 87
Winkler Samuel 94
Winskowitz Oskar 92
Wlaschek Rudolf M. 428
Wodziński Marcin 3, 6, 7, 13, 21, 22, 99, 118, 267, 269, 271, 286-7, 404
Wohl Hedwig 394
Wohlgemuth, geb. Epstein Martha 372
Woitieschin Marianna Catharina 54

Woitieschin Rosina (Sophia) 54
Wolan H. 150
Wolf Dr 385
Wolf Harry 386
Wolf Heinz 391
Wolf Isidor 341-3
Wolf Karla 170-1, 218
Wolf Selig from Holešov 279
Wolf Ulla 428
Wolff Carolus Franciscus Josephus 51
Wolff Dr 392
Wolff Eugen 96
Wolff Siegfried 92
Wolffberg, geb. Arnholz Rahel 372
Wolfsberg Israel Leib 409-10
Wollenberg H.W. 179
Wollner Jacob 93
Woronczak Jan Paweł 8, 287, 289
Woronczak Jerzy 6-8, 11, 281, 287
Woroniecki J. 194
Woysch V. von 154, 173
Wrana Peter 41
Wrzesiński Wojciech 109
Wulff R. 146
Wünsch T. 426
Wurm Hugo 95
Wygodzki Stanisław 308
Wysoczański W. 243
Yehuda son of Itsek 296
Young Owen D. 152
Ysaac of Legnica 32
Zalcman M. 230-1, 234, 236
Zarwanizer Jacob 232
Zatloukal 418
Zawisza Oskar 36
Zbierawski W. 198
Zedlitz see Hans Czedlitz
Zelicki Paweł 214
Zellner Hano 392
Zellner Herbert 96
Zerkowski Eugen 372
Zernik Bruno 94
Zerykier Eliasz 252
Zielicka Ita 235
Zieliński Z. 202, 204-5, 207
Ziffer (Czepherer) Joseph Adam 38, 51
Ziffer Abraham (John Benedict) 40, 41
Ziffer Esther 55
Ziffer Ferdinand 273, 275
Ziffer Helenca 41
Ziffer Jacob 55
Ziffer Jacob Isak 275
Ziffer Josef 270, 272-3
Ziffer Joseph 41
Ziffer Marcus (Meir) 275
Ziffer Marianna 41
Ziffer Shraga Faivish 272-3
Ziffer, family 38, 41
Zimmermann Emil 93
Zimmermann V. 184-5
Zülzer, geb. Glaser Friederike 373
Zumwinkel (Zum Winkel) Arnold 18-23, 26-29, 31-32
Zweig Alma 373
Zweig Dr. 394
Zweig Hugo 373
Zweig, geb. Stahl Fani 373
Zwirn Samuel 252
Zybulska Elisabeth 376-7
Zybulska S. 376
Zymbler Feiwel 373
Żerelik Rościsław 18, 27, 29, 324
Żmigrod Ludwik 129
Żoch E. 308
Żyndul Jolanta 107

# Major political and administrative divisions in Silesia (Śląsk) before 1939




Głogów
LEGNICA
Jawor
Oleśnica
WROCŁAW
Świdnica
Brzeg
OPOLE
Strzelce
Toszek
Niemodlin
Nysa
Kłodzko
Bytom
Kozle
Katowice
Racibórz
Opava
Cieszyn

- Duchy borders in early 14th century
- Capitals of Silesian Duchies
- Legnica district (19th century)
- Wrocław district (19th century)
- Opole district (19th century)
- Austrian Silesia (1742-1918); capital in Opava
- The Province of Lower Silesia (1922-1939); capital in Wrocław
- The Province of Upper Silesia (1922-1939); capital in Opole
- Czech Silesia (1918-1928); capital in Opava
- Polish Voivodeships of Silesia (1922-1938); capital in Katowice

## INDEX OF PLACES


Abbau Kolonie Brinsk 359
Albrechtice see Velké Albrechtice
Alexandria 90
Alt Berun see Bieruń Stary
Altkloster 351
Amsterdam 89
Angola 124
Anschensis see Aš
Antoniów 389
Aš 42, 53
Assyria 82
Auschwitz-Birkenau 169, 170, 177, 179, 189, 192, 254, 282, 427
Austria 61, 78, 126, 186, 193, 200, 286, 310
Babylon 82, 86
Baden 165, 167
Bavaria 143, 145-6, 194
Bąków 392
Bełżec 169
Bergen-Belsen 89
Berlin 42, 54, 88-90, 92-96, 113, 118, 167, 170, 282, 286, 323, 325, 360, 364, 367, 376, 379-80, 387-393, 395-7, 428
Berlin-Neukölln 90
Bernstadt see Bierutów
Beskidy Mountains 190
Bethel 377
Beuthen see Bytom
Będzin 42, 54, 116, 173-4, 189, 248-9, 251-6, 258-60, 286, 294, 387, 405
Biała (in Galicia) 67, 72, 132, 247, 249, 258, 262-3
Biała (Zülz) 8, 12-13, 90, 277, 281-2, 284-7, 289-90, 293-4, 365, 397
Bielany 371
Bielawa 178, 217, 222, 241
Bielefeld 377
Bielitz see Bielsko
Bielorussia 167
Bielsko 7, 60, 62-78, 107, 116, 125-126, 249, 251, 253-256, 258-9, 261, 263, 272, 274, 335, 342, 423-5
Bielsko-Biała 10, 70, 72-3, 260-3
Bielsko-Olszówka Dolna 73
Bieruń Stary 258
Bierutów 92, 351, 354
Bílovec 46, 60, 62-64, 182-5, 268-9, 277, 299-300, 333, 335-6, 340, 425
Birkenau see Auschwitz-Birkenau
Biro-Bidgan 124
Bludovice 42, 45, 53, 188
Błogocice 48-9
Bobrek 42, 45, 48-9, 54
Bobrk 273, 275
Bogdanowice 286
Bogucice 128
Boguszowice 42, 53
Boguszów 241
Bohemia 115, 181, 267, 274, 286, 294, 331, 332
Bohumín 42, 53, 60, 62-65, 188-89, 333, 336, 425
Bohumín nádraží 335
Bolesławiec 365
Bolkenheim see Bolków
Bolków 227, 241
Boskovice 37, 52
Boża Góra see Boguszów
Brandenburg-Prussia 87, 321-3
Branice 391

Brazil 107, 396
Bremen 167
Breslau see Wrocław
Brest 107, 411
Brieg see Brzeg
Briesen 357
Brno 332, 360, 425
Bruntál 60, 63-64, 182-5, 299-300, 333, 336, 340
Bryków 128
Brzeg 92, 156, 177, 286, 293, 357, 373
Brzeg Dolny 286
Brzezinka 372
Brzezówka 51
Buchenwald 162
Buczacz 116
Budapest 87
Buenos Aires 107
Bukovina 70
Bunzlau see Bolesławiec
Buřenice 328
Bützow 370
Byczyna 385, 395
Bydgoszcz 356
Bystřice 188
Bystrzyca Śląska 241
Bytom 45, 79, 80, 82, 84, 87-90, 92-6, 128, 132, 144, 147, 152, 161, 162, 247, 248, 251, 253-5, 286, 351-2, 354, 360, 366, 368, 385-8, 390, 423-34, 427
Carlsruhe see Pokój
Čechoslovakia 78, 181, 183, 188, 190
Česká Ves 183
Český Šternberk 332
Český Těšín 38, 187-9, 263, 302, 333, 335-336
Cheb 182
Chebzie 96
Chełm Wielki 93
Chemnitz 350
China 90
Chojnice 162
Chojnów 8, 229-238, 241
Chorzów 80-5, 87, 89, 92, 94-6, 101, 103, 106-7, 111-12, 114-16, 249, 252-4, 256, 258, 260, 263, 358, 424
Chrzanów 116, 173
Cierlicko 36
Cieszanów 253
Cieszowa 258, 289
Cieszyn 5, 7, 10, 33-42, 45-50, 52-53, 55, 60-6, 181, 187, 189-90, 249-50, 253, 255-6, 258-9, 263, 268-76, 278, 286, 299, 326, 333, 335, 425-6
Cieszyn see also Český Těšín
Cleveland 423
Columbia 389
Congress Poland 127, 137
Cosel see Koźle
Cottbus 360
Cracow 51, 75, 77-8, 132, 175, 176, 247, 249
Cukmantl 183
Czech Republic 11, 13
Czeladź 258
Czempin 356
Czeski Cieszyn see Český Těšín
Częstochowa 247, 294
Danzig see Gdańsk
Dąb 128
Dąbrowa Górnicza 173, 249-51, 253, 258
Dąbrówka Górna 171
Delatyn 112
Delmenhorst 364
Dobrodzień 92, 286, 294, 350, 353, 366, 372, 385, 392
Dolna 177
Dolzig 364
Dortmund 423
Doubrava 188
Dresden 97, 363
Drogomyśl 41, 256, 269, 274
Duisburg 428
Düssseldorf 167, 390
Duszniki Zdrój 241
Dworski Młyn 162
Dyhernfurth see Brzeg Dolny
Dziedzice 258-9
Dzierżoniów 215-16, 219, 241, 244, 358, 361
Eastern Prussia 321, 428
Eidlitz 359

England 162, 169, 269
Eywan 36
Falkenberg see Niemodlin
Fordon 355
France 85, 89, 113, 164-5, 168, 193, 267
Frankenstein see Ząbkowice
Frankfurt 53, 425
Frankfurt-on-Oder 350
Freiburg see Świebodzice
Freiburg im Breisgau 95, 194, 207, 377
Freiheit see Svoboda
Freising 204, 379
Freistadt see Fryštát
Freiwaldau see Jeseník
Freudenthal see Bruntál
Friedek see Frýdek
Frunze 230
Frýdek 41, 43-4, 47, 60, 62-3, 66, 190-2, 273-4, 335-7
Frýdek-Místek 190, 333-334, 337, 425
Frýdlant 334, 337
Fryštát 35, 41, 60, 62-5, 187-9, 273, 275, 333, 335, 336, 417, 425
Frývaldov see Jeseník
Fulda 195, 204, 206-9, 378, 380-1
Fürth 286, 403
Galicia 48-9, 59, 62-3, 67-8, 70, 77, 115-16, 127, 137, 411
Gdańsk 234, 326
Gdynia 104
Gera 368
Germany 11, 13, 40, 68, 78, 84, 85, 89, 93, 113, 115, 121, 123, 125-6, 133, 141-142, 144, 146, 148, 150, 153-8, 160, 162, 164-5, 181, 183, 194-5, 199-204, 206, 208-9, 250, 261, 267, 321-, 421
Gierałtowice 93
Glatz see Kłodzko
Gleiwitz see Gliwice
Gliwice 79, 80, 83, 85, 87, 92-95, 144, 147, 149, 151, 156-7, 161-2, 170, 176-7, 189, 249-50, 252-5, 258-9, 291, 294, 324, 353-4, 369, 373, 385-8, 392, 394, 424, 427
Glogau see Głogów
Głogów 20, 34, 93, 154, 281, 359, 367
Głogówek 286, 385, 395, 424
Głubczyce 258-9, 299, 352, 366, 385-6, 393-394
Głuchołazy 397
Głuszyca 241
Gniezno 324, 361, 363
Gogolin 177, 350, 366, 391
Goldberg see Złotoryja
Goldingen 349
Goleszów 46
Golub 349-50
Görlitz see Zgorzelec
Gorzów Śląski 362, 385, 393
Gostyń 356
Górne Cierlicko 36
Grabów 355-6
Grandorf 365
Grätz see Hradec
Great Britain 231
Great Poland see Wielkopolska
Greece 86-87, 113
Grodków 385, 391
Grodno 37, 51
Grodziec 47
Gross Stein see Kamień Śląski
Groß Strehlitz see Strzelce Opolskie
Grossherzogtum Posen see Wielkopolska
Gross-Rosen 178-9, 239, 346
Grottkau see Grodków
Grüssau 166, 171
Gryfino 286
Gubin 95
Guttentag see Dobrodzień
Haifa 89
Hajduki Nowe 96, 370
Hajduki Wielkie 95
Hala Boracza 137
Halberstadt 286
Halle 289
Halych 411
Hamburg 167, 274
Hartheim 376
Hažlach 273
Heidelberg 90, 421
Hennersdorf 93
Hermanice 276
Hertheim 377

Hessen 205
Hindenburg see Zabrze
Hirschberg see Jelenia Góra
Hlučín 55, 181, 183, 186-7, 286, 299, 301, 326, 340, 361, 365
Hohenlohenhütte 128
Holešov (Moravia) 42, 53, 279, 305
Holland 162, 388, 396
Horní Benešov 63, 183
Horní Sucha 273
Horodenka 352, 358
Hotzenplotz see Osoblaha
Hradec 65
Hrušov 190, 192
Hultschin see Hlučín
Hungaria 53, 115, 193, 274
Ignacew 128
Insbruck 378
Insterburg 372
Israel 227, 241-2, 250, 253-4, 261, 309-10, 315-16, 413
Italy 113, 199
Izbica 169
Jablunkov 63-64, 188
Jägerndorf see Krnov
Jaktar 183
Janov 65
Jaraczewo 354
Jarocin 351
Jarząbkowice 51
Jasienica 71
Jaśkowice 177
Jauer see Jawor
Javornik 63
Jawor 29, 48, 70-1, 75, 78, 241, 354
Jelenia Góra 216, 218, 241, 350, 372
Jeleniów 178-9
Jeleśnia 134
Jerusalem 87, 89, 241, 282, 307, 315-17, 402
Jeseník 60, 62-63, 182-185, 299-300, 333, 335-6, 340, 425
Jevíčko 274, 279
Jindřichov 63-64
Jistebník 278
Józefów 128
Kaczawa River 22
Kaliningrad 165, 325
Kalisz 363
Kamienna Góra 178, 241
Kamień Śląski 391
Kamieńsk 127
Karlino 371
Karlovy Vary 182
Karviná 60, 188-90, 333, 335-6, 417
Kateřinky 183
Katowice 7, 9-10, 80-2, 87, 93, 95-7, 100, 102, 104, 106, 115-18, 120, 122, 125-9, 131, 133-8, 154-5, 174-5, 187, 247-50, 253-63, 309, 311, 324, 348, 354-5, 366, 401-5, 411, 414, 424
Katowicka Hałda 128
Kattowitz see Katowice
Kaunas 167, 422
Kazakhstan 230
Kazanów 93
Kazimierz 167, 276
Kędzierzyn 144, 151
Kępno 95, 289, 296, 353, 363-5, 367
Kiel 96
Kielce 216, 221, 240, 249-50
Kietrz 286, 395
Kirkizia 230
Klimkovice 39, 63, 183, 299-300, 340
Kluczbork 81-2, 86-7, 145, 151, 153-4, 258-9, 361, 463-464-4, 385-6, 391-3, 395, 424, 427
Kłobuck 247
Kłodzko 241, 368
Kokotek 350
Kolešovice 362
Köln 167, 194, 207, 380
Komorzno 95
Königsberg see Kaliningrad
Königsberg see Klimkovice
Königshütte see Chorzów
Königswinter 426
Konská 273
Konstadt see Wołczyn
Korfantów 286
Kotzenau 370
Kovno see Kaunas
Koziegłowy 257

Koźle 96-7, 147, 162, 177, 258-9, 286, 366, 369, 385-6, 391
Koźmin 351, 362
Kórnik 286
Kraków see Cracow
Králíky 183
Krapitz see Krapkowice
Krapkowice 286
Krasków 289
Kreuzburg see Kluczbork
Krnov 35, 60, 62-4, 182-5, 268, 271, 277-8, 289, 302, 333, 335-6, 339-40, 343-4
Kroměříž 305, 327
Kromołów 127, 258, 294
Krotoszyn 286, 293, 351-2, 353-5, 357, 370
Królewska Huta see Chorzów
Krzepice 294
Krzeszów see Grüssau
Krzywiczyny 396
Kudowa 222
Kunčice 274
Kunčičky 190
Kup 395
Landeshut 360
Landeshut see Kamienna Góra
Landsberg see Gorzów Śląski
Langendorf see Wielowieś
Lanškroun 183
Latvia 167
Lauben see Lubań
Lazy 188
Legnica 7, 17-27, 29-32, 147, 157, 222, 227, 237, 241, 245, 324, 349, 357
Leipzig 354, 371
Leobschütz see Głubczyce
Leszno 286, 349-51, 363, 365, 371
Leśnica 286
Liberec 182
Lichowetz 43
Limburg 378
Linnich 349
Linz 310
Lipiny 95, 96, 102
Lipník 418
Lipnik-Biała 67
Lipowiec 43
Litenczicz 51
Lithuania 167, 326
Little Poland see Małopolska
London 90, 113, 423, 425
Loslau see Wodzisław Śląski
Lostice 286
Lubaczów 253
Lubań 371
Lubawka 241
Lubeka 95, 396
Lublin 165, 169
Lubliniec 90, 94, 258, 362, 369
Lublinitz see Lubliniec
Ludwikowice 216-17, 241
Lutomiersk 351
Lviv see Lwów
Lwów 70, 120, 132, 231, 253, 286, 401-2, 409-12, 415
Łabędy 286, 392-3
Łagiewniki 360
Łaziska Górne 176
Łęczyca 286
Łódź 262
Mackensen 366
Madagascar 123, 165-6
Madrid 113
Magdeburg 92, 375
Magnuszowice 176
Mainz 205, 207
Małopolska 37, 115, 119
Marburg 429
Marklowice 273
Markowice 154
Mecklenburg-Vorpommern 323
Medea 413
Melč 269, 278
Miasteczko Śląskie 89
Michálkovice 190
Miechowice 94, 176, 394
Miejsce 286, 289, 293
Mieroszów 222, 241
Mikołajowice 20
Mikołów 255, 258, 294, 351, 358
Mikulczyce 394
Mikulov 286

Miłocice 284
Miłosław 358
Miłoszyce 176
Místek 47, 67
Místek see also Frýdek- Místek
Mixstadt 357, 363
Modrzejów 249, 252, 294
Mohelnice 327
Moravia 40-2, 46-7, 52, 60, 62, 181, 267-8, 274, 277, 279, 286, 299, 302, 327, 331-2, 334, 343
Moravian Ostrava see Ostrava
Moscow 166, 215, 227
Mrzygłód 257
Mszana 42
Müchlatschütz see Miłocice
Muglinov 190
Munich 142, 144-8, 154, 163, 181, 184-5, 190, 204, 371, 379
Münster 377, 424
Münsterberg see Ziębice
Murowana 358
Myslowitz see Mysłowice
Mysłowice 81, 85-7, 89-90, 92-3, 95, 107, 127-8, 249-50, 253, 256, 258, 355, 362, 369, 371-2, 394
Myszków 177, 257
Nakło 361
Namslau see Namysłów
Namysłów 373
Nasielsk 367, 374
Náves 188
Neisse see Nysa
Neukirch see Nowy Kościół
Neumarkt see Środa Śląska
Neusalz see Nowa Sól
Neustadt see Prudnik
New York 94
Niemcza 241
Niemodlin 177
Niemodlin 362
Nierodzim 46
Nikolstadt 20
Nimptsch see Niemcza
Nisko 171, 190-1
Nordhausen 390
Norway 427
Novy Bohumín see Bohumín
Nový Bydžov 274
Nowa Ruda 241
Nowa Sól 178, 218
Nowy Kościół 27
Nowy Sącz 252, 356
Nuremberg 152, 161, 163, 184, 187, 191-2, 195, 231
Nysa 81, 90, 92, 162, 268, 271, 286, 304, 350-1, 357, 361, 385, 396
Oberglogau see Głogówek
Obersersno 395
Oderberg see Bohumín
Odra River 190
Odry 63, 183, 268, 270, 277
Oels see Oleśnica
Ohlau see Oława
Olbersdorf see Velké Albrechtice
Olbrachcice 286
Oldenburg 427, 430
Oldřišov 186
Olesno 351, 355, 368, 370, 385, 396
Oleśnica 92
Olkusz 286
Olomouc 305, 327
Oława 354, 361, 364
Opava 5, 8-10, 39, 42, 45-6, 49, 53, 59-60, 62-6, 72, 77, 182-6, 268-71, 275, 277-8, 299, 304-5, 333-5, 337, 339-43, 417, 425
Opavica 286
Opole 9, 10, 79, 80-1, 83, 87, 95, 105, 144-5, 151-5, 157, 161-2, 170, 173, 177, 179, 186, 249-50, 252-5, 258, 260, 281, 286, 324, 363, 385-6, 388-90, 395-6, 424
Opole Lubelskie 169
Oppeln see Opole
Orlová 9, 40, 41, 188-9, 417-19
Osnabrück 380
Osoblaha 9, 62-3, 66, 183, 285-6, 293, 299, 303-4, 327-30, 333, 335, 337, 341, 423, 425
Ostrava 62, 66, 186, 188, 190-2, 302, 335, 389
Ostrava see also Polská Ostrava
Ostravice River 190

Ostrów 348, 360, 372
Ostrów Lubelski 252
Oświęcim 42, 53, 173, 358
Otmęt 177, 286
Otmuchów 395
Ottmachau see Otmuchów
Paczków 395
Paderborn 194, 207, 380
Palestine 86, 89, 119, 121-2, 135, 143, 161, 219, 225-7, 231, 237, 250, 253, 255, 343, 390, 392-4, 397, 422
Paris 113, 165, 421
Paskov 42, 333-, 337
Patschkau see Paczków
Peiskretscham see Pyskowice
Persia 413
Petřvald 188-9
Pierściec 41
Pieszyce 216-7, 241
Piękne Kąty 92
Pilzno 77
Piła 165
Piława Górna 241
Pitschen see Byczyna
Plateinen 355
Pleß see Pszczyna
Pleszewo 353, 368-9
Płock 17
Pogorzela 361
Pogwizdów 37, 51
Pokój 357, 385, 391
Poland 11, 13, 17, 42, 54-5, 62, 85, 89, 112-14, 116, 118-19, 121-4, 126, 129-30, 137-8, 141, 148, 155, 160, 164-5, 181, 187, 189, 213-15, 218-28, 239, 242-4, 247, 250, 253-4, 257, 259-60, 274, 282, 285-6, 309, 311, 314-17, 323, 407
Polská Ostrava 190, 335
Pomerania 118, 156, 286, 321, 324, 392, 428
Popielów 395
Poppelau see Popielów
Poruba 188
Potempa 154
Poznań 17, 234, 321, 353, 360-2, 372
Prague 42, 52-3, 267, 269, 286, 289, 332-5, 340, 419, 425
Prądy 177
Prenzlau 286
Přerov 42, 54, 305
Příbram 41
Proštejov 305
Proszków 286
Prudnik 12, 80, 83, 162, 258-9, 281-2, 286, 327, 329, 354, 369, 385, 394, 397
Prussia 87, 143-6, 153, 284, 321, 324
Przytyk 107
Pszczyna 88, 93, 249, 255, 258, 324
Pyrenees Mountains 165
Pyskowice 258, 289, 292, 295, 369, 385, 395
Racibórz 34, 95, 151-2, 155, 161-2, 176, 186, 258-9, 286, 324, 355, 359, 385-6, 396
Radomsko 127
Radvanice 190
Radwanice 93
Radzionków 362
Raszków 372
Ratibor see Racibórz
Ratingen 5, 424
Rattnocz 356
Rawicz 286, 348, 358, 366
Regensburg 367
Reichenbach see Dzierżoniów
Reval 167
Riebnig 166, 170-1, 376
Riga 167
Rogoźno 362, 368
Roj 40
Rome 86-7, 113, 198
Ropica 46
Rosenberg see Olesno
Rot Landsberg 396
Rottenburg 377
Roździeń 95, 348, 353
Rudzica 37, 275
Ruhr Basin 144, 154
Russia 113
Rybna see Riebnig

Rybnik 81, 87, 92, 97, 120, 249, 256, 258, 294, 361
Rychvald 188
Rynarzewo 359
Rzepin 286
Rzeszów 132
Rzędzinowice 177
Sachsen 323
Sachsen-Anstalt 323
Sadów 356
Salzburg 378
Samarkand 230, 234
San Francisco 90
San River 174
Sankt Petersburg 113
Sanok 253, 307
Sao Paulo 388
Sarny Wielkie 177
Scherneberg 378
Schildberg 356, 359, 363
Schlüchtern (Hessen) 348
Schönaich 92
Schönbach 367
Schönbrunn see Svinov
Schönichel see Šunychl
Schönlanke 94, 369
Schwarzwald 363
Schweidnitz see Świdnica
Schwerin 358
Schwersenz 368
Sejny 364
Šenov 37, 51
Sędziszów 55
Shanghai 90
Sicily 421
Sieciechów 92
Sieroniowice 177
Siewierz 258, 263
Šilherovice 186
Simmenau see Szymonków
Skoczów 33, 40, 45-6, 62-4, 249, 256, 270, 273, 275, 335, 425
Skotschau see Skoczów
Skřečoň 188
Skrochovice 185
Sławiścice 286
Smilovice 270, 275
Sobibór 169
Sohrau see Żory
Sokolec 92
Solice Zdrój 241
Sosnowiec 116, 173-4, 179, 189, 248-9, 252, 254-6, 258, 260-1, 365, 371
Soviet Union 112, 114-115, 148, 215, 218, 221-2, 229, 239-40, 253, 309
Spain 85-6, 89, 113
St Anna's Mount 156, 177, 179
Stachlovice 304
Städtel see Miejsce
Stillerfeld see Stolarzowice
Stolarzowice 395
Stolp 369
Strebowitz see Třebovice
Striegau see Strzegom
Střítež 188
Strumień 40, 48, 50, 63-4, 274
Strzegom 241, 349, 370
Strzelce Opolskie 81-2, 86-7, 162, 177, 255, 352, 364-5, 385, 391
Strzeleczki 286
Strzemieszyce 252
Studénka 183
Šunychl 60, 66, 335
Svibice 188
Svinov 66, 183, 185, 302
Svitavy 327
Svoboda 301
Sweden 35
Szamotuły 359
Szczecin 164-5
Szczepanowice 389
Szczerzec 401, 409, 411
Szklarska Poręba 179
Szopienice 97
Szram 349, 352
Szymonków 396
Ścinawa 286
Środa Śląska 92
Środula 254
Świdnica 23, 25, 31, 150-2, 154, 227, 241, 245, 360
Świebodzice 241
Świętochłowice 95
Świętoszówka 47, 55

Tarnowitz see Tarnowskie Góry
Tarnowskie Góry 80, 82, 86-8, 92, 94-5, 349, 372
Tarnów 37, 51, 356
Tenczyn 36
Teresienstadt 167, 170-1, 185, 192, 345
Terezín see Teresienstadt
Teschen see Cieszyn
Thüringen 323
Tilsit 392
Tormersdorf 166, 170-1
Toruń 92
Toschek see Toszek
Toszek 97, 258, 289-90, 292, 295, 349, 385, 396
Toszonowice 36
Třanovice 273, 333-4, 337
Trebnitz see Trzebnica
Třebovice 65, 277-9
Třinec 188-9
Troppau see Opava
Trzebnica 361
Tshymkient 230
Tworóg 293, 296
Uganda 124
Ujazd 286, 290
Ukraine 294
Ulicko 93
United States 160, 167, 252, 323, 395-7
Úsov 277
Ústí nad Labem 182
Ustroń 43-5, 47
Úvalno 334, 337
Uzbekistan 230
Varsailles 143
Vatican 196
Velka Poloma 65
Velké Albrechtice 44, 63, 183, 300, 334, 337
Víckov 328
Vidnava 63, 268-70, 279, 286, 299, 304, 333-4, 337, 423
Vienna 48, 59, 70, 88, 95, 150, 165, 167, 282, 286, 295, 305, 342, 355, 358-9, 372, 389, 397, 401-2, 425
Vilna see Wilno
Vítkov 47, 63, 183
Vratimov 42
Vrbno 35, 63
Vyškov 328
Wadowice 189
Wagstadt see Bílovec
Waldenburg see Wałbrzych
Wałbrzych 216, 219, 222, 227, 241, 244-5, 357, 390
Warsaw 104, 227, 231, 240-1, 243-4, 259, 324-5
Wąwolin 169
Wehlau 367
Weidenau see Vidnava
West Prussia 321, 324, 326
Węzłowiec 93
Wielkopolska 87, 156, 324, 326
Wielowieś 8, 258, 284, 286, 289-98, 351, 359, 385, 392
Wierzbie 286, 369
Wilno 231
Winzig see Wińsko
Wińsko 372
Wirek 96
Wiślica 364
Wodzisław Śląski 90, 92, 286, 353, 355
Wołczyn 293, 367, 385, 392
Worms 364
Woźniki 93, 371
Wrocław 5, 9-11, 17, 20, 22-3, 25, 28, 31-2, 36, 41-3, 87-90, 92-3, 95, 99, 143-4, 147-9, 154-7, 159, 166-7, 169-70, 172, 175-7, 194, 204, 206-7, 216, 218-20, 222, 226, 234, 237, 239-42, 244-5, 267, 269, 272, 275, 282, 286, 323-5, 345-73, 375-8, 381, 383, 389-93, 395-7, 402-3, 421-3, 429
Wronki 349
Zabąszyń 68, 162
Zaborze 80-1, 86-7, 94, 97
Zabrze 87, 92-4, 97, 144-5, 147, 150-1, 155, 161-2, 247, 250, 252-3, 255, 258, 260, 366, 369, 385-6, 388, 392, 394, 423
Zagórze see Piława Górna
Zakrzów 95, 177
Zawadzkie 396

Zawiercie 127, 173, 248-50, 252-5, 257-8
Zawisna 396
Zawodzie 95, 128
Ząbkowice 241, 352
Zbąszynek 162
Zebrzydowice 275
Zehdenick 286
Zgorzelec 154, 157
Zielona Góra 324
Zięblice 241, 286
Zigenhals see Głuchołazy
Zlaté Hory 63, 299, 304
Złotoryja 29, 236, 241
Zulova 65
Zülz see Biała
Żarki 257-8
Żary 241, 286
Żory 90, 92, 95, 258-9, 370, 424

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS


- p. 21 – Reconstructed location of the Jewish cemetery according to 1451 sources. Reconstruction of the inner-town structure – J. Pudełko, 'Zagadnienia urbanistyczne średniowiecznej Legnicy w świetle spisu czynszowego z roku 1451. Próba rekonstrukcji parcelacji', *Kwartalnik Historii Architektury i Urbanistyki* 16/4 (1971).
- p. 24 – Jewish property on Castle St. according to the tax roll of 1372. Modified reconstruction of J. Pudełko, 'Zagadnienia urbanistyczne średniowiecznej Legnicy w świetle spisu czynszowego z roku 1451. Próba rekonstrukcji parcelacji', *Kwartalnik Historii Architektury i Urbanistyki*, 16/4 (1971).
- p. 30 – Property defined as Jewish or formely Jewish in the tax roll of 1451. Modified reconstruction of J. Pudełko, 'Zagadnienia urbanistyczne średniowiecznej Legnicy w świetle spisu czynszowego z roku 1451. Próba rekonstrukcji parcelacji', *Kwartalnik Historii Architektury i Urbanistyki* 16/4 (1971).
- p. 61 – Austrian Silesia with the division into Jewish religious communities from 1900. (Prep. by Janusz Spyra)
- after p. 110 – Title page of the first issue of *Do czynu* daily (from the collection of the Jagiellonian Library in Krakow).
- p. 182 – Czech Silesia after the Munich agreement and during world War II (1938-1945). (Prep. by Mečislav Borák)
- after p. 280 – Catalogue of Jewish Seals
- after p. 288:
  Biała, tombstone of Jehuda Leib b. Issachar Beerman Segal, 1700 (photo Marcin Wodziński).
  Biała, tombstone of Samuel b. Jehuda Katz, 1725 (photo Marcin Wodziński).
- after p. 292:
  Wielowieś, a rococo tombstone (photo Marcin Wodziński).
  Wielowieś, tombstone of Josef b. Abraham (photo Marcin Wodziński).
  Wielowieś, tombstone of Menachem Mendel b. Israel, 1782 (photo Marcin Wodziński).

- after p. 304:
  Synagogue in Krnov, postcard from 1930s (Silesian Regional Museum in Opava).
  Jewish cemetery in Osoblaha, 1928 (photo Institute of Monuments in Brno).
  Synagogue in Osoblaha. A drawing of the facade of the synagogue from early 19th century (Silesian Regional Museum in Opava).
  Synagogue in Opava, designed by Jakob Gartner, 1893 (Jewish Museum in Praque).
  Synagogue in Opava, postcard from 1930s (Silesian Regional Museum in Opava).
- after p. 416:
  Rabbi Kalman Chameides (from the private collection of the author).
  Letter from Lwów Ghetto (26th October 1942).
- Major political and administrative divisions in Silesia (Śląsk) until 1939 (map).