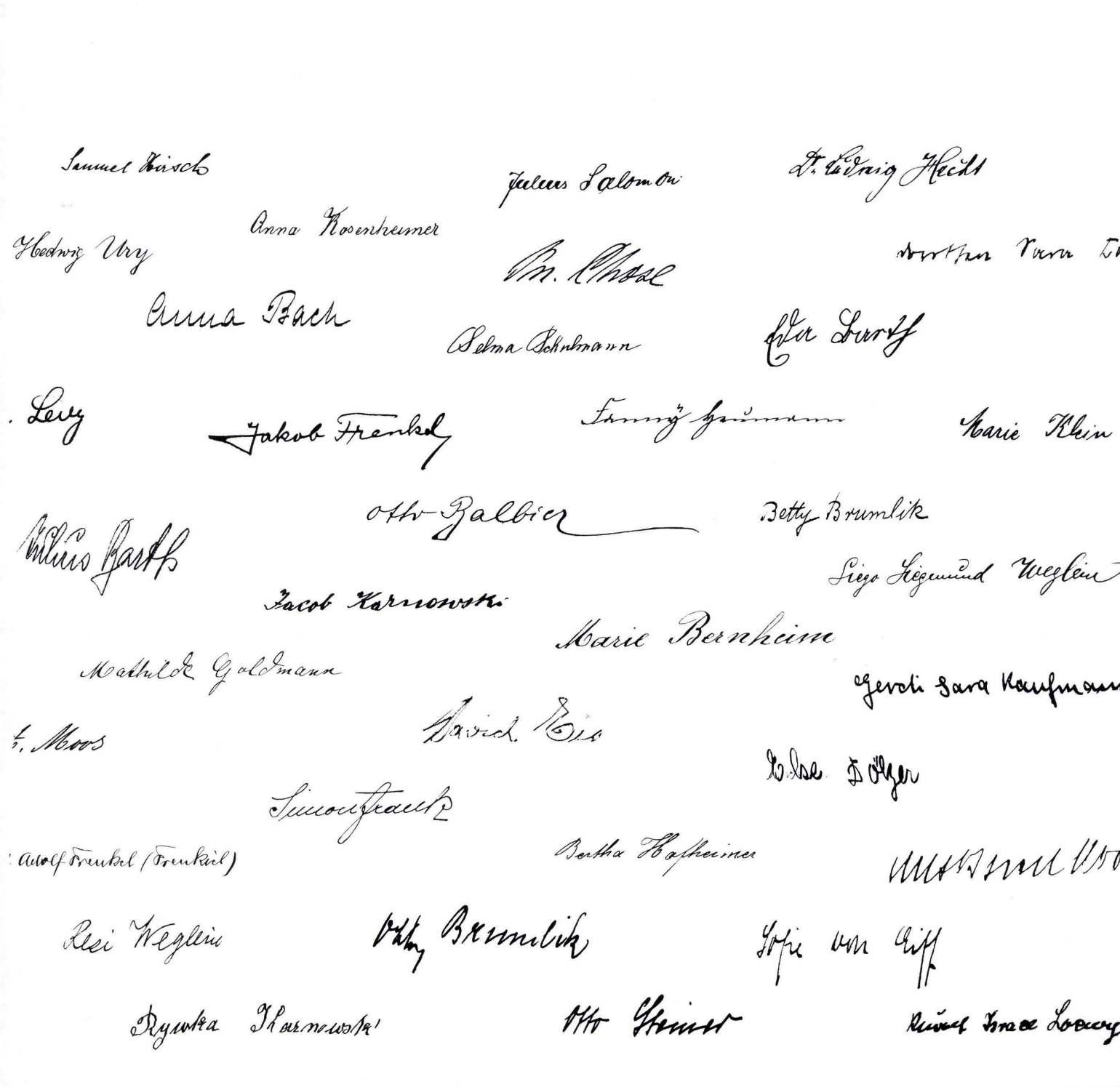
Ingo Bergmann



AND ALWAYS REMEMBER ME

Memorial Book
for the Holocaust Victims
of Ulm



Ingo Bergmann

AND ALWAYS REMEMBER ME

Memorial Book
for the Holocaust Victims
of Ulm

klemm + oelschläger

6 FOREWORD

7 ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

8 INTRODUCTION
8 NEW BEGINNING AND LEGAL EQUALITY
9 RELIGIOUS LIFE
10 ECONOMIC LIFE
11 THE EINSTEIN FAMILY IN ULM
12 ANTI-SEMITISM AND THE FIRST WORLD WAR
13 START OF DISCRIMINATION AND OSTRACISM
14 NAZI RACE POLICY
15 EXPULSION FROM ECONOMIC LIFE
16 KRISTALLNACHT POGROM
18 FLIGHT AND EMIGRATION
19 GHETTOISATION
19 DEPORTATION AND EXTERMINATION
22 SURVIVORS
23 POST-WAR PERIOD
23 FRESH START
23 ABOUT THE MEMORIAL BOOK
24 ABOUT THE ENGLISH TRANSLATION

25 BIOGRAPHIES

172 BIBLIOGRAPHY

174 NOTES

182 PICTURE CREDITS

184 IMPRINT

FOREWORD

Almost 50 years ago, the City of Ulm commissioned Heinz Keil to document the persecution of the Jewish citizens of Ulm – an extremely early example at the time of an act of remembrance by a German city for the Jewish victims of terror and persecution. As new findings came to light it was clear that many details were in need of correction. Thus, on the Day of Remembrance for the Victims of National Socialism, 27th January 2009, the Ulm Gemeinderat (Municipal Council) declared that a memorial book for the murdered and deported Jewish citizens of Ulm would be created, in order to express sympathy and to create a reliable foundation for the culture of remembrance in Ulm. The meticulous research laid bare the magnitude of the crimes, revealing that there were far more victims than first thought. At the same time, however, the work did offer hope: many of the former Jewish citizens and their descendants, as well as some current citizens of Ulm, have provided enlightening pictures and previously unknown documents for this book and have helped with information. My first thank-you must go to all of them. For his dedicated and intensive work I thank the author of the Memorial Book, Mr Ingo Bergmann. The editorial work was undertaken by Mr Ulrich Seemüller und Prof Dr Michael Wettengel from the Haus der Stadtgeschichte with the support of Dr Silvester Lechner from the Dokumentationszentrum Oberer Kuhberg, who have all also provided the author with outstanding support. Dr Ulrich Klemm has supervised the publishing of the book, and Ms Sabine Lutz is responsible for the very attractive graphic design. Ms Nadja Wollinsky, Ms Silke Schwarz, Ms Saskia Pulgarin and Ms Cathrin Diez from the Haus der Stadtgeschichte have supplied and edited images for printing. I wish to express my heartfelt thanks to them all. The intention behind the Memorial Book with its many illustrations is to help to restore names and faces to the people who suffered under the criminal tyranny of National Socialism. Its aim, as Lord Mayor Pfizer wrote in his foreword to Heinz Keil's book in 1961, is to "admonish future generations against such events ever happening again".



Ivo Gönner
Lord Mayor

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INTRODUCTION

Jewish history is characterised by deep fractures and this is also true in Ulm. There are six separate stages that can be identified. The first mention of a Jewish community in Ulm dates back to the first half of the 13th century, but this fell victim to a pogrom in 1349. Community life did re-emerge in the 1350s, but came to an end in 1499 when all Jews were expelled by the decree of Kaiser Maximilian I. A new beginning came in 1806, when Jews once again began to settle in Ulm, which by then had become part of Bavaria. This period, which saw the gradual emergence of legal equality for Jews, came to an end when Hitler was named Reich Chancellor on 30th January 1933. The fourth stage covers the period of the Nazi's extermination policy against European Jews. The fifth, very short phase began when the Second World War ended. Most of the Jews from Ulm had either emigrated or been murdered; only a few came back to the Danube. There were numerous Jewish "Displaced Persons" billeted in Ulm, but they usually lived isolated from the rest of society and only stayed for a short time before moving on. A new era of Jewish life in Ulm began with the fall of the Iron Curtain and the influx of Jews from the former Soviet Union. This introduction gives a brief overview of the Jewish history of Ulm in the modern era.

NEW BEGINNING AND LEGAL EQUALITY

Inspired by the ideas of the Enlightenment, the Bavarian government began to introduce measures to bring civil equality for the Jewish population after taking over the Reichsstadt (Imperial City) on 28th November 1802. These measures were the catalyst for the resettlement of Jews in Ulm after the Reichsstadt period. Nevertheless, there was considerable resistance in Ulm from the beginning to the settlement of Jews that resulted from the relative freedom of movement and establishment introduced in Bavaria. The merchant Heinrich Harburger and his family, who came to Ulm in 1806, were the first Jews to settle in the city in this period. They were only able to do so, however, after the Bavarian Landesdirektor (Governor), Philipp Graf von Arco, intervened personally with the reluctant city authorities.[1]

In 1810 Ulm was ceded to the Kingdom of Württemberg. One of the first milestones on the road to equality for Württemberg Jews was the law enacted on 25th April 1828 "Regarding the Public Status of Members of the Israelite Faith" (Gesetz in Betreff der öffentlichen Verhältnisse der israelitischen Glaubens-Genossen).[2] Thus, on paper at least Jews did possess basic civil rights. On 16th December 1835, they were granted the right to vote and to stand in elections to the Bürgerausschuss (Citizens' Committee) and the Gemeinderat (Municipal Council). The Revolution of 1848 and the liberal and democratic movement brought an additional impetus to the development of legal equality for the Jews, which was achieved in the Kingdom of Württemberg by 1864. After the founding of the German Empire in 1871, Jews became "German state citizens of the Jewish religion". This process of civil emancipation did not always run smoothly and was characterised by anti-Jewish resentment.

The influx of rural Jews feared by the opponents of a Jewish settlement in Ulm failed to materialise in the early decades of the 19th century. This was due in no small part to the local guilds and the strict interpretation of

The family of Julius and Friederike Moos from Buchau, around 1888.

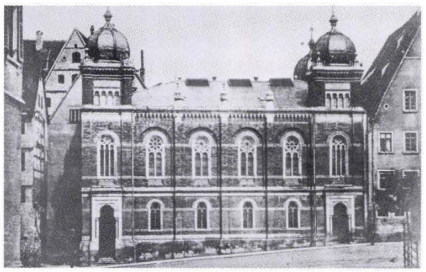


the law by the Gemeinderat in Ulm. Craftsmen and merchants in the city were particularly concerned about growing economic competition from Jewish business people. Gradually, more Jews did begin to settle in Ulm. Most came from the rural Jewish communities of Laupheim, Buchau, Kappel and Buttenhausen. By 1848 only five Jewish patriarchs had been granted Ulm citizenship; by 1873 this number had risen to 62. The number of Jews living in Ulm without citizenship was far higher. Combining both groups reveals a total of 555 Jews in the city by 1871 and 694 by 1880. The number of Jewish inhabitants fell after 1880, mainly due to emigration to America and relocation to the emerging urban areas of the German Empire. Christian-Jewish marriages after 1869 were a threat to the continued existence of the Jewish religious communities, because in most cases the children of these marriages were brought up as Christian. The ratios of the different religions in the

city also changed due to the influx of people who came to Ulm looking for work. In 1812 the population of Ulm was still 97.6 % Protestant and only 2.3 % Catholic. By 1858 these figures had changed dramatically: the city was now 78.7 % Protestant, 19.5 % Catholic and 1.2 % Jewish. The number of people living in Ulm increased from fewer than 12,000 in 1821 to 26,000 in 1871 and 43,000 by 1900. The Jews who had settled in Ulm did not live in one specific quarter, but were spread throughout the centre and east of the city. Weinhof square became a centre of attraction for Jewish citizens, particularly after the Synagogue was built in 1873. As the city expanded at the end of the 19th century, several Jewish families also moved into the area between Olgastraße and Karlstraße. By the mid-19th century, the number of Jewish citizens in Ulm had increased sufficiently for the first associations to begin to emerge. Jewish women were the first, founding the Israelite Women's Association (Israelitischer Frauenverein) in 1847, followed in 1855 by the Israelite Reading Society (Israelitischer Leseverein), and in 1857 by the Israelite Charitable Society (Israelitischer Wohltätigkeitsverein). Other associations followed throughout the 20th century, such as the Central Association of German Citizens of the Jewish Faith (Centralverein deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens) and the Imperial Association of Jewish War Veterans (Reichsbund jüdischer Frontsoldaten). However, Jewish citizens did not just get involved in their own societies, but soon began to take part in non-Jewish associations as well. The speed with which this occurred is demonstrated by the fact that a Jew, Dr Isak Lebrecht, was the chairman of the Ulm 1846 Gymnastics Association (Turnerbund Ulm 1846 e.V.) from 1861 onwards. Dr Hugo Wallersteiner, the long-term president (1914–1920 and 1924–1930) of the Ulm 1894 Football Club (Ulmer Fußballverein 1894 e.V.), was extremely well-known and popular. Jewish women performed an important role as champions of equality for women. When the Women's Education – Women's Study association (Frauenbildung – Frauenstudium) was founded in 1904, Berta Hellmann was chosen as the first president and led the association for more than 14 years. Bertha Laupheimer (née Gutmann), the secretary from Neu-Ulm, was also Jewish.[3] The association, which organised a women's conference in Ulm in 1914, had 334 members between 1927 and 1929, of whom 88 were Jewish women.

Jewish men and women in Ulm were involved in charity work through numerous philanthropic societies. The participation of Jewish citizens in urban society also extended to politics. In 1861 the manufacturer Leopold Marx became the first Jew to be elected to the Bürgerausschuss. By 1873 he had been followed by merchants Isak Neuburger, Isak Lebrecht and Max Neuburger. A total of seven Jewish citizens had been elected to the Bürgerausschuss by 1919. The lawyer Dr Salomon Moos was deputy chairman of the Bürgerausschuss from 1904 to 1909 and the chairman from 1909 to 1919. In 1899 Dr Albert Mayer became the first Jew to be elected to the Ulm Gemeinderat, on which he served until 1909. The merchant and banker Eduard Pfeiffer became the first Jew to represent Ulm in the Württemberg Landtag (State Parliament) in 1868. The presence of Jews in political office indicates that the Jewish inhabitants were accepted in the city.

The Ulm Synagogue with its characteristic domes, around 1880.



RELIGIOUS LIFE

Until the mid-19th century, the number of Jews living in Ulm did not justify a separate congregation with its own rabbi. Accordingly, Ulm Jews had to travel to Laupheim for feast days, festivals and for funerals. It was not until 3rd February 1845 that the first service was held in Ulm. The new religious community developed rapidly. A rented room in the Schwanen inn on Weinhof served as a prayer space. Simon Einstein was appointed as cantor, while Seligmann Gugenheim, Dr Isak Röder and lawyer Jakob Heß became the leaders of the congregation. The leaders were appointed by a democratic vote. As ever more Jews, including the elderly, moved to Ulm, a cemetery became essential. As a result, a site for a cemetery was acquired outside the city close to the Frauentor city gate on 11th October 1852.[4] Because the number of Jews in the city increased rapidly after 1850, resulting in cramped conditions in the rented prayer room, the construction of a synagogue became crucial. However, the discussions continued throughout the entire 1860s before the Supreme Israelite Ecclesiastical Authority (Israelitische Oberkirchenbehörde) agreed to the construction of a synagogue in Ulm on 7th April 1868. The structural work for the place of worship, designed by Stuttgart

architect Adolf Wolff, was completed four years later, and the Synagogue was finally consecrated once the interior was finished in September 1873.

Contemporary reports reveal that the celebrations were not confined to the Jewish community. The houses around Weinhof were richly decorated, and prominent representatives of the city and military led the ceremonial procession of the Torah from the Schwanen inn to the Synagogue.[5] The Synagogue was finished in the Oriental style inside and out, and was split into two floors. The windows were finished with coloured glazing. The women sat in the gallery with the men below. One peculiarity was the presence of an organ in the Synagogue, though this borrowed element of Christian church music met with resistance from the Orthodox minority in the congregation.[6] In addition to the organ, a Synagogue choir provided the musical background for the services. The Gemeindehaus (Community Hall) at Weinhof 3 and the Rabbinat (Rabbinate) at Lange Straße 18 were the other buildings of the Jewish community.

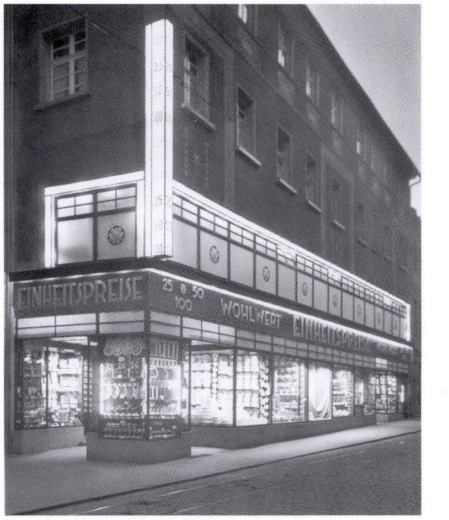
Despite the completion of the Synagogue, the Jewish congregation in Ulm was still led by the rabbi in Laupheim. It was not until 1888 that the Ecclesiastical Authority granted independence, and Dr Salomon Fried, previously rabbi in Racibórz (Ratibor), was appointed as the first rabbi by the leaders of the community. As rabbi he was the religious head of the congregation, but even in a reformist community like Ulm, he also had an array of tasks in addition to performing religious services, including teaching Jewish children. However, these lessons did not take place in the Jewish Gemeindehaus, but were part of religious lessons in the schools. Following the death of Salomon Fried in 1906, Jesaia Strassburger from Buttenhausen became the new rabbi. Seven years later, he died at the age of just 44 and was succeeded in the position by his brother Dr Ferdinand Strassburger. His death in 1927 marked the beginning of the long period in office of Ulm's last rabbi, Dr Julius Cohn. Under his leadership the Synagogue was thoroughly renovated in 1929 and the four Oriental-style domes were replaced by neoclassical flat pyramids.

ECONOMIC LIFE

The improved opportunities for earning and social advancement in the 19th century encouraged Jews from rural communities to move to the cities. At first, however, access to skilled crafts and trades remained very restricted for Jews in Württemberg. They also found the retail trade difficult to break into at first, because this was still controlled by the guilds and they were hostile to Jewish competition. In contrast, wholesalers and manufacturers were not subjected to any particular restrictions.

The construction of the Bundesfestung (federal fortress) from 1842 and the railway station (Ulm station opened in 1850) signalled an economic upturn in Ulm. The demand for clothing and other everyday products increased so dramatically due to the thousands of workers that there was a viable commercial basis for Jewish-owned businesses, particularly in the textile industry. According to Heinz Keil's research, in 1860 there were eight factories with Jewish owners, four Jewish wholesale businesses, ten Jewish retail stores, a Jewish doctor and two Jewish lawyers.[7] By 1890 there were nine factories, 22 wholesalers, 22 retailers,

The Volksbedarf Wohlwert department store at Lange Straße 20, around 1930.



Advert for the Hecht brewery, 1906.



a brewery, two butchers, five lawyers, various other self-employed professionals and the Brüder Landauer department store on Donaustraße, which was opened in 1884. By 1933 this had increased to 11 factories, 13 wholesalers, 35 retailers and 31 self-employed professionals, including nine lawyers and six doctors. Moreover, there were three department stores with Jewish owners at that time: Brüder Landauer, H. Tietz, and Volksbedarf Wohlwert.

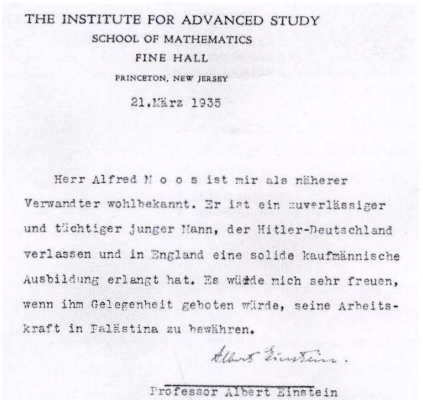
Jewish merchants in Ulm were involved more in the textile industry than any other.[8] Of the eight Jewish factories in 1860, six were textile companies, including the firms of Steiner & Friedmann, M. Levi, and M. Neuburger. The retail stores M. Bernheimer and Gebrüder Neuburger were also a fixture of the textile industry in the 1860s. From the 1860s to 1933, many Jewish companies became an integral part of commercial life in Ulm. The firms and products alike were well-known and highly regarded. The most important Jewish factories in 1933 were Heinrich Gläser Nachfolger G.m.b.H, Gabriel Lebrecht AG, Ulmer Schraubenfabrik, Nathan Strauss AG, Malzfabrik Winkler, and Gesellschaft für elektrische Apparate G.m.b.H (GEA). The wholesale and retail businesses included the shoe shops Polatschek, Pallas, and Prophet, the Ludwig Levy hat shop, the Jakob Klappholz furniture store, tobacconists Jakob Frenkel and Alex Nathan, the Czisch chocolate shop, the Buttenwieser perfumery, and textile stores L. M. Bernheimer, Henle, Isidor Kochmann, and M. Weglein. Jewish business people in Ulm were also involved in special interest groups and in chambers of commerce. From 1875 to 1933, there were a total of five Jewish members on the council and the advisory committee of the Chamber of Industry & Commerce in Ulm (IHK): Kosman Dreyfus (1875–1881), Nathan Thalmessinger (1890–1896), Salomon Hellmann (1897–1922), Sally Thalmessinger (1911) and Isidor Adler (1920–1933).

THE EINSTEIN FAMILY IN ULM

The far-flung Einstein family originally came from Kappel and Buchau, where the grandparents of the famous physicist lived. The married couple Abraham and Helene Einstein had six children in Buchau between 1841 and 1855: August Ignaz, Jette, Heinrich, Hermann, Jakob and Friederike. After her wedding to Kosman Dreyfus, Jette was the first member of the Einstein family to move to Ulm in 1864. She was soon followed by her parents and most of her siblings, including Hermann Einstein. At least from the time of his marriage to Pauline Koch, a native of Cannstatt, he worked as a trader in the Israel und Levi bedspring business at Weinhof 19. The individual family members quickly established contacts in their new home town and involved themselves in its society. When the Jewish community donated the figure of Jeremiah for the Protestant church on the 500th anniversary of the laying of the Minster's foundation stone, Hermann Einstein, August Einstein and his brother-in-law Kosman Dreyfus were all involved in the fund-raising campaign. Kosman Dreyfus was even on the committee specially appointed for the purpose. The Einstein family in Ulm was connected by marriage to the families of Dreyfus, Hofheimer, Wessel, Steiner, Hirsch and Moos.

Albert Einstein, the first child of Hermann and Pauline Einstein, was born at Bahnhofstraße 20 on 14th March 1879. The young family left Ulm in 1880 for Munich, where their daughter Maja

An "Affidavit of Support" from Albert Einstein, 21st March 1935.



THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY
SCHOOL OF MATHEMATICS
FINE HALL
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

21.März 1935

Herr Alfred M o o s ist mir als näherer Verwandter wohlbekannt. Er ist ein zuverlässiger und tüchtiger junger Mann, der Hitler-Deutschland verlassen und in England eine solide kaufmännische Ausbildung erlangt hat. Es würde mich sehr freuen, wenn ihm Gelegenheit geboten würde, seine Arbeitskraft in Palästina zu bewähren.

Albert Einstein.

Professor Albert Einstein

was born the following year. Aside from visits to relatives and correspondence, the Ulm chapter of Albert Einstein's life ended very soon after his birth. Not so for the numerous relatives of the subsequent Nobel Prize winner, as at least four of his aunts and uncles lived here and 18 of his cousins were born in Ulm. The vast majority of them grew up in Ulm and spent their adult lives in the city. Kosman Dreyfus, the husband of Albert Einstein's aunt Jette, was appointed the president of the Israelite Board of Elders (Israelitisches Vorsteheramt) just a few years after his arrival in Ulm. He was also given the honour of accepting the keys to the Synagogue from the builders. The family of Adolph and Friederike Moos were also respected citizens of the city. Lina Einstein, one of the three daughters born to the couple August and Bertha Einstein, had a difficult lot. Her parents and her two sisters passed away in the space of just a few years. Lina Einstein remained unmarried and was in receipt of welfare from the Jewish community from 1933 onwards. Following a failed attempt to emigrate, she

was deported to Theresienstadt (now Terezin) on 22nd August 1942 and then to Treblinka, where she was murdered in a gas chamber immediately after her arrival. Albert Einstein personally tried to help his relatives during this period of persecution and wrote numerous letters of recommendation. Many family members managed to leave Germany thanks to such "Affidavits of Support" or by other means. However, for Lina Einstein, Bertha Hofheimer, Marie Wessel, Hugo Moos and Julius Moos, all cousins of Albert Einstein, there was no salvation. Albert Einstein had left Germany in 1933 and remained in the United States following a lecture tour. By 20th March 1933, the street in Ulm named after him had already been renamed Fichtestraße. He was stripped of his German citizenship shortly after this.

ANTI-SEMITISM AND THE FIRST WORLD WAR

Jews have continually had to contend with prejudice and hostility, and Ulm was no exception. In 1828 the merchants and craftsmen of Ulm submitted a petition against the passing of the law "Regarding the Public Status of Members of the Israelite Faith" (Gesetz in Betreff der öffentlichen Verhältnisse der israelitischen Glaubens-Genossen), because they feared commercial competition. In contrast to the earlier anti-Semitism that had been motivated by religion or economics, the anti-Semitism that emerged in the 19th century was based on pseudo-scientific race theories. This new form of prejudice discriminated against Jews because of their ancestry and also developed as a political force. For a few years around 1890, Ulm even became the centre of organised anti-Semitism in Württemberg. The newspaper Ulmer Schnellpost, founded in 1837, documents this development. In 1868 it was still supporting the candidacy of the Jewish banker Dr Eduard Pfeiffer for the Stuttgart Zollparlament (Customs Parliament).[9] After first Eugen Nübling and then Hans Kleemann took over as editors of the Schnellpost in 1884 and 1890 respectively, the once liberal newspaper developed into an anti-Semitic platform for agitation. In 1891 it became an official organ of the German Social Anti-Semitic Party (Deutschsoziale Antisemitische Partei), and a local group of the party was formed in Ulm in the same year. On 17th December 1906, the Schnellpost ran the headline: "Citizens of Ulm! Elect no Jews to the Landtag".[10] Other associations with anti-Semitic tendencies were the German Youth League (Deutsche Jugendbund), the Farmers' Union (Bauernbund) and the Voelkische Stamp Association (Völkische Briefmarkenverein). Similar anti-Semitic movements also existed in other European countries and in North America at this time.

Many Jewish Germans shared the national jubilation on the outbreak of the First World War. The Association of German Jews (Verband der deutschen Juden) and the Central Association of German Citizens of the Jewish Faith were calling their members to arms as early as 1st August 1914: "Fellow Jews! We appeal to you to go beyond mere duty to devote your strengths to the Fatherland! Volunteer for the forces!"[11] The memorial in the Neuer Friedhof cemetery in Ulm commemorates the efforts of Jewish soldiers. These efforts can also be seen as a reaction to the countless anti-Semitic manifestations that Jews had to contend with during the war as supposed war profiteers and shirkers. Anti-Semitism was also evident within the German officer corps. One example being the so-called Judenzählung census of 1st November 1916, arranged by the state to ascertain the number of Jewish soldiers serving in the First World War. This was intended to show that German Jews were shirking military service. Figures collated by the Jewish associations, however, clearly demonstrated that many Jews were fighting and dying for the German Empire. Of Ulm's 564 Jewish inhabitants, 99, i.e. 17 %, went to war; and 20 of them never came home.[12] Jewish women also supported the war effort, for example through the "railway service" (Bahnhofspflege), which provided drinks and food to soldiers passing through Ulm's station.

Anti-Semitism increased to an unprecedented level following defeat and the Treaty of Versailles peace settlement, which many Germans viewed as an insult. The stab-in-the-back myth (Dolchstoßlegende)[13] not only blamed social democrats and communists for Germany's defeat, but also the Jews, who were increasingly vilified as enemies of Germany. The murder of the Foreign Minister Walther Rathenau on 24th June 1922 showed how dangerous the anti-Semitic enemies of the Republic really were. These developments motivated many Jewish Germans to try and assimilate further into mainstream society. The renovation of the Synagogue in Ulm may likewise be attributed to this desire for "elusive assimilation". In 1929 the Oriental-style domes were also replaced for this reason, because they were seen as too foreign. The founding of the Imperial Association of Jewish War Veterans was a more proactive response to the accusations relating to the aftermath of the First World War. A local group in Ulm had been set up as early as 1918 under the leadership of Surgeon-Major Dr Franz Hirsch, who was also president of the Württemberg regional group.

Arnold Czisch (right) as a prisoner of the Russians, around 1915.



Lieutenant Dr August Nathan, around 1915.



In 1922 a local group of the Nazi Party (NSDAP – National Socialist German Workers' Party) was formed in Ulm by members of the Nationalist Protection and Defiance Federation (Völkischer Schutz- und Trutzbund). Its party organ Ulmer Sturm became a local instrument of propaganda. Marches and party events, such as the NSDAP State Party Congress (Landesparteitag) on 22nd and 23rd September 1928, were a normal part of city life. After Hitler was named Reich Chancellor on 30th January 1933, the Nazis attempted to make Ulm a "stronghold of the movement". The NSDAP election results in Ulm were slightly above the national average, while similar results were achieved in neighbouring Neu-Ulm.[14] The leading Nazis and active anti-Semites in Ulm were Reichstag member and Director of Police Wilhelm Dreher, NSDAP Kreisleiter (County Leader) Eugen Maier and Lord Mayor Friedrich Foerster. They enjoyed widespread support from all sections of society.

START OF DISCRIMINATION AND OSTRACISM

The ostracism and disenfranchisement of the Jewish minority began as soon as the Nazis came to power. Nazi propaganda initially concentrated on Jewish business people. On 11th March 1933, i.e. three weeks before the nationwide campaign, the National Socialist Federation for Medium-Sized Businesses (Nationalsozialistische Kampfbund für den gewerblichen Mittelstand) organised the first boycott of Jewish shops in Ulm. "After today, there must be no decent person in Germany who would continue to buy from a Jew", wrote Kreisleiter Maier in his rallying call for the nationwide boycott of 1st April 1933[15] and he continued: "Today, at 10 o'clock in the morning, this boycott will be introduced across the country and will continue until there is no longer a single Jew who would dare to spread lies about the national revolution in Germany."[16] An article entitled "The Jews in Ulm in 1828", which was reprinted in a special edition of the Ulm NSDAP newsletter on 1st July 1935 and was peppered with anti-Semitic abuse, shows just how powerful economically motivated jealousy was as the basis of Nazi agitation. Specifically, the article referred to the aforementioned petition submitted by Ulm's merchants and craftsmen to the Württemberg Landtag, and attempted to construct a connexion in a perfidious manner between the resentment against Jewish retailers during the Vormärz period (leading up to the 1848 Revolution), which was related to fear of competition among medium-sized businesses, and the anti-Semitism of the Nazis.[17]

The isolation of Ulm's Jews spread to all areas of society. Ingratiation with the new system and its office-holders quickly spread to wider circles. The Ulmer Turngau gymnastics association, for example, published the following edict on 10th April 1933 to its affiliated clubs: "Full aryanisation must be completed at the latest by the date of the Deutsches Turnfest."[18] Jewish members were no longer of value and were expelled. If they wished to continue sporting activities they had to organise Jewish clubs. However, in reality the city administration made it very difficult for Jewish associations, such as the Schild club, to find suitable venues.[19] The de-jewification was not confined to sports clubs; the Tenants' Union

Call for a boycott at the Volksbedarf Wohlwert department store, March 1933.

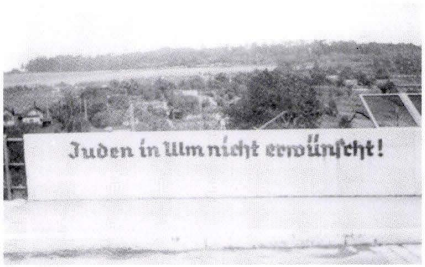


(Mieterverein), the German Automobile Club (ADAC), and the Alpine Club (Alpenverein) all expelled their Jewish members. By 1935 Jews had been driven out of almost all associations. One exception was the Ulm branch of the Imperial Association of German Officers (Reichsverband Deutscher Offiziere der Ortsgruppe Ulm a. D.), which was castigated in the Stürmer newspaper in August 1935. Jews were also excluded from cultural life in the city. Professor Dr Julius Baum, long-term Director of the Ulm Museum, was dismissed on 29th May 1933 due to the "Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service" (Gesetz zur Wiederherstellung des Berufsbeamtentums)[20] and his collection of modern art was ridiculed as "degenerate".[21] The popular Lebrecht Quartet were banned from performing, and works by Ulm artists Leo Kahn and Ludwig Moos could no longer be exhibited. In spring 1935, the city also banned its Jewish citizens from using municipal swimming baths.

NAZI RACE POLICY

The two Nuremberg Race Laws signalled a further escalation. The Reich Citizenship Act (Reichsbürgergesetz) marked the end of the creeping disenfranchisement of German Jews and made them "second-class citizens". They were, for example, stripped of their right to vote and were banned from holding public office.[22] The "Law for the Protection of German Blood and German Honour" (Gesetz zum Schutze des deutschen Blutes und der deutschen Ehre) of 15th September 1935 prohibited "marriages between Jews and citizens of German or kindred blood" and defined extramarital intercourse as "racial defilement" (Rassenschande).[23] Jews were also banned from employing non-Jewish maids under the age of 45. Children were not spared the racial segregation either. In the 1936 school year, all Jewish children in Ulm had to leave their previous schools and go to the newly established Jewish School in the Gemeindehaus on Weinhof. Rabbi Dr Cohn and the newly appointed teacher Rudolf Loewy tried to teach the children there, but structured formal education was impossible. All ages sat together in one classroom and were taught at the same time. Pupil numbers also went down due to high levels of emigration. Finally in 1939, the school had to be closed. Dr Cohn and Rudolf Loewy had already left the city by this time. The last known teacher of the school was Dr Wochenmark. A class photo has survived, which shows 20 pupils in addition to Rudolf Loewy. Of these twenty, seven were deported to concentration camps and ghettos, and of these only two survived. Over the following years, Jews were increasingly deprived of their rights by numerous regulations derived from the two Nuremberg Race Laws. These included stripping the remaining doctors and lawyers of their licences. 17th August 1938 saw the enactment of the "Second Decree on the Execution of the Law regarding the Changing of Surnames and Forenames" (Zweite Verordnung zur Durchführung des Gesetzes über die Änderung von Familiennamen und Vornamen).[24] This stipulated that Jews had to adopt additional forenames: "Israel" for men and "Sara" for women. In October 1938, passports were confiscated from Jewish holders and were reissued with a "J" for Jew stamped on the front. This marked the beginning of labelling Jews in the Third Reich, which was also implemented in public in September 1941 with the nationwide introduction of the Judenstern (Star of David badge). The continual hostility also proved to be an endurance test for friendships and relationships. Parents forbade their children from playing with their Jewish friends and avoided Jewish shops. Jewish children were picked on by their contemporaries and were no longer allowed to join in with games and sports. The adults were denounced by many fellow citizens and were ostracised by some neighbours.

Anti-Semitic slogan on Stuttgarter Straße, around 1934.



EXPULSION FROM ECONOMIC LIFE

The surviving documents detailing the tax revenue from Jewish companies and businesses reveal the gradual ruin that systematically befell these enterprises due to the measures imposed by the Nazis. However, the figures also show that the businesses did retain a loyal customer base, at least initially. This behaviour did not go unnoticed in the National Socialist press; increasing numbers of articles appeared calling for Aryans to shun Jewish business partners. In September 1937, for example, the Ulmer Sturm deemed it necessary to print a report with the headline "To state the obvious – you don't buy from Jews". The newspaper bemoaned the fact that non-Jewish citizens were still being observed shopping in Jewish stores. In its issue of 14th September 1935, the Nazi Flammenzeichen magazine published the names of municipal employees and workers who were still continuing to go to Jewish doctors and shop in Jewish stores under the headline "In Ulm lots of people still have a lot to learn!". They were often threatened: "These men and women should think very carefully about the consequences this may have for them in the future."[25] Cattle dealers like Julius and Heinrich Barth soon struggled to find any customers at all and were no longer allowed to sell at markets, which the Ulmer Sturm was particularly pleased about on 2nd March 1937, celebrating the first cattle market without Jews. Jewish dealers had previously been permitted to practise their trade in segregated areas of the market, such as in the Max-Eyth-Halle. Now they and other dealers had no choice but to live on their savings. The elderly especially were dependent on the social welfare of their community.
The net profits of Jewish companies declined steadily.[26] Even before 1939, many Jewish business people had been forced to sell or handover their companies – usually for far less than they were worth. This is also how the large factories, like the Ulmer Schraubenfabrik, Nathan Strauss Hüttenwerke and Gabriel Lebrecht AG, were "aryanised". A post-war record of "aryanised" Jewish businesses lists just 24 shops and firms in Ulm.[27] In addition to the so-called "aryanisation", through which Jewish owners were forced to transfer their shops or businesses to new non-Jewish owners, usually for far less than market value, "liquidisation" was also an important tool in the expulsion and dispossession of Jewish business people, requiring them to relinquish and close their businesses.[28]

The last businesses in Jewish hands were compulsorily confiscated without compensation in accordance with the "Decree on the Elimination of the Jews from Economic Life" (Verordnung zur Ausschaltung der Juden aus dem deutschen Wirtschaftsleben) of 12th November 1938, which followed immediately after the state-organised Kristallnacht pogrom (literally "Crystal Night" – so-called because of the broken glass that littered the streets afterwards) of 9th November.[29] On 16th December 1938, there were just six remaining Jewish retailers in the entire metropolitan area:[30] the Klein fashion house at Münsterplatz 2, the Forst knitwear and hosiery store at Golschenhof 2 (now Judenhof), the Leopold Hilb manufactured goods mail-order business at Adolf-Hitler-Ring 54 (now Olgastraße), the Jakob Frenkel tobacconist's shop at Adolf-Hitler-Ring 114 (now Olgastraße), the Arnold Czisch chocolate and confectionery store at Hafenbad 7, and the Pallas shoe shop at Lange Straße 22. The Nazis encountered difficulties initially with businesses where the owners were living – as was the case with the Pallas and Czisch stores – in so-called "privileged intermarriages".[31] Jewish stores and firms became objects of desire for competitors or NSDAP members. Many made money from the "aryanisation", or profited simply from the fact that a competitor was removed through the "liquidisation" of a Jewish business. While the sale of Jewish businesses required approval from the Württemberg Interior Ministry, it was possible at first to sell land and buildings without approval. The President of the Oberlandsgericht (Higher Regional Court) then issued a decree on 21st November 1938, stipulating that the NSDAP Gauwirtschaftsberater (District Economic Advisor) always had to be informed before any transaction was notarised. The Ulm Stadtplanungsamt (Town Planning Office) created a list for Lord Mayor Foerster of the property still in Jewish hands with a detailed evaluation of its potential value for the City. By the end of the War, the City had acquired 13 properties in this manner and the Hospitalstiftung foundation a further five. The expulsion of Jews from economic life was completed just a few months after the Kristallnacht pogrom.

KRISTALLNACHT POGROM

1938 saw the expansion of the National Socialist Third Reich: on 12th March, German troops occupied Austria, while the Munich Agreement of 30th September 1938 paved the way for the annexation of the Sudetenland, which began on 1st October with the invasion of German Army troops and was ultimately the precursor to the break-up of Czechoslovakia and the occupation of the remaining Czech territories the following year.

A decree from the Polish Government for all Polish citizens living abroad to confirm their citizenship by 1st November 1938 or see it removed, was seized on by the Nazis as the provocation for the so-called Polenaktion ("Poland Operation"). More than 15,000 Jews born in Poland were living in Germany at this time. Most had been in Germany for decades and waived the right to confirm their Polish citizenship. On the night of 28th October 1938, thousands of these Jews were arrested in their homes without warning. They were brought to the German-Polish border by rail and were housed there in barracks. The systematic deportation of the Polenaktion affected the Ulm families of Chose, Frenkel, Karnowski and Krippel.[32] Following international pressure, the Polish government approved the entry of the Jews at the border, who were suffering from the cold and the appalling conditions in which they had been housed. The victims of the Polenaktion also included the Grynszpan family. Herschel Grynszpan, the 17-year-old son of the family, was living in Paris at this time and learnt of the suffering of his family. On 7th November 1938, he rashly shot at a German Embassy official, Ernst Eduard vom Rath, who died of his injuries two days later. Propaganda Minister Joseph Goebbels exploited the assassination as the pretext for a hate campaign against the Jewish communities. In an action planned and organised by the Nazi regime throughout Germany, synagogues were burnt and Jewish businesses were destroyed and looted on the nights of 9th and 10th November and during the following days. Some 20,000 Jews were imprisoned in the concentration camps at Buchenwald and Dachau and many were mistreated and murdered. In Ulm, the Director of Police Dreher had issued an order on 8th November 1938, banning all the Jews in the city from leaving their homes the following day between the hours of 8pm and 6am. This curfew measure meant that the SA troops ("Brownshirts") could be certain of finding their victims in their homes.

The events in Ulm can be traced thanks to eyewitness testimony. Sigmund Hirsch reported in 1961: "I was dragged from my bed by the SA sometime between 4 and 5am. We were taken to Weinhof, where I, along with all my many fellow Jews, was beaten so badly that my new false teeth were in pieces. My young son, now Professor Hirsch, wanted to know what had happened to me. When he came to Weinhof, Dr Cohn and the lawyer Mann were being mistreated and it was such a shocking image for him that, as he told me recently, he will never forget it! – From Weinhof we were taken to the old prison and then on another day to Dachau for many weeks. My cousin Arthur Hirsch from Stuttgart died in my arms, because he had to attend the daily roll call despite being ill."[33] Information about the fate of the Synagogue can be gleaned from the Fire Brigade's report of 14th November 1938. They had been called in case the flames spread to neighbouring

Anti-Semitic hate poster, 9th November 1938.



buildings. "On Thursday, the 10th of the month, the Ulm Fire Brigade was called at 3.55am by the City Hall switchboard. I was informed by telephone that the fire alarms on Weinhof were going off. The same alarms were then rung again at 3.58am It was not known whether and where there was a fire. Engine II set off for Weinhof and discovered on arrival that the Synagogue was ablaze. Fire Chief Kummer, who hurried to the site of the fire by motorbike, immediately ordered a break-in, which was effected through the doors on the east side of the building, which were partially staved in when the Brigade arrived. Inside, the carpets were ablaze by the Ark of the Covenant, the Ark itself having been destroyed by hand. The candlesticks to either side had similarly been pulled over. The main fire was in the gallery running alongside Weinhof. (...) Once all the

Report about the destruction of the Synagogue, 12th November 1938.

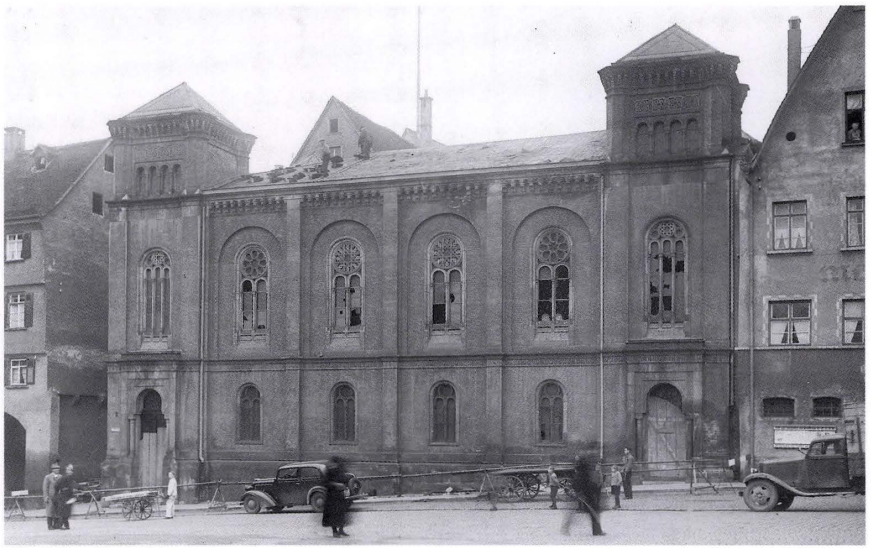
Raſche Erfüllung

Heute beginnt der Abbruch der Synagoge

m. Steine des Anſtoßes werden aus dem Weg geräumt. Es ſind die ſchmutzigroten Bauſteine der Synagoge, mit deren Abbruch heute noch begonnen wird. Die Abbruchleitung hat die Stadtverwaltung Ulm übernommen. Am Freitagabend erreichte uns dieſe Meldung und mit uns freut ſich ganz Ulm, daß der Wunſch der geſamten Bevölkerung ſo raſch und in vollem Umfang in Erfüllung geht.

Aus verſtändlichen Gründen richtete ſich der Volkszorn bei der in dieſer Woche notwendigen Judenabrechnung gegen die Synagoge, dieſen abſtoßenden Bau aus einer fremden Welt, deſſen Anblick jedermann genau ſo anekelte, wie die Hakennaſen der „Gerechten", die über ſeine Schwelle gingen. Es war einmal ein verunſtalteter Weinhof —, ſo wird man einſt ſagen. Die Baugeſinnung des Dritten Reiches wird dieſem Platz wieder ein neues Geſicht geben, würdig ſeiner reichen Geſchichte.

Start of the demolition work on the Synagogue, mid-November 1938.



pockets of fire had been extinguished, the Brigade left the scene at 5.20am."[34] The report also described the cause of the fire: "There is no doubt that this was a case of arson."[35]

At least 25 Ulm Jews were imprisoned in the police jail at Griesbad during Kristallnacht and then were taken over the following days – together with other Jewish citizens – to the concentration camp at Dachau. Declared a so-called "Jewish Capital Levy" (Judenvermögensabgabe) and "Atonement Fine" (Sühneleistung), on 18th November the Nazi regime demanded that Jews living in Germany surrender a quarter to one fifth of their property.[36] A so-called "Security" (Sicherheitsleistung) was taken from Jews willing to emigrate. The curfew on Jews remained in place and for a while Jewish facilities could no longer be used. The bar in the Jewish Gemeindehaus did reopen on 21st November, but had to close at 7.45 p.m. because of the curfew. On 18th November, the community received the first information about the possible release of family members imprisoned at Dachau. Release was restricted, however, to those who were involved in "aryanisation" negotiations, who were about to emigrate, who had fought for the Fatherland in the Great War, or whose profession related to export promotion. Everyone else just had to wait anxiously for release. The lawyer Dr Leopold Hirsch was particularly involved in efforts to help the prisoners.

Cattle dealer Julius Barth did not meet any of the criteria for preferential release. As a result, he had to continue suffering mistreatment in the Dachau concentration camp, where he died on 24th December 1938 in unexplained circumstances. Thus, Julius Barth was the first fatality of the persecution of the Jews in Ulm. Despite suffering from blood disease, the young banker Friedrich Mayer was not released until 12th December 1938 and, like his healthy fellow victims, was tormented in the camp. He returned to Ulm in an extremely weakened state from which he did not recover, ultimately dying on 17th March 1939.

Although the Synagogue was only partially damaged during Kristallnacht, the Jewish community were no longer allowed to use their place of worship. The Ulmer Tagblatt newspaper reported on 12th November 1938 that demolition work would begin that day, which did in fact happen. A sales contract was concluded between the Jewish community and the City of Ulm for

Candlesticks removed from the destroyed Synagogue, end of 1938.



the site of the former Synagogue with an agreed sale price of 22 reichsmark per square metre. Altogether, the City was to pay 19,595 reichsmark after the deduction of the community's debts. In the Gemeinderat session of 23rd June 1939, Wilhelm Dreher noted: "... whether it would not be advisable to postpone the purchase of the site under the circumstances. The purchase may then be possible under more favourable terms." Once the Lord Mayor had reviewed this suggestion, a supplementary sales contract was concluded on 7th July 1939. This reduced the price per square metre to 15 reichsmark, which meant that the City acquired the site of the Synagogue and additional land for 14,498 reichsmark. In addition, the Jewish community had to reimburse the City the sum of 4,000 reichsmark for the demolition of the Synagogue. The first makeshift religious service was held on Friday 25th November 1938 in the hall of the Gemeindehaus. Rabbi Dr Julius Cohn was severely injured during Kristallnacht and made a very slow recovery. As a result, he could no longer participate in community life. On the first day of the Passover Festival of the Jewish year 5699 (4th April 1939), Rabbi Cohn performed his last service in the makeshift prayer room of the Jewish Gemeindehaus. In a moving sermon the Rabbi pointed to the empty rows in the congregation, compared the situation of German Jews to the Exodus from Egypt and said goodbye. He emigrated to Great Britain a few days later. The ever-shrinking congregation continued to meet in the building after this date. On 30th August 1939, the Württemberg Minster of the Interior also declared the formal dissolution of the Jewish congregations in Ulm, Baisingen, Buchau, Buttenhausen, Crailsheim, Heilbronn, Laupheim, Mergentheim, Niederstetten, Oberdorf and Rexingen. Secluded and isolated makeshift services were still held in the Gemeindehaus on Weinhof, however.[37]

This continued until 24th August 1941, when the Gemeindehaus had to be vacated. The remaining cultural objects were moved to the building at the rear of Neutorstraße 15, the prayer room and the registry to the former storeroom of the firm Gebrüder Steiner. In the last letter received from Emmy Frankfurter of 19th November 1941, she writes about the community's final prayer room at Schuhhausgasse 9: "Since last Saturday, we've been having services on Schuhhausgasse again. But I'm scared of the terrible high stairs, an accident would happen so quickly and then you've broken your leg or your arm. So Mrs Wolf and I pray together at home and ask that the Almighty take you, who are everything to us in the world, into his protection."[38] Schuhhausgasse 9 is the last known location of a Jewish community prayer room. Following the demolition of the Synagogue, the site was used to store fire-fighting water for air-raid protection. Once the War ended and Ulm was occupied, the Synagogue site was initially under the control of the Trustee Heinrich Strobel, who managed all buildings, businesses and property in Ulm that had previously been in Jewish ownership on behalf of the American Military Government. On 21st June 1948, ownership of the property passed back to the City. Negotiations with the Jewish Restitution Successor Organisation (IRSO) over compensation and reimbursement began in the same year. The IRSO declined the return of the former community's property in 1950, demanding instead a payment in addition to the purchase price. The negotiated contract stipulated that the IRSO waived any remaining compensation rights with regard to the City, who would pay 40,000 DM in three instalments. The City of Ulm received compensation for the destruction of the Synagogue in April 1961 from the Federal Republic of Germany in the amount of 5,847.25 DM. In 1955 the City had relinquished the site to Sparkasse Ulm as part of a property exchange in return for the building at Hafenbad 1. Sparkasse built its new head office on part of the Synagogue site; Neue Straße runs across the remainder.

FLIGHT AND EMIGRATION

A total of 28 Jews emigrated from Ulm between 1933 and 1935. The following year, the number of emigrants increased to 48 and then to 58 in 1937, before going back down to 40 in 1938. At first, it was mainly young people and young families who tried to emigrate. In contrast, older people, most of whom had spent their whole lives in the city, found it difficult to leave their

home despite the harassment.[39] After the traumatic events of Kristallnacht, it was no longer possible for Ulm's Jews to return to the normal rhythms of everyday life. Those who could do so left the country and tried to start a new life abroad. 124 people, almost a quarter of the former Jewish inhabitants, left the city in 1939 alone.

Emigration was extremely difficult for German Jews at that time. Many countries had immigration quotas. In addition to the necessary financial means, anyone wanting to emigrate to the United States needed to provide evidence of sponsors, so-called "Affidavits of Support" from relatives or acquaintances living there. Furthermore, the United States assigned limited visa quotas to certain countries of origin. Finally, emigration was expensive and could only be achieved by relinquishing a large proportion of one's assets. Alongside the shipping and travel costs, severe financial difficulties were caused by the "Jewish Capital Levy" and the "Reich Flight Tax" (Reichsfluchtsteuer), which amounted to 25 % of assets over 50,000 reichsmark. US President Roosevelt did attempt to create international regulations for the emigration of German and Austrian Jews through the Évian Conference from 6th–15th July 1938, but this failed because the participating countries were unwilling to take in such refugees in substantial numbers.

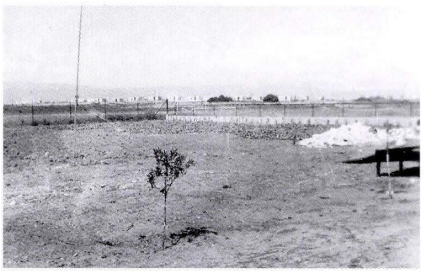
Many of the emigrants also faced an uncertain future even after they had managed to escape. They were reliant on the help of friends and relatives to make a fresh start in their new lives. Most of those who emigrated to America settled in New York. Tens of thousands of German Jews were concentrated in the areas of Washington Heights north of Harlem, and on the Upper East Side. Palestine had previously been a place of refuge in 1936. Altogether, 55 Ulm Jews found sanctuary in the British Mandate territory. At first, Great Britain itself was not an important emigration destination in terms of numbers. After Kristallnacht, the British Government changed its acceptance policy, allowing children and young people especially to escape to safety through the Kindertransport operation. 38 Jews from Ulm alone were able to emigrate to the British Isles in 1939. South America and Switzerland were other important destinations for emigrants.

In spring 1941, efficient emigration of German Jews was still in the interests of the Nazi regime. The Nazi policy on the Jews changed with the invasion of the Soviet Union. From that time on, the focus shifted from expulsion to annihilation.

GHETTOISATION

Until 1939 the Jews of Ulm were allowed to remain in their own homes. The "Law on Tenancies with Jews" (Gesetz über Mietverhältnisse mit Juden)[40] passed on 30th April 1939 changed that: tenants' protection for Jews was reduced, and the Ulmer Sturm – Ulmer Tagblatt published an article on 12th May 1939 under the headline "Jews only belong in Jew houses". At first, six buildings owned by Jews in Ulm were established as Judenhäuser (plural of Judenhaus – lit. "Jew house") They were at Beyerstraße 54, Weinhof 3, Schuhhausgasse 9, Neutorstraße 1 and 15, and Ensingerstraße 3. All Jews in Ulm had to move into these Judenhäuser on a "voluntary" basis by 31st December 1939, or face forced relocation after this date. The living situation of Jews in Ulm became drastically worse after this

Fresh start: garden of the Ahawah children's home near Haifa, 1936.



law was introduced, and the residential turnover of the Jewish population in all areas controlled by the Nazis was continually on the rise. Once the number of Jews living in Ulm had reduced further over the course of 1939 and 1940, the number of Judenhäuser was also reduced and any buildings still in the possession of Jews were confiscated. By summer 1939, the authorities had already begun to resettle elderly Jews in compulsory, hastily prepared old people's homes in the countryside. Many elderly Jews from Ulm were required to move first to the Jewish old people's home at Herrlingen, or later also to that at Dellmensingen.[41] When the Herrlingen old people's home was shut down, they were forced to relocate to the castle at Oberstotzingen, which was very run-down. After just a few weeks in Oberstotzingen, the inhabitants and staff were deported to Theresienstadt on 22nd August 1942. The last occupants of the Judenhäuser were also deported and in most cases were murdered. Many Jews committed suicide because of the hopeless situation.

DEPORTATION AND EXTERMINATION

Jews had already been deported from the Third Reich in 1938 during the so-called Polenaktion prior to the Kristallnacht pogrom. The Wagner-

The Judenhaus at Neutorstraße 1, around 1925.



The Stuttgart-Killesberg detention camp, end of November 1941.



Deportation of Würzburg Jews, among them some natives of Ulm, 25th April 1942.



Bürckel-Aktion of 21st/22nd October 1940 can also be grouped with these early deportations. On the initiative of Gauleiter (District Leaders) Wagner and Bürckel more than 6,000 Jews from Baden, the Palatinate and the Saargebiet were deported to southern France and were interned at various places, including in degrading conditions at a camp at Gurs. Several Jews from Ulm who had been living in Baden were among those deported.

The systematic registration, ghettoisation and murder of the Jewish population in the occupied territories began with the German invasion of the Soviet Union. In particular the Einsatzgruppen ("Task Forces") – mobile units of the Sicherheitspolizei (Security Police) and the Sicherheitsdienst (SD - Security Service) – massacred huge numbers of the Jewish civil population in the conquered towns and villages.[42] The genocide of European Jews became a gruesome reality. Jews living in the territories under Nazi control now no longer had the option of emigration: on 23rd October 1941, acting on the instruction of Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler, the Central Security Office (RSHA) ordered that "The emigration of Jews is to be prevented with immediate effect".[44] The first deportations of Jews from Germany to occupied Poland, the Baltic countries and to Belarus began in October 1941. The deportation of the Jewish population in Württemberg and Hohenzollern was organised by the Stuttgart branch of the Gestapo, who were supported by local officials, police directors and a network of administrative offices across the country. The Gestapo ordered that the Württemberg Jewish Community Organisation (Jüdische Kultusvereinigung) had to prepare and organise the transports locally. The cost of deportation had to be borne by the deportees themselves and they had their assets confiscated. The formal legal basis for this dispossession came from the "11th Regulation on the Reich Citizenship Act" (11. Verordnung zum Reichsbürgergesetz) of 25th November 1941, whereby Jews living abroad were stripped of their German citizenship and their assets were forfeit to the state.[45] The circumstances of deportation were humiliating, and transport in the goods wagons was so inhuman that often many people died during the journey itself. A total of three large deportation trains (on 1st December 1941 to Riga, on 26th April 1942 to Izbica and on 22nd August 1942 to Theresienstadt), as well as countless smaller trains, went from Stuttgart to the ghettos and concentration camps in the occupied territories. Only a few of the Jews deported from Württemberg survived.[46]

The first deportation of 21 Ulm Jews began on 18th November 1941 with an "Evacuation Notice" (Evakuierungsbescheid), which was issued by registered letter with the postage to be paid by the recipient. Those affected by deportation had to prepare a complete list of their assets and submit it to the Mayor's Office by 25th November. On 28th November 1941, they had to report to the Schwörhaus on Weinhof with their limited luggage, for which strict regulations were stipulated. The rest of their property was seized by the Gestapo and later auctioned.[47] They were then taken by train from the main station in Ulm to Stuttgart and then on to the detention camp at Killesberg. There they were registered, robbed of their last possessions and then transported to Riga on 1st December.[48] This first deportation of Jews from Ulm mainly affected younger people and families, because they were supposedly being taken to the East to work. Erwin Ullmann is the only Jew from Ulm to have survived from this first transport.

The next major transport from Stuttgart took place on 26th April 1942, and Ulm Jews were also among those deported. This time the train's destination was the Izbica Ghetto. The people from Ulm were brought to Stuttgart from Ulm on 24th April 1942 and interned in the Killesberg

The railway station of the Treblinka death camp, 1942/43.



detention camp. Two days later, some 1,000 people left for the East on the deportation train from Stuttgart's northern freight depot. Two hundred to four hundred men were selected at Lublin station and sent to the Majdanek concentration camp to do forced labour. The people left on the train reached the Izbica Ghetto on 29th April. A survivor reported on the conditions on arrival in Izbica: "First we had to stand, then they herded us into a house. We were thirty people in one room, in which the window was sealed with paper strips. You could hardly breathe, we were so crowded that we could not sit down."[49] She also reported on the conditions in the ghetto: "... "Generally neglected, we didn't have anything, except for rats, mice, flies and bugs. No sewage system, the filth was knee-high in the streets. Above all we didn't have any food."[50] The ghetto was primarily used as a transit station for the extermination camps of Belzec and Sobibor.[51] It is not known where the Ulm victims were ultimately murdered. The largest deportation of Ulm Jews in terms of numbers took place on 22nd August 1942 from Stuttgart to Theresienstadt. This transport is particularly well documented for the Jews of Ulm because two of those affected, Resi and Siegmund Weglein, survived. Resi Weglein vividly described the deportation in her memoirs: "In August we experienced bitter times. On 16th we learnt that we were to make ourselves ready for relocation to Theresienstadt. It is still hard to this day to describe how we felt. It meant we had to say goodbye to all our loved ones, to everything we held dear, to our beautiful home. (...) We were arrested by a policeman on 20th August in our home at Olgastraße 6 (at that time Adolf-Hitler-Ring 62) and taken to the station in Ulm, joining the elderly from the Buttenhausen old people's home. Before we left our home, Ms L. H., a 'cross-breed of the 1st degree', had to search me in the presence of this policeman to make sure I hadn't concealed any poison or weapons under my clothes."[52] As with the previous deportations, people from across Württemberg and Hohenzollern were brought to the Killesberg detention camp and then deported en masse to the East from there. Altogether, there were 51 people on that train who were either born or lived in Ulm. Resi Weglein reported on her arrival at the detention camp: "As soon as we entered the exhibition hall we were strip-searched again and my husband's money and watch with chain were taken. When he protested that he had been injured fighting for his country, the response was that this was irrelevant, as no Jew should have a 900-stamp watch. Eau de Cologne and chocolate were stolen from my handbag. (...) Killesberg! This night of madness and horror will never be forgotten. 1,076 people, mostly over 65 (...) sat on chairs and had to sleep like that. Some 50 very ill patients had a bed of sorts, mostly just a duvet with no cover on the ground. (...) It was impossible to sleep, because a few insane people screamed all through the night. (...) Eight poor old people died that night, twelve were left behind dying."[53] Because those that remained of the former Jewish community in Ulm were mainly old and single people, the average age of the Ulm Jews deported on 22nd August 1942 was 68 and three quarters of them were women.

The conditions in the Theresienstadt concentration camp were responsible for numerous casualties in the first few weeks, particularly among the elderly. Increasingly large transports left Theresienstadt from 24th August 1942 onwards. Most of the trains went to the death

Arrival and selection of Hungarian Jews in Auschwitz-Birkenau, summer 1944.



camps of Auschwitz or Treblinka, where many Jews from Ulm were murdered. For those left behind in Theresienstadt, every day was a constant battle against hunger and disease and the ever present fear of selections and deportations to the extermination camps. The last transports left Theresienstadt for the Auschwitz-Birkenau camp in October 1944. Many Ulm Jews had emigrated after 1933 to France, the Netherlands, Czechoslovakia or to Yugoslavia, under the mistaken belief that they would be safe there from the Nazi's persecution of the Jews. With the occupation of these countries they fell once more under Germany's control. Many of them were interned and came via detention camps like Drancy or Westerbork to the extermination camps of Poland where they were murdered. In one case, a woman from Ulm was forced to work in the brothel of the Auschwitz-Birkenau camp before she was eventually killed.

By the end of 1942, almost all of Ulm's Jews had been deported from the city. The only Jews left were those living in so-called "privileged intermarriages" and the Hirsch family, as Samuel Hirsch was employed by the Neubronner firm as a metallurgist. In spring 1943, the Hirsch family were also deported, and in February 1945 David Eis, one of the last of Ulm's Jews to be protected by a "privileged intermarriage", was finally sent to Theresienstadt.

According to the categorisation of the Nuremberg Race Laws, a person with two grandparents who were Jewish "by race", was labelled a "half-Jew" (Halbjude) or "cross-breed of the 1st degree" (Mischling 1. Grades). Such people usually came from Christian-Jewish families. If they had been brought up as Jewish they were designated a "legally valid Jew" (Geltungsjude) and like the "full Jews" (Volljuden) suffered persecution and genocide. Examples of such people from Ulm were Heinz Körner, Heinz Krippel and Rosa Mitlehner. "Half-Jews" brought up as Christian were also subject to discriminatory measures, such as marriage bans, and had to contend with severe restrictions with regard to education and professional life. As the War progressed, Ulm's "half-Jews" were also sent to forced labour camps from November 1944 onwards. These were Kurt Deschler, Kurt Fried,[54] Heinz Körner, Max Stern and one other person who does not wish to be named.

The dance teacher Annie Peterka, who had several Jewish forebears in her family tree, survived by chance. She was arrested at a rehearsal in 1942 on a charge of "masquerading as an Aryan" and was incarcerated first in regular prisons and finally in Arbeitserziehungslager 21 (Work Education Camp 21) near Salzgitter.

SURVIVORS

The list of concentration camp survivors from Ulm is very short: Alfred Balbier, Sophie von Eiff, David Eis, Heinz Körner, Hermann Thalmessinger, Resi and Siegmund Weglein were liberated from Theresienstadt in May 1945. Esther Loewy (later Béjarano by marriage) was one of the few former citizens of Ulm to survive the Auschwitz extermination camp and the Todesmarsch (death march) of January 1945. Dr Ludwig Mann and Frieda Silberstein (née Mann), survived for over four years in the camp at Gurs in southern France. Gertrude Ullmann and her daughter survived until the handover of the camp at Bergen-Belsen, but were still transported in the direction of Theresienstadt in April 1945. On 13th April 1945, the two women from Ulm were freed from the train near Magdeburg by American

troops. Erwin Ullmann endured several camps and was the only Jew from Ulm to survive the Riga Ghetto. Fritz Hirsch, later known as Fred, managed to survive the Holocaust under very different circumstances. He was able to avoid deportation by pretending to be an American citizen. He was interned by the Gestapo and then finally was exchanged on 6th January 1945. Fritz Brumlik and Walter Klappholz survived the camps and, after their liberation and a long odyssey, ended up as "Displaced Persons" in the Boelcke barracks in Ulm. They were transferred from there to Zeilsheim near Frankfurt a. M. at the end of April 1947.

POST-WAR PERIOD

The few survivors of the concentration camps were left with nothing. Not only had they themselves experienced indescribable suffering, but in many cases they were the only survivors of their families. In light of the crimes perpetrated by the Germans and their allies, only a very few actually wanted to return to their former home. Those who returned to Ulm were the Weglein couple, David Eis and for a short time Fritz Brumlik, Walter Klappholz and Heinz Körner. The latter emigrated with his family. There was no longer a Jewish religious community in Ulm after the Holocaust. The Jews living here were affiliated with the small Württemberg congregation in Stuttgart. This meant a trip to the state capital for high holidays. There was no longer a generational change.

For a short time between the end of the War and the mid-1950s, there were also thousands of Jewish "Displaced Persons" (DPs) living in Ulm in addition to the few remaining Ulm Jews. These people were not German and had either fled their homelands or had been deported by the German occupying authorities during the Second World War. Most of them had been slave labourers, prisoners or had survived the concentration camps. They were supervised by UN aid organisations, such as the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA), and were eventually resettled either in their homeland or in other countries. In Ulm the camps for these DPs were situated in the Donaubastion, in the Boelcke, Sedan and Hindenburg barracks, and especially for children in the Bleidorn barracks. The first UNRRA statistics for Ulm from December 1946 reveal that some 6,000 Displaced Persons were living in the Ulm urban area at this time. The overwhelming majority of them were Jews, who usually lived isolated from the rest of the city's society waiting for the opportunity to emigrate. The camps were in use until September 1949.

FRESH START

Lord Mayor Theodor Pfizer commissioned research into the persecution of Ulm's Jews, in what was an extremely early example of an act of remembrance by a city of the terrible crimes perpetrated against its Jewish citizens. The task fell to Heinz Keil, a founding member of Ulm's post-war SPD, who worked in the City's Einwohnermeldeamt (Registration Office). He collated countless files, interviewed former Jewish citizens of Ulm and, in 1961, produced a comprehensive document,[55] which is also the foundation for this Memorial Book. The decision to invite former Jewish citizens to Ulm was a vital part of the City's rapprochement with these former inhabitants. The first invitation was issued in 1983, others followed in 1988, 1991 and 1997.

By the decree of the German Ministry of the Interior of 9th January 1991, Jewish emigrants from the former Soviet Union were offered the opportunity to re-enter Germany as "quota refugees" (Kontingentflüchtlinge). Many people of Jewish origin came to Germany by this means and settled all over the country. In Ulm this resulted in a 400-strong Jewish community affiliated with Stuttgart. Since 2000, the Jews of Ulm have once again had their own rabbi, Shneur Trebnik, 61 years after Dr Julius Cohn had to leave the city. On 2nd December 2012, in front of a huge crowd of locals and representatives from public life and in the presence of the Federal President Joachim Gauck, they celebrated the consecration of their new Synagogue on Weinhof, which is situated just a few metres away from the site of its destroyed predecessor.

ABOUT THE MEMORIAL BOOK

The creation of the Memorial Book for the Holocaust Victims of Ulm goes back to an announcement by Lord Mayor Ivo Gönner at the opening of an event on Holocaust Remembrance Day, 27th January 2004, at Stadthaus Ulm. The starting point was the problem that, after almost 50 years, many details of Heinz Keil's "Documentation about the persecution of Jewish citizens of Ulm/Danube" commissioned by the City were now deemed to be insufficient. Thus, there was no sound foundation for the culture of remembrance in Ulm. In addition, there were no individual biographies for many Jewish victims of National Socialism. On 6th October 2006, the Ulm Gemeinderat Committee for Culture, Education, Sport and Leisure approved the provision of the funds necessary to create this Memorial Book. The Memorial Book contains short biographies for all Jewish victims of

Presentation of Heinz Keil's documentation on the persecution of the Jews in Ulm, 1961. From left: Lord Mayor Pfizer, David Eis, Alfred Adler, Grete and Julius Moos, Alfred Moos and Berthold Wolf.



National Socialism from Ulm. It covers all citizens of Jewish origin who were born in Ulm, or were living in Ulm between 1st January 1933 and 24th April 1945 and were deported by the Nazi authorities. Biographies of people who took their own lives because of the Nazi terror or died as a result of it have also been included in the Memorial Book.

Identifying the Jewish inhabitants of Ulm during the Nazi period is problematic because of the high residential turnover caused by the "Law on Tenancies with Jews" and because the city's registration files were destroyed during the War. As it has been difficult, therefore, to determine how long many of the victims actually lived in Ulm, all have been included regardless of how long they lived in the city. The biographies have been created through extensive research of specialist literature and archive sources, as well as evaluation of Internet findings and information from the victims' relatives. Despite the painstaking preparation of these biographies, inadvertent errors and omissions are a possibility. The author and the editorial team (stadtarchiv@ulm.de) would be grateful for any additions or corrections, which could be considered for inclusion in a future edition. The Memorial Book is intended to be a symbol of the city's sympathy for the fate of its Jewish citizens and a document of remembrance. The editorial work has been undertaken by the Haus der Stadtgeschichte – Stadtarchiv Ulm and the Dokumentationszentrum Oberer Kuhberg – KZ-Gedenkstätte. Research for the Memorial Book, which reached as far as South America, the United States and Australia, has been supported by numerous people who are mentioned in the acknowledgements. We express once again our heartfelt thanks to them all.

ABOUT THE ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Since the Ulm Holocaust Memorial Book was first published in 2009, the City of Ulm has received repeated requests for an English-language version from the descendants of Ulm's former Jewish citizens. This volume has been produced in response to those requests. The new edition also includes all the comments and amendments that the Editorial Team has received since 2009. In addition, it incorporates findings from further research in the archive of the International Tracing Service in Bad Arolsen, which was not accessible at the time of the initial investigations. Thus, this volume draws on the very latest research.

Particular thanks go to Jane Whitworth for undertaking the translation into English, to the graphic designer Sabine Lutz for incorporating the new text and pictures into the Memorial Book layout, and to Prof Dr Ulrich Klemm for publishing the volume.

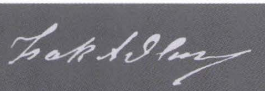
Ulm, January 2014

BIOGRAPHIES

A name in italics indicates that the person has their own biography in the Memorial Book. Current local spellings have been used for foreign place names and the German name given in brackets where applicable.

ADOLFINE ADLER

Adolfine Adler was born on 2nd March 1894 in Bad Mergentheim as the daughter of Adolf and Fanny Adler. In 1956 her grandson filled out a registration form for Holocaust victims at the Yad Vashem Memorial.[56] This reveals that Adolfine Adler lived in Ulm for a period of time during the Second World War. It has not been possible to ascertain when this was or for how long. There is another trace of her in the Baden-Württemberg Memorial Book of 1969,[57] which gives her last place of residence as Schwäbisch Hall. She apparently lived there in a home for disabled people. Her name appears again on the transport list of deportation "XIII/I" from Stuttgart to Theresienstadt on 22nd August 1942. She lost her life there on 18th December 1942 at the age of 48.



ISAK ADLER

Isak Adler came into the world on 6th April 1877 as the son of Elias Adler and his wife Sofia (née Kauffmann) in Laupheim. On 23rd November 1913, the merchant's son married Frieda Obernauer and moved with her to Ulm. His wife gave birth to their daughter Erna Sofie – the couple's only child – in 1916 at Herrenkellergasse 8.[58] Isak Adler was a cattle dealer by trade. At the start of the 1930s, he sent his daughter Erna to a Catholic boarding school near Nördlingen. She left there in 1932, having passed her Mittlere Reife exams. After her return to Ulm, she met the law student Alfred Moos and emigrated to London at the same time as he did. She found work with the help of the Committee for Jewish Refugees, first as a nanny and then as a trainee beautician and hairdresser.[59] By 1934 she had successfully completed this training and returned to Ulm, while her fiancé emigrated to Palestine in May 1935 and prepared for Erna's emigration and that of her parents from there. In March 1936, Isak and Frieda Adler boarded a ship to Palestine with their daughter.[60] This docked in April on the evening before the Feast of Passover. Erna Adler and Alfred Moos got married on the same day in Tel Aviv. Although it is not usually permitted to get married in the 50 days between Passover and Shavuot according to Jewish tradition,[61] the haste was necessary because, in contrast to their daughter, Isak and Frieda Adler had only been able to get a visitor's visa for Palestine. As a result, they had to leave the country and return to the Danube at the outbreak of violent unrest, which had broken out because of the resident Arabs' increasing fears of foreign infiltration. Because Isak Adler's health worsened – he had to undergo a difficult operation as well as other treatment – further plans for emigration were put on hold at first. It was Kristallnacht that finally prompted the couple to leave Germany. As their emigration was predominantly planned and financed by their daughter and son-in-law, Isak and Frieda Adler had received their entry permit for Palestine by spring 1939. Almost all of their possessions were confiscated between Kristallnacht and the date of their departure.

In addition to the horse trading business and their furniture, they forfeited a garden on the Vorderes Stockach in Einsingen, had to pay the "Reich Flight Tax" of 25,000 reichsmark, an "Atonement Fine" of 16,000 reichsmark, and an additional 4,000 reichsmark for the goods they wished to take with them. Just a few months after they managed to leave Germany, Isak Adler took his own life on 12th July 1939 in the Mediterranean near Netanya (Nathanya). The humiliations and deprivation of rights they had experienced, coupled with a strange environment in which he just could not settle, may well have been instrumental in his tragic decision. His widow moved back to Ulm with her daughter, son-in-law and grandson Michael at the beginning of the 1950s. She died in Söflingen in 1956.



Isak and Frieda Adler, around 1900.



Anna Bach

ANNA BACH NÉE STEINER

Anna Bach was born in Ulm on 13th July 1890 as the eldest of five children of Julius Steiner and his wife Helene (née Friedmann). She was the older sister of *Charlotte Steiner.* Until she married on 29th January 1914, Anna lived at Neutorstraße 13, in the house that would later become the home of the well-known paediatrician Dr Hugo Neuhaus.[62] Her father Julius Steiner came from a long-established Ulm family of merchants and was co-owner of the firm Steiner & Friedmann, which was located in the building behind their home and traded in cotton wool products, as well as other commodities. In addition to his commercial commitments, Anna's father was involved in the Jewish religious community and was on the Board of Elders. At the age of 23 Anna married the lawyer Alfred Bach, who was 16 years her senior, and moved with him to Stuttgart. When the First World War began seven months later, her husband went to fight as a lieutenant in the Reserves. He was given a medal for his military service and went back to his old legal profession after the war. Anna Bach had a son who emigrated to South Africa when the Nazis were in power. As a highly decorated war veteran her husband was devastated by the humiliations and deprivations introduced by the Nazis and took his own life with a gun on 12th August 1935.[63] In the same year, Anna Bach's aged mother moved in with her in Stuttgart, where she died soon afterwards. Anna Bach lost her sister Charlotte Steiner, who was murdered in Grafeneck on 24th June 1940, as part of the Euthanasieaktion. She herself was deported on 1st December 1941 from Stuttgart to Riga, where she lost her life in unknown circumstances.

EUGENIE BACH

Eugenie Bach came into the world on 9th April 1879 in Ulm as the daughter of the merchant Isidor Bach and his wife Leonore (née Mamelsdorff). Her father came from Altenstadt and her mother from Mannheim. She was the youngest of four siblings, of whom the three oldest had been born in Stuttgart. The family came to Ulm in 1877 and lived in Frauenstraße for twelve years. The family are believed to have left Ulm on 2nd February 1889. There is no further trace of them until 24th September 1912, by which time they were living in Munich[64] on the third floor of Lindwurmstraße 125. Eugenie Bach had to move into the hospital managed by the Israelite Community Organisation (Israelitische Kultusgemeinde) at Hermann-Schmid-Straße 5–7 at the beginning of the Second World War. From there she was deported from Germany to Theresienstadt on 3rd June 1942, together with her sister Karolina and 48 other people.[65] The hospital run by Chief Physician Dr Julius Spanier was liquidated at the personal request of Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler, as space was required for a Nazi training school for nurses.[66] The transport with the number "II/2" reached the ghetto the following day. Three days later, the third sister Elisabeth, known as Elsa, was also deported to Theresienstadt on the next transport from Munich. Eugenie Bach succumbed to the living conditions in the ghetto just a few weeks after her arrival on 15th July 1942. The suffering of her two sisters, however, continued until they were deported with 2,000 other people on 19th September 1942 to Treblinka, where they were murdered in the gas chambers.



Eugenie Bach's identity card, 1939.

BEATE BAERTIG

Beate Baertig was born on 15th March 1932 in Karlsruhe. She was the niece of *Heinrich* and *Eda Barth* and lived with them in Ulm at the end of the 1930s.[67] She was deported on 28th November 1941 from Ulm via Stuttgart to Riga along with her uncle, her aunt and her cousin *Suse Barth*. It is not known when and under what circumstances she died there.

RECHA THEKLA BAERTIG NÉE SCHLESINGER

Recha Thekla Baertig was born on 11th October 1894 in the small community of Flehingen in the Kraichgau area near Karlsruhe. She was the daughter of the butcher and cattle dealer Moses Schlesinger and his wife Bertha (née Liewig). The Bundesarchiv Memorial Book reveals that Recha Baertig may have spent most of the 1930s living in Ulm with her younger sister *Eda Barth*, who was married to the cattle dealer *Heinrich Barth*. Recha Baertig was deported from Bruchsal on 22nd October 1940 to the Gurs camp in southern France.[68] Almost two years later, she was then transported via the Drancy-Le Bourget transit camp north of Paris to Auschwitz-Birkenau. The accompanying documentation for this deportation transport, which is kept in the Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum, reads: "The transport left Le Bourget-Drancy on 10th August 1942 (at 8.55am – author's note) and had the transport train number D901/12 with 1,000 Jews. The recorded category of persons met the specified guidelines. The transport leader was Sergeant Krüger, who was given two copies of the applicable transport list. The supplied food as standard per Jew for 14 days. The report went to: 1. RSHA Dept. IV B4 FAO: SS-Obersturmbannführer Eichmann in Berlin, 2. To the KZ Inspector in Oranienburg and 3. To the KL Auschwitz."[69] Recha Baertig is listed at number 423 on the transport list for the train, which was carrying 997 Jews from Germany, Poland, France, the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia among its 1,006 deportees. The train took two days to make the run from Drancy to Auschwitz. The deportees were selected on arrival; 240 people were sent to the work camp, while all the others were murdered immediately in the gas chambers.[70] Because there is no registration number in Recha Baertig's index card in Auschwitz, it is highly probable that she was murdered there as soon as she arrived on 12th August 1942.[71]

ALFRED BALBIER

Alfred Balbier was born in Ulm on 22nd May 1880 as the son of Samuel Balbier and Sara (née Dreifuss). His father came from Schwäbisch Hall and his mother from Altdorf. His father initially ran a shoe shop on Marktplatz. From 1896 the business address is recorded as Münsterplatz 44.[72] Alfred Balbier had five siblings, of whom the younger brother Leopold died shortly after birth in 1882. His brother *Otto* took his own life in Munich in 1935.

Alfred Balbier was deported on 23rd February 1945 from Munich to Theresienstadt on transport "II/35". The late deportation date indicates that he was living in a "privileged intermarriage". He survived the deprivations of the final months and was freed from the concentration camp by the Red Army in May 1945, at which point he returned to Munich. He died there on 14th October 1961.[73]


Tagtäglich
kommt es in meinem Geschäfte vor, dass Leute ausdrücklich dieselben Schuhe und Stiefel verlangen, welche sie getragen.
Warum?
Die Kunden hatten **Wolf'sche Schuhe** bei mir gekauft und waren damit so zufrieden, dass sie **keine anderen** Schuhe und Stiefel mehr nehmen, als solche, welche den vollen Namen
S. Wolf, Mainz
auf der Sohle tragen. Zu beziehen durch
S. Balbier, Münsterplatz.

Advert for the Balbier shoe shop, 1900.

OTTO BALBIER

Otto Balbier


Otto Balbier
Elli Balbier
geb. Adler
Vermählte
München, 27. April 1933
Bavaria-Ring 35/I.

Marriage notice of Otto and Ella Balbier.

Otto Balbier was born in Ulm on 15th April 1881 as the son of Samuel Balbier and Sara (née Dreifuss). Otto Balbier was a sales rep by trade and lived in Ulm on Münsterplatz, where his parents ran a shoe shop.[74] He married Ella Adler in Munich on 27th April 1933 almost two weeks after his 52nd birthday. The couple moved to Munich on 3rd September 1933, where they lived at Unertlstraße 4. They had no children. Otto Balbier worked in the Bavarian state capital for the firm Leopold Stern, a wholesale business trading in porcelain, glassware and ceramics. He also worked as a commission agent for leather goods.[75] On 30th April 1935, Otto Balbier took his own life in Munich. His widow was deported with her sister on the first deportation transport from Munich on 20th November 1941 to Kowno (Kaunas), where they were shot along with other deportees in the ditches of Fort IX on 25th November 1941.[76]



EDA (ELSE) BARTH NÉE SCHLESINGER

Eda Barth came into the world on 28th October 1896 in Flehingen. She was the daughter of the butcher and cattle dealer Moses Schlesinger and his wife Bertha (née Liewig). Eda Barth, generally known as Else, was the younger sister of *Recha Thekla Baertig.* Eda left Flehingen on 15th August 1919 after she married the cattle dealer *Heinrich Barth,* who also came from there, and moved with him to Ulm. Their first daughter Lottie was born in April 1920 and was followed eight years later by their second daughter *Suse.* Eda kept house for the family at Olgastraße 81 and later at Ensingerstraße 21. After 1933 the family's living situation worsened considerably, as Heinrich Barth had to contend with increasingly severe restrictions in the practice of his profession. The family were left with no other choice than to sell their belongings to support themselves.[77] The daughter Lottie managed to escape the situation by emigrating to the United States in 1938. In 1991 the survivor reported on the farewell at Ulm's railway station: "I can still see to this day my dear mother at the station in Ulm. It was good that I was young and stupid, because now I understand better what the look in her eyes meant."[78] The stigmatisation of the Jews remaining in Ulm due to the Judenstern badge is documented by another eye-witness report.[79] For over 20 years, Eda Barth was a loyal customer of the market trader Hauser on Ulm's market, as her niece remembered on a visit of former Jews from Ulm in 1991. One day in front of her market stall her aunt addressed her friend and customer Eda Barth with her daughter Suse in a manner that was rough, but kindly meant: "Hey, why are you standing so oddly?", the pair, who had been holding their shopping bags up unusually high against themselves, lowered their arms at which point the yellow Judenstern became visible. Wearing the Judenstern had become mandatory in the Third Reich on 19th September 1941. A few months later, the Barth family were among the first Jews of Ulm to be deported via Stuttgart to the Baltic and murdered there. Just before their deportation on the evening of the 27th November 1941, her friends the Hauser family had given Eda Barth two napkins monogrammed "E. S." (Eda or Else Schlesinger) and a photo to remember them by. There was no further contact after this.

Heinrich Barth

HEINRICH BARTH



Heinrich and Eda Barth with daughter Suse, around 1939.

Heinrich Barth was born in Flehingen near Karlsruhe on 27th June 1888 as the son of Liebmann Barth and his wife Rosa (née Dreifuß). Like his father, Heinrich went into the cattle and horse trading business after he left school. The Barth family had been living in Flehingen for a long time and were very well respected within the community. Two family members were killed in the First World War and Heinrich's brother Louis was an elder of the Jewish community from 1932. Heinrich also served at the front during the First World War, returning to Flehingen once the hostilities ended. One year later, he married *Eda* Schlesinger there on 15th August 1919. Like many other Jews from the rural regions of what is now Baden-Württemberg, Heinrich Barth left his home town with his wife to make a better life in the larger city of Ulm in 1919. Until the birth of their first daughter the couple lived at Basteistraße 33 and then moved to the first floor of Olgastraße 81. Eight years after the birth of their first child, they had their second daughter on 11th June 1928, who was given the name *Suse.* In 1933 the family moved home to Ensingerstraße 21. The tenants after the Barths at Olgastraße 81 were the Scholl family.[80] The dispossession of Jewish business people hit the businessman, who worked with his brother *Julius,* very hard. Bit by bit, the brothers lost their customers and found it increasingly difficult to buy the essentials for their two families. They were left with no other choice than to sell their property in Ulm and Giengen. The compensation files reveal that the sale was to a private individual for far less than the actual value.[81] The "Law on Tenancies with Jews" of 1939 forced the Barth family to move to the first floor of the Judenhaus at Neutorstraße 15. Heinrich Barth was assaulted on Kristallnacht and was deported to the Dachau concentration camp on 12th November 1938. While Heinrich Barth had to endure humiliation and mistreatment, his oldest daughter Lottie was able to emigrate to the United States. After his release from the concentration camp at Dachau, the three remaining family members were unable to obtain entry permits for the United States. The Barths were deported from Ulm to Stuttgart in the first deportation on 28th November 1941 and from there to Riga, where they were probably murdered. After the War, Heinrich Barth was declared dead by the Amtsgericht (district court) in Ulm with effect from 24th December 1945.



JULIUS BARTH

Julius Barth was born on 14th June 1891 in Flehingen as the son of Liebmann Barth and his wife Rosa (née Dreifuß). A good year after his older brother *Heinrich*, Julius Barth left his home town on 27th July 1920 after marrying Theodora Wolff, in order to open a cattle and horse trading business in Ulm. The couple lived for almost their entire time in Ulm at König-Wilhelm-Straße 35, which they bought in 1921. The office for the cattle dealing business was also located here.[82] As a member of the Israelite Charitable Society, Julius Barth looked after members of the community who required assistance. Like his brother Heinrich Barth, as an independent dealer he was particularly affected by the Nazi-initiated boycott, which very quickly had a drastic impact on his living conditions. Julius and Theodora Barth soon had to rely on their savings and ultimately to sell their home.[83] On 4th August 1934, he signed the inevitable contract to sell the building in Ulm and later that for the property in Giengen an der Brenz.[84] As the compensation files show, Jews were usually forced to sell their property below market value from the very beginning of the Nazi dictatorship. After the house was sold, the couple moved the following year into a flat at Adolf-Hitler-Ring 11 (Promenade 11). Julius Barth was deported to the Dachau concentration camp on the day of Kristallnacht.[85] He died there on 24th December 1938 in unexplained circumstances. The death certificate records the cause as "sudden cardiac death", which was a common euphemism. It is clear that by the end of 1938 the death of prisoners was already part of the concept of the Dachau concentration camp, which was namely to force Jews to emigrate through systematic mistreatment and humiliation. The Jewish community had to pay for Julius Barth's transport and burial. He was the first casualty of the Nazi's persecution of the Jews in Ulm. His widow was able to emigrate to the United States the following year. After the War, she sought recompense for the property she had lost when she left Germany. The tough struggle with the buyers of the building in Ulm ultimately ended with a settlement.



SUSE BARTH

Suse Barth was born in Ulm's Bethesda hospital on 12th June 1928 as the younger daughter of *Heinrich Barth* and his wife *Eda* (née Schlesinger). She was not allowed to join any non-Jewish clubs, which left only the Jewish Schild club for sports and games.[86] In addition, she could not attend regular schools but only the Jewish school on Weinhof, which was founded in 1936 as a consequence of the Nuremberg Race Laws and provided lessons for all ages in just one class. After her sister Lottie, who was eight years older, emigrated to the United States in 1938, the two exchanged letters. A letter from Suse Barth contains a poem with the line "How wonderful it would be if I could come to America".[87] This was never to be, however, as she was deported from Ulm on 28th November 1941 at the age of 13 with her parents and her cousin *Beate Baertig*. They were sent via Stuttgart to Riga, where she was probably murdered.



FLORA BAYERSDORFER NÉE MOOS

Flora Bayersdorfer was born in Ulm on 30th July 1878 and was the second oldest child of Julius and Friederike Moos (née Nathan). Flora also had a younger sister called *Wera,* who later became a *Schwarz* by marriage. Her parents lived at various addresses including Bahnhofstraße 16.[88] On 3rd March 1902, Flora married the Munich shoe manufacturer Emanuel Bayersdorfer, whose father had been a hops dealer in Regensburg. After her husband's death, the widow married the merchant Hermann Weinberg on 2nd December 1924 and lived with him at Augustenstraße 15 in Munich. After the marriage ended in divorce after a year and a half, Flora reverted to her late first husband's surname and moved back to Ulm. On 24th April 1934, Flora Bayersdorfer moved to Neu-Ulm to Hermann-Köhl-Straße 16, of which she had been a part owner since the death of her father in 1929. She had to leave that address on 21st May 1940 and relocate to the home of the Bissinger siblings. The Munich registration files show that Flora Bayersdorfer had to go from Neu-Ulm to Munich on 8th March 1943. "Migration" is given as the reason on her index card. It is highly probable that she was on the deportation transport for Auschwitz that left Munich on 13th March 1943.[89]



Studio shot of Flora and Hermann Bayersdorfer, 1909.



ESTHER BÉJARANO NÉE LOEWY

Esther Béjarano came into the world on 15th December 1924 as the youngest daughter of *Rudolf* and *Margarethe Loewy* (née Heymann) in Saarlouis, where her father had just taken up a post as a cantor and teacher. Esther moved from Saarbrücken to Ulm with her parents in 1936. The family lived at Herdbruckerstraße 8.[90] Esther attended Hugo Rosenthal's progressive Jewish boarding school in Herrlingen until it was shut down in 1939 and for a few months after that the Jewish school in Ulm. After that was closed, Esther and her parents moved in with relatives in Berlin in 1939/40. While her father got a job in Wroclaw (Breslau) in 1940 and moved there with his wife, Esther stayed in Berlin, attending first a Jewish school, then the Gut Winkel agricultural farm, before moving to the Ahrensdorf agricultural farm. These farms prepared Jewish young people for emigration to Palestine ("Hakhshara"). All such preparation facilities for Palestine emigration were closed in June 1941. Esther was now sent – together with other young Jewish people – to the Neuendorf forced labour camp near Fürstenwalde, which was supervised by the SS and existed until 1943. Esther was deported to Auschwitz-Birkenau on 20th April 1943. She had played the piano as a child and in Auschwitz she applied to fill the position of accordion player in the "Girl's Orchestra", learning to play the instrument as she went along and that is how she managed to survive. The orchestra had to play military marches every day in the mornings and evenings when the forced labourers were leaving and returning to the concentration camp. The orchestra also played at the entrance gate to Auschwitz-Birkenau when new arrivals were selected either for death in the gas chambers or for slave labour. "They didn't know what was going to happen to them, but we knew and had tears rolling down our cheeks as we played." Esther Loewy was moved from Auschwitz to the women's concentration camp at Ravensbrück at the end of 1943. The concentration camp was evacuated in April 1945 and the prisoners sent on a death march. Esther managed to escape and survived – albeit physically and mentally scarred. She was now 20 years old. She emigrated to Palestine after Germany was liberated. In 1950 she married Nissim Béjarano. She moved back to Germany from Israel in 1960 with her husband and their two children. She still lives in Hamburg and is a singer, performing concerts of songs of resistance as part of the Coincidence group. Esther Béjarano was awarded the Federal Cross of Merit on 6th October 2008.

MARIE BERNHEIM NÉE NATHAN

Marie Bernheim was born in Ulm on 27th July 1873 as the second of three children of the businessman Alexander Nathan and his wife Henriette. Marie's parents had moved to Ulm shortly after their marriage on 2nd April 1871.[91] On 28th May 1896, the 22-year-old Marie married the manufacturer and merchant Siegfried Bernheim from Augsburg who, as the son of Isak and Theresa Bernheim, also came from Ulm. The wedding took place in Ulm's City Hall. The connection between the two families continued to deepen, with Maria's older brother marrying Lina Bernheim, her husband's sister, just one year later. Marie and Siegfried Bernheim had sons Kurt, Willy and Heinz in Augsburg. Heinz emigrated to Argentina in the 1920s and died in Buenos Aires in 1926 at the age of 23. The two older sons emigrated after Hitler seized power. Marie's father Alexander Nathan had been living with her in Augsburg since July 1910, but moved back to Ulm on 15th May 1935. One month later, Siegfried and Marie Bernheim moved from Augsburg to a guest house in Munich at Goethestraße 54. They moved several more times within Munich, including to Giselastraße 18 on 7th April 1937, where Marie's husband died the following day.[92] On 2nd December 1941, she was sent to the detention camp at Knorrstraße 148. Marie Bernheim was forced to live there in terrible conditions until 4th June 1942, when she was deported to Theresienstadt. She survived the hunger and epidemics there for over a year and a half, but eventually died due to the conditions in the concentration camp on 14th January 1944.



Marie Bernheim's identity card, 1939.

Lina Binswanger

LINA BINSWANGER NÉE MOOS

Lina Binswanger was born in Ulm on 11th July 1872 as the daughter of the merchant Isidor Moos and his wife Louise (née Neuburger). Lina was the sister of *Alfred, Bertha* and *Karl Moos.* She spent the first years of her life living on Weinhof and Münsterplatz.[93] She left Ulm after her marriage on 28th August 1891 and followed her husband, the manufacturer Alfred Binswanger, to Regensburg where the couple had daughters Martha and Elisabeth. Alfred Binswanger came from Osterberg near Illertissen and was a partner in the Magister Meyer & Hirsch liqueur factory, founded in 1905. This firm had 24 office staff and 26 factory workers and was situated at Bereiteranger 15 in Munich.[94] Alfred Binswanger died in 1933. His widow moved to Munich in June 1934 and lived initially on the second floor of Destouchestraße 16. On 4th January 1937, Lina Binswanger had to endure a further blow: her daughter Martha died unexpectedly at the age of 42. Her daughter, the schoolgirl Anneliese Treumann, had been born in 1923 and moved in with her grandmother after her mother's death. The two women then had to put up with moving several times within quick succession. At one point they also lived temporarily in a guest house, before finally being accepted into the hostel of the Israelite Community Organisation at Hohenzollernstraße 4. On 3rd April 1942, the granddaughter Anneliese was deported to Piaski. The transport included 343 Jews from Munich and 433 from Bavarian Swabia, of whom seven came from Neu-Ulm.[95] It is not known what happened to Anneliese Treumann after her arrival there on 6th April 1942. Just a few weeks later, Lina Binswanger was also served with a deportation order. She was taken to Theresienstadt on 25th June 1942 on the tenth transport of elderly people from Munich. She survived there for a further ten months, before dying on 7th May 1943.



Lina Binswanger's identity card, 1941.

MANFRED BLOCH

Manfred Bloch came into the world in Frankfurt am Main on 12th September 1915 as the son of the baker and confectioner Joseph Bloch and his wife Maria (née Pappenheimer). He moved to Ulm on 1st June 1938.[96] He lived in the Jewish Gemeindehaus in the city at Weinhof 3 until the census conducted on 17th May 1939,[97] then moved back to his home town on an unknown date. Manfred Bloch was deported from Frankfurt am Main to Minsk on 11th November 1941. He was declared legally dead after the Second World War on 9th May 1945.[98]



Marie Zivi

MARIE BLOCH NÉE MURR, FORM. ZIVI BY MARRIAGE

Marie Bloch was born in Ulm on 7th February 1885 as the daughter of Heinrich and Mathilde Murr (née Neuburger). In 1871 Heinrich Murr's parents moved from Mönchsdeggingen near Nördlingen to Ulm, where Heinrich married Mathilde Neuburger in 1874. Marie Murr had two sisters, *Rosa* (born 1874), later *Mayer* by marriage, and Anna (born 1876), plus a brother, Alexander (born 1889). The family lived at Schuhhausgasse 4 in Ulm, where Heinrich Murr ran a shop selling dress fabric and trousseau items, which was later taken over by his son Alexander – "Alexander Murr, Manufakturwaren- und Aussteuerartikel en gros und en detail". On 5th September 1905, Marie married the pharmacist Berthold Zivi, who was born in Freiburg in 1871, and moved with him to Colmar in Alsace, where he ran the Pharmacie de l'Ange on Rue Vauban. The family also lived there. Their daughter Susanne Margarete Zivi was born in Colmar in 1906. Marie lost her husband to suicide on 17th November 1918. As part of the expulsion of Germans from Alsace in the aftermath of the First World War, Marie and her daughter moved to Freiburg. In 1921 Marie married her second husband, the businessman Nathan Bloch who was born in Krozingen in 1874, moving to Mannheim with him and her daughter. On 1st July 1935, the family moved to Freiburg im Breisgau, where they lived at Okenstraße 48. From here the couple were brought to the Gurs camp in southern France on 22nd October 1940, as part of a major Nazi deportation operation affecting all Jews from Baden and the Palatinate.[99] Marie and Nathan were then brought via the camp at Récébédou to Marseille, where Marie was separated from her husband. They were brought to the Drancy transit camp near Paris on 14th September 1942 via the Les Milles camp near Marseille and that at Rivesaltes, before being moved two days later to Auschwitz in a transport of over 1,000 people.[100] After an initial selection in Kozle (Cosel), the train reached Auschwitz-Birkenau on 19th September 1942. Of all the people on the train, only 147 women were selected for work. The remaining 556 were murdered in the gas chambers, among them Marie Bloch.[101]

SALO BÖHM

Salo Böhm was born on 14th September 1877 in the municipality of Gardawice (Gardawitz) in the former Prussian district of Pleß in Upper Silesia, in what is now Pszczyna in Poland. At the end of the 19th century, his parents Max and Rosalie Böhm (née Löwy) moved to Bochum, where Salo attended first primary school and later a higher school, where he passed his Mittlere Reife exams. He then studied business in Dortmund. In around 1907/1908, Salo Böhm got married in Gelsenkirchen to *Selma* Israel, who came from Krefeld. While living in Bochum they welcomed son Heinz Günther in 1910 and daughter Liselotte in 1915. After his return from the First World War, Salo Böhm founded a chinaware business in Dortmund and was also the principal agent for western Germany of the Avis-Weller silverware factory.[102] In 1930 he moved to Wohlwert, one of the first department store chains in Germany. He was the manager of the Memmingen branch, where he lived with his family until 1st April 1933, the day of the Nazi boycott of Jewish businesses. Following a warning from an employee, Salo Böhm fled to Ulm, where the family later found a new home until 1936 at Nagelstraße 44. Father and son tried to build a new existence in Ulm with a tropical fruit wholesale business. In fact, the family actually survived by selling their valuables. Daughter Liselotte attended the Jewish boarding school in Herrlingen at this time and emigrated to Palestine in 1937.[103] Son Heinz Günther also emigrated to Palestine and lost his life there in 1939 during the violent unrest. Salo and Selma Böhm moved to Stuttgart and prepared for emigration from there. The personal belongings they planned to take with them were already in Trieste, but were confiscated once the Second World War started. The failure of their emigration plans was a far worse blow than the loss of their property. Salo Böhm lived with his wife in Stuttgart until 26th April 1942 at Gartenstraße 32, the Jewish Gemeindehaus. He was deported on this day together with many other Jews from Ulm to the Izbica Ghetto and from there most likely to one of the extermination camps at Belzec, Majdanek or Sobibor. His daughter Liselotte Böhm in Palestine did hear from him once through the Red Cross, but then nothing more.[104]

SELMA BÖHM NÉE ISRAEL

Selma Böhm came into the world on 16th January 1884 as the daughter of the plumber Sebald Israel and his wife Berta (née Mack) in Krefeld. Children Heinz Günther and Liselotte resulted from her marriage to *Salo Böhm.* Selma Böhm followed her husband to Memmingen at the start of 1930 and then to Ulm in 1933. She and her husband were members of the Jewish Cultural Union (jüdischer Kulturbund) in Ulm until they left for Stuttgart. She was deported from Stuttgart to Izbica along with her husband on 26th April 1942.[105] Any trace of the couple ends in the Polish ghetto. It must be assumed that they were sent to an extermination camp and murdered.

Dora Sara Borodowitsch

DORIS BORODOWITSCH

Doris Borodowitsch, known as Dora, was born in Ulm on 24th December 1912 as the only child of Aisik Borodowitsch and his wife Paula (née Friedmann). Her father came from the large Jewish community of Bialystok in what is now Poland and her mother from the city of Vilnius (Wilna), which is now in Lithuania. After marrying in Manchester, England on 17th June 1901, her parents moved to Ulm and ran a cigarette manufacturing business with an attached shop, initially at Hirschstraße 5. The 1907 Ulm Directory lists Aisik Borodowitsch as owner of the Ulm branch of Louis Lypstadt & Co. Zigarettenfabrik and the family lived in the same building as the commercial premises at this time. Doris was the first to move to Munich on 15th May 1931.[106] Her parents followed a year and a half later on 12th December 1932 and lived with their daughter on the second floor of Rumfordstraße 3. Doris Borodowitsch worked first as a Red Cross nurse and later as a secretary. The family had to give up their home on 23rd October 1940. Doris moved to Kaiser-Ludwig-Platz 1, while her parents were forced to go to the old people's home run by the Israelite Community Organisation at Kaulbachstraße 65. Aisik Borodowitsch died there on 12th December 1941.[107] Doris was deported from Munich to Piaski on 3rd April 1942 and from there probably to an extermination camp and murdered. Having remained in Munich, her mother was taken to Theresienstadt on 1st June 1942. From there she was deported to Treblinka on 19th September 1942 and murdered in a gas chamber immediately after her arrival.



Doris Borodowitsch's identity card, 1939.



SARA (SALI) BRESLAUER NÉE BUTTENWIESER

Sara Breslauer was born in Ulm on 1st August 1867 as the daughter of Hermann and Bertha Buttenwieser (née Mayer). Sara, known as Sali, was the older sister of *Fanny Buttenwieser* and lived initially on Hauptwachtplatz. From 1886 she lived at Münsterplatz 43, where her parents ran a fabric and clothing business.[108] In 1890 Sara married the Munich businessman Leopold Breslauer in Ulm, whose original name was Abraham Söbel. The couple left southern Germany soon after their wedding and moved to Wilmersdorf in Berlin, which had a community of over 30,000 Jews at the start of the 1930s.[109] On 17th August 1942, the first Alterstransport (transport of elderly people) – with the designation "I/46" – left Berlin for Theresienstadt carrying around 1,000 people.[110] Five days later, Sara's sister Fanny Buttenwieser also reached the ghetto. She had been deported from Stuttgart to Theresienstadt on 22nd August 1942. Just three months later, Sara Breslauer succumbed to the living conditions in the concentration camp on 30th November 1942.[111]

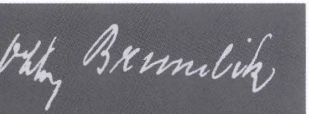


ELISABETH BRUMLIK NÉE OBERNAUER

Elisabeth Brumlik, known as Betty, came into the world on 30th January 1893 in Laupheim as the daughter of the businessman Heinrich Obernauer and his wife Karolina (née Lövinger). Elisabeth had a sister called Frieda, who later married *Isak Adler* and moved with him to Ulm. Elisabeth also moved to Ulm after she married *Otto Brumlik* on 8th May 1921 in Laupheim. Their son *Fritz* was born in Ulm on 30th July 1922. Elisabeth Brumlik was a member of the Israelite Women's Association and the Jewish Cultural Union.[112] During their early years in Ulm, the family lived on the eastern side of Münsterplatz at number 23, which is now a shoe shop. They later moved to Wagnerstraße 5 and finally to Olgastraße 41.[113] On 18th May 1938, the family emigrated from Ulm to Prague, which is where her husband came from originally. The family's emigration took place against the backdrop of the escalating Sudetenland crisis. On 15th March 1939, the German army marched into Prague breaking the Munich Agreement and shattering the illusory safety of thousands of Jews who had fled Nazi Germany, including the Brumliks. They were now caught in a trap with the other Jews of Czechoslovakia. From November 1941 onwards, the German occupiers began shipping the Jews of Prague to the Theresienstadt Ghetto and from there on to the Warsaw Ghetto and finally to the extermination camps. The Brumlik family were deported from Prague to Theresienstadt on 20th November 1942 along with around 1,000 other people on transport "Cc". Two months later on 20th January 1943, there was a large deportation from there to Auschwitz, which also affected the Brumliks.[114] On arrival at the death camp, Elisabeth Brumlik was selected for the gas chamber and murdered there.

FRITZ BRUMLIK

Fritz Brumlik was born in Ulm's Bethesda hospital at Zollernring 26 on 30th July 1922 as the only child of *Otto* and *Elisabeth Brumlik* (née Obernauer). Fritz Brumlik grew up on the eastern side of Münsterplatz. Until the 1936/37 school year he attended the Realgymnasium (a type of grammar school) housed in the Blauringschule building, which is now the Schubart-Gymnasium, and was supposed to move on to the Jewish boarding school at Herrlingen after two years.[115] He was very active in what remained of the Jewish associations: he was a member of the Schild club and the Ulm branch of the Working People – League of Jewish Youth (Werkleute – Bund jüdischer Jugend. Ortsgruppe Ulm).[116] Fritz Brumlik emigrated to Prague with his parents on 18th May 1938,[117] where he found work as a locksmith. He was deported to Theresienstadt with his parents on 20th November 1942. The preserved deportation lists show that the family suffered the ordeal together. They were registered with sequential numbers on both the transport to Theresienstadt and to Auschwitz.[118] Fritz Brumlik's name appears on a 1947 list for the Displaced Persons Camps in the Boelcke barracks in Ulm. This proves that he managed to survive the Auschwitz extermination camp, returning to the place of his birth at the age of 25. Walter Leopold Klappholz, who also came from Ulm, was registered in this DP Camp under an identity number directly after Fritz Brumlik's, which suggests that the two made the transition from imprisonment to freedom together. On 25th April 1947, Fritz Brumlik came to Zeilsheim near Frankfurt a. M., but that is the last trace of him.[119] He may have emigrated overseas like so many other DPs, perhaps to Palestine, or maybe he made a fresh start somewhere in Germany.



OTTO BRUMLIK

Otto Brumlik was born on 5th July 1885 in Lounovice (Launiowitz) to the south-east of Prague as the son of Josef Brumlik and his wife Mathilde, (née Brück). He moved to Germany with his parents on 23rd August 1919, but retained his Czech nationality. As his mother came from Germany originally, he may have had excellent German language skills. The fact that he married a woman from a distinguished Laupheim family, *Elisabeth* Obernauer, just two years after immigrating also suggests this. The Ulm Directory for 1921 lists Otto Brumlik as co-owner of the Alois Polatschek shoe wholesale business on the east side of Münsterplatz at number 23. This company was founded one year before on 8th April 1920 and existed until it was liquidated on 11th January 1938. The premises, inventory and warehouse went to an "Aryan" shoe dealer in Ulm. The removal of his livelihood may well have been a major factor in his decision to emigrate to Prague in May 1938, an obvious choice as a Czech citizen. Like so many other Jews who emigrated there, he assumed that he and his family had reached a place of safety. Otto Brumlik was employed as a labourer in his new home.[120] After the German Army had occupied the rest of the Czech territory in spring 1939, the Brumlik family were once again in danger. Together with his wife and his son *Fritz*, Otto Brumlik was deported to Theresienstadt on 20th November 1942 and then on 20th January 1943 to Auschwitz, where he was murdered immediately after his arrival.

FANNY BUTTENWIESER

Fanny Buttenwieser was born in Ulm on 27th March 1872 as the daughter of Hermann and Bertha Buttenwieser. Her parents came from the Jewish communities of Hürben near Krumbach and Ichenhausen, in Bavarian Swabia. With her sister Sara Breslauer, Fanny Buttenwieser grew up in an apartment located at Münsterplatz 43. She helped in her father's shop at first, which was taken over by her brother Samuel after their father's death in October 1893. In the 1920s Fanny then opened a small shop selling soap on Münsterplatz. She remained unmarried, but did adopt the 21-year-old, non-Jewish Emil Otto Ernst from Metzingen on 26th August 1922, who bore the surname Buttenwieser-Ernst from then on. In 1934 Fanny Buttenwieser was strongly cautioned for "making subversive statements against the NSDAP" and ordered to pay a fine to the NSV, the Nazi welfare organisation. Her adopted son was married to a non-Jew by this time. The adoption was legally dissolved on 9th August 1935, just before the introduction of the discriminatory Nuremberg Laws, presumably he and his wife did not want to be burdened with a Jewish family name. Fanny Buttenwieser is listed as retired in the Ulm Directory from 1937 onwards. In 1939 she was charged with offences under the "Law Against Acts of Subversion" (Heimtückegesetz), which was introduced to punish people who criticised the regime. However, the proceedings were thrown out by the Stuttgart Sondergericht (special court), because she and the complainant had a long history of enmity and there was no proof that she had made the remarks in question. The single retiree was reliant on Jewish welfare support and had to leave Ulm for Herrlingen on 28th July 1939, where she was housed in the compulsory old people's home set up in a former Jewish boarding school. Along with the other elderly residents, she was taken from there on 25th July 1942 to the castle at Oberstotzingen, where they were forced to remain until they were deported to Theresienstadt on the first Alterstransport from Stuttgart on 22nd August 1942. On 29th September 1942, she was brought to Treblinka, where she was killed with engine exhaust gas immediately after her arrival.



ANTONIA CHOSE NÉE KAUFMANN

Antonia Chose came into the world in Hechingen on 22nd September 1889 as the daughter of the Strasbourg manufacturer Moritz Kaufmann and his wife Friederike (née Löwenstein), who came from Cannstatt. Antonia, known as Tony, married Max Moses Chose in Cannstatt on 5th January 1922 at the age of 32. Because her husband was Polish by birth, she lost her German nationality when they married and from then on she was Polish. She moved to Ulm with her husband and where she gave birth to their first daughter Ruth on 22nd November 1922.[121] Their second daughter Hanna followed four and a half years later. Tony Chose was a member of the Israelite Women's Association until October 1938.[122] She was deported to Poland with her family on the night of 28th October 1938 as part of the Polenaktion. She and her family settled in Bialystok in the aftermath of this ordeal. Antonia Chose is believed to have fallen victim to the Nazi extermination of the Jews following the German occupation of Poland.



HANNA CHOSE

Hanna Chose was born in Ulm on 30th April 1927 as the youngest daughter of *Max Moses* and *Antonia Chose*. She attended the Jewish school on Weinhof, which the Jewish community had been forced to set up in 1936. On 28th October 1938, she was deported to Poland with her parents and her sister *Ruth* as part of the Polenaktion. She settled in Bialystok with her parents and there is no further trace of her after this time.[123]

MAX MOSES CHOSE

Max Moses Chose was born in Werejce near Lublin in Poland on 2nd October 1870 as the son of Mayer Chose and his wife Chaja (née Keli). He came to Ulm in May 1898 and took up a position as a sales representative for the Neu-Ulm firm of Friedrich Scheerer Colonialwaren & Südfrüchte Großhandlung, selling colonial goods and tropical fruit. Because no tropical fruit could be imported during the First World War, he took over the leadership of the Neu-Ulm Land und Kommune-Stadt municipal association representing Friedrich Scheerer, and this position afforded him some protection. When the Scheerer firm was sold, Max Chose left the business on 1st May 1919 after more than 21 years of service. Two months later, he was issued a permit to sell colonial goods, such as coffee, tea, cocoa and rice. He worked as an agent for the firms of Carl Gaissmaier and Albert Henle & Co. and for the Buying Association of Colonial Goods Traders in Ulm (Einkaufsverein der Kolonialwarenhändler). The inflation of 1923 left him and his family in financial difficulty. In March 1924, Max Chose became a partner in Albert Henle & Co. and then found employment with Karl Julius Moos

in the firm Gesellschaft für elektrische Apparate (GEA) in Hirschstraße at the end of the 1930s. Max Chose was an active member of the community through the Israelite Charitable Society.[124] He was expelled from the Third Reich without warning on the night of 28th October 1938 and along with his family taken to the Polish border. They found accommodation in Bialystok with a family called Margulis.[125] Following the occupation of Poland by the German Army, the ghetto in which the Chose family now found themselves was liquidated between February and August 1943. Most of the inhabitants were killed in the Treblinka extermination camp.



Friedrich Scheerer

Colonialwaren-u.Südfrüchte-Grosshandlung

Neu-Ulm a/D.

Zeugnis:

Herr Max Chose geb.am 3 Oktober 187[illegible] war von 14 Mai 1898 bis Heut in meinem Geschäft als Reisender tätig.

Herr Chose hat während dieser langen Zeit seiner Tätigkeit in mei Hause seine ganze Kraft den Geschäfte gewidmet;er hat sich stets als ein umsichtiger,treuer und zuverlässiger Mitarbeiter gezeigt und hat die Wahrung der Geschäftsinteressen immer als Pflicht erachtet.

Herr Chose besitzt reiche Fachkenntnisse,hat verschiedene Vertretungen übernommen und ist ein Mann,der zuverlässig den Reisegeschäft eines Grossbetriebes durch aus führen versteht.

Als das Grosse-Import-Geschäft bei Kriegsausbruch infolge der dafür bedingten Verhältnisse unterbunden wurde,übernahm Herr Chose die Leitung der Kommunalverbandes-Neu-Ulm-Land sowie der Kreuzna-Stadt,in welcher Eigenschaft er sich ebenfalls als eine vorzügliche tüchtige Kraft erwiesen hat.

Mein Geschäft geht durch Kauf ab 1 Mai 1919 in andere Hände über.

Ich kann Herrn Chose Alles in allen nur bestens empfehlen.

Neu-Ulm a.D.den 1 Mai 1919.

Reference for Max Chose from Scheerer Colonialwaren- und Südfrüchtegroßhandlung, 1919.

RUTH CHOSE

Ruth Chose was born in Ulm on 23rd November 1922 as the daughter of *Max Moses* and *Antonia Chose*. She grew up on Theatergasse and later on Olgastraße. From the 1936 school year onwards, she had to attend the Jewish school on Weinhof. In summer 1938, she met her first boyfriend, about whom there is an eye-witness report (Erinnerungsbericht). Ruth was deported to Poland with her family on 28th October 1938. She moved to Bialystok with her parents and has been missing ever since.[126]



Ruth Chose with her friends. From left to right: Gertrud Bergmann, Elisabeth Erlanger, Ruth Chose, Anneliese Wallersteiner, Lore Sänger, Anne Klein and Else Moos, around 1937.



DOROTHEA COHN NÉE METH

Dorothea Cohn came into the world in Schwäbisch Gmünd on 17th November 1904 as the daughter of Alfred and Flora Meth (née Appel). Her parents had emigrated from the area of Katowice (Kattowitz) in Upper Silesia after 1901. They sold haberdashery, linens, wool products, carpets, curtains, linoleum, tapestries and toys and were so succesful that they were able to open the largest department store in the place after just a few years. Dorothea, known universally as Thea, spent her childhood and youth in Schwäbisch Gmünd, where she also went to school. Her friends describe her as intellectually gifted, interested in literature and art history, and as an active member of the community.[127] Dorothea Meth moved to Ulm around 1928 and is listed in the Directory from 1929 onwards as a housekeeper and housemaid. Her addresses are given as Weinhof 3 and Lange Straße 18, both buildings were owned by the Jewish community. In 1934 Dorothea Meth was involved in a relationship with an SA man and fell pregnant.[128] She gave birth to her son Ernst-Otto in The Hague, Holland in April 1935 and then returned to Ulm, where she resumed her work as a housemaid for the Jewish community and for Rabbi *Dr Cohn.* Dorothea Meth was a member of the local Zionist branch in UIm (Zionistischer Ortsverband) from summer 1937 and of the Women's International Zionist Organisation (WIZO) from 1938, which suggests that she may have been considering emigrating to Palestine. Her son Ernst-Otto was living at this time in the care of Käthe Hamburg's children's home at Karolinensteige in Herrlingen. As the housekeeper of Rabbi Dr Cohn, she must have experienced the unrest of 9th November 1938 close at hand. The rabbi, as the spiritual head of the community, was treated particularly badly. Dorothea Meth and Dr Julius Cohn, a widowe since March 1938, decided to get married as soon as he was released from the hospital. The ceremony was performed in the presence of the witnesses *Rudolf Loewy* and Albert Öttinger on 8th February 1939 in Ulm's registry office. Dr Cohn later adopted Dorothea's son and emigrated to Great Britain in May 1939, his health still affected by the injuries inflicted on Kristallnacht. Their son Ernst-Otto was able to follow him a short time later. It is not known why Dorothea Cohn did not join her husband and son in this safe exile. Possibly she did not want to abandon the residents of the Jewish old people's home in Herrlingen, where she was now the deputy manager. Dorothea Cohn commuted at first between her home in Ulm and her place of work, but moved in with her colleague Freda Welkanoz in Herrlingen on the outbreak of the Second World War. In November 1939, she moved temporarily to Baden-Baden, where her parents had resettled after the "aryanisation" of the department store in Schwäbisch Gmünd.[129] After they emigrated, she returned to the Ulm area for a short time in spring 1940, but left again in December 1940 to take up a position at the new Jewish old people's home in Heilbronn-Sontheim. She was deported from there along with the residents of the home on 22nd August 1942 from Stuttgart to Theresienstadt. Several large deportation trains left the Theresienstadt concentration camp for Auschwitz in October 1944. Dorothea Cohn was also sent to the death camp on the 19th of October on transport "Es".[130] 169 women and 173 men from this deportation train were selected for slave labour, while 1,158 people were sent for immediate death in the gas chamber of crematorium III in Birkenau.[131] It is not known to which group Dorothea Cohn was assigned. There is no further trace of her after this date.



Dorothea Cohn with son Ernst-Otto, 1939.



Dr. Julius Israel Cohn

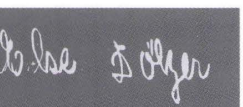
DR JULIUS COHN

Julius Cohn was born on 5th December 1878 in Grudziadz (Graudenz), some 100 kilometres south of Gdansk (Danzig). His father Isak Cohn was a cantor and religious education teacher and came from Hirschberg in Lower Silesia. His mother Pauline (née Sander) came from Gniezno (Gnesen). After studying and acquiring his doctorate, Julius Cohn must have moved to the Oldenburg area, where he also acquired German citizenship. During the First World War, between 1915 and 1919 he was a rabbi in Hoppstädten in the Birkenfeld district.[132] He married his first wife, Herta Hahn, who came from Schlüsselburg near Minden in Düsseldorf on 13th June 1916. Dr Cohn successfully applied for the post of deputy chief rabbi in Karlsruhe when the war ended, and the couple spent the following six years there. His next professional posting was as district rabbi in Stuttgart, a position he filled from 1924 to 1928. Dr Cohn succeeded Dr Ferdinand Strassburger as rabbi of Ulm after the latter passed away. He and his wife quickly integrated themselves into the life of the city and into the Jewish community.[133] In his free time he was a dedicated scholar of Hebrew. In 1933 he became a pillar of support for Ulm's increasingly persecuted Jewish community. As the religious leader he gave hope and advocated the possibilities of emigration. Because of this he became the focus of local Nazi anti-Jewish agitation, and was seriously assaulted during Kristallnacht. He was humiliated, beaten and forced to run the gauntlet in the Christophorus fountain on Weinhof in front of the Synagogue, which had been set ablaze. The hospital report of the following day reads: "Whole left side of the face and skull bound, removal of the bandages reveals unusually severe haematoma on the whole left side of the face, incl. nose, eyelids and left ear. The left eye is completely swollen shut and bleeding, large haematoma on the conjunctiva. Lips heavily swollen. Large haematoma under the chin on the throat, so that the normal configuration of the throat has completely collapsed. (...) Also large mucosal haematoma on the left cheek pouch."[134] Julius Cohn was not expected to survive these physical injuries. In February 1939, he and his former housekeeper *Dorothea* Meth decided to marry. Rabbi Dr Cohn gave his last service on 4th April 1939 for Passover. His sermon referenced the oppressive situation the community were living in: "But this time the mood that prevails when we remember the persecution of our forefathers in Egypt and their exodus from the land of slavery is very grave. I do not need to explain to you why this is so. We see the gaps in our ranks, we see everywhere the signs of the decline, we feel the tragedy of our own fate. (...) I want to spare myself and you, all of us, who have been made homeless, from the explanation."[135] In the final line of the sermon Dr Cohn said: "And so I pray for the end for you, for me, for all those besieged Israelites near and far: the Almighty, our God is with us, as he was with our fathers, he will not leave us, nor cast us out, he holds his protective hand over us, over us and our children, he blesses our departure and our arrival, live well, beloved community, live well, my brothers and sisters, live well old and young, God bless you with the triple blessing of Israel: May God bless and keep you, may God make His face shine upon you and be gracious to you. May God lift up His countenance upon you and give you peace. Amen! Amen!"[136] Although Dr Julius Cohn did reach safety in Britain, arriving in May 1939, he was not able to recover from the injuries he had suffered. He died in Golders Green in London on 18th March 1940.

SOFIE DINGFELDER NÉE STRAUSS

Sofie Dingfelder was born in Ulm on 11th September 1901 as the daughter of Jakob Löb Strauss and his wife Rosa (née Bornstein). Her father's family, who originally came from Berlichingen near Künzelsau, had moved to Ulm in 1870 and worked in the textile trade. Her parents married in Ulm on 9th September 1897 and went on to have four children.[137] They divorced in 1907 when Sofie was six years old. Her mother moved with her and her siblings to Moltkestraße 1 in Neu-Ulm and then to Nuremberg the following year.

Her father Jakob Strauss later married Anna Mayer from Tettnang, who was a Catholic. Sofie got married in Nuremberg on 1st July 1937 to Martin Dingfelder, who came from Diespeck in Central Franconia. The couple's last home was to the north of Nuremberg's old town at Meuschelstraße 38. Together with her brother Sigmund Strauss and her husband she was deported from Nuremberg to the Izbica concentration camp on 24th March 1942. There is no further trace of her after this date.



ELSE DÖLZER NÉE LÖFFLER

Else Dölzer was born in Ulm on 28th June 1899 as the daughter of Emanuel Löffler and Mathilde (née Wertheimer). Her father and her grandfather, Hirsch Löffler, were cattle and horse dealers from Laupheim, and the maternal side of her family came from Kehl am Rhein. Her mother Mathilde Wertheimer was born in New York in 1877 and later moved back to Kehl, where she married Samuel Löffler in 1898 and then moved with him to Ulm. Else's brother Hermann was born in Ulm almost two years after Else. At first the family lived on Hirschstraße and then at Olgastraße 12 from 1904 to 1910. Else lived at Griesbadgasse 25 (later renamed Danziger Freiheit 5) from 1914 to 1939. She attended the Höhere Töchterschule (a secondary school for girls) and later ran the household. In 1923 her brother emigrated to the United States. Three years later, Else's father succumbed to heart disease.[138] Her mother returned to the United States as a result and moved to Manhattan. On 11th July 1927, Else Löffler married the Catholic travelling salesman August Dölzer in Munich and then lived with him in Ulm. Because she was living in a "privileged intermarriage", Else Dölzer was protected at first from the worst effects of the Nazi's persecution of the Jews. After the Second World War started, August Dölzer was a front-line soldier, but became very ill and died of cancer in Ulm on 15th March 1943 at the age of 46. Thus, Else had lost her marital protection. Just a few weeks later, the widow was deported with 19 others on Sondertransport (special transport) "XIII/2" on 17th April 1943 to Theresienstadt via Stuttgart.

Else Dölzer spent over a year in the ghetto, before she was taken to Auschwitz on 16th May 1944 on transport "Ea". The extermination of Hungarian Jews had begun just one day before and the ovens of the crematoria were burning day and night. As a result, the majority of the 2,500 people on the unusually large transport were intended initially for slave labour in Auschwitz. 13 of them had died during the journey and around 40 people were sent to the gas chamber immediately upon arrival on 17th May 1944.[139] Else Dölzer was accepted into the camp under prisoner number A3032. Three months later, she was registered under prisoner number 50869 in the Stutthof concentration camp near Gdansk (Danzig),[140] where she may have lost her life. Hermann Löffler, Else Dölzer's brother, returned to his place of birth for the first time in 1970. Together with the Lord Mayor at the time, Dr Hans Lorenser, he worked to restore the Jewish section of the Neuer Friedhof cemetery.[141]

For MARIE DREIFUSS see MARIE WESSEL, page 167

KLARA DREYFUSS

Klara Dreyfuss was born in Ulm on 21st May 1877 as the fifth of nine children of Max Dreyfuss and Regina (née Neuburger). Her parents had previously moved from Buchau to Ulm. Her father ran a trousseau and linen business on the corner of Lange Straße and Kramgasse.[142] On 24th March 1903, the family moved house to Johannisstraße 7 in Neu-Ulm. Klara Dreyfuss worked as a clerk, but stopped working in this profession from 1920 onwards. She lived in Neu-Ulm until 1st October 1922, from there she moved to Stuttgart and later to Ludwigsburg. In 1937 she returned to Stuttgart, living on Senefelderstraße.[143] This address was the last home chosen freely by Klara Dreyfuss, as she was forced to move into the old people's home at Herrlingen on 27th May 1940. She lived there until 26th April 1942, when she was deported to Stuttgart and then on to Izbica. All trace of her was lost in the Izbica Ghetto. Three of her brothers managed to leave Germany in time, emigrating to the United States. Klara Dreyfuss had also completed the forms necessary for emigration and was registered at number 39608 on the American Consulate's waiting list. The conditions for emigration worsened drastically. On the outbreak of War, Klara Dreyfuss' last hope of emigration was finally dashed with the emigration ban in 1941.

IDA EBERT NÉE WOLF

Ida Ebert was born in Ulm on 10th November 1871 as the second child of Jakob and Bertha Wolf. Her father was from Gemünden in Prussia and married Bertha Rosengart from Buttenhausen in 1869 in Blaubeuren. Their first child Benno was born the following year. One year after that, the young family moved to Ulm, where first Ida came into the world followed by her brother *Otto Alfred Wolf* in 1873.[144] The family's home at Karlsplatz 4 also served as the premises of the firm Rosengart & Wolf Wollwaren en gros, of which Ida's father was a co-owner. After his death, his widow moved house in 1903 to Karlstraße 29a. Ida was living in Fürth at this time, having married the district judge Heinrich Ebert, who came from there, on 10th September 1894. Her mother Bertha Wolf followed her there in 1910. The Eberts were an extremely well-respected family in Fürth. Ida's father-in-law Abraham Ebert was a cantor and teacher and was a Levite, a descendant of one of the twelve tribes of Israel, whose members tried to live by particular rules and laws. Ida Ebert later moved from Fürth to Stuttgart. On 28th August 1941, she was forced to move into the Jewish old people's home at Baisingen near Rottenburg am Neckar. After receiving her deportation order for Theresienstadt, she took her own life there on 19th August 1942.[145]



SOFIE VON EIFF NÉE NATHAN

Sofie von Eiff was born in Ulm on 8th October 1892 as the fifth of six children born to Louis Nathan, the owner of the Hecht brewery, and his wife Mathilde (née Thalmessinger). As Sofie's daughter remembers it, religion played no role in the family upbringing.[146] In addition, Rabbi Salomon Fried noted in the Jewish community's family register that two of her brothers had not been circumcised. During the First World War, Sofie Nathan and the well-known artist Professor Wilhelm von Eiff decided to marry. The ceremony took place on 22nd December 1917 in Ulm, with Sofie being baptised as a Protestant at the same time. Sofie von Eiff took her new faith very seriously and frequently attended services in Ulm Minster with her maid. After moving to Stuttgart, the couple welcomed son Christophorus and daughter Tilde into the world. Sofie von Eiff moved to Switzerland with her son and daughter in 1934 at the start of the Nazi regime, but was unable to obtain a work permit and had to live on her husband's foreign exchange transfers. Tilde returned to her father in Stuttgart the following year and in 1937, following the exchange embargo, Sofie von Eiff and her son were also forced to return to Germany. Sofie von Eiff moved in with a relative in Hamburg and her son Christophorus joined his father in Stuttgart. Despite the difficult circumstances, Tilde was able to sit for her Abitur exams in 1937 and to travel on a limited visa to Great Britain, where she ultimately obtained a work permit. The events of Kristallnacht motivated Sofie von Eiff to emigrate in 1939 to the Netherlands, where members of her extended family, the Ullmanns, had already been living for two years. Sofie's sister *Johanna* was married to the Ulm businessman *Ernst Ullmann.* Sofie von Eiff worked as a maid until her arrest in summer 1944. She was first interned in the Westerbork transit camp and then deported from there to

Theresienstadt on 2nd August 1944 with 213 others on transport "XXIV/6". She met up with some of her few surviving friends and relations from Ulm there, including her cousin *Dr Paul Nathan.* Shortly before his deportation he said to her: "When this idiocy here is over we'll go back to Ulm and you can run my household."[147] He was not to survive the war, however. He was deported from Theresienstadt to Auschwitz on one of the last transports and was murdered there in the gas chamber of one of the crematoriums. Sofie von Eiff survived to see the concentration camp liberated on 5th May 1945 and she emigrated in 1947 with her son to Mexico, where she died on 27th November 1958.



Sofie von Eiff in a drawing by her husband Wilhelm von Eiff, around 1920.

IDA STEPHANIE EINHORN NÉE ROSENGART

Ida Stephanie Einhorn was born in Ulm on 1st June 1879 as the daughter of Sigmund Rosengart and his wife Henriette (née Rieser). Between 1852 and 1855, her grandparents moved from Buttenhausen to Blaubeuren, and from there her father moved to Ulm after he married. Ida Rosengart was the cousin of *Ida Ebert* (née Wolf) and lived at Sammlungsgasse.[148] When she was 21, Ida Rosengart married the Kommerzienrat (Councillor of Commerce) Julius Einhorn, who came from Buttenwiesen, and moved with him to Munich. Little is known about the years that followed. Ida Einhorn had to move repeatedly in the late 1930s due to the increasing repressions. On 17th October 1941, she was taken to the internment camp at Clemens-August-Straße 9 and then from there to the camp at Knorrstraße 148 on 3rd April 1942.[149] This camp served as a handling station for the transport to Piaski that left on the same day. Her remaining possessions were thoroughly searched and her last valuables were confiscated. This deportation train also carried *Doris Borodowitsch* and *Julie Kasztan* from Ulm who, like Ida Einhorn, may have died in Piaski or in one of the extermination camps.



Ida Einhorn's identity card, 1939.

KARL EINSTEIN

Karl Einstein was born in Ulm on 29th May 1872 as the son of Alexander Einstein and his second wife Maria (née Würzburger). Maria was the sister of his father's first wife who had died in childbirth in April 1870. Karl's sister Sophie was born in 1873. The family moved to Maria's home town of Bayreuth in 1876. Karl Einstein studied law and became a Regional Court Director in Würzburg. On 23rd September 1942, he was deported from Würzburg to Theresienstadt along with 679 other people. Karl Einstein died there on 6th February 1943.[150]



LINA EINSTEIN

Lina Einstein was born in Ulm on 16th November 1875 as the second daughter of August Ignaz and Bertha Einstein (née Perlen). Lina Einstein was a cousin of Albert Einstein; her father Ignaz Einstein was the oldest brother of Hermann Einstein, the father of the physicist. After marrying in Esslingen on 24th May 1870, Lina Einstein's parents had resettled in Ulm. The couple had daughters Clara, Lina and Anna between 1872 and 1880. In 1902 Lina's mother died in Ulm and her younger sister Anna passed away in Ravensburg just a few years afterwards. Lina's father died in Tübingen in 1911 and her sister Clara passed away in Neu-Ulm just before the end of the First World War. Lina Einstein, who never married, earned her living as a clerk and secretary for the Wieland company and was involved with a theatre group in her spare time. She lost her job after the Nazis came to power and at the end of the 1930s was obliged to give up her apartment at Herdbruckerstraße 1, where she had lived for many years and seek shelter in the Jewish Gemeindehaus at Weinhof 3.[151] When the building was confiscated she had to move into one of the Judenhäuser. Lina Einstein ended up living in *Dr Paul Nathan's* apartment at Neutorstraße 1. A few months later, she was forced to move into the Jewish old people's home temporarily housed in the derelict castle at Oberstotzingen. She was then made to sign a "home purchase contract" (Heimeinkaufsvertrag) for Theresienstadt for 2,800 reichsmark.[152] This was a means for the state to confiscate the remaining funds in her savings account



Theatre group with Lina Einstein (back, 4th from left), 1914.

just before deportation. Lina Einstein was taken from Oberstotzingen the following day to the Stuttgart-Killesberg camp and from there on 22nd August 1942 to Theresienstadt. On 26th September 1942, Lina Einstein was transported to Treblinka where she was murdered.

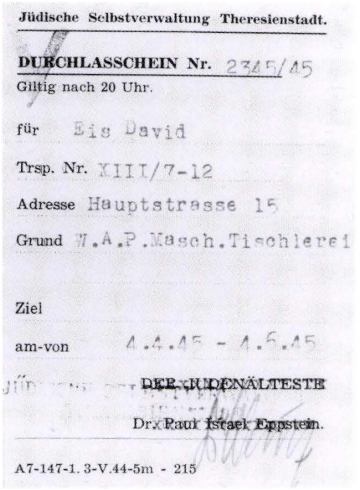


Lina Einstein (5th from left), 1915.



David Eis was born in Bingen on 7th April 1886 as the fifth child of the cobbler and cemetery warden Adolf Eis and his wife Judith (née Marx). From 1912 he worked for timber companies in southern Germany. In 1916 he resettled in Ulm and is first mentioned in the 1919 Directory at Bessererstraße 24. He married the Protestant Bertha Häfner one year later and the couple welcomed daughter Margot into the world on 10th December 1921. He worked as a warehouse manager and later owned a timber agency. David Eis was a member of the Union of Salaried Employees (Gewerkschaftsbund der Angestellten) and from 1938 of the Israelite Charitable Society.[153] Because as a Jew he had to give up his driving licence and passport after 1938, he had no choice but to cease his commercial operations abroad. David Eis was severely mistreated on Kristallnacht, as he reported in 1961: "It was on the night of 9th–10th November 1938, about 3–4am, when my doorbell kept ringing. Once I opened the window on the mezzanine of the stairwell (Bessererstr. 24–2 P.), I saw 4–5 civilians who shouted to me to open the door immediately. Once I had done this, 2–3 men immediately attacked me and pushed me into my apartment, whereupon the leader of this band, who was fidgeting with a revolver, requested that I get dressed immediately. My daughter, who was sleeping in the next room, hurried to the telephone; she was not able to complete her call for help, however, as the same man pulled her away from the phone and cut the line. Poorly dressed, I was then forced from my apartment and taken through side streets to Münsterplatz and then along Köpfingergasse to Weinhof surrounded by the same characters. Having arrived, the group leader called to the assembled large crowd: I've brought you another Volksschädling ("enemy of the people") and blows then rained down upon me; from hands and sticks, kicks from feet, the behind apparently being the favoured location. I also received a blow to the chest, presumably with knuckledusters, which I was still suffering from years after the event. It was only after I had been dragged through the Weinhof fountain multiple times that two policemen appeared and took me to the police station, but even on the way there more thugs came at me from behind and continued to beat me. Bleeding profusely from the head and face, I was treated by a doctor at the police station who stopped the bleeding from those wounds; then I was taken to the communal holding cell to join the many other inmates."[154] After spending the night in the jail on Griesbadgasse,

he was brought to the Dachau concentration camp the following day and was held there until 27th December 1938. David Eis left the concentration camp with multiple haematomas on his head and chest, with frostbite on his hands and feet and a severe cold. He was forced to close his timber business in 1939 and live off his savings initially. From November 1941 to February 1945, he worked as a labourer for the firm Gaiser & Söhne KG. On 20th March 1942, his brother Leopold Eis and his wife Hedwig were deported from Bingen to Piaski.[155] David Eis was still protected from deportation at this time because of his non-Jewish wife. Jews in "privileged intermarriages" were eventually also deported though during the final phase of the Second World War; on 12th February 1945, David Eis came to Theresienstadt via Stuttgart. Due to severe bomb damage, it took the train six days to make this journey, which was a terrible ordeal for those on board.[156] David Eis managed to survive the final few months before being liberated by the Red Cross on 5th May 1945. After the war, David Eis was managing director of the Ulm timber business Molfenter.[157] However, the mistreatment and persecution he had suffered had left deep wounds. Reports from doctors, his colleagues and business partners reveal that he remained physically and mentally damaged until his death in 1962.[158]


Jüdische Selbstverwaltung Theresienstadt.

DURCHLASSCHEIN Nr. 2345/45

Giltig nach 20 Uhr.

für Eis David

Trsp. Nr. XIII/7-12

Adresse Hauptstrasse 15

Grund W.A.P.Masch.Tischlerei

Ziel

am-von 4.4.45 - 4.5.45

DER JUDENÄLTESTE

Dr. Paul Israel Eppstein.

A7-147-1. 3-V.44-5m - 215

Permit for the Theresienstadt Ghetto, April 1945.



ALFRED FACKENHEIM

Alfred Fackenheim was born on 9th November 1891 in Eisenach/Thuringia as the son of Dr Julius Fackenheim and his wife Emma (née Reinach). His father was a Sanitätsrat, which was an honorary title awarded to distinguished physicians. Alfred Fackenheim grew up in a fully assimilated family, attended Mittelschule (a secondary school) and then trained as a banker in Saarbrücken and Kassel.[159] He served at the front during World War I, returning to Kassel when the war ended and married *Herta* Oppenheim there on 30th March 1920. The couple moved to Eisenach where Alfred Fackenheim opened a private bank, which collapsed in 1929 during the global economic crisis. At the start of the 1930s, he opened a wholesale business in Eisenach selling hotel supplies, and this ran until the mid-1930s. In April 1936, he and his wife Herta moved to Ulm,[160] where he found work as a servant and caretaker and she as a cook for Max Sternweiler and Wolf Strauss. Alfred Fackenheim was a member of the Imperial Association of Jewish War Veterans and joined the Jewish Cultural Union on 15th April 1936. A short time later, he became involved with the local Zionist branch in Ulm and was appointed its president in 1938. Alfred and Herta Fackenheim sought to emigrate to Palestine. Their daughter Erika was sent to Berlin to the Beit Ahawah (house of love) Jewish children's home to prepare for emigration. This children's home had developed into an important educational facility during the period of the Weimar Republic and after 1933 its director Beate Berger worked to relocate the home to Palestine. This was achieved in 1936 as part of the Youth Aliyah rescue effort.[161] This meant safety for Erika Fackenheim, who changed her name to Avital and met her future husband, Shalom Ben-Chorin. The well-known author and philosopher of religion, who was born in Laupheim under the name Fritz Rosenthal, later became an ardent supporter of Jewish-Christian dialogue. Alfred and Herta Fackenheim moved house on 21st July 1936 to Schützenstraße 38 in Neu-Ulm, but moved back to Ulm on 15th February 1938. During

this time, the Fackenheims visited their daughter Erika in Palestine together with Alfred's father. As Avital Ben-Chorin remembers it, they did not consider staying in Palestine illegally. They hoped instead to be granted an entry permit, which finally came in 1940. Back on the Danube, Alfred and Herta Fackenheim were able to find work with Gesellschaft für elektrische Apparate (GEA) run by Karl Julius Moos. In mid-1938, Alfred Fackenheim was assigned to run the Stuttgart Palestine Organisation (Palästinaamt) on Hospitalstraße, which had various tasks including the issuing of Palestine certificates to facilitate emigration for Jews in the concentration camps. As the head of the organisation he remained safe from deportation for a long time. On 17th June 1943, he and his wife were included on the list of a 9-person Sondertransport for Theresienstadt. Alfred Fackenheim survived for over a year in the ghetto. His father, who came from Munich, had been in Theresienstadt since 5th June 1942 and died there at the age of 79 on 13th November 1942. Alfred and Herta Fackenheim were finally deported to Auschwitz on 23rd October 1944.[162] The couple are presumed to have been murdered in the extermination camp immediately after their arrival.[163] After the War, their emigrated daughter Avital and her husband were motivated to advocate for reconciliation and to build bridges. They visited West Germany on numerous occasions to tell the younger generation about the family's story.



HERTA FACKENHEIM NÉE OPPENHEIM

Herta Fackenheim was born in Kassel on 1st April 1896 as the daughter of Franz Oppenheim and his wife Rieke (née Nagel). The pianist and piano teacher met *Alfred Fackenheim* in her home town after the First World War and married him on 30th March 1920. Together the couple moved to Eisenach in Thuringia, where their daughter Erika was born. After her husband had to give up his profession, the couple moved to Ulm in 1936. Herta Fackenheim then worked as a cook in the households of Max Sternweiler and Wolf Strauss. She later found work with Gesellschaft für elektrische Apparate (GEA) in the production of heating pads. Like her husband, she also integrated quickly into the Jewish community in Ulm, joining the local Zionist group on 1st July 1936, and the Women's International Zionist Organisation (WIZO) around New Year 1936/1937. In spring 1938, she also joined the Jewish Cultural Union. Herta Fackenheim suffered the ordeal of the concentration camps alongside her husband. On 17th June 1943, she was deported from Stuttgart to Theresienstadt, where she was put to work.[164] On 23rd October 1944, she was taken from there to Auschwitz-Birkenau, where all trace of her is lost.

MARTHA FELSENTHAL

Martha Felsenthal was born on 29th May 1896 in Odenbach in the Kusel district of the Palatinate. She never married and moved to Ulm on 1st January 1939. At the time of the census on 17th May 1939, she was living on the second floor of the Rabbinat house at Lange Straße 18.[165] On 21st February 1940, she moved to Hechingen. Martha Felsenthal was deported from Stuttgart to Riga on 1st December 1941 as part of the first major transport of Jews. She was murdered there on 26th March 1942 in the Riga-Jungfernhof concentration camp.



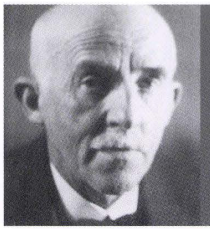
BERTHA FISCHL NÉE LAMMFROMM

Bertha Fischl was born in Ulm on 22nd August 1866 as the daughter of Moses Lammfromm and his wife Karolina (née Hess). The Lammfromms had a total of 14 children and ran a butcher's shop in Ulm at Mohrengasse 3.[166] One of Bertha's sisters was *Pauline Liebmann.*[167] On 14th August 1890, Bertha married Jakob Fischl, who came from Prestice near Plzeň (Pilsen), moving with him to Heilbronn the year after the wedding and later to Karlsruhe. Bertha Fischl was taken from Karlsruhe on 22nd October 1940 to the Nexon camp in the French department of Haute-Vienne, which was designated a "regrouping camp" for foreign Jews. Bertha Fischl died there two years after her deportation on 30th December 1942.[168]



MINNA FRANK NÉE REGENSBURGER

Minna Frank was born on 18th September 1883 in Zeitlofs in the Bad Kissingen district of Lower Franconia as the daughter of the businessman David Regensburger and his wife Karolina (née Marx). Minna married *Simon Frank* on 2nd May 1910. After a son was stillborn the following year, they welcomed son Gustav into the world on 16th January 1912. He later attended the Gymnasium (grammar school) and completed commercial training with the firm Rudolf Kurz. In 1910 Minna Frank moved to Ulm with her husband Simon, where they lived for many years at König-Wilhelm-Straße 13, running a business selling colonial goods and later also coffee substitutes.[169] From 21st April 1933, there was a ban on ritual slaughter in Germany, which made kosher meat extremely difficult to find, forcing orthodox Jews to become vegetarians. Her son reported: "My mother consulted an eye specialist in 1937 who told her she was suffering from malnutrition. 'Do you eat meat?', he asked. My mother said no. 'Eat meat and your complaints will disappear.' So my mother bought meat that was not kosher and salted it with her tears at every meal: 'Why do the rabbis not give us absolution to eat meat that does not comply with the Jewish dietary laws?'"[170] In 1936 Minna Frank was active in the Association of Jewish Women for Palestine Work (Verband jüdischer Frauen für Palästinaarbeit). In 1939 her son Gustav was able to emigrate to Great Britain, from where he later moved to the United States. The Franks had to give up their home at Wildstraße 5 in the same year and moved into the Judenhaus at Schuhhausgasse 9. They lived there until they were sent to Buchau in 1940. The town in Upper Swabia, which just a few years before had been home to a flourishing Jewish community, had been hastily transformed into a transit camp for older people on their way to the ghettos and concentration camps. Minna Frank had to leave Buchau with her husband in August 1942 and was deported via Stuttgart to Theresienstadt. On 26th September 1942, they were taken from there to the Treblinka extermination camp and were both killed in the camp's gas chambers.



SIMON FRANK

Simon Frank was born in Ichenhausen on 27th July 1874 as the son of Gustav and Amalie Frank (née Krämer). Simon Frank began selling cigars in his home town at the age of 18. From 1st July 1908, he worked as a wholesale merchant in Ulm alongside his brother Abraham. In November 1912 the brothers founded their own firm "Gebrüder Frank: Kaffee – Kaffeesurrogate und Kolonialwaren en gros", which was located at König-Wilhelm-Straße 13 until 15th January 1937. Simon Frank married *Minna* Regensburger from Lower Franconia on 2nd May 1910. Their son Gustav was born in 1912. From September 1916, Simon Frank served in the Württemberg army. One month later, his brother Abraham died in Sindelfingen, which meant that the joint business had to be closed temporarily. On 3rd June 1917, Simon Frank was recalled from the front as he was no longer fit for active service. After the war, he resumed his trade, albeit with an increasingly reduced turnover during the late 1920s and even more so following the Nazi's seizure of power. Simon Frank took up a position with Nathan Strauss Hüttenwerke on 1st July 1935 and remained there until the firm was "aryanised" on 31st March 1939. At this point in time, the Franks were already living at Wildstraße 5 with Max Erlanger. The firm Gebrüder Frank was liquidated the following year and the Franks then had to move into a Judenhaus at Schuhhausgasse 9 on 15th February 1940. In the same year, they were forced to resettle in Buchau, where Simon Frank worked as a cantor. On 22nd August 1942, the Franks were taken to Theresienstadt via the Stuttgart-Killesberg internment camp. They were then deported on 26th September 1942 from Theresienstadt to the Treblinka extermination camp and murdered.

EMMY FRANKFURTER NÉE METZLER

Emmy Frankfurter was born on 31st July 1878 in Sobernheim an der Nahe as the daughter of the butcher and merchant Isac Metzler and his wife Charlotta (née May). Emmy Frankfurter lost two brothers in the early phase of the Nazi's persecution of the Jews; one was deliberately pushed down the stairs in his home and died shortly afterwards of the injuries he sustained in the fall, while another was sent to the Dachau concentration camp as a communist in 1936 and died there the same year.[171] On 1st June 1937, the widowed Emmy Frankfurter moved to Ulm living initially at Parkstraße 2. Her daughter Hilde lived in the building with her husband Felix Baer, Emmy's granddaughter Hannelore and Charlotte Baer, her son-in-law's mother. In the night of 9th to 10th November 1938, her son-in-law Felix Baer, a veteran of the First World War, was ordered to Weinhof and mistreated there along with the other Jewish men. He returned extremely emaciated and broken from his subsequent imprisonment in Dachau. In 1940 her daughter's family managed to emigrate to Korea via the Soviet Union.

From there, they were able to secure passage on a ship to Seattle, where they arrived on 1st November 1940. On the same day, Emmy Frankfurter had to move into the ghetto house at Neutorstraße 15, where she was forced to endure increasingly poor living conditions.

"Every day a new horror" wrote Emmy Frankfurter to her granddaughter Hannelore in the United States, who later became a Wolf by marriage.[172] On 26th April 1942, Emmy Frankfurter was deported via Stuttgart to Izbica, where all trace of her is lost.

Abraham genannt Adolf Frenkel (Frenkiel)

ABRAHAM (ADOLF) FRENKEL

Abraham Frenkel was born on 28th January 1904 in Lodz (Lodsch) as the son of *Jakob Frenkel* and his wife *Ida* (née Chaskelowitz). After Abraham's birth, his parents, who were of the Hasidic persuasion, moved to Reutlingen where his brother Wilhelm was born.[173] In 1906 the family of four moved to Ulm where the two sons attended school. After leaving school, Abraham, who later went by the first name of Adolf, went to work in his father's cigarette business. On 20th March 1930, he married Martha Einstein who came from Fellheim near Memmingen. She gave birth to their son Heinz Joachim in Ulm on 20th June 1933. On the night of 28th October 1938, the Frenkel family were forced from their home and taken to the German-Polish border as Polish citizens.[174] There they had to survive in the no man's land between the two borders, along with many other Jews of Polish origin, until they were granted permission to enter Poland. The Frenkels settled in Zdunska Wola, which was the birthplace of Abraham's mother. Some of the expelled Jews were granted permission to return to Germany in January 1939 to enable them to transfer their assets. Abraham Frenkel had already sold the house and shop prior to the family's departure. The family moved, therefore, to Stuttgart where they were able to secure passage on a ship to New York for their six-year-old son Heinz Joachim. Heinz Joachim was sent on this journey alone and lived in America with a foster family in Baltimore. In 1941 Abraham's wife Martha was also able to emigrate to the United States with the help of her cousin, who was married to the former boxing world champion Jeff Jeffries. Abraham Frenkel remained behind in Stuttgart and was deported from there to Riga on 1st December 1941 in the first transport of Jews from Württemberg. He died in the sub-camp at Salaspils (Kirchholm).[175]



Abraham and Martha Frenkel with their son Heinz, 1939.

IDA FRENKEL NÉE CHASKELOWITZ



Ida and Jakob Frenkel with their sons Wilhelm and Abraham (from left), around 1910.

Ida Frenkel was born on 6th June 1879 as the daughter of Israel Chaskelowitz and his wife Hana (née Gottheimer) in the small town of Zdunska Wola in the Polish voivodeship of Lodz. On 7th September 1900, she married *Jakob Frenkel* and moved with him to Lodz, giving birth to their first son *Abraham* on 28th January 1904. A short time later, the family moved to Reutlingen where their second son Wilhelm was born and then from there to Ulm. Ida Frenkel worked in her husband's cigar shop. After their expulsion to Poland in October 1938, the family sought refuge in Ida Frenkel's birthplace. Her son Wilhelm was not affected by the expulsion, because he had emigrated to Palestine and as a result managed to survive the Holocaust. Ida and Jakob Frenkel remained in Zdunska Wola, living at Altstadtstraße 5. The last trace of them was a postcard on 4th June 1941 for the eighth birthday of their grandson Heinz Joachim in the United States.[176] The card read: "Dear Heinzele, for your forthcoming birthday on the 20th of the month we wish you all the best, health and a long life. Good luck in everything you do."[177] There was no further contact after this and any trace of the Frenkels is lost. The German occupiers had established a ghetto in Zdunska Wola for the Jewish population in 1940 and renamed the town "Freihaus" (lit. "free house").[178] On 21st May 1942, ten inhabitants of the ghetto were publicly hanged there, including one of Ida Frenkel's relatives, and over 60 people were murdered in the streets of the ghetto between 24th and 27th August 1942.[179] The SS liquidated the ghetto completely shortly after this. The inhabitants were taken to the cemetery and selected based on their ability to work. Those deemed suitable for work were taken by train to the Lodz Ghetto, while the others were either shot where they stood or transported to an extermination camp on the following day. Ida Frenkel was 63 at this point and her husband Jakob was 61.

Jakob Frenkel

JAKOB FRENKEL

Jakob Frenkel was born on 13th December 1881 in Lodz as the son of Moshkel Frenkiel and his wife Golda (née Wagowska). After moving to Reutlingen sometime between 1904 and 1906, Jakob Frenkiel changed his surname to "Frenkel". His decision to leave his home town may have been influenced by the tobacco goods manufacturer Max Wagowski, who had already been living in Ulm for several years and was doing extremely well with his brand of "Lyra" cigarettes. On 21st March 1906, Jakob Frenkel opened a shop at Hirschstraße 28 called "Jakob Frenkel: Cigarren, Cigaretten und Tabak en gros & en detail". Five years later on 4th December 1911, he also took over Emma Buck's cigar shop.[180] Other business addresses in the years that followed were Hafenbad 27 and Frauenstraße 54. The building at Olgastraße 64 housed the Frenkel's main business and their home.[181] As he got older, Jakob Frenkel handed over management of the firm to his oldest son *Abraham,* but remained the proprietor. The boycott of Jewish businesses did affect Jakob Frenkel, but he was able to continue his business thanks to a loyal customer base – particularly workers from the nearby Wieland works, the Eberhardt plough factory and the Mayser hat factory.[182] As late as 1937, the Frenkels were in a position to acquire new shop premises. Jakob Frenkel did have to sell his house, however, for well below market value on 26th August 1938 and was forced to give up his cigar business in September 1938. The Frenkels were deported to Poland along with other Jews of Polish origin at the end of October 1938. During Kristallnacht, the windows of Jakob Frenkel's tobacco business were smashed and the following day the premises were looted by children and young people from Ulm.[183] The remaining stock was supposed to be sold as quickly as possible, to which end Jakob Frenkel's son Abraham was given permission to return to Germany. Jakob Frenkel was not permitted to return, remaining in his wife *Ida's* birthplace, where all trace of him is lost. It is assumed that he was murdered.



Eugen Goldfisch

EUGEN GOLDFISCH

Eugen Goldfisch was born in Ulm on 25th August 1877 as the son of the couple Hermann and Johanna Goldfisch (née Wartenberg) who came from Silesia. His father ran a textile business on Münsterplatz. Eugen Goldfisch had seven siblings.[184] He trained as a hotelier after leaving school and then in 1910 married Lina Heumann from Laupheim, whose sister Frieda was married to his brother Alfred. Eugen and *Lina Goldfisch* moved to Bad Ems straight after their wedding. There were several Jewish establishments and associations in this spa town. The Löwenstein hotel run by Eugen Goldfisch catered specifically for Orthodox Jews from Germany and abroad. In an advert from 1891 the kosher hotel describes itself as the largest and most well-known establishment in the place.[185] In 1917 Eugen Goldfisch's father died in Ulm and was buried in the Neuer Friedhof cemetery, where his gravestone still stands to this day. In 1925 Eugen Goldfisch was appointed president of the Bad Ems Jewish Community Organisation (Kultusgemeinde).[186] In the mid-1920s, he made his home for a short time in

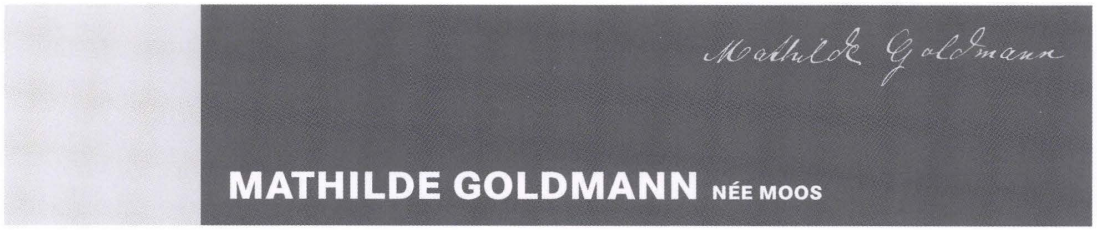
Ulm, moving from there to Munich on 16th October 1926. Julius Goldfisch, one of Eugen's brothers, lived in Munich at this time. After Kristallnacht, Eugen and Lina Goldfisch moved to Cologne and were forced to live in a ghetto house there. Eugen's second brother Alfred and his wife Frieda also lived in Cologne at that time, but were deported to the Lodz Ghetto on 30th October 1941, where they died a few months later. Eugen and Lina Goldfisch were deported to Theresienstadt on 27th July 1942 on transport "III/2", which was the seventh major deportation from Cologne. Eugen Goldfisch later died there on 30th December 1942.



LINA GOLDFISCH NÉE HEUMANN

Lina Goldfisch was born in Laupheim on 8th October 1882 as the daughter of Heinrich Heumann and his wife Clementine (née Regensteiner). At the age of 27, Lina married *Eugen Goldfisch* and together they moved to Bad Ems, where their only child Manfred was born on 19th January 1911. In the mid-1920s, Lina Goldfisch moved to Ulm with her husband and then to Munich in 1926. Her son was arrested during Kristallnacht and sent to a concentration camp. He regained his freedom after his wife Martha pleaded with the Gestapo for his release. Manfred and Martha Goldfisch emigrated to Trinidad and Tobago in 1939.

After Kristallnacht, Lina Goldfisch moved to Cologne with her husband Eugen, where her sister, Frieda, who was married to Eugen's brother Alfred, also lived. Her sister and her brother-in-law were taken to the Lodz Ghetto in October 1941, while Lina Goldfisch remained in Cologne with her husband until the end of July 1942.[187] Lina was then deported to Theresienstadt where she died on 28th February 1944.



MATHILDE GOLDMANN NÉE MOOS

Mathilde Goldmann was born in Ulm on 5th January 1870 as the fifth of eight children born to Max and Clara Moos (née Binswanger). Two of her sisters were *Bertha Hechinger* and *Jenny Vetsburg*. On 30th December 1895 in Ulm, Mathilde married merchant Ludwig Goldmann, who was a partner in her father's leather goods business. Seven years after they married, the Goldmanns welcomed their only child Alfred into the world on 10th September 1902. The family lived on the second floor of the building at Weinhof 22, which also housed the business.[188] Their son Alfred Martin died in Hamburg-Altona on 29th March 1933. Mathilde Goldmann and her husband were forced to move into the compulsory Jewish old people's home in Herrlingen on 27th July 1939. Her husband died there at the age of 76 on 1st January 1941. On 10th June 1942, Mathilde Goldmann was taken to the Jewish old people's home temporarily housed in the derelict castle at Oberstotzingen.[189] She was then forced to sign a "home purchase contract" for Theresienstadt for 2,800 reichsmark on 15th August 1942.[190] These mandatory fraudulent agreements were a means by which the state could confiscate the remaining savings that Mathilde and the many other residents of the home still had in their bank accounts, just before deportation. Mathilde Goldmann was taken from Oberstotzingen a few days later to the Stuttgart-Killesberg camp and from there on 22nd August 1942 to Theresienstadt. She may have met up there with her sister Bertha Hechinger, who was brought to the camp from Nuremberg on 10th September 1942. Mathilde Goldmann was deported to the Treblinka extermination camp on 26th September 1942 and murdered there in the gas chambers.

HANS GOLDSCHMIDT

Hans Goldschmidt was born in Gießen on 22nd August 1918. At the time of the census on 17th May 1939 he was being held in the remand centre in Ulm at Frauengraben 4.[191] Hans Goldschmidt lost his life in the Sachsenhausen concentration camp on 16th April 1940.

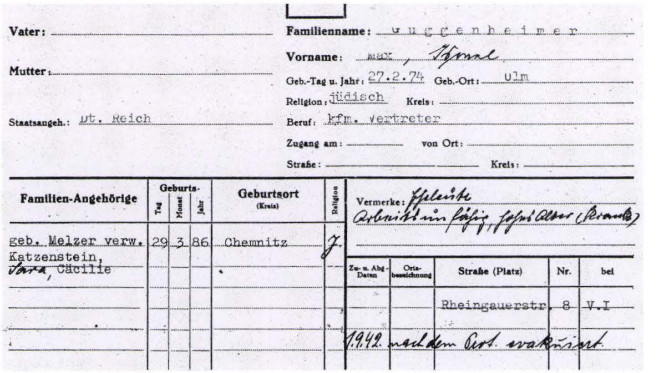


MAX GUGGENHEIMER

Max Guggenheimer was born in Ulm on 27th February 1874 as the fourth and youngest son of the weaver and textile merchant Heinrich Guggenheimer from Laupheim and his third wife Friederike (née Lang).[192] Max Guggenheimer worked as a salesman and volunteered for the armed services at the start of the First World War,[193] but was not sent to the front because of his age.[194] He married the widow Caecilie Katzenstein from Chemnitz in the 1920s[195] and after their marriage the couple lived in Wiesbaden, where Max Guggenheimer was working as a sales representative at the start of the 1930s. In November 1939, he was visited for the last time by his niece Irene Einstein. She and her family were on their way to Rotterdam, from where they intended to emigrate to the United States. The Guggenheimers, however, were not able to obtain visas and had to remain in Germany.[196] On 1st September 1942, they were deported to Theresienstadt from Frankfurt am Main on transport "XII/2" along with over 1,100 other Jews from various towns in the Wiesbaden administrative region. The Guggenheimers only remained in the Theresienstadt concentration camp for a short time; on 29th September 1942, they were transported to Treblinka and murdered there.



Max Guggenheimer (seated in the centre) with Ulm relatives, around 1925.



Vater: —
Mutter: —
Staatsangeh.: Dt. Reich

Familienname: Guggenheimer
Vorname: Max, Moses
Geb.-Tag u. Jahr: 27.2.74 Geb.-Ort: Ulm
Religion: jüdisch Kreis: —
Beruf: kfm. Vertreter
Zugang am: — von Ort: —
Straße: — Kreis: —

Familien-Angehörige	Geburts- Tag	Monat	Jahr	Geburtsort (Kreis)	Religion
geb. Melzer verw. Katzenstein, ~~Sara~~, Cäcilie	29	3	86	Chemnitz	J.

Vermerke: Geleitet Arbeitsheim jüdisch. Israelitische Gemeinde (Brandt)

Zu- u. Abg.-Datum	Ortsbezeichnung	Straße (Platz)	Nr.	bei
		Rheingauerstr.	8	V.I
		1.9.42 nach dem Ort. evakuiert.		

Wiesbaden registration card for Max and Caecilie Guggenheimer, 1942.

Emma Gumbel

EMMA GUMBEL NÉE HIRSCH

Emma Gumbel was born in Ulm on 6th July 1874 as the daughter of the couple Julius and Mathilde Hirsch (née Degginger). Emma grew up with her two younger brothers Leopold and Sigmund at Glöcklerstraße 9. She was the aunt of *Dr Robert Hirsch.* In 1897 she married the banker Wilhelm Gumbel from Künzelsau and moved with him to Heilbronn.[197] Like many other elderly Jews, Emma Gumbel had to move into the compulsory Tigerfeld old people's home near Münsingen in summer 1939. From there she was deported to Theresienstadt via Stuttgart on 22nd August 1942. *Resi Weglein* was also on the same transport and mentioned Emma Gumbel in her memoirs: "Hundreds of old people lay around on the dirty floor; because it took many hours for every single person to be processed, i.e. robbed. [...] Mrs Emma Gumbel from Ulm (68) and my mother-in-law, who had to endure this torture, told me that it was extremely distressing to have to stand naked in front of so many people. They had even removed the heels from their shoes to check them for money."[198] Emma Gumbel survived for almost ten months in Theresienstadt before dying of typhus and malnutrition on 22nd June 1943.

Alice Gump

ALICE GUMP NÉE SCHLESINGER

Alice Gump was born on 22nd April 1880 as the daughter of Isidor Schlesinger and his wife Tony (née Redelmeier) in the large Jewish community of Elberfeld near Wuppertal. Alice married the grain merchant Alfred Gump in Heidelberg on 1st July 1907 and moved with him to Ulm. She lived at Neutorstraße 15 until her husband's death in 1934, subsequently moving to Beyerstraße 54. Both apartment buildings were declared Judenhäuser after 1939.[199] Alice Gump was deported to Izbica on 26th April 1942 and died there on 30th April 1942 in unknown circumstances.

SAMUEL HALLHEIMER

Samuel Hallheimer was born in Crailsheim on 6th May 1893 as the first of two sons born to the cattle dealer Emil Hallheimer and his wife Emma. He served in the 121st Ludwigsburg Infantry Regiment from 1914 to 1916 and was discharged from the military because of a head injury. At the start of the 1920s, he was living in Buttenhausen, but had moved to Haigerloch by 1927. Samuel Hallheimer was married to Julie (née Weil), who was three years his junior and with whom he had a daughter and two sons who were all born between 1921 and 1929. A baker and confectioner by trade, he later changed profession and worked in a textile factory and as a salesman for fats and oils. He had to give up his sales work after the business was "aryanised". On 12th June 1939, Samuel Hallheimer moved from Haigerloch to Herrlingen to work as a baker in the Jewish old people's home, but moved to Ulm on 6th December 1940. He was deported from Ulm to Riga on 28th November 1941.[200]

ALICE HARBURGER NÉE RHEINGANUM

Alice Harburger was born on 17th January 1906 in Neckarsulm as the daughter of Hermann Rheinganum and his wife Therese (née Israel). Alice moved to Ulm on 4th July 1930 after marrying Julius Harburger. Their only child *Hans Günther* was born in the Bethesda hospital on 5th November 1931. The family moved to the first floor of Olgastraße 4 in 1934. They had to move from there into the Judenhaus at Ensingerstraße 3 in 1940.[201] According to the "Directory of Jewish Inhabitants and Dwellings" (Verzeichnis der jüdischen Einwohner und Wohnungen) of 14th June 1940, the family then moved into rooms formerly occupied by Max Moos, who had emigrated at the end of February 1940, on the third floor of the former Jewish Gemeindehaus at Weinhof 3.[202] With effect from 18th October 1940, Julius Harburger took over management of the inn run exclusively for Jewish customers by the Jewish Cultural Union. Alice Harburger's husband died on 25th April 1941 at the age of 45. She was then entrusted with management of the inn from 5th May 1941 onwards. A letter from *Dr Ernst Moos* reveals that Alice Harburger continued to live in the Gemeindehaus with her son until 23rd August 1941. After this building was confiscated they both returned to the Judenhaus at Ensingerstraße 3. Mother and son were deported on 1st December 1941 to Riga, where all trace of them is lost. Alice Harburger's brother-in-law *Karl Harburger* was also deported almost six months after them on 26th April 1942.

HANS GÜNTHER HARBURGER

Hans Günther Harburger was born on 5th November 1931 as the son of Julius Harburger and his wife *Alice* (née Rheinganum). He grew up with his parents in Ulm and attended the Jewish school on Weinhof, which the community had been forced to set up in 1936. Together with his mother he was deported via Stuttgart to Riga on 1st December 1941 at the age of ten. There is no further trace of him after this date.

KARL HARBURGER

Karl Harburger was born on 29th March 1897 as the son of Sigmund Harburger and his wife Jeanette (née Leiter) in Ichenhausen in Central Swabia, where he also grew up. Karl had an older brother called Julius Harburger, who was married to *Alice Harburger.* Karl founded the Gebrüder Harburger textile business on Weinhof with his brother, which from 1929 was located at Donaustraße 5 under the name "Gebrüder Harburger: Kurz-, Strumpf- und Wollwarengroßhandel". The brothers lived under one roof in Ulm even after his older brother Julius married in 1930 and welcomed his son *Hans Günther* into the world the following year. Karl Harburger was taken to Izbica on 26th April 1942 and has been missing ever since.[203]

BERTHA HECHINGER NÉE MOOS

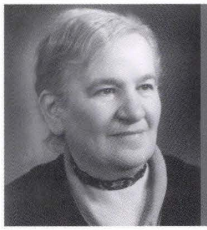
Bertha Hechinger was born in Ulm on 5th November 1864 as the second oldest child of the couple Max and Clara Moos, who ran a leather business at Weinhof 22. Bertha, known as Betti, had seven siblings, including *Mathilde Goldmann* and *Jenny Vetsburg*. Bertha married Friedrich Hechinger in Munich and moved with him to Nuremberg. She was deported from there to Theresienstadt on 10th September 1942 on transport "II/25".[204] Her younger sister Mathilde Goldmann was also in the ghetto, having arrived in August 1942. Bertha Hechinger was deported from Theresienstadt to Treblinka three days after her sister on 29th September 1942 and was murdered there.



Dr. Ludwig Hecht

DR LUDWIG HECHT

Ludwig Hecht was born on 14th October 1866 as the son of Moses Hecht and his wife Pauline (née Obermeier) in the small Jewish community of Bonnland in the rabbinate district of Schweinfurt. In 1871 his parents moved to Würzburg where his father – who had changed his name by that time to Wolfgang – supported the family by working as an estate agent. Ludwig Hecht became a doctor like his older brother who died in 1891. Dr Ludwig Hecht moved to Ulm after completing his medical studies, where he married Rosa Thalmessinger on 7th September 1893. The wedding was witnessed by the owner of the Hecht brewery Louis Nathan and the lawyer Albert Mayer, who were both related to the bride by marriage. Dr Ludwig Hecht practised in Olgastraße as a general practitioner and obstetrician.[205] He also acted as a doctor to the poor, but was forbidden from doing so after the Nazis came to power. He was involved in the Jewish community with the Israelite Reading Society. After Kristallnacht, he and his wife had to move into the ghetto house at Ensingerstraße 3. Before doing so, they were forced to hand over countless valuables to the Stuttgart pawn office as part of the "Jewish Capital Levy", receiving a tiny fraction of the real value in return. In June 1942, Dr Ludwig Hecht and his wife had to sell the contents of their home for far less than they were worth, because they were being forced to move into the Jewish old people's home temporarily housed in the derelict castle at Oberstotzingen. A few days before their deportation on 15th August 1942, the Hechts were forced to sign a fraudulent "home purchase contract" for Theresienstadt for 25,000 reichsmark, under the threat of losing all their assets if they did not comply.[206] This meant they had to transfer their remaining money to a special account of the Reich Association of Jews (Reichsvereinigung der Juden), in return for which they would supposedly receive a home, food and care. On 19th August 1942, they were taken to Stuttgart along with the other residents and staff of the Oberstotzingen old people's home and were deported from there to Theresienstadt on 22nd August 1942. Rosa Hecht died there on 13th January 1943 and Dr Ludwig Hecht just a few days later on 21st January 1943.



Rosa Hecht

ROSA HECHT NÉE THALMESSINGER

Rosa Hecht was born in Ulm on 15th August 1870 as the twelfth of 15 children of the banker Nathan Thalmessinger and his wife Jette (née Steiner). Her father came from Pflaumloch and had founded a bank in Ulm. He was one of the few Jewish citizens of Ulm invited to the annual dinner to celebrate the birthday of Kaiser Wilhelm. Nathan Thalmessinger had five children by his first wife Karoline Reichenbach (1836–1861), including the mother of *Sofie von Eiff*, and a further ten children by his second wife Jette Steiner (1835–1904), including Rosa, *Marie* – later *Moos* by marriage – and *Hermann* and *Otto Thalmessinger*. Rosa married the doctor *Ludwig Hecht* on 7th September 1893 and went on to have children Paul, Otto and Anneliese with him. Both their sons fought in the First World War; Paul served as a field auxiliary surgeon in the 25th Dragoner Regiment and was awarded the Iron Cross 2nd Class. After Rosa Hecht and her husband had steadily been stripped of their possessions due to the Nazi persecution, they were deported in summer 1942 via the transit station at Oberstotzingen to the Theresienstadt concentration camp, where Rosa Hecht succumbed to the living conditions on 13th January 1943.[207]



Dr Ludwig Hecht with his wife Rosa, around 1935.



Rosa Hecht with her grandchildren, summer 1936.

Luise Henle

LUISE HENLE NÉE KUHN

Luise Henle was born in Ulm on 23rd September 1857 as the first child of Albert Kuhn and Maximiliane (née Neuburger). Her parents had married in 1855 in Kappel near Buchau and moved to Ulm sometime between 1855 and 1857. Her brother Veit was born in March 1860, followed in September 1863 by her brother *Emil Kuhn*. On 20th November 1876, 19-year-old Luise married the merchant Eduard Henle, who was ten years her senior. They had two children: a daughter Else, and a son Albert who died in Ulm at the age of 14 on 10th November 1891. The Henles moved to Stuttgart on 20th October 1916, where they lived with their daughter *Else* and her husband *Otto Thalmessinger* in the north of the city from at least 1923 onwards.[208] Luise's husband Eduard died there on 11th April 1934. His widow remained with their daughter and was forced to move into a Judenhaus in Buchau with her and her husband in February 1942.[209] After learning of their impending deportation to Theresienstadt, her son-in-law Otto Thalmessinger took his own life in Buchau. Mother and daughter were deported from the Killesberg detention camp in Stuttgart to Theresienstadt on 22nd August 1942. Luise Henle's daughter died there on 10th September 1942, and she herself succumbed three months later on 13th December 1942 at the age of 85.



Advert for the E. Henle textile and wool business, 1904.

MAX HENLE

Max Henle was born in Laupheim on 16th August 1882 as the second of five children born to Simon and Jette Henle (née Löwenthal). His father Simon was the second generation of the family to run the business at Münsterplatz 50: "E. Henle Weiß- & Wollwaren, Strickgarn-Lager en gros & en detail". Max Henle studied engineering after leaving school and then joined the family firm.[210] After marrying Meta Lichtenauer, he moved to her home town of Gerolzhofen in the district of Schweinfurt and ran a shoe shop. The couple had son Paul Simon on 15th August 1942. After the Nazis seized power, the Jews living in the small community only came under moderate pressure at first.[211] This changed dramatically with the riots of Kristallnacht. Max Henle's siblings Bertha, Cäcilia, Karl and Elise had all emigrated to the United States and tried without success to secure entry permits for their brother and his family. On 22nd April 1942, he was brought to Würzburg with around 20 other Jews from Gerolzhofen and held in the Platzscher Garten detention camp – a former countryside tavern.[212] On 25th April 1942, a total of 852 Jews from the region were taken from the camp and deported from the Würzburg-Aumühle freight railway depot. The train arrived at the Krasnystaw Ghetto 18 kilometres from Izbica on the morning of 28th April 1942. There is no further trace of the Henles after this date.

FANNY HILB

Fanny Hilb was born in Buttenhausen on 13th January 1883 as the daughter of Maier Hilb and his wife Klara (née Maier). Fanny left her birthplace and moved in with her brother Leopold at Schülinstraße 4 in Ulm. He had been running a business selling manufactured goods, trousseau items and linens at Neutorstraße 14a since 1910, and Fanny was employed as a saleswoman there until 1927. Their cousins Louis and Salomon Hilb also lived in Ulm and ran the textile firm L. Hilb & Co. Baumwollwarenfabrikation at Wengengasse 15 opposite the Wengenkirche church. Fanny Hilb, who never married, worked after 1927 at the Müller & Co. department store on Hirschstraße (now Wöhrl-Plaza), from where she was dismissed in autumn 1936 due to her Jewish ancestry. As her brothers were still able to operate their shop at that time, she was able to work there. After Kristallnacht, the siblings were forced to sell two properties at Breite Weg 51 and 52 on 26th November 1938. The textile business had finally been "aryanised" by September 1939, stripping the Hilb siblings of their livelihood. Leopold Hilb managed to emigrate to the United States in April 1940 and attempted to secure his sister's departure from there. Her belongings were already in Genoa, but rather than being unloaded they were returned to the offices of the Neu-Ulm shipping company due to the wartime situation.[214] The company then auctioned them to cover the costs they had incurred, which meant that Fanny Hilb lost almost her entire possessions. The "Reich Flight Tax" of 16,180 reichsmark that she had paid was also lost when her emigration attempt failed. Fanny Hilb subsequently lived in the ghetto house at Neutorstraße 15. On 1st December 1941, she was deported via Stuttgart to Riga, where all trace of her is lost.

For JENNY HILB see JENNY MOOS, page 119

BERTHA BIANKA HIRSCH NÉE ROTHSCHILD

Bertha Bianka Hirsch was born in Constance on 14th August 1888 as the daughter of the manufacturer Abraham Wolf Rothschild and his wife Anna (née Rothschild). She grew up in a family who were active in society and involved in charitable work. Her wealthy father, for example, had established a foundation for the poor in his birthplace of Worblingen near Constance.[215] Her husband Dr Franz Hirsch, who she married in Constance on 29th May 1908, was a member of a Hanau manufacturing family. He became a doctor specialising in disorders of the skin and urinary system. On 17th September 1908, the young couple received Württemberg citizenship following their move to Ulm. They lived at Sattlergasse 10 and the doctor's practice was housed in the rear building. Their only child Gertrud Julia was born on 7th October 1909. Bertha's husband joined up in 1914 to fight in the First World War and was wounded during an engagement. He returned home when the war ended with the rank of surgeon-major and decorated with the Iron Cross 2nd Class and the "Knight's Cross 1st Class of the Württemberg Friedrich Order with Swords". He continued to practise medicine during the Weimar period and in 1921 was also employed at the Bethesda hospital at Zollernring 26. Dr Hirsch was president of the Ulm/Neu-Ulm branch of the German Society for the Prevention of Sexual Diseases (Deutschen Gesellschaft zur Bekämpfung der Geschlechtskrankheiten), secretary of the Central Association of German Citizens of the Jewish Faith, and founder of the regional Württemberg branch and local Ulm branch of the Imperial Association of Jewish War Veterans. He died in Ulm at the age of 52 on 8th August 1932 and was buried in the Neuer Friedhof cemetery, where there is still a memorial to him to this day.[216] His daughter Gertrud left for Italy in the mid-1930s and was able to emigrate to the United States in 1939 thanks to a transit visa for Great Britain. His widow Bertha Hirsch remained in Sattlergasse until 1935, before moving temporarily to Basteistraße 39 in 1936 and then to Lange Straße 18. On 15th February 1940, she had to move into the ground floor of the ghetto house at Neutorstraße 15. On 21st March 1939, Bertha Hirsch was stripped of a considerable amount of her valuables in return for a meagre sum. Her widow's pension was also stopped after this date. She was forced to move into the compulsory Jewish old people's home at Weißenstein near Göppingen in late autumn 1941. After the first third of the 58 residents of the home had been taken to Riga in December 1941, Bertha Hirsch was deported to Izbica on 26th April 1942 along with those who remained. There is no further trace of her after this date.

ILSE HIRSCH NÉE VÖHL

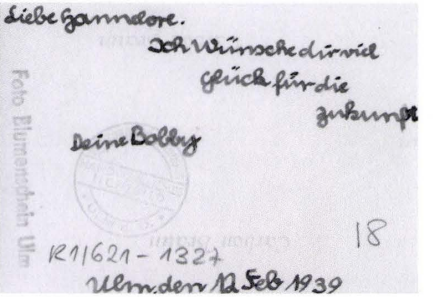
Ilse Hirsch was born on 21st October 1904 as the daughter of Max and Fanny Vöhl (née Schemm) in Gedern in Hesse. Ilse Vöhl married *Samuel Hirsch* on 1st August 1926 and moved with him to Ulm to Moltkestraße 70. She gave birth to their daughter *Mina* there on 29th May 1927. The family are believed to have moved to Wagnerstraße 105 in 1928. After Ilse's mother died, her father Max joined her in Ulm, where he lived until his death on 19th April 1935. Because of the "Law on Tenancies with Jews", the Hirsch family had to move to the ghetto house at Neutorstraße 1 in 1940 into a room with an improvised kitchen in the corridor. They lived there until they received their deportation orders at the end of February 1943, which meant they were among the last remaining members of the Jewish community to leave Ulm. Their deportation train left Stuttgart on 1st March 1943 for Auschwitz-Birkenau. As no evidence of them being registered as camp inmates has come to light, it is assumed that Ilse Hirsch and her relatives were murdered there immediately after their arrival. In 1951 she was declared dead by the Amtsgericht in Ulm with effect from 31st December 1945.[217]



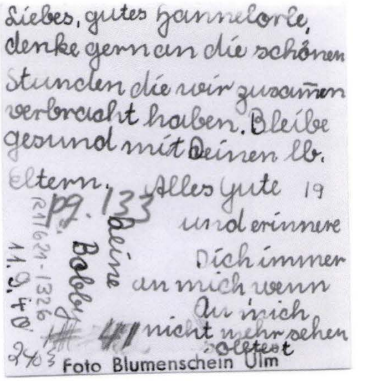
MINA HIRSCH

Mina Hirsch was born in Ulm on 29th May 1927 as the daughter of *Samuel Hirsch* and his wife *Ilse* (née Vöhl). Due to the Nazi's race laws, she was only able to attend a state school for a short time and had to go to the Jewish school on Weinhof from the 1936 school year onwards. After leaving school, she started working at Nathan Strauß Hüttenwerke. Mina Hirsch was known as "Bobby" to her friends. She also used this nickname to sign the pictures she sent to her friend Hannelore Baer, who had emigrated to the United States and later became a Wolf by marriage. Mina's last card was dated 11th September 1940. She wrote: "Dearest Hannelore, think with happiness of the wonderful hours we spent together. Good health to you and your beloved parents. All the best and always remember me if we should never meet again. Your Bobby".[218] Despite the increasing reprisals, Mina Hirsch

never lost her confidence, as a friend of hers from that time remembers: "We met on Neutorstraße and went over the Blaubeurer-Tor-Brücke bridge to work in the industrial area. It was forbidden for us to enter the city centre. Mina worked at Nathan-Strauss-Hüttenwerke on Westplatz and as we arrived there she said full of hope: 'When we survive this, that's when our lives will really begin'."[219] On 1st March 1943, Mina was deported with her parents to Auschwitz, where all trace of her is lost.



Farewell card from Mina Hirsch to her friend Hannelore Baer, 1939.



Dedication by Mina Hirsch on the commemorative photo for her friend Hannelore, who had emigrated to the United States, 1940.

DR ROBERT HIRSCH

Robert Hirsch was born in Tübingen on 10th July 1857 as the son of Leopold and Therese Hirsch (née Wormser). His father Leopold Hirsch was a farmer and second hand goods dealer in Wankheim and was the first Jew in Württemberg to be granted citizenship of a town.[220] Robert Hirsch began studying law in Tübingen in autumn 1874, graduating in 1881 after submitting his doctoral thesis entitled "On the Difference between Complicity and Abetment". Despite his outstanding work and the general approval of his colleagues, an appropriate career in the legal profession would always be closed to him because of his Jewish origins.[221] He did not progress beyond the position of a deputy district judge in Aalen, Schorndorf and Backnang. Even the Württemberg Justice Minister candidly informed him that he would not be able to make a career because of his origins.

As a result, Dr Robert Hirsch settled in Ulm as a lawyer in 1882. The city was familiar to him from his legal clerkship and because he had family living there; his brothers Julius and Rudolf ran the firm Gebrüder Hirsch, and his two other brothers, Moritz and Heinrich, ran the firm M. & H. Hirsch.[222] On 24th February 1887, he married Friederike Kiefe in Stuttgart. Their son Leopold was born the same year, followed by a second son Otto in 1890 and a daughter Mina in 1892. Dr Robert Hirsch was an active member of the Jewish congregation in Ulm and became a member of the executive committee (Kultusvorstand) on 1st January 1890 and later also its vice president. During the First World War, he was appointed as an agent by the Spanish government to monitor the rights of French prisoners of war. Both his sons fought in the First World War: as a volunteer, Otto received the Württemberg Silver Military Service Medal and was killed in the Higher Vosges on 18th June 1915. Leopold was a lieutenant in the 125th Landwehr Regiment, receiving the Iron Cross 2nd Class and, like his brother, the Württemberg Silver Military Service Medal. After being wounded twice and held prisoner by the Americans, he was eventually able to return home. Leopold then completed his legal doctorate and joined his father's successful legal practice at Syrlinstraße 8. Because of his age and presumably also because of the difficulties involved in practising the profession, Dr Robert Hirsch retired from his legal practice on 29th September 1933.[223] He moved in with his daughter Mina and her husband in Stuttgart.[224] On 14th January 1939, Dr Robert Hirsch took his own life there as a result of Kristallnacht and the reprisals that followed.

Samuel Hirsch

SAMUEL HIRSCH

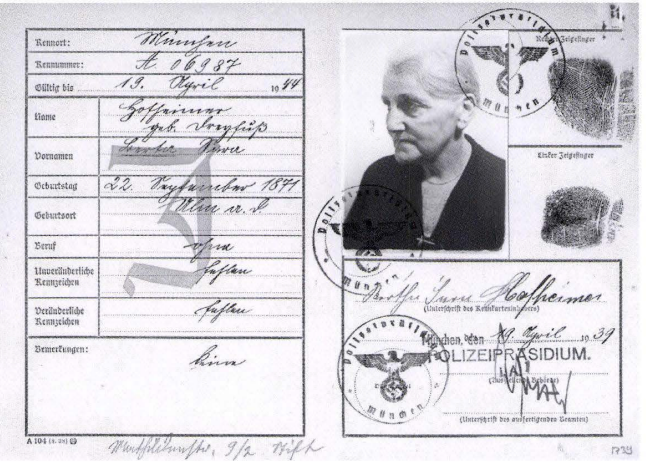
Samuel Hirsch was born in Bad Mergentheim on 4th August 1890 as the son of Hermann and Mina Hirsch (née Rosenherz). After marrying *Ilse* Vöhl on 1st August 1926, Samuel Hirsch moved to Ulm. During the Nazi period, he was protected from deportation until the start of 1943 because of his job as a skilled worker in the strategically important Neubronner factory. Samuel Hirsch had originally planned to emigrate to Chile with his family in January 1940. The emigration attempt failed, first because Italy refused to issue the family with transit visas, and then finally because the route via the Trans-Siberian Railway was closed once the campaign had commenced against the Soviet Union.[225] On 1st March 1943, a transport left Stuttgart for Auschwitz as part of the Fabrikaktion ("Factory Operation"). This train was carrying individuals or small groups of Jews who had previously been used for essential war work. Of the total of 1,500 people on board the train, 150 were selected for work in Auschwitz, while all the others were immediately murdered.[226] There is no evidence that any of the Hirsch family were registered as camp inmates.

Bertha Hofheimer

BERTA HOFHEIMER NÉE DREYFUS

Berta Hofheimer was born in Ulm on 22nd September 1871 as the fourth of seven children born to Kosman and Jette Dreyfus (née Einstein).[227] Berta's mother Jette was a sister of Hermann Einstein and, thus, an aunt of Albert Einstein. Her father Kosman Dreyfus was president of the Jewish congregation. On the occasion of the opening of the new synagogue, the Ulmer Schnellpost reported in its edition of 14th September 1873: "On behalf of the town Lord Mayor v. Heim expressed his congratulations to the congregation on their beautiful new home, to which Kosman Dreyfus responded with the assurance that each of them see Ulm as their beloved home."[228] After Rabbi Dr Salomon Fried became seriously ill, some of his tasks were transferred to Kosman Dreyfus in 1906. Berta married the merchant David Hirsch Hofheimer from Laupheim on 25th October 1900. He had two sons, Hugo and Rudolf, from his first marriage. David Hirsch Hofheimer died on 29th September

1906. On 4th July 1928, Berta Hofheimer moved from Laupheim to Munich.[229] Then on 1st November 1933 she moved into the Jewish old people's home at Mathildenstraße 8. On 14th April 1942, she was moved to the camp at Knorrstraße 148 and was then deported to Theresienstadt on 2nd July 1942 along with 49 other Jews on transport "II/12". 72-year-old Berta Hofheimer died there shortly after her arrival on 4th July 1942.



The identity card of Albert Einstein's cousin Berta Hofheimer, 1939.

LIESEL HOMBURGER

Liesel Homburger was born in Ulm on 4th February 1910 as the daughter of a butcher.[230] Her parents moved away from Ulm eight months after her birth, which is why Munich is given as her last place of residence in the Bundesarchiv Memorial Book. She was deported from there on 20th November 1941 to Kowno (Kaunas) and was shot on the day of her arrival, 25th November 1941.

BEATE HOMMEL

Beate Hommel was born in Ulm on 3rd June 1890 as the first of two children – her brother Julius followed on 10th February 1892 – born to Moses and Bertha Hommel (née Wandersheim). Beate's father was a well-known cantor, teacher and shohet (ritual slaughterer). He was a co-owner of the firm M. Hommel & Sohn, Antiquitäten.[231] Beate Hommel remained unmarried and worked in her parent's firm. Along with her mother she was a member of the Israelite Women's Association and, from 1st May 1936 onwards, of Ulm's local Zionist organisation.[232] In summer 1937, both women moved into the Jüdische Landasyl Wilhelmsruhe near Heilbronn-Sontheim. This old people's home had been in existence since 1907 and was extensively upgraded in 1937. "During Kristallnacht 1938 the interior of the old people's home was destroyed by NSDAP members from Heilbronn. All the lights were broken and the crockery was smashed, which meant that on the following day there were only three cups for 100 people. 30 jars of preserves were thrown into a heap."[233] Beate Hommel's mother Bertha died in this establishment on 16th February 1939.[234] In November 1940, the entire home was cleared for use by the Nazis and the residents were sent to other old people's homes in the state. Beate Hommel came to Stuttgart and then had to join the deportation train to Riga on 1st December 1941. There is no further trace of her after this. Beate Hommel was declared legally dead with effect from 31st December 1945. Her brother survived the Holocaust and died on 29th October 1952 in Günzburg.



Beate Hommel's home at Hahnengasse 1 (1st house on left), around 1930.

EMMA HONOLD NÉE KAHN

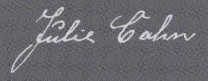
Emma Honold was born in Ludwigsburg on 4th June 1877 as the daughter of Daniel Kahn and his wife Fanny (née Rothschild). Emma, the older sister of *Elsa Weil,* grew up in a large family of nine siblings. On 5th June 1924, she married Friedrich Honold, who ran a small locksmith's shop at Karpfengasse 4, and moved with him to Ulm. This was the second marriage for the Protestant locksmith who had been widowed since 1910. Friedrich Honold had an illegitimate daughter, who was born in June 1905 and later married and moved to Berlin, as well as a legitimate son born on 19th November 1905. After just five months of marriage, Friedrich Honold died on 3rd November 1924. Emma Honold continued to look after her nineteen-year-old stepson Fritz, who later joined the SA and died in an accident in 1936. Emma Honold's niece Tilde Fraenkel remembered: "Her little house, which she shared with Fritz, had a large picture of Hitler in the living room, where the radio also stood. We had no radio and all went there if a Hitler speech was being broadcast. It has stuck in my memory because Fritz once said 'I actually had to report Uncle *Isi[dor Weil]',* because my father occasionally made remarks that were risky".[235] Emma Honold was a member of the Synagogue choir, the Association of Jewish Women for Palestine Work and the local Zionist organisation. The widow lived in her house at Karpfengasse 4 until her deportation. She transferred the house to her non-Jewish stepdaughter in Berlin by means of a deed of gift on 14th April 1942.[236] Emma Honold was deported twelve days later on 26th April 1942 via Stuttgart to Izbica, where all trace of her is lost.



The Honold locksmith's shop at Karpfengasse 4 (building on left), around 1930.



Advert for the Honold locksmith's shop, around 1930.



JULIA KAHN NÉE LÖWENTHAL

Julia Kahn was born in Laupheim on 31st May 1875 as the daughter of Salomon and Rosa Löwenthal. The Löwenthal family were hops dealers and moved to Ulm in the last third of the 19th century, which is where Julia grew up. She married the merchant Adolf Moritz Kahn from Frankfurt am Main in Ulm on 10th April 1896 and moved home after her wedding. Her husband's business was international and he often had to travel abroad.[237] Julia Kahn had two sons with him, Karl and Alfred. Just ten months after the birth of their second son, her husband died on 16th November 1899 at the age of 38. Julia Kahn subsequently married his brother Leopold Kahn. On 22nd June 1908, Leopold Kahn also died at the age of 44. The twice-widowed Julia did not marry again. On 18th August 1942, she was deported from Frankfurt am Main to the Theresienstadt concentration camp, where she died on 2nd June 1943. Her uncle *Julius Löwenthal,* her father's brother, had already perished there on 2nd September 1942.

For KARL RICHARD KAHN see KARL RICHARD MITLEHNER, page 113

ROSA KAHN (MOTHER)

Rosa Kahn was born in Altenstadt an der Iller on 1st January 1877 as the daughter of Samson Moritz Kahn, who was on the Jewish executive committee, and his wife Sophie. In 1908 she married the Christian cheese maker Sebastian Mitlehner in Günzburg. He was seven years her junior and she was pregnant with his child. Their daughter *Rosa Mitlehner* was born on 2nd February 1908. After her divorce in 1914, Rosa Mitlehner moved to Ulm with her daughter and reverted to her maiden name of Kahn.[238] She is listed at Herrenkellergasse 20 in the Ulm Directory for 1919.[239] Rosa Kahn initially earned her living as a worker in the Wieland factories, but the later Directories list her as a housewife. From 1927 to 1929, she lived at Zeughausgasse 11 and then at Frauenstraße 52 until 1939. She was ordered to swap this apartment on the orders of Ulm's city council with a non-Jewish tenant in the Judenhaus at Neutorstraße 15 in summer 1939. As the "Aryan" tenant – an army officer with the rank of lieutenant-colonel – refused to agree to this swap because he had lived with the other Jewish inhabitants of the

house for such a long time, Rosa Kahn was ultimately assigned to the Judenhaus at Schuhhausgasse 9 with her daughter and her son.[240] In November 1941, Rosa Kahn's daughter and her grandson *Karl Richard Mitlehner* were deported to Riga. She remained in Ulm alone and on 18th February 1942 had to move into the Jewish old people's home in Herrlingen. From there she was forced to move to Oberstotzingen when the old people's home was relocated. Together with the other inhabitants, she received her deportation order for Theresienstadt in August 1942. She died in the concentration camp on 21st July 1943.

For ROSA KAHN (daughter) see ROSA MITLEHNER, page 113

EMIL KARNOWSKI

Emil Karnowski, the third child of *Salomon Karnowski* and his wife Paula (née Neumann), was born on 12th October 1911 in Ulm. The family lived at Donaustraße 2 at that time. They then moved to Berlin, at the latest in 1927, where Emil Karnowski's last home was in the Prenzlauer Berg area of the city. He got married in the capital on 3rd June 1941. He worked at the Siemens-Schuckert factory from 21st January 1941 onwards, which initially protected him from deportation.[241] On 2nd March 1943, however, he and his wife were deported to Auschwitz as part of the Fabrikaktion, which indicates that Emil Karnowski was working latterly in an area of production vital to the war effort. These 1,756 deportees on the 32nd Berlin transport to the East also included the famous Jewish author Gertrud Kolmar, who was listed under her birth name of Käthe Chodziesner. Emil Karnowski and his wife may have been gassed immediately after their arrival at Auschwitz-Birkenau.

Jacob Karnowski

JAKOB KARNOWSKI

Jakob Karnowski was born on 27th February 1880 as the son of David Karnowski and his wife Golde (née Kaufmann) in Kalisz (Kalisch) in Poland. He married *Regina* Neumann, who came from Lodz (Lodsch), on 15th January 1909 in Ulm. After he married, Jakob Karnowski is believed to have lived in Göppingen until 1912, which is also where his three sons were born. From April 1919 to late summer 1938, the family lived in Neu-Ulm, where Jakob Karnowski ran a cigar shop at Insel 2. His oldest son Max emigrated to Switzerland during this period and found work in the canton of Lucerne. He supported his parents from his safe exile. On 1st September 1938, Jakob and his wife returned to Ulm, moving in with the *Frenkel* family, who were also of Polish origin, at Olgastraße 64.[242] Jakob and Regina Karnowski were deported along with the Frenkel family as part of the Polenaktion on 28th October 1938. Their son Max learnt of his parents' expulsion three days later in a telegram sent from Zbaszyn (Bentschen).[243] The message included a request for money, as his parents had only been able to take the bare necessities with them when they left.[244] Max engaged the Ulm lawyer Dr Leopold Hirsch to have the deportation order reversed, but this proved fruitless. In the compensation proceedings of 1955, the surviving witness *Resi Weglein* said that she had seen Jakob Karnowski again in October 1942 in Theresienstadt. He died in the infirmary there, probably at the end of February 1943.[245]

Rywka Karnowski

REGINA (RYWKA) KARNOWSKI
NÉE NEUMANN (NEJMANN)

Regina Karnowski was born on 16th March 1884 as the daughter of Simon Nejmann and Genendlja (née Rapoport) in Lodz (Lodsch) in Poland. She was given the Yiddish name of Rywka at birth, but this was later Germanised to Regina Neumann. At the beginning of the 20th century, she came to Ulm where she married the tobacco goods dealer *Jakob Karnowski* on 15th January 1909. The couple had three sons Max, Siegmund and Walter; their middle son Siegmund died at the age of two and their youngest son Walter at the age of 15 on 11th February 1927. The family were deported from Ulm to Poland without warning on 28th October 1938. A telegram sent on 31stOctober 1938 to her son Max in Switzerland was the last sign he had that his mother was alive.[246] All trace of Regina Karnowski is lost after this date.



SALOMON KARNOWSKI

Salomon Karnowski was born on 14th November 1875 as the son of David and Golde Karnowski (née Kaufmann) in Kalisz (Kalisch) in Poland. Salomon Karnowski married Paula Neumann on 19th May 1901 in Lodz (Lodsch) and moved with her to Ulm. Their first son *Siegfried Salomon* was born there on 24th July 1902. At that time the family lived at Platzgasse 11.[247] Salomon Karnowski earned his living through tobacco goods and, from 1902 onwards, was a co-owner with his brother *Jakob* of the Manfrides GmbH cigarette factory, which was located first at Römerstraße 20 and later at Sedelhofgasse 20. Salomon Karnowski worked as a general manager there. He ran his own cigarette factory, Cigaretten-Fabrik Monestra, after 1917.[248] The final entry for Salomon Karnowski in the Ulm Directory is for 1925. After that, he and his family moved to the Schöneberg area of Berlin. Salomon Karnowski was deported from there on 5th November 1942 to Theresienstadt, where he died on 14th April 1943. As his wife Paula is mentioned neither in the Bundesarchiv Memorial Book, nor in that of Theresienstadt, she must have died in Berlin at some point before the deportations began.

SIEGFRIED SALOMON KARNOWSKI

Siegfried Salomon Karnowski, the first child of *Salomon Karnowski* and his wife Paula (née Neumann), was born on 24th July 1902 in Ulm. He joined his father's tobacco goods business and worked there until the family moved to Berlin.[249] Siegfried Karnowski married for the first time in 1927 in Berlin-Wilmersdorf and then for the second time on 20th December 1938 in Berlin-Charlottenburg. Siegfried Karnowski was deported on 29th January 1943, almost three months after his father, to Auschwitz-Birkenau on the 27th transport from Berlin to the East. He was murdered in the camp.[250]

LINA KARPE NÉE LAUPHEIMER

Lina Karpe was born on 28th May 1879 on Ulm's Bahnhofstraße. Her parents were the merchant Samuel Laupheimer from Laupheim and his wife Klara (née Hofheimer) from Buttenhausen. Lina had two younger sisters Ella and Hedwig. The family moved to Pforzheim in 1883. Lina Laupheimer later married, converting to her husband's surname of Karpe. Frankfurt am Main is given as her last place of residence in the Bundesarchiv Memorial Book. She was deported from there in 1941 for an unknown destination – possible candidates are Lodz, Minsk or Kowno.[251] Her mother Klara, who had also been living in Frankfurt am Main at that time, died after her daughter's deportation on 17th March 1942. Lina Karpe was declared legally dead with effect from 31st December 1945.

Julie Sara Kasztan

JULIE KASZTAN NÉE ROSENTHAL

Julie Kasztan was born at Bahnhofstraße 13 in Ulm on 4th June 1878 as the daughter of Abraham and Jeanette Rosenthal (née Hirsch) from Laupheim. Julie Rosenthal grew up in a large family of 15 siblings and was the aunt of Fritz Rosenthal, who later changed his name to Shalom Ben-Chorin and became a well-known philosopher of religion. The Rosenthal family later moved to Munich, where Julie was registered from 20th May 1898 onwards.[252] She married the general practitioner Dr Georg Kasztan, who came from Reichenbach near Wroclaw (Breslau), in Munich in 1899. The following year on 12th June 1900, the couple welcomed their first son Franz, who died in



Julie Kasztan's identity card, 1938.

Munich on 6th November 1917. Their second child was Helmut Albert, who later married Fanny Kahn.[253] Helmut Albert Kasztan emigrated to Great Britain after Kristallnacht, but was not successful in his attempts to have his wife and newborn son, Gad Gerson, join him there. Both remained with Julie Kasztan, whose last address was Hohenzollernstraße 25. On 1st April 1942, she was taken to the camp at Knorrstraße 148 and was then deported to Piaski on 3rd/4th April 1942, where all trace of her is lost. Her daughter-in-law Fanny and her grandson Gad Gerson were deported as part of the Fabrikaktion on 13th March 1943 to Auschwitz-Birkenau, where they were murdered.[254]

ERICH KATZENSTEIN

Erich Katzenstein was born in Ulm on 23rd July 1908 as the son of *Felix Katzenstein* and his wife Louise (née Schmid). His parents are believed to have left Ulm after 1919 and later lived in Hamburg and Leipzig. Erich Katzenstein and his wife Margarete (née Katz) can be traced at the start of the 1940s, first in Hof Halbe and then in Gut Neuendorf in Brandenburg.[255] Both of these agricultural estates were originally Zionist facilities designed to prepare young Jews for "Aliyah" (lit. "ascent" – emigration to Palestine) by training them in manual and farming skills. In 1941 adolescents and young adults began to be brought forcibly to Gut Neuendorf from other establishments, and the first deportations commenced from March 1942 onwards. Erich and Margarete Katzenstein were initially deported to Theresienstadt along with 80 other inmates on 19th April 1943 when the camp was fully liquidated. Once the older victims had left the train, this continued on its way to Auschwitz.[256] It is not known whether Erich Katzenstein and his wife were selected for forced labour or for immediate death in the gas chambers.

FELIX KATZENSTEIN

Felix Katzenstein was born on 16th March 1882 in Meiningen. In 1906 he married the Protestant Louise Schmid from Laufstett, who converted to Judaism on 29th January 1907. The couple moved to Ulm immediately afterwards and their son *Erich* was born there on 23rd July 1908. The Ulm Directories of 1908 and 1910 list the family on the third floor of Friedenstraße 22 and then at Schülinstraße 10 until their final entry in 1919. The family lived in Hamburg for a while after they left Ulm. Felix Katzenstein was deported on 26th February 1943 from Leipzig via Berlin to Auschwitz and was murdered there.[257]



Gerda Sara Kaufmann

GERDA KAUFMANN

Gerda Kaufmann was born in Ulm on 23rd September 1924 as the third child of Hermann Kaufmann and his wife *Rosa (Rachel),* whose maiden name was Smus. Gerda's older siblings were Selma, born in 1920, and Helmut, born in 1922. The family moved house several times within the city.[258] In June 1928, Gerda's five-year-old brother Helmut died in Esslingen. Her mother had to move into a sanatorium in Weinsberg, while Gerda Kaufmann continued to live in Esslingen at first. The Kaufmann family were apparently not deported to Poland as part of the Polenaktion on 28th October 1938, but were stripped of their citizenship some time afterwards. In the documents that have survived Gerda Kaufmann is no longer described as a Polish citizen, but rather as "stateless". At the start of the 1940s, Gerda was working as a trainee in a Jewish old people's home in Stuttgart. The young woman was then employed in the Dellmensingen compulsory old people's home from 23rd February 1942 onwards. On 26th April 1942, Gerda Kaufmann was deported via Stuttgart to Izbica, where all trace of her is lost.

ROSA (RACHEL) KAUFMANN NÉE SMUS

Rosa (Rachel) Kaufmann was born on 27th January 1899 in Minsk in Belarus as the daughter of Hirsch Smus, a merchant from Munich, and his wife Rifka (née Choronzitzky). On 7th August 1919, she married Hermann (Hertz David) Kaufmann in Munich, a tradesman's son from Kalisz (Kalisch). The family had Polish citizenship and lived at Hirschstraße 24 in Ulm from 1921 to 1925, moving several times within the city centre after this date.

On 27th August 1920, Rosa gave birth to daughter Selma in Ulm, followed by son Helmut on 8th November 1922, and then daughter *Gerda* on 23rd September 1924. Her husband Hermann died in Ulm on 17th September 1927. Rosa Kaufmann later moved temporarily with her three children to Esslingen am Neckar, where her five-year-old son Helmut died in 1928. At the start of the 1930s, Rosa Kaufmann spent a year at the Schussenried sanatorium, before moving to a home in Schwäbisch-Hall run by a Protestant charitable organisation, where she remained until it was closed on 19th November 1940. She was then housed at the Weinsberg psychiatric clinic near Heilbronn before coming to Grafeneck, where she was murdered on 4th December 1940 as part of the Euthanasie-aktion.[259]



MATHILDE KAUFMANN NÉE BODENHEIMER

Mathilde Kaufmann was born on 7th April 1861 as the daughter of the merchant Jakob Bodenheimer and his wife Jutta (née Heidenheimer) in Hochberg near Waiblingen. Her parents moved the following year to Stuttgart, where Mathilde married Zacharias Kaufmann, also known as Zadok, on 23rd May 1884. After their wedding, the couple moved temporarily to Karlsruhe, where their son Hugo was born in 1885, before returning to Stuttgart in 1888. Their daughter Bella, who later married the merchant Heinrich Mann from Ulm, was born in Stuttgart on 5th May 1888. The Kaufmann family moved to Ulm in the mid-1920s, living initially at Beyerstraße 54, then at Zeitblomstraße 20 and finally at Karlstraße 25/2.[260] Mathilde Kaufmann was deported to Theresienstadt on 22nd August 1942 at the age of 81. Her ultimate fate after she reached the ghetto is unknown.

GERTRUD KEIL NÉE ROBERT

Gertrud Keil was born in Ulm on 6th September 1902 as the daughter of Hermann Robert and his wife Natalie (née Koppel). Her father, who came from Grudziadz (Graudenz) in the former province of West Prussia, managed a branch of H. Tietz & Co that was situated right next to City Hall and the Obere Stube inn.[261] Gertrud was the youngest of five children, of whom her brother Erich died in 1902 aged just two and her brother Max in 1933 at the age of 42. Gertrud managed the store after her father left alongside her oldest sister Frieda and her mother. Gertrud's mother Natalie Robert died in 1934. In 1936 Gertrud Keil joined the Jewish Cultural Union. She married Max Keil from Gniezno (Gnesen) in the same year and moved with him to Berlin-Charlottenburg. She gave birth there to daughter Ruth on 6th August 1937 and to daughter Chana on 15th January 1940.[262] In mid-April 1942, Gertrud Keil and her family had to report to the detention camp in the synagogue at Levetzowstraße 7/8 and were deported to Riga on 19th October 1942.[263] 81 men deemed to have manual skills were selected for forced labour, while the remaining 878 people, among them Gertrud and Max Keil and their daughters aged two and five, were selected for immediate death. They were led into a wooded area and shot there in pits. The dead included 140 children under the age of ten and 135 adolescents and young people aged between 11 and 20.[264]

JAKOB KLAPPHOLZ

Jakob Klappholz was born on 5th November 1891 as an Austrian citizen. He was the son of Moses and Ernestine Klappholz (née Fleischer) in the Czech-Polish border town of Cieszyn (Teschen). He came to Ulm before 1914.[265] He fought on the Italian front during the First World War and was awarded the Austrian Silver Medal for Bravery and the Karl Troop Cross. He was the owner of a furniture store in Stuttgart at this time. After the dual monarchy was dissolved, he received Polish citizenship. On 21st August 1923, the 21-year-old married *Wilhelmine* Weil in Freiburg (Breisgau). The couple had three children, *Walter, Julia* and *Ottilie,* between 1924 and 1933. Jakob Klappholz was a member of the Israelite Charitable Society from mid-1936 and of the local Zionist organisation from 1st July 1937.[266] He was also active in the Jewish Cultural Union. Jakob Klappholz ran a furniture store in Ulm from 1914 onwards, which was situated first at Bahnhofstraße 3 and then later at Marktplatz 9. The store, which had three to five employees and offered a range of contemporary and antique pieces, as well as trousseau items, enabled its owner to live an affluent lifestyle. As part of the boycott of Jewish businesses, Wilhelm Dreher published a list of Polish-Jewish businesses and included the Klappholz furniture store on this list. Jakob Klappholz responded in the Ulmer Tagblatt of 15th April 1933, pointing out that he had originally held Austrian citizenship, which in turn forced Dreher to make a counterstatement. However, the economic decline of the Nazi period could not be ignored. Jakob Klappholz emigrated to Brno (Brünn) on 20th April 1937 and opened a knitted goods factory there.[267] His home in Brno was seized by the Gestapo following the German occupation of the rest



Zur Aufklärung

zu dem Aufruf des Herrn Staatskommissar Dreher

„Gegen die Deutschenhetze in Polen"

bemerke ich, daß ich erst durch den Friedensvertrag von St. Germain vom 10. 9. 1919 und die Botschafterkonferenz der Entente vom 28 7. 1920 kraft Gesetzes polnischer Staatsangehöriger geworden bin.

Ich bin in Teschen **(österreich. Schlesien)** geboren und seit **1907 in Deutschland ansäßig.**

Ich habe meine Militärpflicht im Weltkrieg in der österr. Armee an der italienischen Front erfüllt.

Jakob Klappholz

Inhaber der Firma **Möbelhaus J. Klappholz**

Marktplatz 9

Nach Prüfung der Unterlagen ziehe ich obige Firma aus dem Aufruf zurück

gez. Dreher.

Correction by Jakob Klappholz of the accusations printed by Director of Police Dreher in the "Ulmer Tagblatt", April 1933.

of Czechoslovakia in spring 1939 and the family were billeted elsewhere. On 4th April 1942, all members of the family were deported to Theresienstadt and then to the Warsaw Ghetto three weeks later on 25th April 1942. A total of 6,000–7,000 people were deported to Warsaw from April to June 1942.[268] The occupiers began to liquidate the Warsaw Ghetto on 22nd July 1942. Those who were not murdered there were transported to the newly built extermination camp at Treblinka, where almost everyone was gassed immediately on arrival. Jakob Klappholz was declared dead in 1949 by the Brno Kreisgericht (District Court) with effect from 26th October 1942.

JULIA KLAPPHOLZ

Julia Klappholz was born in Ulm on 8th February 1930 as the second child of *Jakob* and *Wilhelmine Klappholz* (née Weil). She joined the Schild sports club in 1936 at the age of six and attended the Jewish school on Weinhof. She moved to Brno with her parents in April 1937. In April 1942, she was deported first to Theresienstadt and then to the Warsaw Ghetto, before finally being taken to the Treblinka extermination camp.



After the Klappholz furniture store closed the Ulm Museum was established in the building at Markplatz 9, around 1939.

OTTILIE KLAPPHOLZ

Ottilie Klappholz, known as Tilly, was born in Ulm on 14th June 1933 as the third child of *Jakob* and *Wilhelmine Klappholz* (née Weil). She emigrated to Brno with her parents in April 1937. In April 1942, she was deported first to Theresienstadt and then to the Warsaw Ghetto. She was later taken to the Treblinka extermination camp and murdered there.

WALTER LEOPOLD KLAPPHOLZ

Walter Klappholz was born in Ulm on 20th June 1924 as the first child of *Jakob Klappholz* and his wife *Wilhelmine* (née Weil). He was a member of the Working People – League of Jewish Youth. Walter emigrated to Brno with his parents in April 1937. In April 1942, the 17-year-old was deported first to Theresienstadt and then to the Warsaw Ghetto. Walter Klappholz survived the persecution and returned to his birthplace with Fritz Brumlik as a Displaced Person in 1947. Together with Fritz Brumlik he was moved to the Zeilsheim camp near Frankfurt a. M. on 25th April 1947, but all trace of him is lost after this date.[269]

WILHELMINE KLAPPHOLZ NÉE WEIL

Wilhelmine Klappholz was born on 15th July 1902 in Freiburg (Breisgau). Her parents were the businessman Leopold Weil and Julia (née Dreyfuss). She married *Jakob Klappholz* in Freiburg (Breisgau) on 21st August 1923 and moved with him to Ulm. The couple had the children *Walter, Julia* and *Ottilie* in Ulm. She was a member of the Jewish Cultural Union until summer 1936 and of the Israelite Women's Association until she left for Brno in 1937.[270] Wilhelmine Klappholz was deported with her family to the Warsaw Ghetto via Theresienstadt in April 1942 and was later taken to the Treblinka extermination camp and murdered there.

Marie Klein

MARIE KLEIN NÉE MAYER

Marie Klein was born in Ulm on 26th February 1889 as the first child of Abraham Mayer and his wife Cäcilia (née Lämmle). Marie had nine siblings, of whom three did not survive their first year of life. On 3rd April 1915, she married the Christian businessman Walter Klein, who was a soldier in the First World War at the time. He was killed in the Vosges just three and a half months after the wedding. The widow never remarried and moved from Keplerstraße 27, probably in 1919, to live with her parents and her sister *Frieda Mayer* at Schülinstraße 4, where she remained until June 1939.[271] She may have moved away from Ulm after this time, as no further mention of her in the city can be found in any sources. On 26th April 1942, she was deported from Stuttgart to Izbica, where all trace of her is lost. Her sister Frieda and her brother *Jakob Mayer* were also victims of Nazi persecution. Her youngest brother Otto Mayer was killed in his home during an air raid on the town of Goch on the Lower Rhine a few months before the end of the War on 7th February 1945.[272] Her brother Siegfried survived the Holocaust and the War and died in 1958 in Etterbeek in Belgium.



HEINZ KÖRNER

Heinz Körner was born in Ulm on 30th March 1928 as the youngest child of the locksmith Alfred Körner and his wife Rosa (née Götze). His father was Catholic and had married the Jewish Rosa Götze from Elberfeld in Ulm on 5th February 1921. Heinz and his siblings were brought up as Jewish, which is why the family, who lived at Soldatenstraße 88, were fully affected by the repressive measures introduced by the Nazis after 1933. The Körners were deprived of their most important clothing and food rations after the War started and Heinz, his mother and his siblings all had to wear the Judenstern badge after September 1941. As "legally valid Jews", the siblings were banned from marrying and were not allowed to enter certain professions. In November 1944, Heinz Körner was finally taken to the forced labour camp at Leimbach, which was a sub-camp of the Buchenwald concentration camp. He was then deported to Theresienstadt with 60 others on transport "XII/10" on 14th February 1945. He managed to survive the final few months until the concentration camp was liberated by the Red Cross on 5th May 1945. Heinz Körner was registered as a Displaced Person in the period immediately after liberation.[273] It has not been possible to establish the exact date when he returned to Ulm. However, he married in the city on the Danube in 1949. He then left Germany and later moved to the United States. He kept contact to Ulm in the following years. Heinz Körner died in the spring of 2013 in Montreal, Canada.

Helene Krause

HELENE ANNA KRAUSE NÉE NEUBURGER

Helene Anna Krause was born in Ulm on 28th November 1880 as the daughter of the manufacturer Martin Neuburger from Dietenheim and his wife Marianne (née Rothschild). Helene grew up at Syrlinstraße 3, which was on the corner with Olgastraße. She had 4 siblings: Isak Hugo, Elise, Margaretha and Franziska. Her father died on 29th January 1897 during an extended stay in Toronto in Canada. In 1901 her mother moved the family to Olgastraße 6 and then to Krafftstraße 9 in 1906. Helene Krause married the American dentist Georg Krause in Ulm on 9th September 1909 and was an American citizen from that date on. Her husband, who was originally from Pila (Schneidemühl) in Poland, had spent a long period in America before returning to Europe. The wedding was witnessed by the banker Emil Mayer and the businessman Alexander Nathan. The couple moved to Berlin-Charlottenburg after their wedding and were joined in May 1912 by Helene Krause's mother Marianne. Helene Krause was deported to the Sobibor extermination camp on 13th June 1942 and was probably murdered there immediately after her arrival.[274]

DORLINA KRIPPEL NÉE GUT

Dorlina Krippel was born on 9th March 1875 in Gailingen near Constance as the daughter of the businessman Nathan Gut and his wife Fanny (née Dreifuss). Dorlina, generally known as Lina, married *Isak Krippel* from Rzeszow in Poland in her home town on 10th September 1900. The family moved to Ulm after their daughter *Jenny* was born in Gailingen. Their son Julius, who died at the age of three months, was born in Ulm on 9th January 1903. The Krippel family moved to Neu-Ulm in June 1903, and their second daughter *Frieda* was born there in 1905. The family returned to Ulm in 1906 and lived at Hirschstraße 16,[275] where Max, Erwin and *Elisabetha* were born. Erwin died in infancy. Lina Krippel gave birth to son *Heinz,* whose father was not Jewish, at the age of 53 in 1928. Heinz was adopted by her husband Isak and brought up as part of the family. Lina Krippel was predominantly involved with running the home and raising the children and was also a member of the Israelite Women's Association.[276] She was deported to Poland with her husband and children Jenny, Frieda, Elisabetha and Heinz on 28th October 1938 as part of the Polenaktion. The descriptions written by her emigrated son Max indicate that she must have been very ill at the time of her expulsion to Poland.[277] Lina, her husband and some of their children were living in Rzeszow when the Germany army invaded Poland. The Jews there had been forced to wear the Judenstern and live in a ghetto since 1st December 1939. A postcard sent to their son Max reveals that Lina Krippel died there on 6th September 1941.[278]

ELISABETHA KRIPPEL

Elisabetha Krippel was born in Ulm on 17th September 1910 as the third daughter of the couple *Isak* and *Dorlina Krippel* (née Gut) and was known as Elsa. Elisabetha was a member of the Israelite Women's Association and of Ulm's Zionist organisation.[279] On 28th October 1938, she was deported with her family to Poland, where she most certainly became a victim of the Holocaust in 1942.

FRIEDA KRIPPEL

Frieda Krippel was born in Neu-Ulm on 25th July 1905 as the second daughter of *Isak* and *Dorlina Krippel* (née Gut). Frieda was deported with her family on 28th October 1938 to Poland, where she probably fell victim in 1942 to the persecution of the Jews.



HEINZ KRIPPEL



Heinz Krippel, the illegitimate son of Dorlina Krippel and a non-Jewish father, was born in Ulm on 8th November 1928. Heinz was circumcised on 15th November 1928 and was adopted by *Isak Krippel.* He attended the Jewish school on Weinhof from the 1936 school year onwards. Heinz was deported to Poland with his family on 28th October 1938 and may have fallen victim to the Nazi persecution of the Jews in 1942.

The Krippel family lived at Hafengasse from 1919 to 1929.

ISAK KRIPPEL

Isak Krippel was born in Rzeszow in Galicia on 24th October 1872 as the son of Jakob (a synagogue warden) and Rachel Krippel (née Lein). He emigrated from Galicia at the end of the 19th century and married *Dorlina* Gut in Gailingen near Constance on 10th September 1900. He moved to Ulm with his family in 1901 after the birth of his first daughter. In 1924 Isak and his family were living at Hafengasse 8–10 – the building where educator Anna Essinger also grew up – where he ran a distribution business. Isak Krippel and his family were taken without warning to the German-Polish border in the night of 28th October 1938 as part of the Polenaktion. In a letter written to his 31-year-old emigrated son Max in August 1939, Isak reported that they were shoved over the border in Zbaszyn (Bentschen), at roughly the same latitude as Poznan (Posen), having been stripped of all their cash of up to 40 reichsmark immediately beforehand. They had to sleep in the open air in Zbaszyn. Isak Krippel and his family then went to Poznan, where committees to assist the expelled Jews had been formed. Finding no opportunity to earn a living there, however, the family continued on to Zorschau. Isak's emigrated son Max Krippel received a further sign that his parents and siblings were alive on 25th April 1940. His sister *Jenny* wrote: "I don't want to write what we have been through and suffered since the Germans occupied Poland so as not to sadden your heart. Just a little: we have nothing left but the clothes on our backs and they are rags. Money none, the people here rough, cold and heartless. The winter was bleak and cold. Mother and father had frostbitten feet. Mother's stomach has completely failed, besides hunger. We are desperate. The worst thing though is that the whole family is split up. Our parents and sister Frieda are in Rzeszow. Sister Else in Krakow and I have remained in Zorschau."[280] The compensation files indicate that the Krippels must have been murdered at the latest when the Rzeszow Ghetto was liquidated. Isak's son Max, who later changed his name to Mordechai Carmi, was the only family member to survive.

JENNY KRIPPEL

Jenny Krippel was born in Gailingen near Constance on 20th June 1901 as the first child of *Isak* and *Dorlina Krippel* (née Gut). After leaving school, she worked as a secretary in the theatre in Ulm, including ten years during the incumbency of Erwin Dietrich. She had to give up this position after the Nazis seized power. Jenny then worked in the Lebrecht leather factory and was a member of the Israelite Women's Association.[281] She was deported to Poland on 28th October 1938, but was permitted to return to Ulm for just three days at the start of 1939, in order to sell her possessions.[282] Jenny Krippel was forced to sell her entire furnishings at knock-down prices within this short period. She stayed at Münsterplatz 19 with Dr med. Gustl Schreyer, a former colleague from her time at the theatre, for these three days.[283] After Jenny's return to Poland, Gustl Schreyer received just one further letter from her former colleague, which was brought to her by a German army soldier home on leave from Poland. Her brother Max Krippel learnt of Jenny's desperation in another message from January 1941. She was living at that time in the town of Ostrow Lubelski to the north-east of Lublin.[284] All trace of her is lost after this date.

EMIL KUHN

Emil Kuhn was born in Ulm on 11th September 1863 as the third child of the businessman Albert Kuhn and his wife Maximiliane (née Neuburger). Emil Kuhn was the younger brother of *Luise Henle* and is believed to have moved away from Ulm after leaving school. The next trace of him does not appear until 1st September 1938 in Munich, where he had to move house a total of five times up to 23rd March 1942.[285] The writer's last address was the camp at Knorrstraße 148, which was used as a collection point in preparation for deportations. On 5th June 1942, he was brought from there to Theresienstadt, where he died on 27th August 1942 just a few days after his sister Luise Henle's arrival.



Emil Kuhn's identity card, 1940.

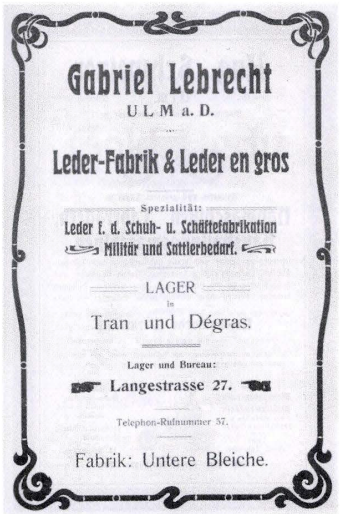
ISKA LAMM NÉE FRIED

Iska Lamm was born in Ulm on 28th July 1899 as the daughter of Rabbi Dr Salomon Fried and his second wife Paula (née Bamberger).[286] Iska already had three half-siblings from her father's first marriage to Rosa (née Halberstamm), who died in 1894. Her father had married her mother in Berlin on 8th March 1897. She came from Königsberg and was the daughter of the rabbi there, Dr Isak Bamberger, who is credited amongst other achievements with the construction of the Königsberg synagogue. A younger sister, Elly Lore, also resulted from this second marriage. Iska's father became very ill in 1905 and died on 2nd February 1906. His widow Paula Fried left Ulm in July 1906, returning to her birthplace of Königsberg with her daughters. Iska Fried is believed to have married at the end of 1931, converting to her husband's surname of Lamm. It has not been possible to discover any further details about her husband. The Bundesarchiv Memorial Book provides a further clue to her later life, listing Westerbork as the place from where she was deported. Accordingly, it is assumed that Iska Lamm must have emigrated to the Netherlands sometime after 1933. She was deported from there to Auschwitz in 1942 and selected for work. Civil records give the date of her death as 19th February 1943 and the place as the area of Oswiecim (Auschwitz). It is assumed, therefore, that she was put to work as a forced labourer in a sub-camp of the Auschwitz-Birkenau extermination camp and died there. Iska Lamm was declared dead in 1951.



HEINRICH LEBRECHT

Heinrich Lebrecht, known as Heyner, was born in Ulm on 19th December 1919 as the fourth child of Wilhelm Lebrecht and Rosa (née Kohn). He was the son of the owner of the Lebrecht leather factory, which had been founded by his great-grandfather and was a significant company in the town, with more than 200 workers and employees. Heinrich had three older brothers named Kurt, Walter and Hans. He grew up initially on Zeitblomstraße, on the corner with Charlottenplatz, and then moved with his parents to a newly built house at Steinhövelstraße 5 on the Safranberg.[287] Heinrich's family enjoyed an upper-middle-class lifestyle, to which the string quartet founded by his father Wilhelm also attests. The weather vane on the Lebrecht's new house, which was created by the artist Ludwig Moos and included an illustration of a string quartet, was anathema to the Nazis. They agitated in the daily papers that "the Jew Lebrecht has the German goyim dancing around him in the wind", which meant the weather vane had to be removed.[288] Heinrich's brother Hans remembers that the family were warned the night before Kristallnacht about the impending trouble by the Director of Police Wilhelm Dreher. "My brother Heyner and his friend Sternweiler managed to travel by train to Munich, having been tipped off the night before. When they saw the SA men on the platform there, who were intercepting people, they stayed on the train and spent two whole days shuttling between Munich and Stuttgart, never leaving the stations."[289] In the late 1930s, Heinrich Lebrecht's parents had bought a farm in Contulmo in Chile from a German who was returning to the Reich. Heinrich Lebrecht was not able to finish his training as a chef in Germany, but made his way to Chile in 1939 because of the increasing persecution of the Jews. "He made it through the Soviet Union to Vladivostok. He had no money and was able to secure passage on a freighter by working as a cook's assistant. After a short stay in Tokyo he returned to sea as a ship's cook. Having arrived in Panama, he left the ship, bought a horse with the last of his pay and somewhat riskily rode the rest of the way to Walter in Chile."[290] The persecution had left its mark on Heinrich Lebrecht, however; he took his own life in Contulmo on 17th December 1941. His three brothers survived the Holocaust.

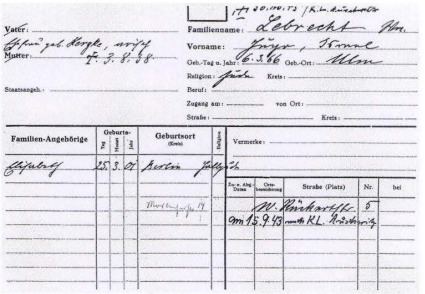


Advert for the Lebrecht leather factory, 1906.



HUGO LEBRECHT

Hugo Lebrecht was born in Ulm on 6th March 1866 as the second child of the leather manufacturer Heinrich Lebrecht and his wife Julia (née Götz). Hugo left his birthplace after leaving school and lived in several places including Budapest. He married Bettina Agnes Hertzka there on 15th March 1900. His 24-year-old bride had been baptised as a Catholic and was the daughter of the publisher Dr Theodor Hertzka, a friend of Theodor Herzl. Hugo Lebrecht converted to the Protestant faith on an unknown date. The couple's daughter Elisabeth was born in Berlin a year after the wedding on 25th March 1901. The family moved to Wiesbaden sometime between 1901 and 1906, and Hugo Lebrecht worked as a lawyer there. His father-in-law Dr Theodor Hertzka spent the last years of his life with them and died in 1924. Hugo Lebrecht's wife Bettina died in Wiesbaden on 3rd August 1938. The widower was deported to Auschwitz on 15th September 1943 and died in the main camp Auschwitz I on 30th October 1944. The camp physician Dr Rhode recorded the cause as "heart failure" on the death certificate, which was a common euphemism to disguise the unnatural causes of death in Auschwitz.[291]


Vater: Familienname: Lebrecht
Mutter: Vorname:
Geb.-Tag u. Jahr: Geb.-Ort:
Religion: Kreis:
Staatsangeh.: Beruf:
Zugang am: von Ort:
Straße: Kreis:
Familien-Angehörige | Geburts- Tag | Monat | Jahr | Geburtsort (Kreis) | Vermerke:
Straße (Platz) | Nr.

Wiesbaden registration card for Hugo Lebrecht, 1943.

EDUARD LEITER

Eduard Leiter was born in Stuttgart on 1st March 1865 as the son of the couple Isak and Julie Leiter (née Epstein). Eduard Leiter became a master butcher and married *Ernestine* Neumetzger from Oberdorf am Ipf near Bopfingen. Their sons Sally and Max were born in Stuttgart. Both fought in the First World War, from which Max never returned. His son Sally survived and was awarded the Iron Cross 1st Class. After Sally Leiter had taken over the Heinrich Glaeser Nachfolger GmbH textile factory in Söflingen, Eduard and Ernestine Leiter joined him in Ulm on 15th January 1931 and lived in Söflingen at Außerhalb 15.[292] The couple returned to Stuttgart for a short time in 1938, but were soon forced to sell their home and moved to Ernestine Leiter's birthplace of Oberdorf am Ipf on 27th September 1938.[293] Eduard and Ernestine Leiter were taken to the Killesberg detention camp in Stuttgart on 20th August 1942 and were then deported to Theresienstadt two days later. A deportation transport on 29th September 1942 brought them to Treblinka, where they were murdered immediately after their arrival on 1st or 2nd October 1942. Two Stolperstein memorial blocks commemorating the Leiter couple were laid in front of their former home in Stuttgart on 28th April 2006.[294]

ERNESTINE LEITER NÉE NEUMETZGER

Ernestine Leiter was born on 31st January 1870 in Oberdorf am Ipf near Bopfingen under the maiden name of Neumetzger.[295] She married the master butcher *Eduard Leiter* of Stuttgart and the couple had sons Sally and Max, the latter of whom was killed in the First World War. After moving to Ulm in 1931, Ernestine Leiter joined the Israelite Women's Association.[296] Her son was interned in the Dachau concentration camp on 12th November 1938 following Kristallnacht. He survived the Holocaust. His "Aryanised" textile business in Söflingen was returned to him in the post-war period and he ran it until 1979. Ernestine and Eduard Leiter did not survive the persecution: the couple were deported to Theresienstadt on 22nd August 1942 and then from there to Treblinka on 29th September 1942, where they were murdered in the gas chambers.

EMMA LEVI

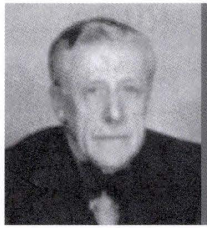
Emma Levi was born in Ulm on 5th September 1869 as the daughter of Hermann and Mathilde Levi (née Bing). Her father Hermann Levi died on 27th March 1887. Emma's mother Mathilde moved in with her after this and remained with her until she died in 1914. Emma Levi, who remained unmarried, is listed in the Ulm and Neu-Ulm Directories from 1906 onwards. Her first address is at Marienstraße 14 in Neu-Ulm, followed by Olgastraße 65 in Ulm from 1911 to approx. 1918 and finally Bessererstraße 9 from 1919. Emma Levi, who earned her living as a teacher of English and the piano, is believed to have moved to Stuttgart after 1933. She was deported to Theresienstadt on 22nd August 1942 and then from there on 26th September 1942 to Treblinka, where she was murdered.



FRITZ HELMUT LEVI

Fritz Helmut Levi was born in Ulm on 8th July 1925 as the son of Hermann Levi and his wife Klara (née Weil). His father had moved to Frankfurt am Main just two weeks before on 22nd June 1925. The mother and her newborn son followed him there on 15th July immediately after Fritz had been circumcised. The Levis had lived at Metzig 23 in Ulm. In Frankfurt am Main they lived first at Körnerstraße 5, which is also where Fritz Helmut's younger brother Werner was born.[297] Werner reported on his family's deportation on 11th November 1941 in Monica Kingreen's[298] book Nach der Kristallnacht. "It was hell (...) endless searches, screams and harassment all night long. (...) The journey took six days (...) we had food with us but no water, many people died. When it rained we stuck our fingers out and licked them to get the liquid. People died of thirst. Many cried 'we need water', sometimes we got something when we stopped. We had many dead when we finally arrived in Minsk." The train went via Berlin, Warsaw and Bialystok to Minsk. Six thousand Belorussian Jews had been shot in the ghetto shortly before to make space for the Jews from Germany. Werner Levi described: "The first period (...) thus, we spent taking away the dead and then preparing the barracks. We organised the things belonging to the dead from other buildings. We had one room with a furnace in the middle for cooking, we had to sleep on the floor or on wooden benches, there was no water, only one well in our part of the ghetto."[299]

By 1942 the SS had already begun systematically reducing the numbers in the ghetto through murder. In an interview with Monica Kingreen, Werner recalled the day he saw his mother for the last time: "One day I wanted to visit my mother who was working in the hospital in the 'Weißes Haus' building. I didn't go in though, because I was scared of getting infected with typhus. Then Ukrainians and Belorussians in their uniforms suddenly appeared and surrounded the hospital: large grey vans pulled up, they were gas vans that looked like furniture vans. We all knew what sort of vehicles they were and what they meant. The people were brought out. I stood some distance away and saw how my mother came out. My mother saw me and waved to me. That was the last time that I saw her."[300] Hermann Levi and his two sons were transferred to the Majdanek concentration camp for forced labour shortly before the liquidation of the ghetto. Fritz Helmut Levi was separated from his father and brother there and was murdered. Hermann Levi and his younger son Werner managed to survive a total of 13 concentration camps and ghettos in the period that followed. They were freed from Bergen-Belsen by British troops on 15th April 1945.[301]



LUDWIG LEVY

Ludwig Levy came from Illingen in the district of Ottenweiler near Neunkirchen in Saarland. He was born there on 16th July 1870 as the son of Josef and Bertha Levy (née Marx). He married *Sofie* Gutmann in Philippsburg in Baden in 1897 and moved with her to Ulm, where their first child Elisabeth was born on 22nd May 1898. In 1899 he and his wife founded the millinery store "Ludwig Levy – Spezialhaus für Damen- & Kinderhüte" (Special House for Women's and Children's Hats), which was located at Herdbruckerstraße 8 for many decades.[302] Ludwig Levy was also an authorised representative of Deutsche Bank in Ulm up to 1928. Ludwig Levy, who at 44 was perceived as too old for the front, joined the Bürgerwehr (civil defence force) during the First World War. The living situation of his family worsened steadily after 1933. They were also affected by interference with Jewish businesses and were forced to live mainly off a small pension from Deutsche Bank and the money that wife Sofie earned from cleaning. Ludwig and Sofie Levy had to rent out their hat shop at the end of 1935. The firm finally closed on 26th March 1938 and the Levys were forced to sell the building. A purchase price of 75,000 reichsmark – well below market value – was set in the sales contract of 10th May 1940, although the "Jewish Capital Levy" and a "Reich Flight Tax" of 24,000 reichsmark was also supposed to be deducted from this figure.[303] Sales contracts with Jews had no legal force unless approved by the city authorities. Accordingly, the buyer of the property asked the local NSDAP leadership to help her secure a retrospective reduction in the purchase price. In October 1940, the NSDAP Kreisamtsleiter (head official in the district) informed the city authorities that the building's value might be 68,000 reichsmark at best.[304] The buyer was supposed to pay 5,000 reichsmark of this reduction to the state as a duty on the Entjudungsgewinn ("profits of de-Jewification"). After further interventions by the buyer, Lord Mayor Foerster was ultimately prepared to waive the duty if she could prove that the building needed repairs that would cost this amount. As the buyer had not hired any contractors to perform repairs by the end of the War, the process was on hold until then. Ludwig and Sofie Levy had to move into a Judenhaus at Beyerstraße 54 in 1940. They were moved from there to the compulsory Jewish old people's home housed in the derelict castle at Oberstotzingen on 15th June 1942. On 15th August 1942, a few days before the deportation, Ludwig Levy was forced to sign a fraudulent "home purchase contract" for Theresienstadt for 35,000 reichsmark under the threat of losing all his assets if he did not comply.[305] This meant he had to transfer his remaining money to a special account of the Reich Association of Jews, in return for which he would supposedly receive a home, food and care. The couple were taken from Stuttgart to Theresienstadt on 22nd August 1942 and were then deported to Treblinka on 26th September 1942 and murdered in the gas chamber.



The Levy hat shop at Herdbruckerstraße 8 (3rd building from left), around 1900.



Advert for the Levy hat shop, 1933.



SOFIE LEVY NÉE GUTMANN

Sofie Levy was born on 9th January 1872 in the Baden town of Philippsburg. Her parents were the merchant Jakob Gutmann and his wife Elisa (née Kahn). Sofie married *Ludwig Levy* in Philippsburg on 10th August 1897 and moved with him to Ulm, where their first child Elisabeth was born on 22nd May 1898. On 7th August 1919, Elisabeth married the artist Leopold Kahn from Mannheim, with whom she had four children, and lived in Ulm from 1925. The Kahn family emigrated to Palestine ten years later, where Gertrude, Ludwig and Sofie Levy's second daughter, was already living. Gertrude had married the locksmith Herbert Sieratz in 1922 and moved with him to Palestine. Otto Levy, Ludwig and Sofie Levy's third child, was also able to emigrate to Palestine in the 1930s. Ludwig and Sofie's own attempts to emigrate to Palestine proved fruitless, however. Sofie Levy was a co-owner of the hat shop on Herdbruckerstraße and also ran a small cleaning firm. She was active in the community, including as the long-term president of the Israelite Women's Association.[306] Together with her husband, Sofie was committed to the compulsory Jewish old people's home in Oberstotzingen on 15th June 1942. She was then deported via Stuttgart to Theresienstadt on 22nd August 1942 after being made to sign a "home purchase contract" for 10,000 reichsmark. One month later, she and her husband were deported to Treblinka on 26th September 1942 and were murdered immediately after their arrival.[307]

PAULINE LIEBMANN (LIPPMANN)
NÉE LAMMFROMM

Pauline Liebmann was born in Ulm on 3rd October 1867 as the daughter of the master butcher Moses Lammfromm and his wife Karolina (née Hess). Pauline had 13 siblings and was the younger sister of *Bertha Fischl.* On 1st June 1909, she married the merchant Marx Liebmann and moved with him to Zweibrücken. After returning to her home town alone in 1919, Pauline was divorced from her husband on 26th March 1920 in Zweibrücken. Although "Liebmann" was the correct official spelling of her surname, she was generally known under the name of "Lippmann" and it is this name that is recorded in the Ulm Directories, on official documents and ultimately also on the deportation lists. Pauline Liebmann lived in her parent's home at Mohrengasse 3 in Ulm. In old age she suffered from Ménière's disease, the symptoms of which included episodes of dizziness, tinnitus and vomiting, as well as cataracts in both eyes.[308] On 17th August 1939, she had to move into the compulsory Jewish old people's home at Herrlingen at the age of 71.[309] When this was shut down she was brought to Oberstotzingen. She was deported from there to Theresienstadt on 22nd August 1942, where she died on 24th November 1942.



Pauline Liebmann's apartment was at Mohrengasse 3 (left), 1937.

JULIUS LÖWENTHAL

Julius Löwenthal was born in Laupheim on 16th April 1864 as the son of Nathan and Friederike Löwenthal (née Mayer). On 5th February 1895, Julius Löwenthal married his widowed sister-in-law Sofie Löwenthal (née Feldmeier). She had previously been married to his brother Isak, who had died on 23rd July 1893. Their children Max and Frieda were born in 1896 and 1897. Julius Löwenthal earned his living as a co-owner of the hops dealing business M. Löwenthal & Sohn Ulm-Laupheim, which was located at Olgastraße 11.[310] His son Max died in Ulm on 9th January 1924. His daughter Frieda married Hans Tannhauser, a merchant from Horb am Neckar on 11th March 1925. His wife Sofie Löwenthal died on 28th April 1926. The widowed Julius remained at Olgastraße 11 and had to move into the Judenhaus at Ensingerstraße 3 in 1939. His apartment there comprised a living room and a bedroom, although the living room was also used as a waiting room for the legal practice of Dr Ernst Moos. On 15th June 1942, he had to move into the Jewish old people's home housed in the derelict Oberstotzingen castle. He was then deported to Theresienstadt from Stuttgart on 22nd August 1942. The last known sighting of

him comes from *Resi Weglein's* report: "Another morning we were washing ourselves with soda water, because there wasn't anything else. Dr Reiß died at 10am. We got Mr Julius Löwenthal (78) from Ulm in his place. He was immediately given an injection of morphine, because he was very restless from his arteriosclerosis and wanted to jump out of the moving train. The wife of Dr Reiß lay on the ground and cried bitterly. And next to her lay the dying Mr Schömann, whose wife was also bowed down with grief."[311] Julius Löwenthal died on 2nd September 1942 a few days after reaching the concentration camp.

For ESTHER LOEWY see ESTHER BÉJARANO, page 35



MARGARETHE LOEWY NÉE HEYMANN

Margarethe Loewy, known as Grete, was born in Gräfenthal in Thuringia on 13th February 1897 as the daughter of Bernhard and Dora Heymann. The family moved to Berlin after their children were born. In 1913 Margarethe took piano lessons with the pianist *Rudolf Loewy*. The pair married in Berlin in 1916 and welcomed their son Gerhard into the world the same year. He was followed by a daughter Tosca in 1918, daughter *Ruth* in 1920, a son Georg in 1922, who later died, and daughter *Esther* in 1924.[312] The family moved to Ulm at the start of 1936, because Rudolf Loewy had been offered a position with the Jewish community there. Margarethe Loewy joined the Jewish Cultural Union and the Israelite Women's Association on 10th April 1936 and was also an active member of the WIZO (a women's Zionist organisation) from 1st May 1936.[313] Her children were also very active in club life: her son Gerhard, who was working as an apprentice tailor, was a member of the Schild sports group, and of the Working People – League and the Hechaluz, both Zionist youth organisations. Her daughter Tosca emigrated to Palestine in 1937 and lived there until her death in 2001 with Hans Lebrecht, the brother of Heinrich Lebrecht and nephew of Hugo Lebrecht.[314] After the terrors of Kristallnacht and the other manifestations of the persecution, as well as the emigration of three of her four children, Margarethe suffered from mental illness in 1939 and was treated in a clinic in Berlin. Her husband and their youngest daughter Esther also came to Berlin in 1940 and she moved to Wroclaw (Breslau) with her husband the same year. On 25th November 1941, the Loewys and 1,000 other Jews from Wroclaw were deported to Kowno (Kaunas) and murdered there in the days that followed. There were no survivors from the Wroclaw transport.



RUDOLF LOEWY

Rudolf Loewy was born on 3rd March 1893 in Bad Freienwalde in Brandenburg as the son of a Christian mother and a Jewish father, Max Loewy. He was brought up as Jewish. He trained as a pianist, cantor and teacher. His dreams of a career as a pianist were ended by a severe hand wound he suffered during the First World War, having joined up as a fervent German patriot. From 1918 until his deportation in 1941, he earned his living as a cantor and teacher in the Jewish communities of Hoppstädten, Saarlouis, Saarbrücken, Ulm and Wroclaw (Breslau). He was very involved with the community and youth work in all these places. He founded children's choirs, led a workers' choir and was president of the Jewish Cultural Union. He composed his own pieces and set various works to music, including the thirteen principles of faith of the Jewish philosopher of religion Maimonides. In 1936 Rudolf Loewy moved to Ulm with his family, taking up a position as cantor and teacher at the Jewish school newly established as part of the segregation of Jewish pupils. He enriched the cultural life of the Jewish community, which was now cut off from "Aryan" cultural life, especially through music. He belonged to the Israelite Charitable Society, the Jewish Cultural Union, the Imperial Association of Jewish War Veterans and the local Zionist organisation.[315] He was later appointed the secretary of the latter and the vice-president a short time after that. Rudolf Loewy did not escape the mistreatment and imprisonments of Kristallnacht. His daughter Esther remembered this time during a visit to Ulm in 1989: "The last weeks here were like being in a prison. No-one spoke to us, hardly anyone would sell to us." The Jewish school was closed in 1939, depriving Loewy of his profession. The Loewys then lived on Schützenstraße in Neu-Ulm and remained there until their apartment was confiscated by the German Labour Front (Deutsche Arbeitsfront). After that they lived in Ulm for a short time in the house of Max Erlanger on what was then Horst-Wessel-Straße. After his wife began suffering from mental illness in 1939 and underwent treatment in Berlin, Rudolf Loewy also moved to the capital along with their youngest daughter *Esther,* who was still living with them at that time.[316] In 1940 he went to Wroclaw with his wife, where he served as director of the orphanage and worked as a cantor and teacher at the Storch Synagogue in the Jewish community, which was in the process of being dissolved by that time. His daughter Tosca, who had emigrated to Palestine, and her partner Hans Lebrecht attempted to arrange the Loewys' emigration to Palestine from there.[317] The attempt failed. Rudolf and *Margarethe Loewy* were deported on 25th November 1941 from Wroclaw to Kowno (Kaunas) in Lithuania and were murdered there.



Margarethe and Rudolf Loewy with daughter Esther, March 1940.

RUTH LOEWY

Ruth Loewy was born in Hoppstädten near Kaiserslautern on 17th December 1920 as the third child of *Rudolf* and *Margarethe Loewy* (née Heymann). Ruth later attended the Lyzeum (grammar school) in Saarbrücken along with her sister Tosca. After their move to Ulm in 1936, they were unable to continue at such a school and had to attend the Jewish school where their father was a teacher. In 1933 Ruth went to the Ellguth training camp in Upper Silesia to undergo "Hakhshara", i.e. prepare for emigration to Palestine. During Kristallnacht she was attacked in the street by members of the SA. She managed to make it to Ulm, where she had to undergo medical treatment. In 1939 Ruth was sent to live in the Netherlands with a family who were friends of her parents. Following the German occupation she fled by motorbike – newly married – towards Switzerland with her husband in 1942. They had just crossed the border when they were discovered by the Swiss police and sent back to Germany. Both were arrested and shot, probably immediately, by German border officials.

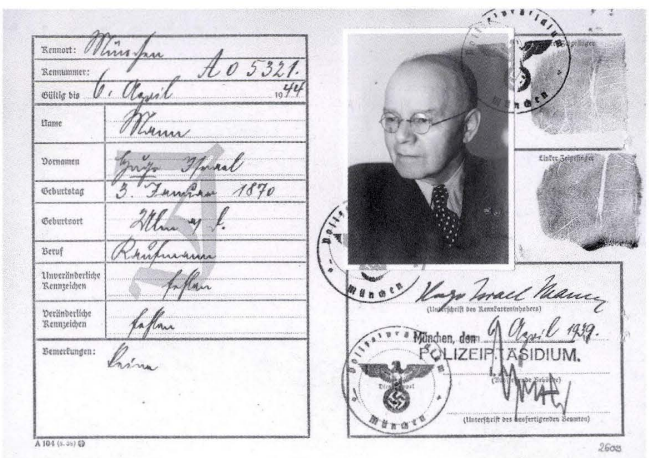
FANNY MANN

Fanny Mann was born in Ulm on 18th December 1878 as the youngest of nine children of Benjamin Mann and his wife Louise (née Moos). Her father owned the textile factory "Beny Mann & Comp.: Schürzen- und Hemdenfabrik" (Apron and Shirt Factory), which had been housed in the rear building of Neutorstraße 18 since 1910. Her mother managed the business following her father's death. Fanny Mann never married. She was living at Weinhof 19 at the beginning of the 20th century, then at Keplerstraße 30, probably after 1905, and finally at Bessererstraße 24 between 1909 and 1912. After the death of her mother, Fanny Mann moved to Ludwigshafen on 12th March 1912 to live with her uncle.[318] Her widowed older sister Frieda Silberstein also moved there at the start of the Second World War. In the mid-1930s, she visited her brother Siegfried Mann, who emigrated to the United States, once more in a Catholic holiday home in Upper Swabia. The uncertainty of her future and the breakup of her family had a profound effect on her, causing her to lose her serene temperament. Together with her sister *Frieda Silberstein* and her brother *Ludwig,* Fanny Mann was deported on a large transport from Ludwigshafen to southern France on 22nd October 1940. Siegfried Mann reported on this: "On 22nd October 1940, the two old sisters, who had remained in the home of their great-uncle Josef, heard loud hammering on the door. Unknown men made their way in and ordered the sisters to make themselves ready for a journey to an unknown destination within one hour. Their luggage could not weigh more than 50 kilos and they had to report to the nearest police station. It requires little imagination to envisage the terror that came over those two helpless old women – Frieda was then 67 and Fanny 62 – as they had to pack their things not knowing what was going to happen to them. (...) The train moved west for two days before reaching Oloron Ste. Marie. Their few possessions were then thrown into a great heap in the rain. The prisoners were put back in the cars and brought to the empty barracks at Gurs at the foot of the Pyrenees."[319] Fanny Mann was taken to Drancy

north of Paris in summer 1942 and then from there to Auschwitz on 10th August 1942, along with another erstwhile former resident of Ulm, *Recha Baertig*. The transport of over 1,000 Jews reached the extermination camp on 12th August 1942. Almost all the deportees were gassed immediately after their arrival.[320]

HUGO MANN

Hugo Mann was born in Ulm on 3rd January 1870 as the eldest child of Benjamin and Louise Mann (née Moos). At the age of 18, he met the Christian Wilhelmine Schober, who was working as a waitress, and married her in Munich. The couple divorced after two years of marriage. Their union had resulted in a son, who was brought up by Hugo Mann. Hugo Mann married *Rosa* Heß from Heilbronn in Friedrichshafen on 10th April 1905 and moved with her to Ulm, where they lived at Heimstraße 43.[321] He later founded a textile company in his wife's name. Their son Hans fought in the First World War, was wounded twice and awarded the Iron Cross 2nd Class and the Württemberg Silver Military Service Medal. A lieutenant in a mortar company, he was killed on 10th May 1916. Hugo Mann joined the newly founded cross-denominational German War Graves Commission (Deutsche Kriegsgräberfürsorge e.V.), ending up as treasurer of the local branch. He was also a member of the Jewish Cultural Union.[322] After the First World War, Hugo Mann founded the firm Laichinger Wäschefabrik AG and became its director. The second firm only existed for a short time. After again suffering commercial failure, Hugo Mann found work as a tradesman in Ulm. On 6th September 1936, he and his wife moved to Munich, where he ran a business selling clothes and linens.[323] The couple moved home frequently in the period that followed, which may have been due to a need to reduce their outgoings. Hugo Mann was taken to the Dachau concentration camp in the aftermath of Kristallnacht. On 9th December 1941, Hugo and Rosa Mann had to move to the internment camp at Clemens-August-Straße 9 in Munich.[324] They were deported from there to Theresienstadt on 2nd July 1942. After two months, the Manns were brought to Treblinka on transport "Bo" on 19th September 1942 and were gassed immediately after their arrival.



Hugo Mann's identity card, 1939.

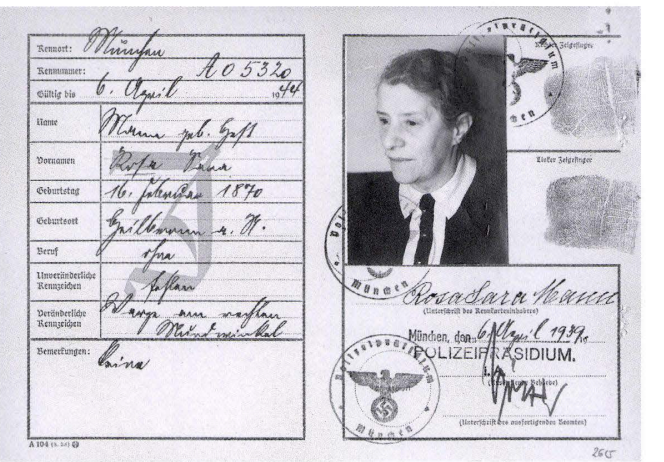


DR LUDWIG MANN

Ludwig Mann was born in Ulm on 23rd January 1874 as the son of Benjamin and Louise Mann (née Moos). He was the brother of *Hugo Mann, Fanny Mann* and *Frieda,* who later became a *Silberstein* by marriage. After finishing school in Ulm, he attended the universities of Mannheim and Freiburg where he studied medicine, focusing on diseases of the nervous system. On 25th September 1901, he married Kätchen Manaße in Pankow, and the couple later welcomed a son, Hans. He married his second wife Anna Lindmann on 7th October 1912 in Munich. This union resulted in a daughter, Irene, who would later emigrate via Italy to Great Britain, and twins Wilhelm and August, who would emigrate to China and then to the United States. Dr Ludwig Mann and his wife Anna were deported from Mannheim on 22nd October 1940 to the Gurs camp in southern France, where Dr Mann acted as the camp doctor. They both survived the Holocaust and were freed in 1945. After the Second World War, Ludwig Mann wrote a report on the Gurs camp entitled Heldentum in Gurs ("Heroism in Gurs"). Dr Mann died in 1949 in Beaumont de Lomagne. His widow moved to London, where she died in June 1972.

ROSA MANN NÉE HESS

Rosa Mann was born in Heilbronn on 16th February 1870 as the daughter of Wolf and Gertrude Heß (née Nathan). In 1905 she married *Hugo Mann* in Friedrichshafen and moved with him to Ulm. The couple registered their newly established textile firm in Rosa Mann's name. Rosa Mann was involved in Jewish clubs and societies in Ulm and was a member of the Jewish Cultural Union until she moved to Munich on 6th September 1936.[325] She and her husband were deported to Theresienstadt on 2nd July 1942 and were sent from there to Treblinka on 19th September 1942, where they were murdered.



Rosa Mann's identity card, 1939.

ANNA MARTIN

Anna Martin was born in Göllheim (today the Rhineland-Palatinate) on 10th September 1904 as the daughter of David and Anna Martin (née Grünewald). Anna Martin came to Ulm two days after Kristallnacht and is believed to have lived in the city until May 1939. On 22nd October 1940, Anna Martin was taken to the Gurs camp in southern France as part of the deportation of Jews ordered by the Gauleiter of Baden. She died in Gurs on an unknown date.

FRIEDA MAYER

Frieda Mayer was born in Ulm on 30th December 1889 as the daughter of Abraham Mayer and his wife Cäcilia (née Lämmle). Two of her siblings were *Marie Klein* and *Jakob Mayer*. Frieda Mayer never married and lived with her parents at Karlstraße 47. Sometime around 1914, she moved to Schülinstraße 4, where her newly widowed sister Marie was living. Her father died on 17th January 1925 and her mother on 28th January 1938. Frieda Mayer lived in the parental home for a few months after the death of her mother and is then believed to have moved to Stuttgart with her sister Marie.[326] On 1st December 1941, Frieda Mayer was deported from there to Riga, where all trace of her was lost.

FRIEDRICH MAYER

Friedrich Mayer was born in Ulm on 20th January 1906 as the son of Emil and Julie Mayer (née Kiefe). His father was the owner of the Emil Mayer Privatbank, founded in 1901, which was situated along with the family home at Weinhof 6 opposite the Synagogue.[327] After attending Oberrealschule (a secondary school emphasizing modern languages and natural sciences rather than Latin or Greek) and Handelsschule (a commercial college), Friedrich Mayer trained in his father's bank in Stuttgart and Munich. By 1927 he was back working for his father, and soon progressed to the position of "junior manager". After his father's death on 28th September 1937, he ran the bank with his mother. By then the bank's turnover had fallen sharply due to the systematic expulsion of Jewish business people from economic life. At this time, Friedrich Mayer began suffering from a chronic condition for which he would always be on medication.[328] During Kristallnacht he was taken from his home on Weinhof, assaulted and then sent to Dachau.[329] His lawyer, Hirsch, appealed to the camp commandant to release him on the grounds of poor health, but he was unsuccessful. As a result, the condition of his health deteriorated rapidly. He was released from the concentration camp on 12th December 1938 after four week's imprisonment. He had previously agreed to sell his car to Ulm Director of Police Dreher, who acquired his valuable vehicle for a fraction of the real market value.[330] Marked by the imprisonment and his illness, Friedrich Mayer returned to Ulm where he died in the Bethesda hospital on 17th March 1939. He was the second victim in Ulm as a result of the persecution of the Jews. On 31st March 1939, his mother Julie Mayer was forced to liquidate the bank, which was acquired by the Württembergische Bank (today the Baden- Württembergische Bank). Julie Mayer then moved to Stuttgart and died there in 1940.


Emil Mayer, Bankgeschäft

ULM a. D., Weinhof 6

Telefon-Rufnummer 752.

empfiehlt sich für alle in das Bankfach einschlagenden Geschäfte:

An- und Verkauf von Wertpapieren
Diskontierung von Wechseln
Einlösung von Coupons und verlosten Effekten, sowie Besorgung neuer Couponsbogen etc.
Annahme von Geldern zur Verzinsung
Eröffnung laufender Rechnungen
Einräumung von Crediten gegen Hinterlegung von Wertpapieren oder Bestellung von Sicherungshypotheken
etc. etc. etc.

Advert for the Emil Mayer private bank, 1904.

JAKOB MAYER

Jakob Mayer was born in Ulm on 25th February 1892 as the son of the couple Abraham and Cäcilia Mayer (née Lämmle). He was the younger brother of *Marie,* later *Klein* by marriage, and of *Frieda Mayer.* Jakob Mayer trained as a merchant. He fought in the First World War and afterwards worked as a travelling salesman. Jakob Mayer married a non-Jewish woman, Franziska Uhlmann with whom he had two children. The family probably lived from 1927 to 1935 on the fourth floor of König-Wilhelm-Straße 33. His son died in 1935 at the age of five. His daughter born in 1933 survived the Second World War.[331] Jakob Mayer and his wife divorced on 4th April 1936. He was no longer able to work as a travelling salesman due to the decline of the business. Jakob Mayer found a position in the Lyra cigarette factory and then worked for the firm of Otto Dopfer.[332] He later eked out a living doing cemetery work and similar odd jobs for the Jewish community.[333] *Resi Weglein* remembered that Jakob Mayer registered voluntarily for the deportation to Riga on 1st December 1941, because he did not want his sister Frieda Mayer to face the uncertainty alone. Jakob and Frieda Mayer are believed to have been murdered. His daughter went into a home and after the War sought recompense through compensation proceedings. This dragged on for several years, but ultimately proved futile.

JETTE MAYER

Jette Mayer was born in Ulm on 1st June 1870 as the third child of Heinrich Mayer and his wife Lina (née Kiefe). Jette had six siblings, including Emil Mayer, the bank director and father of *Friedrich Mayer.* Jette lived with her brother at Weinhof 6 until the inevitable sale of the building after Kristallnacht and the liquidation of the bank. Her nephew Friedrich Mayer was sent to the Dachau concentration camp after Kristallnacht. He died in March 1939 from poor health directly attributable to his incarceration. Jette Mayer moved to Hesse in spring 1939. On 1st September 1942, she was deported from Frankfurt am Main to Theresienstadt along with *Max Guggenheimer,* who also came from Ulm, and over 1,000 other Jews on transport "XII/2". She died in Theresienstadt just one month later on 4th October 1942.

ROSA MAYER NÉE MURR

Rosa Mayer was born in Ulm on 14th December 1874 as the daughter of Heinrich Murr and Mathilde (née Neuburger) and the older sister of *Marie Bloch.* The family lived at Schuhhausgasse 4, where her father ran a shop selling clothing and trousseau items. Later his son Alexander ran the business under the name "Alexander Murr Manufakturwaren- und Aussteuergeschäft". Rosa Murr married the businessman Max Mayer from Kehl am Rhein and moved there to be with him. After her husband's death, she tried to move back to Ulm to the parental home, of which she had inherited a share. This request was submitted in writing on 10th June 1939 by the Jewish community Board of Elders to Ulm's city administration, who responded with a curt note: "Rejected. Move to Ulm is not desired."[334] However a few months later Rosa Mayer did make the move to Ulm, when at the outbreak of War, Kehl was evacuated because of its location close to the border. She had to return to Kehl once again as part of the return of borderland inhabitants following the Battle of France on 22nd July 1940. The 65-year-old widow was deported from there to southern France on 22nd October 1940. Rosa Mayer survived the Second World War by a few months and died on 14th July 1945 in the former internment camp of Masseube as the result of the poor conditions she had been forced to endure.

WILHELM JOSEF METZGER

Wilhelm Josef Metzger was born in Ulm's Bethesda hospital on 26th May 1922 as the son of Arthur Metzger and his wife Jenny (née Ehrlich). His parents were probably living in Heidenheim at the time of his birth and may only have come to Ulm for the delivery. Wilhelm Josef Metzger trained as an engineer. He and his parents were taken from Heidenheim to the Killesberg detention camp in Stuttgart on 28th November 1941. They were then deported to Riga on 1st December 1941.[335] No member of the Metzger family ever returned.

KARL RICHARD MITLEHNER

Karl Richard Mitlehner was born in Ulm on 8th May 1932 as the son of *Rosa Mitlehner* and the Jewish plumber Josef Finkelstein who were not married. Karl Richard was circumcised in accordance with Jewish ritual one week after his birth. Until 1939 he lived with his mother and his younger sister Elfriede at his grandmother *Rosa Kahn's* home at Frauenstraße 52 and was generally known by the surname of Kahn like his mother and sister. He was deported from Stuttgart to Riga on 1st December 1941 at the age of nine. There is no trace of him after this date.

ROSA MITLEHNER

Rosa Mitlehner was born in Günzburg on 2nd February 1908 as the daughter of the Christian cheese maker Sebastian Mitlehner and his Jewish wife *Rosa (née Kahn).* After her parents divorced, Rosa lived in Ulm with her mother, where she was generally known by the surname of Kahn, although officially her name was Mitlehner.[336] She was not married and had two children while living in Ulm: a son *Karl Richard* in 1932, whose father was Jewish, and a daughter Elfriede in 1935, whose father was not Jewish. Both children officially bore the surname of Mitlehner, but like their mother were generally known by the surname of Kahn in Ulm. Rosa Mitlehner was a member of the Israelite Women's Association from 1938.[337] She and her nine-year-old son were brought to the Killesberg camp in Stuttgart on 28th November 1941 and were then deported on 1st December 1941 to Riga, where it is highly probable they were murdered. Her daughter Elfriede, who had been placed in a children's home near Calw at an early age, survived the Holocaust.



ALFRED MOOS

Alfred Moos was born in Buchau on 24th July 1871 as the son of Isidor and Louise Moos (née Neuburger). He had two sisters and one brother. From 1857 his father managed a leather business in Ulm, located at Frauenstraße 7, specialising in shoemaking and saddlery supplies. Alfred Moos became a merchant by trade and with his brother *Karl* worked in his father's firm, where he was responsible for the bookkeeping. From 1894 to 1895, Alfred Moos served as a soldier in the Prinz Arnulf 12th Infantry Regiment in Neu-Ulm. During the Weimar Republic period, he was affiliated with the liberal German Democratic Party (DDP). He was heavily involved in civic life, and often put himself forward to sit on juries.[338] The expulsion of Jewish business owners from economic life inflicted huge losses on what had been a successful leather business. The two brothers had the firm removed from the commercial register on 5th December 1935. They had to sell their parents' house the same year, but were able to live there until 1939. Alfred Moos and his sister *Bertha* had to move into the compulsory Jewish old people's home at Herrlingen on 31st August 1939. The siblings were moved to Oberstotzingen on 16th July 1942 when the home was closed and were then deported from there via Stuttgart to Theresienstadt on 22nd August 1942. Along with his sister and 2,000 other Jews, he was deported to the Treblinka extermination camp on 29th September 1942 where immediately on his arrival he was murdered with diesel exhaust gas.



Dr. A. Moos

DR AUGUST EUGEN MOOS

Dr August Eugen Moos was born in Ulm on 10th November 1893 as the son of Martin and *Marie Moos* (née Thalmessinger). His mother was the daughter of banker Nathan Thalmessinger and sister of *Otto Thalmessinger* and *Rosa Hecht.* August Moos was interested in geology from an early age and founded a Rock Society (Steinverein) at the humanist grammar school when he was 12.[339] After 1912 he studied geology in Berlin and Munich. At the outbreak of the First World War, he interrupted his studies, joining up voluntarily with his brother Theodor, a highly decorated lieutenant who was killed on 27th May 1918 in Aisne. August Moos served in the 116th Company of Engineers. Badly wounded, he was taken prisoner by the French and was finally released in 1920 after repeated escape attempts.[340] At some point Moos converted to the Catholic faith. After receiving his doctorate he concentrated on oil production. Drilling was conducted successfully with his assistance in Fallstein, Sottdorf, Etzel and Reitbrook . He lived in Karlsruhe and later in Ödesse near Peine, where his children – he had married Beata Hamlet from Hamburg in 1929 – were born. Dr Moos published several professional studies at the beginning of the 1930s and at first was able to pursue his work with his employer, Preussag, undisturbed until after 1933. He was dismissed in 1938, but was able to continue there as a freelance consultant until the end of the year. An attempt to emigrate to Australia ultimately proved unsuccessful.

Instead, he and his family were able to move to Yugoslavia in December 1939 and he worked there on the site development for a new oil field. He was once again in danger following the invasion of German troops in spring 1941. With the support of his employer, August Moos accepted a position with a Croatian bank as a subterfuge, but in fact continued to work on his previous projects. In 1944 he completed his last scientific study on "New Discoveries of Lymnaeidae, Particularly Valencieniinae in Croatia's Lake Pannon". On 26th July 1944, he was arrested with his family and deported from Zagreb with them and his elderly mother via numerous detention centres – including the SS prison in Prague – to Bergen-Belsen. His mother died there ten days after her arrival. Dr Moos was separated from his wife and children on 28th November 1944. They are believed to have been moved to Ravensbrück. All three survived the end of the War, but his son died on 9th November 1945 as the result of the conditions of their imprisonment.[341] August Moos was transferred to the Buchenwald concentration camp and was registered there on 7th December 1944 as a "political Jew" under prisoner number 47,618.[342] According to a note on his prisoner identity card, he died of sepsis three weeks after his arrival in the camp on 30th December 1944.



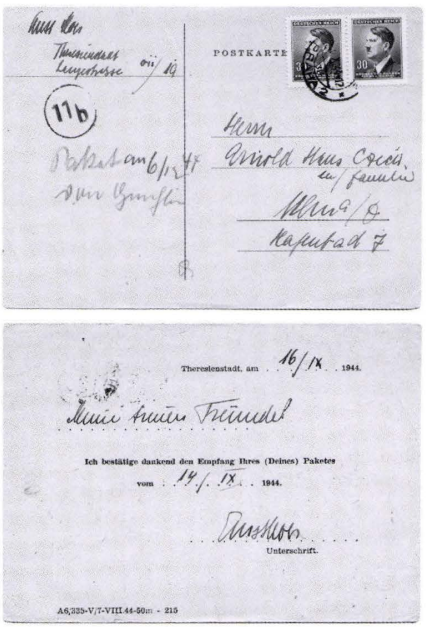
BERTHA MOOS

Bertha Moos was born in Ulm on 5th May 1875 as the daughter of leather dealer Isidor Moos and his wife Louise (née Neuburger). Bertha Moos never married and ran the household for her two brothers *Alfred* and *Karl,* who both worked in their father's firm. She and her siblings were deeply assimilated and no longer had any connection to the Jewish faith. Like her brother Alfred, Bertha Moos was affiliated with the German Democratic Party during the Weimar Republic period and was also an active member of its women's group.[343] She submitted an emigration request to the American consulate at the end of the 1930s, but this was not successful. On 31st August 1939, Bertha Moos and her brother Alfred had to leave their home of many years at Frauenstraße 7 and move into the compulsory Jewish old people's home at Herrlingen. Bertha Moos was moved to Oberstotzingen on 10th June 1942, because the Herrlingen home was being cleared. On 22nd August 1942, she was taken from Stuttgart to Theresienstadt and was then deported from there to Treblinka on 29th September 1942. She was murdered immediately after her arrival at the camp.



DR ERNST MOOS

Ernst Moos was born in Ulm on 12th April 1884 as the third of four sons born to Heinrich and Hannchen Moos (née Thalmessinger). He studied law after finishing school, graduating with a doctorate, and worked as a lawyer in Ulm from 1912 onwards.[344] Two years after the outbreak of war, he joined up voluntarily, and served in the 49th Field Artillery Regiment and the 27th Reserve Artillery Regiment. He returned from the war with the rank of lieutenant and was decorated with the Iron Cross 1st and 2nd Class. He resumed his legal work and ran a law firm, initially on his own and then after 1929 with Dr Hans Greiner. Tenancy law was his particular speciality. Dr Moos was president of the Söflingen and later of the Ulm Tenants' Union. He was active in the Jewish community and was vice-president of the Israelite Board of Elders, president of the Jewish Cultural Union and vice-president of the Imperial Association of Jewish War Veterans. After 1933 he assisted numerous emigrants with the formalities of emigration, including the sale of their properties and businesses. These legal transactions were increasingly of a forced nature after 1936 due to the "aryanisation" of assets. As he was one of the last remaining Jewish lawyers in Ulm his legal expertise was very much in demand amongst his clients. This activity represented the beginning of a trend, however, which saw him increasingly being forced into the role of an unwilling accomplice in the realisation of Nazi economic and race policy. As a result of the mass Jewish exodus after Kristallnacht, more and more positions in Jewish organisations had to be re-allocated. Dr Moos accepted the responsibility and joined the executive committee of the Württemberg Jewish Community Organisation in 1940, also becoming its vice-president and eventually president after 1941. These roles meant that he was also involved with the deportations. He had to implement the requirements set by the Gestapo and the SS within the Jewish organisations, to prepare the deportations on an organisational level – including the selection of those affected in each case – and to inform his fellow Jews of the impending "evacuations" to the East. The Gestapo's insidious system was based on the principle that the "de-Jewification" of the Reich seemed more feasible if Jews selected for deportation were informed of their fate by Jewish organisations. To protect its own personnel the Gestapo also tasked the Jewish Community Organisation with handling the organisational tasks of deportation. For its part, the Gestapo restricted its activities in particular to checking the deportation lists with regard to numbers and age ratios. It is questionable whether and to what extent Dr Ernst Moos actually believed the promises that the deported Jews would find good living conditions when they reached their destinations in the East. He was personally present on each of the deportation dates at the Stuttgart-Killesberg detention camp and reassured his fellow Jews, who were scared in light of their uncertain future.[345] The Württemberg Jewish Community Organisation was dissolved on 10th June 1943 once almost all the Jews had been deported. Dr Ernst Moos was arrested and deported to Theresienstadt on transport "XIII/3" on 18th June 1943. According to Theresienstadt survivor *Resi Weglein* he was appalled by the conditions he found on his arrival. The Nazis also used Jewish organisations for their own ends in Theresienstadt. Dr Moos was given a role in the Wirtschaftsüberprüfungsstelle ("Audit Office") as part of the Jewish self-government of the ghetto permitted by the SS. This office was charged with monitoring the distribution of the extremely scarce food rations. Dr Ernst Moos left the concentration camp on 28th October 1944 along with over 2,000 other Jews on the last deportation transport from Theresienstadt, arriving on the platform at Auschwitz-Birkenau on 30th October 1944. 1,689 people from this deportation transport were murdered in the gas chambers immediately after their arrival.[346] Dr Ernst Moos has been missing since that day.[347]



This card sent from Theresienstadt to an acquaintance in Ulm a few weeks before his deportation to Auschwitz-Birkenau was the last sign that Dr Ernst Moos was alive, 16th September 1944.



HUGO MOOS

Hugo Moos was born on 28th October 1877 as the son of the merchant Adolph Moos and his wife Friederike (née Einstein). His mother was Albert Einstein's aunt and, therefore, he was his cousin. Five years after Hugo's birth, his father founded a linens and trousseau store in a central location on Hauptwachplatz, which prospered. His sons Karl and Hugo later became partners in the business after finishing their education. Hugo's brother *Julius Moos* moved to Frankfurt am Main to work in a bank. On 13th October 1906, Hugo Moos married Ida Herzfelder in Ulm and their only child Alfred was born in 1913.[348] One year later, Hugo went to fight in the First World War with the 124th Infantry Regiment. He was awarded the Württemberg Silver Military Service Medal and the Iron Cross 2nd Class and returned from the war a committed pacifist and democrat. In Ulm he was the co-founder of the Black, Red, Gold Banner of the Reich organisation (Reichsbanner Schwarz-Rot-Gold), as well as a member of the Central Association of German Citizens of the Jewish Faith and of the Imperial Association of Jewish War Veterans. His family was fully assimilated.[349] His wife died in spring 1932 at the age of 46. His broad circle of friends grew ever smaller after 1933 due to the Nazi's persecution of the Jews. Nevertheless, he returned in 1937, after visiting his son Alfred who had emigrated to Palestine, because he did not want to make use of the opportunity to enter the country illegally. Nor did he accept an "Affidavit of Support" from his cousin Albert Einstein when this was offered. It was not until later that he decided to emigrate to Palestine, planning to leave in spring 1940. The events of the War, however, meant that his plans never came to fruition. On 19th January 1942, the widower got married for the second time to the widowed *Jenny* Hilb at Ulm's Registry Office. The ceremony was witnessed by *Dr Ernst Moos* and *Isak Salomon,* neither of whom survived the Holocaust. The newly married couple had to move into the compulsory Jewish old people's home at Herrlingen on 30th April 1942. Hugo and Jenny Moos had visited the residents of the old people's home repeatedly in the months prior to this, in order to bring them everyday basic items from the city and to look after them.[350] On 16th July 1942, Hugo and Jenny Moos were resettled in Oberstotzingen when the Herrlingen old people's home was cleared. Then on 15th August 1942, they were forced to sign "home purchase contracts" for Theresienstadt for 32,000 reichsmark and 12,500 reichsmark respectively.[351] The pair had to transfer these amounts into a special account of the Reich Association of Jews, in return for which they would supposedly be entitled to a home, food and care.[352] In fact, the "home purchase contracts" they were forced to sign were actually a means for the state to confiscate the remaining savings they still had in their bank accounts, just before deportation. Hugo and Jenny Moos were taken from Oberstotzingen to the Stuttgart-Killesberg camp and a few days later from there to Theresienstadt on 22nd August 1942. His brother Julius Moos was also brought to the concentration camp from Frankfurt am Main a few weeks later. Hugo Moos died in agony on 18th December 1942 in the Theresienstadt infirmary as the result of untreated cancer.



Advert for Adolph Moos' textile store, 1906.

JAKOB MOOS

Jakob Moos was born in Ulm on 19th July 1875 as the son of the merchant Max Moos and his wife Klara (née Binswanger). Jakob Moos became a partner in his father's leather goods and tanning fat business after finishing his education and lived in the parental home at Weinhof 22. An overview of Jewish businesses from 1935 shows that the firm was only achieving slim returns at this time,[353] but the measures introduced to hinder Jewish business people would probably have had a negative impact on the firm's profits. Jakob Moos moved to Munich on 1st October 1937 and registered a leather wholesale business, but he was forced to close this again on 12th April 1938 on the orders of the Gestapo.[354] In August 1938, he was incarcerated in Neumünster prison.[355] He returned to Munich on 23rd May 1939 and then moved into the hostel for the Jewish community on 19th June 1939. He had to move from there to the camp at Knorrstraße 148 on 28th August 1941[356] and was then deported to Kowno (Kaunas) on 20th November 1941. All the deportees from that transport were shot there in Fort IX on 25th November 1941.



Jakob Moos' identity card, 1939.



Jenny Sara Moos

JENNY MOOS NÉE SUNDHEIMER, FORM. HILB BY MARRIAGE

Jenny Moos was born in Nuremberg on 25th June 1886 as the daughter of the esteemed and wealthy hops dealer Israel Sundheimer and his wife Mathilde (née Hirschmann). On 27th March 1913 in Nuremberg, she married the merchant Julius Hilb, who was nine years her senior, and moved with him to Ulm.[357] Julius was the third generation of his family to run, along with two other partners, a significant business selling cotton wool and wool at Wengengasse 15. Her husband Julius Hilb fought in the First World War as a sergeant on the Eastern Front and was awarded the Iron Cross 1st Class. Their sons Kurt and Otto were born in 1914 and 1915. In spring 1929, her husband Julius died of a heart condition. The widow was now a partner in the firm. Her younger son Otto attended commercial college and later trained in the Landauer department store. He was assaulted during Kristallnacht and imprisoned in the Dachau concentration camp. He was able to leave the camp after seven weeks with the help of a falsified document. He then emigrated to Great Britain and eventually to Palestine with the assistance of his older brother Kurt. Jenny and the other partners managed to keep the textile business on Wengengasse until 1939 and then sold it to the Breuninger department store.[358] Jenny married Ulm merchant *Hugo Moos,* who was also widowed, at the beginning of 1942. *Resi Weglein* reported on the subsequent fate of the couple in a letter to Jenny's brother-in-law Karl Moos dated 25th February 1946. "I am sorry that my news cannot be better. Perhaps you know that Hugo and Jenny came to the old people's home at Herrlingen after they had married. Together with myself, as they had previously done in Ulm, they had helped all the migrants, as it was so nicely put when Jews were being deported to Poland, to pack and tried to keep their spirits up. Sometimes it worked, mostly not. They worked tirelessly in Herrlingen and when the old people's home was moved to Oberstotzingen, they moved there as well, in order to come then to Theresienstadt with what was left of the elderly people in August 1942. Hugo and Jenny came to us every day when they were still here. First of all we discussed every trick that had been used against us in the confiscation of so many things before the evacuation, and then they came frequently along with Hedwig Ury, the widow of Dr Ury, to listen to the radio. We were the only ones who had been able to keep a radio. Our group had become small and we stuck together, became accustomed to using the familiar form of "Du". In Theresienstadt Jenny worked as a so-called orderly in an infirmary, which means that she had to clean the floors, carry water and do other lovely things. In September/October 1942, Hugo had to collect and deliver the remains of those who had died from our transport. That was also a lot and very heavy work, because many people died every day. Then Hugo became ill. Initially, he lay for three weeks on the floor of a room that was home to some 40 other men from Württemberg. He did that so Jenny could visit him more often, because visits to the infirmary were only permitted at certain times, as we had so many cases of typhus. When the pain became too much though, Hugo was suffering from bladder and prostate disease, he did move to an infirmary and Jenny gave up her work so she could always be with Hugo. She made a superhuman effort in those last short weeks, both in nursing and by exchanging the rest of her belongings for drugs for Hugo, so that the poor man did not have to suffer so much. (...) Jenny herself then became ill, she also got a bladder problem, but she recovered really well within 14 days and went back to work. (...) As regards the hunger that we all had to contend with, I can't tell you about that at all. It was seen as good fortune to die in a bed in Theresienstadt. Unfortunately, Jenny did not have that good fortune and was put on an extermination transport on 29th January. (...) It is tragic that so many good, self-sacrificing people had to go this bitter route."[359] The transport designated "Ct" reached Auschwitz-Birkenau on 30th January 1943. Of the 1,000 people on the train, 783 were killed in the gas chambers immediately after their arrival and Jenny Moos was probably among them. After the Second World War, her emigrated sons Kurt and Otto Hilb came back to Germany. Kurt Hilb moved to Frankfurt am Main and Otto Hilb regularly returned to Ulm with his wife Eva in the summer months. Motivated by the invitations offered to former Jewish citizens by the city, he began to collate their life stories. These were published in 1991 by the Ulm Stadtarchiv in the volume Zeugnisse zur Geschichte der Juden in Ulm ('Witnesses to the History of the Jews in Ulm').

Julie Moos

JULIE MOOS NÉE HIRSCH

Julie Moos was born in Ulm on 13th July 1871 as the daughter of Rudolph and Pauline Hirsch (née Wamser). On 28th June 1892, Julie married the manufacturer Richard Moos from Buchau, who was a shareholder in the Trikotfabriken Hermann Moos AG factory in the town. Founded in 1846, the factory became a public company at the beginning of the 1920s and was achieving an annual turnover of almost 3 million reichsmark by 1928. Richard Moos died on 10th July 1923 at the age of 55. His widow remained in Buchau, bringing up their two children alone and taking over her husband's shares in the factory. Business was increasingly hindered by the Nazis, but in 1937 the textile factory was still the most significant employer in Buchau, for example, with 263 workers and 29 salaried employees, producing a turnover of almost 1.5 million reichsmark. While her children emigrated to the United States, Julie Moos remained in Germany. The widow was gradually stripped of all her assets: after Kristallnacht she was forced to hand over a "Jewish Capital Levy" of 34,000 reichsmark and a "Reich Flight Tax" of almost 50,000 reichsmark to the Tax Office. She also had to pay a considerable contribution towards the "Synagogue donation" that the Jews of Buchau were required to pay after Kristallnacht.[360] Julie Moos had to sell her house and move to Stuttgart on 22nd November 1938. From there she was then taken forcibly to Eschenau, where she had to pay 62,000 reichsmark into a blocked account of the Heilbronn Tax Office, because she was judged to be a "flight risk". An additional transfer of 25,000 reichsmark was made from her account to the Reich Association of Jews in Berlin one day before her deportation to Theresienstadt, which suggests that she had been forced to sign a "home purchase contract". Julie Moos was deported to Theresienstadt on 22nd August 1942 and died there on 1st June 1943.

JULIUS MOOS





Julius Moos was born in Ulm on 27th January 1883 as the youngest child of Adolph and Friederike Moos (née Einstein) and a cousin of Albert Einstein. He fought in the First World War, moving to Frankfurt am Main and working for Deutsche Vereinsbank after being discharged due to illness. Julius Moos was dismissed after Kristallnacht because of his Jewish ancestry and was temporarily imprisoned in Buchenwald concentration camp. His last address was the Jewish community's hospital at Gagernstraße 36.[361] He was gradually stripped of his assets: first he had to pay a "Jewish Capital Levy" of over 5,000 reichsmark and then he was forced to sign a "home purchase contract" for 1,176.30 reichsmark. He was finally deported from Frankfurt am Main to Theresienstadt on transport "XII/3" on 15th September 1942. His older brother *Hugo Moos* and his wife *Jenny* had been deported there as well just a few weeks beforehand. Julius Moos died in Theresienstadt on 15th February 1944.

Brothers Hugo, Julius and Karl Moos as soldiers in the First World War with children Alfred and Heinz. Whitsun 1916 in the garden at Michelsberg.

Summer retreat of the Moos family in Wangen in the Allgäu, 1919. From left to right: Hugo Moos, his niece Irene Gumpp (daughter of Hugo's wife's sister), her fiancé Walter Hirschl from Ostrovoo in Poland, his friend Freudenberger, Julius Moos, standing at the back: Hugo's son Alfred.

KARL ISIDOR MOOS

Karl Isidor Moos was born in Ulm on 27th August 1877 as the youngest of four children born to the leather dealer Isidor Moos and his wife Louise (née Neuburger). After his father's death, Karl Moos took over the "Isidor Moos" firm on Frauenstraße with his brother *Alfred.* Karl Moos married Babette Falk, with whom he had sons Ernst and Hans, and moved with her to the Insel in Neu-Ulm. The couple divorced in 1928 and the children remained with their father. Karl Moos moved back to Frauenstraße 7 with his children and lived on the first floor with them above the leather shop and the warehouse. After 1933, the Nazi's persecution of the Jews heavily restricted the external contact of Karl Moos and his children. The leather business ultimately had to be sold on 5th December 1935. Now largely without a means of income, Karl Moos attempted to emigrate to South Africa. However, the move planned for the end of 1939 ultimately did not happen. His son Hans got a place at the Gut Winkel "Hakhshara" estate in summer 1939, where he learnt manual skills in preparation for emigration to Palestine.[362] He saw his father for the last time in Ulm in August 1939. He came to Denmark as part of the Youth Aliyah rescue and was then brought to Sweden by Danish resistance fighters following the German invasion. Karl Moos had to move into the ghetto house at Neutorstraße 1 on 1st January 1940. He sub-let a room with *Paul Nathan* on the second floor. On 26th April 1942, Karl Moos was deported from Stuttgart to the Izbica Ghetto in Poland on the second largest of the Württemberg deportation transports. He sent his last sign of life to his younger son Hans from the "Lublin camp" – this may have referred to the Majdanek concentration camp – with a sender address of "Block III 448B". Ernst Moos, the older of the two sons, returned to Ulm frequently after the War.[363]



Advert for the Isidor Moos leather goods business, around 1930.



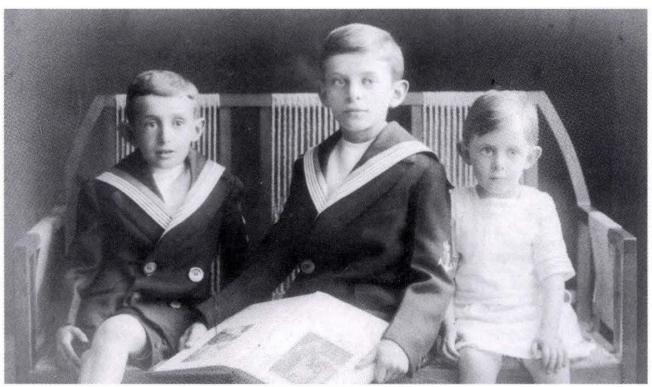
MARIE MOOS NÉE THALMESSINGER

Marie Moos was born in Ulm on 4th April 1873 as the daughter of the banker Nathan Thalmessinger and his wife Jette (née Steiner). She was the younger sister of *Hermann Thalmessinger, Rosa,* who later became a *Hecht* by marriage, and of *Otto Thalmessinger.* On 16th February 1893, Marie married the merchant Martin Moos from Buchau and their first child was *August Eugen.* Her second son Theodor was born in mid-February 1896.[364] Her husband died three months later at the age of 39, and her father suffered a stroke just two months after that. Her sons went to fight in the First World War and the younger son Theodor was killed on 27th May 1918. Her older son August Eugen Moos later became a specialist in oil extraction and moved to Hanover, where Marie Moos later joined him. She emigrated from there to Yugoslavia with her son and his family in December 1939. They managed to evade capture up to 1944 thanks to the assistance of her son's employer. Ultimately though the whole family were arrested in Zagreb on 26th July 1944 and were brought via various prisons to Bergen-Belsen on 8th October 1944. Marie Moos died just a few days after her arrival on 18th October 1944.[365] Her son Dr August Eugen Moos was murdered in Buchenwald and her grandson died after the camp was liberated due to the conditions he had suffered during his imprisonment. Only her daughter-in-law and her granddaughter survived the Holocaust.



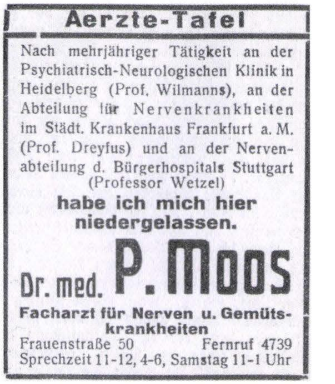
DR PAUL MOOS

Paul Moos was born in Ulm on 10th September 1902 as the son of Alfred Moos (who was known at that time as "Lawyer Moos II") and his wife *Selma* (née Gutmann). Paul Moos grew up with his brothers Richard and Rudolf at Frauenstraße 7, which was also the location of the "Isidor Moos" leather business and the home of its owners *Alfred* and *Karl Moos,* and their sister *Bertha.*[366] Paul Moos studied medicine in Heidelberg, specialising in diseases of the



Richard, Paul and Rudolf Moos (from left), 1913.

nervous system. After working at clinics in Ulm and Stuttgart, he decided to open his own practice at the start of the 1930s. He applied for approval from a health insurance fund, which was granted on 1st April 1933. As Jewish doctors were denied health insurance approval by this date, he was no longer able to proceed with his plans. Dr Paul Moos could no longer see a future for himself in Germany and applied for a visa for the United States. Thanks to an "Affidavit of Support" from Albert Einstein he was permitted to leave for New York at once.[367] However, the neurologist subsequently became ill with schizophrenia and – as he only had a residence permit – was immediately returned to Germany. After an extended search, his family eventually found a place for him in a clinic in Zwiefalten. Dr Paul Moos was then transferred to the "euthanasia" facility at Grafeneck and was killed there with gas on 20th May 1940.[368]


Aerzte-Tafel

Nach mehrjähriger Tätigkeit an der Psychiatrisch-Neurologischen Klinik in Heidelberg (Prof. Wilmanns), an der Abteilung für Nervenkrankheiten im Städt. Krankenhaus Frankfurt a. M. (Prof. Dreyfus) und an der Nervenabteilung d. Bürgerhospitals Stuttgart (Professor Wetzel)

habe ich mich hier niedergelassen.

Dr. med. **P. Moos**

Facharzt für Nerven u. Gemütskrankheiten

Frauenstraße 50 Fernruf 4739

Sprechzeit 11-12, 4-6, Samstag 11-1 Uhr

Advert for the opening of the practice of Dr Paul Moos, 1933.

SELMA MOOS NÉE GUTMANN

Selma Moos was born in Munich on 3rd December 1877 as the daughter of Jonas Gutmann and his wife Clementine (née Neuburger). After her marriage to the lawyer Alfred Moos – who was known at that time as the "Lawyer Moos II" – she moved with him to Ulm, where they lived at Promenade 7. The couple had three sons: *Paul,* Richard and Rudolf. After her husband died, she moved to Göppingen on 22nd August 1926 and then later to Mannheim. She was deported from there to the Gurs internment camp in southern France on 22nd October 1940. In August 1942, she was sent to Drancy, north of Paris, which was as a collection point for the transports that took Jews to the Auschwitz extermination camp. Selma Moos died in Drancy on 7th August 1942.



Selma Moos with her children Paul, Rudolf and Richard, 1911.



FANNY NATHAN NÉE HEUMANN

Fanny Nathan was born in Laupheim on 17th April 1858 as the daughter of hops dealer Josef Heumann and his wife Marianne (née Gump). She married merchant Samuel Nathan there in April 1877, and they had three children Alfred, Hugo and *Sara.* Fanny Nathan moved to Ulm with her family on 2nd December 1897, living initially at Hafenbad 6 and then, from 1910, in Keplerstraße.[369] Her husband ran a grain business and died on 9th April 1913 at the age of 62. At first Fanny Nathan and her unmarried daughter Sara remained in Keplerstraße, before having to move in August 1940 to the Judenhaus at Neutorstraße 1. The two women sublet from a distant relative, *Dr Paul Nathan,* one room with a makeshift kitchen that was installed in the corridor of the building. On 26th April 1942, Fanny Nathan's daughter Sara was deported to Izbica.[370] Fanny Nathan was moved to the old people's home housed in the derelict castle at Oberstotzingen on 15th June 1942 and was then deported via Stuttgart to Theresienstadt on 22nd August 1942. The 84-year-old died there after two weeks on 8th September 1942.

DR PAUL NATHAN

Paul Nathan was born in Ulm on 30th December 1880 as the son of Simon and Louise Nathan (née Bacher). He was the nephew of Louis Nathan, the owner of Ulm's Hecht brewery. Paul Nathan studied economic science and graduated with a doctorate. After the First World War, in which he served as a lieutenant and was awarded the Iron Cross 1st and 2nd Class, he joined the Imperial Association of German Officers. On 20th September 1922, he opened a tax and business consultancy in Ulm and later qualified as an authorised public accountant. He developed a broad customer base during the years of the Weimar Republic, but this rapidly declined after 1933.[371] In the end, his portfolio was made up almost exclusively of Jewish firms. These clients primarily needed his consultancy services for "aryanisation", which meant their numbers also continued to fall. Dr Paul Nathan had to close his consultancy business on 9th April 1938. His Christian wife Eugenie (née Lehmann) died in November of the same year, which also meant that he was no longer protected by a "privileged intermarriage". He continued to live in his home at Neutorstraße 1, which was converted into a Judenhaus in mid-1939. Numerous Jews from Ulm were sent here over the following months, including Sigmund Hirsch and his family, *Fanny Nathan* with her daughter, and Sally Leiter with his relatives. Many of them subsequently managed to emigrate. As part of the further "de-Jewification" of Ulm, the local ghetto houses were also eventually liquidated and the remaining inhabitants sent to the surrounding communities, particularly to the Jewish old people's homes. As a result, Dr Paul Nathan had to move to Buchau on 3rd June 1942 and was deported from there to Theresienstadt on 22nd August 1942. Just before he left, he was forced to sign a "home purchase contract" for Theresienstadt for 31,000 reichsmark, having

already had to pay 21,000 reichsmark as a "Jewish Capital Levy" after Kristallnacht.[372] His stock portfolio invested with Ulm's banks was confiscated by the Riedlingen Tax Office on 27th October 1942. Dr Paul Nathan met up with his cousin *Sofie von Eiff* in Theresienstadt. Her daughter reported that he did not give up hope even in the concentration camp and had said to Sofie von Eiff: "When this idiocy here is over we'll go back to Ulm and you can run my household."[373] On 9th October 1944, Dr Paul Nathan, who up until then had been used as a forced labourer, was deported from Theresienstadt to Auschwitz-Birkenau.[374] Together with the other deportees from the transport he arrived there on 12th October 1944 and may have been murdered in the gas chambers immediately after his arrival.

SARA NATHAN

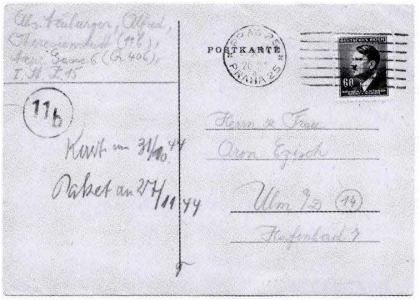
Sara Nathan was born in Laupheim on 24th April 1881 as the daughter of Samuel and *Fanny Nathan* (née Heumann). She grew up with her two brothers and moved to Ulm with her parents in 1897. Sara Nathan never married. After her father died, she lived with her mother in various apartments on Keplerstraße and from 1940 in the ghetto house at Neutorstraße 1.[375] She was deported on 26th April 1942 via Stuttgart to Izbica, where all trace of her is lost.

Alfred Neuburger

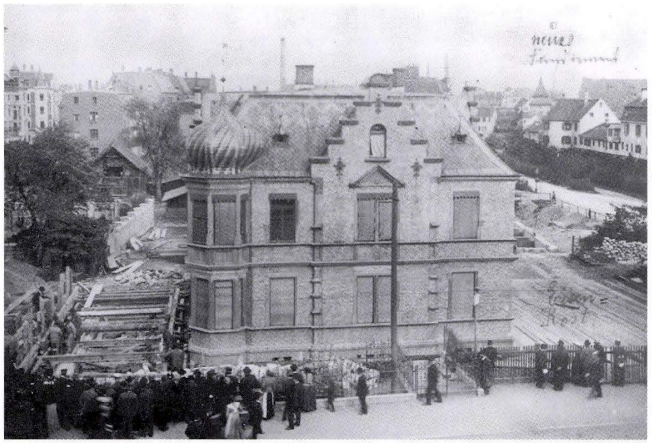
ALFRED NEUBURGER

Alfred Neuburger was born in Ulm on 4th September 1883 and grew up on Platzgasse as the son of Isaak Neuburger and his wife Rosa (née Dreifuss). The 1910 Directory lists Alfred Neuburger as a trainee lawyer living in the Jacksche Villa at Heimstraße 25. At the beginning of the 1920s, he married Maria Gehringer, a Protestant who came from Elsersheim near Bad Mergentheim who was unmarried and had two children. From 1925 onwards, Alfred Neuburger worked as an independent lawyer from an office at his home address.[376] The restrictions on his work introduced in 1933 meant that he had to close his legal business in 1936 and also could no longer maintain his home.[377] He then moved to Schützenstraße 38 in Neu-Ulm[378] and supported himself by working as the caretaker of the synagogue. With the death of his 45-year-old wife Maria on 20th June 1937 he lost the protection of his "privileged intermarriage".

Alfred Neuburger subsequently joined the local Zionist organisation in Ulm. When his licence to practice law was withdrawn on 30th November 1938, he was held in the Dachau concentration camp, where he had been sent following the attacks on Kristallnacht. He was able to return to Neu-Ulm on 28th January 1939. "Hoping for a happy reunion in good health in the not too distant future": a line from Alfred Neuburger's farewell letter of 11th January 1944 to his stepson.[379] He had received his deportation order on this day and was brought from Neu-Ulm to Munich one day later. He was taken from there to Theresienstadt on transport "II/30" on 13th January 1944 and was employed as a gardener in the camp. Alfred Neuburger was deported on 28th October 1944 together with *Dr Ernst Moos* on the last transport from Theresienstadt to Auschwitz-Birkenau, where he was murdered immediately after his arrival.[380]



This card sent to an Ulm acquaintance two weeks before his deportation from Theresienstadt to Auschwitz was the last sign that Alfred Neuburger was alive, October 1944.



In a masterful feat of engineering in autumn 1903, the Jacksche Villa was moved from Frauenstraße to Heimstraße and was rotated to face in a different direction to make space for the new Gewerbebank building. Alfred Neuburger lived in the building from 1907 to 1933.

BERTHA NEUBURGER NÉE BERNHEIM

Bertha Neuburger was born in Buchau on 28th October 1864 as the daughter of Jakob and Emma Bernheim (née Mändle). The 22-year-old married the merchant Jakob Neuburger, who also came from Buchau, on 22nd November 1886. The couple remained in Buchau initially and welcomed their first daughter *Helene* into the world on 25th May 1888. The family later moved to Ulm, where their second daughter *Emma* was born on 27th December 1892. Bertha Neuburger lived with her family at Schuhhausgasse 9, which was also home to the haberdashery business run by her husband and her brother-in-law Ludwig Neuburger.[381] Her husband Jakob died on 21st February 1927. Bertha Neuburger continued to run the business, which became increasingly difficult after 1933 due to the boycott measures introduced by the Nazis, and was ultimately forced to give it up. As the owner of the building, Bertha Neuburger and her two unmarried daughters were able to remain at Schuhhausgasse 9.[382] In 1939, however, Jews living elsewhere in Ulm were forced to leave their homes and move into the building when it was converted into a Judenhaus. The Jewish community's last prayer room was located on the first floor of the building from 1941. At the end of 1941, Bertha Neuburger's daughters Helene and Emma received deportation orders at the same time. They were taken to Stuttgart on 28th November and were then deported from there to Riga on 1st December 1941. Bertha Neuburger also had to leave her home on the day her daughters were deported and was forced to move into the Jewish old people's home in Herrlingen. Her sister-in-law *Hedwig Neuburger* was already there, having moved in over two years earlier. On 25th June 1942, Bertha Neuburger was moved to Oberstotzingen. Then on 15th August 1942, she was made to sign a "home purchase contract" for Theresienstadt for 1,200 reichsmark,[383] which enabled the state to confiscate the remaining funds in her savings account.[384] A few days later, Bertha Neuburger was brought to the Killesberg detention camp in Stuttgart and was deported from there to Theresienstadt on 22nd August 1942. She was then deported to Treblinka from Theresienstadt on 23rd September 1942 on one of the transports of elderly people from the ghetto. Two of Sigmund Freud's four sisters were also on the train with her. All of the deportees on the transport were murdered immediately after their arrival in the Treblinka extermination camp.[385]



Letterhead of Ludwig Neuburger's haberdashery business, 1921.

EMMA NEUBURGER

Emma Neuburger was born in Ulm on 27th December 1892 as the second child of Jakob and *Bertha Neuburger* (née Bernheim). She lived with her parents and her older sister *Helene* at Schuhhausgasse 9. Emma Neuburger never married and became a partner in the parental haberdashery business on the death of her father in 1927. On 28th November 1941, she and her sister Helene were brought from Ulm to the Killesberg detention camp in Stuttgart and were then deported from there to Riga on 1st December 1941. Emma Neuburger has been missing since that date.

HEDWIG NEUBURGER NÉE DREIFUSS

Hedwig Neuburger was born in Buchau on 7th March 1867 as the third of four children born to the merchant Lehmann Dreifuss and his wife Mathilde. She married the merchant Ferdinand Neuburger, who was twelve years her senior, on 23rd November 1886 and the couple later had a daughter called Helene. Ferdinand Neuburger died in Munich in 1908. From the mid-1920s, mother and daughter lived at Heimstraße 39, moving to Schaffnerstraße 32 at the beginning of the 1930s and finally to Keplerstraße 31 in 1934. Hedwig Neuburger moved into the Jewish old people's home in Herrlingen on 2nd November 1939, because her daughter Helene intended to emigrate to the United States in early 1940.[386] Hedwig was moved from there to Oberstotzingen with her sister-in-law *Bertha Neuburger* on 25th June 1942.[387] They were both deported to Theresienstadt on 22nd August 1942 and Hedwig Neuburger died in the ghetto on 15th April 1943.

HELENE NEUBURGER

Helene Neuburger was born in Buchau on 25th May 1888 as the first child of Jakob and *Bertha Neuburger* (née Bernheim). After her parents moved to Ulm in 1897, she lived with her mother and her younger sister *Emma* at Schuhhausgasse 9 until 1941. Helene Neuburger remained unmarried like her sister. On 1st December 1941, they were both deported from Stuttgart to Riga, where all trace of them is lost.



The Neuburger family lived at Schuhhausgasse 9 (right) for a long time, around 1935.

MARTHA NEUBURGER

Martha Neuburger was born in Ulm on 2nd September 1893 as the daughter of Ludwig Neuburger and his wife Jeanette (née Mayer). Her father's brother was married to *Bertha Neuburger,* which meant Martha was her niece and that of *Hedwig Neuburger.* After her father's death, Martha became a co-owner of her father's haberdashery business located at Schuhhausgasse 9, which had been preceded by the firm of David Neuburger und Söhne.[388] Martha and her brother David had tried to expand the firm's activities into food, tobacco and animal feed during the First World War, but this had been rejected on the grounds that the economic situation would not permit it.[389] Thus, there were two haberdashery shops side-by-side at Schuhhausgasse 9 until the 1930s. Martha Neuburger was brought to Stuttgart on 28th November 1941 along with her cousins *Emma* and *Helene Neuburger* and was then deported from there to Riga on 1st December 1941. She also became a victim of the Nazi's extermination policy.

MAX NEUBURGER

Max Neuburger was born in Memmingen on 26th May 1893 as the son of Sigmund and Emma Neuburger (née Schäfer). He became a merchant and moved to Schuhhausgasse 7 in Ulm in 1934. From 1938 he was a member of Ulm's local Zionist organisation and lived at Schülinstraße 4. On 1st December 1941, Max Neuburger was deported via the Killesberg detention camp in Stuttgart to Riga, where all trace of him is lost.



Rosa Nördlinger

ROSA NÖRDLINGER NÉE DREIFUSS

Rosa Nördlinger was born in Buchau on 19thOctober 1867 as the daughter of Abraham Dreifuss and his wife Wilhelmine (née Erlanger). She married the Sanitätsrat Dr Simon Nördlinger in Buchau on 7th October 1889 and the couple went on to have four daughters. Their first daughter Julia later married Ludwig Dannhauser from Buchau, while their second daughter Wilhelmine married Hermann Wassermann from Karlsruhe. Born in 1901, their third daughter Anna Nördlinger married Norbert Kahn from Buchau. *Alice,* the fourth daughter, married the rabbi Dr Ferdinand Strassburger and moved with him to Ulm. After Rosa Nördlinger's husband retired, the couple moved to Ulm to live with their daughter Alice Strassburger, who had been widowed in 1927.[390] Rosa's husband died in Ulm in 1932. Mother and daughter lived at Krafftstraße 9 until 1939. Alice Strassburger attempted to arrange emigration for herself and her mother, but her two sons, who had emigrated to Palestine, were only able to obtain one visa for her. She turned down her visa in 1940, because she did not want to leave her mother behind in Germany alone.[391] Rosa Nördlinger was assigned to a compulsory Jewish old people's home in Tigerfeld near Münsingen.[392] When this was shut down, she was deported with her daughter Alice via Stuttgart to Theresienstadt on 22nd August 1942. Rosa Nördlinger died there on 5th September 1942.

EMMA NUSSBAUM NÉE MAIER

Emma Nussbaum was born in Ulm between 1875 and 1880 as the daughter of Adolf Maier. She was registered as a victim of the Holocaust in the Yad Vashem database by her great-nephew. Emma Nussbaum was deported from Munich to Theresienstadt and died there in 1944.

MARTHA OETTINGER

Martha Oettinger was born in Ulm on 1st July 1888 as the first child of Moritz Oettinger and his wife Babette (née Hess). Her father owned the firm Brüder Oettinger – Rauchutensilien. Martha Oettinger grew up with her two younger brothers Albert and Julius. Her brothers fought in the First World War: Julius was a member of a Field Flying Company and died on 21st April 1917 in a military hospital in Zeithein in Saxony. The family are believed to have lived at Sattlergasse 16 until the end of the 1920s, and the family business was also located there.[393] After her father's death, Martha Oettinger inherited a share in the house in January 1931. Research indicates that Martha Oettinger suffered from a mental disability.[394] This probably also explains why she was unable to obtain an entry visa for the United States in contrast to her brother and mother, who were able to emigrate in 1941. Martha Oettinger was housed in the Jacobysche clinic for mentally ill and emotionally disturbed patients in Bendorf-Sayn. The Nazis used this facility as a collection point for disabled Jews. On 22nd March 1942, Martha Oettinger was deported from there via Koblenz to Izbica and has been missing ever since.



ANNA REINACH NÉE BERNHEIMER

Anna Reinach was born in Ulm on 17th June 1879 as the daughter of the merchant Leopold Meier Bernheimer and his wife Bertha (née Ewald). Her father managed the L. M. Bernheimer store on Münsterplatz, which specialised in millinery, silks and ladies' wear with a range that included bespoke carpets, tablecloths, bedspreads, curtains and furs. Anna had eight siblings: seven from her father's first marriage to Amalia Bing and a brother from his second marriage. Two of her step-brothers emigrated to the United States in the early 1880s, and a third at the start of the 20th century.[395] Anna married Dr med. Otto Reinach on 24th March 1902 and moved with him to Munich. He held the distinguished honorary title of Geheimer Sanitäts- und Hofrat. Their son Franz was born on 19th September 1903. Otto Reinach was a respected citizen of Munich. He owned a doctor's practice on Promenadenplatz, was the chief physician of the Prinzessin Arnulf Haus children's home and children's hospital and was the founder of the regional children's association.[396] Otto Reinach was taken to the Dachau concentration camp after Kristallnacht and was so badly treated that he died there on 6th December

1938. Anna Reinach had to move from Promenadenplatz to Kobelstraße and was deported from there to Kowno (Kaunas) on 20th November 1941. Anna Reinach was shot in the ditches of Fort IX on the day of her arrival, 25th November 1941. In 1947 Sendlinger Weg in Munich was renamed Reinachstraße to commemorate Anna and Otto Reinach.[397]



Anna Reinach's identity card, 1939.

ANNA PAULA REINAUER

Anna Paula Reinauer was born in Ulm on 31st March 1927 in the Bethesda hospital at Zollernring 26 and was the daughter of *Louis* and *Bertha Reinauer.* In February 1933, she moved with her family to Duisburg. On 11th December 1941, 14-year-old Anna Paula Reinauer was deported from Düsseldorf to Riga, where all trace of her is lost.[398]



Anna Paula Reinauer with mother Bertha and brother Albert, around 1935.

BERTHA REINAUER NÉE AUERBACH

Bertha Reinauer was born on 21st June 1888 in Telgte near Münster as the daughter of the butcher Jakob Auerbach and his wife Pauline (née Elsbach). She had seven siblings. On 2nd June 1920, Bertha married the merchant *Louis Reinauer* and moved with him to Ulm. She gave birth there to son Albert on 10th September 1921 and to daughter *Anna Paula* on 31st March 1927. The family lived at Mohrengasse 4 and then at Karlstraße 66 from 1928 to 1933. The couple moved to Duisburg after 1933 and repeatedly visited Bertha Reinauer's birthplace from there.[399] In 1936 her son emigrated to the United States at the age of 15. On 11th December 1941, Bertha Reinauer was deported with her husband and her daughter Anna Paula via Düsseldorf to Riga, where all trace of her is lost.



Bertha, later Reinauer by marriage (1st from right), with her parents and siblings, around 1910.

LOUIS REINAUER

Louis Reinauer was born in Ulm on 26th March 1880 as the son of Max and Sara Reinauer (née Erlanger). His father ran the M. S. Reinauer clothing store at Lange Straße 8, not far from the family's home at Mohrengasse 4. On 28th April 1920, Louis Reinauer married *Bertha* Auerbach, a butcher's daughter from Telgte near Münster, two months after the death of his father. After the birth of their two children, the family moved to Karlstraße 66 in 1928.

Louis and Bertha Reinauer moved to Duisburg in February 1933 and regularly visited their relatives. In 1936 their son was able to arrange emigration to the United States. Their daughter *Anna Paula* was still too young to emigrate and remained with her parents. The family were deported together from Düsseldorf to Riga on 11th December 1941 and have been missing since that date.



Louis Reinauer (2nd from left) in front of his in-laws' butcher's shop in Telgte. His son Albert on the left and his daughter Anna Paula on the right, around 1935.

FRIEDA ROBERT

Frieda Robert was born on 10th August 1888 in Grudziadz (Graudenz) in the former province of West Prussia as the daughter of the merchant Hermann Robert and his wife Natalie (née Koppel). The family moved to Ulm at some point between 1888 and 1892. In 1892 her father Hermann Robert opened a branch of the H. Tietz & Co. Nachfolger department store chain at Lange Straße 12. Frieda Robert had four siblings: Erich, who died in 1902 at the age of two and another brother, Max Robert, who died in 1933 at the age of 42. Frieda never married and worked in her parents' shop along with her sister Gertrude.[400] She was engaged in the community through membership of the Jewish Cultural Union. The Robert family were forced to relinquish ownership of the building in 1933, but were able to continue living there. An editorial appeared in the Ulmer Sturm – Ulmer Tagblatt on 15th April 1935 criticising the Easter offers in Jewish stores: "E.g. the Jewish firm Tietz u. Co. best known from the Kampfzeit [Nazi party "period of struggle" from 1919–1933] recommends 'cheap goods' for the Easter festival (...) The Jew is and remains dirty wherever he is encountered and it is no wonder that one can read in the streets: 'Anyone buying from Jews is a traitor to the people'."[401] The Tietz department store had to close on 15th January 1937 due to this agitation and



Advert for the H. Tietz & Co. department store, 1902.



The H. Tietz & Co. department store at Lange Straße 12, around 1925.

dwindling revenue. The building was then used by the NSDAP's local Ulm-Münster branch. Frieda Robert's sister moved to Berlin after her wedding before the department store closed. Subsequently, Frieda Robert also moved to the capital. She was deported from Berlin on 24th or 26th September 1942 to the town of Raasiku close to Tallinn and was murdered there.[402]

Anna Rosenheimer

ANNA ROSENHEIMER NÉE ERLANGER

Anna Rosenheimer was born in Ulm on 31st October 1867 as the youngest child of Samuel Erlanger and his wife Fanny (née Beer). Anna had six siblings, including four sisters. On 31st August 1893, she married the merchant Samuel Rosenheimer from Mergentheim and moved with him to Berlin. The couple later welcomed two sons Fritz and Max. The family are believed to have returned to Ulm in 1927, where records indicate they lived on the ground floor of Schaffnerstraße 6 until 1937. Her husband Samuel Rosenheimer, who was the secretary of the Ulm Gymnastic Club (Turnverein Ulm), died on 27th December 1928. The local newspaper Ulmer Sturm – Ulmer Tagblatt ran a story on 13th May 1939 about a court case against Anna Rosenheimer.[403] She was accused of sending 5,000 reichsmark to her son Max in Paris with the help of an acquaintance from Strasbourg and of giving false information about her assets after Kristallnacht. The 71-year-old was sentenced to imprisonment for 3 1/2 years and fined 5,800 reichsmark for breaching exchange control regulations and treason. On 28th May 1942, Anna Rosenheimer was sent to the Jewish old people's home at Laupheim. From there she was deported to Theresienstadt via Stuttgart on 22nd August. On 26th September 1942, she was put on a deportation transport to Treblinka, where she was murdered on her arrival.

Der jüdiſche Dreh vorbeigelungen

Anna Sara Rosenheimer muß mit 72 Jahren ins Gefängnis

Headline of the invidious report in the Ulmer Sturm – Ulmer Tagblatt about Anna Rosenheimer's sentencing, May 1939.



Julius Salomon

JULIUS SALOMON

Julius Salomon was born in Gerabronn near Schwäbisch-Hall on 31st January 1867 as the son of the trader Aron Salomon and his wife Veronika (née Biffinger). After marrying Flora Nathan from Ulm on 17th August 1896, Julius Salomon moved to the city with his new wife. Ernst Salomon, the couple's only child, was born one year later on 28th August 1897. The family lived at Karlstraße 13 until the end of the First World War.[404] Julius Salomon initially held shares in the firm Julius Moos and later also in Textil-Industrie Ulm. The Ulm Directory reveals that from 1920 he was a co-owner of the firm L. G. Wallersteiner, which was located at Römerstraße 18. On 9th March 1923, his wife Flora died at the age of 49. The widower was involved in civic life and in the 1930s was a member of the Schild sports club and the Jewish Cultural Union. In 1938 the owners of the L. G. Wallersteiner were forced to sell to the firm of Conzelmann & Co.. Julius Salomon subsequently lived off his savings and was also affected by the "Jewish Capital Levy" after Kristallnacht. In 1939 his property at Ensingerstraße 3 was converted into a Judenhaus at the decree of the Ulm Gemeinderat. The non-Jewish inhabitants were then urged to move out. As several tenants were not happy with the apartments they were offered in exchange, however, four non-Jewish parties remained in the property until 1940. The building also housed the legal chambers of Dr Ernst Moos, who helped to organise the emigration of Ulm Jews from there and gave advice on property issues. Julius Salomon was forced to sign a "home purchase contract" for Theresienstadt for 2,000 reichsmark shortly before his deportation.[405] On 22nd August 1942, he had to join the deportation transport in Stuttgart for Theresienstadt, where he died on 24th December 1942 at the age of 75. In 1949 the bereaved and former owners were given back the property of the firm L. G. Wallersteiner by a legal decree.

FANNI SCHLESINGER NÉE REDELMAIER

Fanni Schlesinger was born in Sonderhausen in Thuringia on 31st July 1855. She was married to Isidor Schlesinger and lived at Beyerstraße 54 from 1930 to 1939. The building belonged to her son-in-law, the former Gemeinderat councillor Salomon Moos. He took care of his mother following the death of his wife on 7th April 1933 and moved her permanently into his house on Beyerstraße. In spring 1942, she had to move into the old people's home housed in the dilapidated castle at Dellmensingen. She was deported from there via Stuttgart to Theresienstadt on 22nd August 1942 and died eleven days after her arrival on 4th September 1942 at the age of 87.

HANS SCHNAPPER

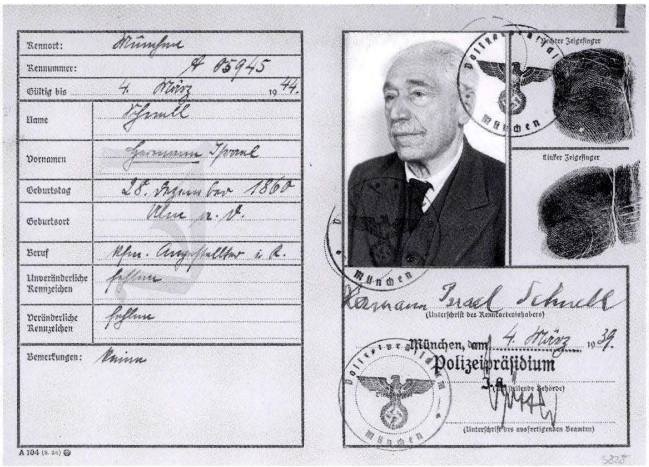
Hans Schnapper was born in Frankfurt am Main on 14th September 1919. At the time of the census on 17th May 1939, he was being held in the remand centre in Ulm at Frauengraben 4. Hans Schnapper was murdered in the Majdanek concentration camp on 9th August 1942.

EMIL SCHNELL

Emil Schnell was born in Ulm on 26th July 1859 as the son of Sigmund and Bertha Schnell (née Gutmann). His two brothers *Hermann* and Fritz *Schnell* were deported on 23rd July 1942 from Munich to Theresienstadt. Hermann died there in December 1942. Emil Schnell was living in Oberstdorf in the Allgäu at this time. He took his own life there on 11th January 1944 after receiving his deportation order.

HERMANN SCHNELL

Hermann Schnell was born in Ulm on 28th December 1860 as the second oldest child of Sigmund and Bertha Schnell (née Gutmann). He had seven siblings in total, including *Emil Schnell.* At the end of the 19th century, his parents moved from Ulm to Augsburg, where his father founded a wholesale business. Hermann Schnell married Rosa Gunz, a banker's daughter from Augsburg, on 23rd February 1896. The couple's only child, Bertha Schnell, was born two years later on 17th April 1898. On 27th May 1905, Hermann Schnell moved to Munich with his family and worked as a factory director there.[406] He was deported from Munich to Theresienstadt on 23rd July 1942 along with his wife and his youngest brother Fritz Schnell, who was born in Augsburg. His wife Rosa died there on 23rd October 1941, and Hermann Schnell himself on 17th December 1942.

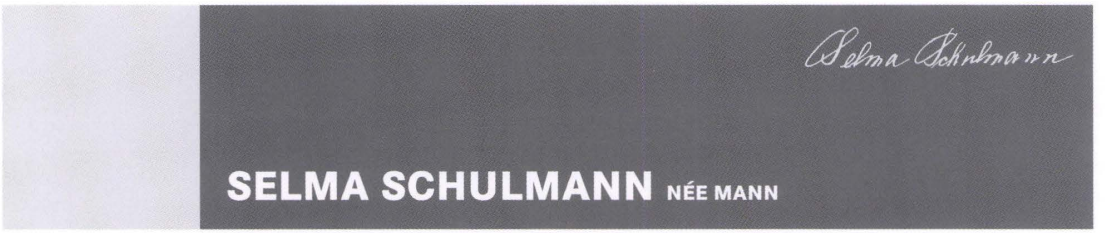


Hermann Schnell's identity card, 1939.

HEDWIG SCHULMANN

Hedwig Schulmann was born in Ulm on 11th July 1902 as the daughter of Albert Schulmann and his wife *Selma* (née Mann). The family lived at Karlstraße 44.[407] Hedwig Schulmann's father died when she was just 14 years old on 16th May 1917. She and her widowed mother remained together in the years that followed. Hedwig Schulmann, who never married, earned her living as a pedlar for more than twelve years. They are both listed at Neutorstraße 14 in the 1935 Directory. In 1936 Hedwig Schulmann, who suffered from epilepsy, moved to Munich temporarily. She returned to Ulm shortly afterwards though.[408] On 5th June 1939, she accepted a position as a housemaid in the

Jewish old people's home at Herrlingen, but continued to live with her mother at first. She moved into the old people's home on 3rd October 1939 after train services were reduced because of the War.[409] Hedwig Schulmann moved back to Ulm on 30th April 1941 and registered in the city. Mother and daughter were ultimately separated on 28th November 1941. Hedwig Schulmann was brought to the Killesberg detention camp in Stuttgart on that day and was deported three days later from there to Riga, where all trace of her is lost. An eye-witness, who had lived in the same building, remembered: "She was taken on the first transport in November 1941. I was witness to a harrowing scene: the transports were arranged by age. So Hedwig Schulmann was assigned to the first one, but her mother, because she was older, was not. She fell to her knees before the men in uniform (I can no longer remember whether they were SS, SA or police) and begged them in tears to let her go with her daughter because she was ill and needed her help. They were unmoved and said something like: 'The younger people first, you come later.' Hedwig Schulmann remained very calm, hugged her mother, then made a comment that I didn't understand and went down the stairs."[410]



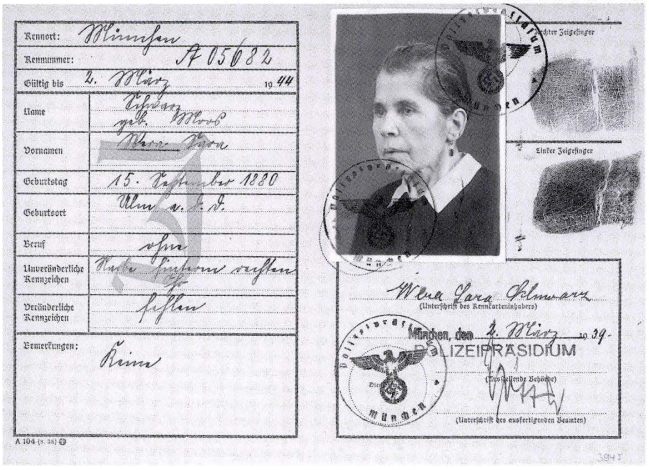
SELMA SCHULMANN NÉE MANN

Selma Schulmann was born in Ulm on 11th September 1875 as the sixth child of Benjamin Mann and his wife Louise (née Moos). At the age of 26, she married the merchant Albert Schulmann from Mönchsroth on 14th October 1901 and lived with him in Ulm in an apartment at Weinhof 19. In 1902 she gave birth to their daughter *Hedwig* and in 1905 to their son Paul. Her husband died on 16th May 1917 after fifteen years of marriage. The widow lived with her son and daughter at first after her husband's death. Paul Schulmann got married in 1935 and was able to emigrate. The Ulm Directory lists mother and daughter at Neutorstraße 16 from 1937 onwards. Selma Schulmann took care of her sick daughter Hedwig, whose epileptic attacks become increasingly frequent as she got older. In 1939 Selma Schulmann had to move into the Judenhaus at Neutorstraße 15. She remained in Ulm alone after her daughter was deported to Riga at the end of 1941. On 15th June 1942, she moved into the Jewish old people's home at Oberstotzingen as part of a forced resettlement that amongst others also affected *Dr Ludwig Hecht,* his wife *Rosa,* the *Ludwig* couple and *Sophie Levy.*[411] She was then deported via Stuttgart to Theresienstadt just a few weeks later on 22nd August 1942.[412] Selma Schulmann only remained there a short time before being forced to join a deportation transport for Treblinka on 26th September 1942. Along with over 2,000 other Jews she is believed to have been murdered there immediately after her arrival in the gas chambers of the extermination camp.

Wera Sara Schwarz

WERA SCHWARZ NÉE MOOS

Wera or Vera Schwarz was born in Ulm on 15th September 1880 as the daughter of Julius and Friederike Moos (née Nathan). Wera was the younger sister of *Flora,* who later became a *Bayersdorfer* by marriage. At the time of Wera's birth, her parents were living on Bahnhofstraße in Ulm. Her father ran a factory at Hirschstraße 27, which produced cotton wool products and shirts.[413] On 5th August 1906, the 25-year-old Wera married Dr Hermann Schwarz, who came from a very respectable Munich family, and moved with him to the Bavarian capital. The couple went on to have a daughter Maria Gertrud, who was their only child. They lived at Keuslinstraße 16 in Munich[414] before they had to move out, giving up their home on 30th March 1939. The couple were then deported together on 2nd July 1942 to Theresienstadt, where Wera Schwarz died on 31st March 1943.



Wera Schwarz's identity card, 1939.

SOFIE SICHEL NÉE HOCHSTÄTTER

Sofie Sichel was born in Laupheim on 20th December 1872 as the daughter of the merchant Seligmann Hochstätter and his wife Pauline (née Levinger). Sofie married the merchant Don Sichel from Klingenbach in Bavaria on 23rd December 1892 in Tuttlingen. Julia, the couple's first daughter, was subsequently born in Tuttlingen on 30th November 1893. Their second daughter Lina was born one year later in Neu-Ulm. She was followed by their first son Alfred, who was born on 29th August 1897 in Ulm. The family were registered in Pforzheim from 1898 onwards, and their son Sally was born there on 5th February 1899. The Sichels were living

in Cannstatt one year later. Then the couple's last child was born in Augsburg on 30th June 1902. In January 1906, the family returned to Ulm. They later moved to Stuttgart, before returning to Ulm on 8th June 1909. The couple divorced in Ulm on 1st March 1912. While Sofie Sichel then moved to Neu-Ulm, her ex-husband remained in Ulm until 1937 and then moved to Stuttgart. Sofie Sichel resettled in Munich at the end of the 1920s and worked in various commercial fields. From 15th October 1929 to 14th February 1930, she was the owner of a textile, shoe and toy shop in Schwabing and during the same period she also ran the Marmorhaus cinema there, which she then sold in 1930.[415] On 8th August 1931, Sofie Sichel moved to Ebingen in the district of Balingen, where she ran a dairy business, and then to Vehringenstadt in the Sigmaringen district on 31st August 1933. In August 1935, she returned to Ebingen for one month and then registered in Ulm on 21st September 1935. Sofie Sichel moved to Stuttgart-Degerloch on an unknown date. On 4th March 1942, she was forced to move to Baisingen in the district of Horb.[416] She was then deported from there to Theresienstadt on 22nd August 1942. She survived for almost two years in the ghetto, where she worked as a housekeeper.[417] The 71-year-old was then deported to Auschwitz on 16th May 1944 and was murdered there immediately after her arrival on 17th May 1944.[418]



FRIEDA SILBERSTEIN NÉE MANN

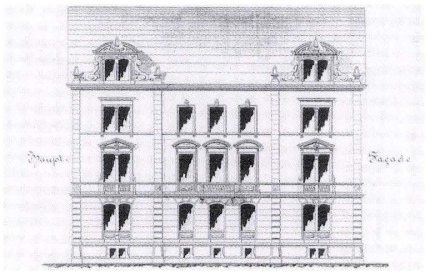
Frieda Silberstein was born in Ulm on 12th February 1873 as the fourth child of Benjamin Mann and his wife Louise (née Moos). In 1899 she married Louis Silberstein in Ulm and moved with him to Schweinfurt. Frieda Silberstein returned to Ulm with her son Fritz after the death of her husband. Fritz Silberstein later married Else Polatschek, whose parents ran the Polatschek shoe shop on the east side of Münsterplatz. Between 1929 and 1930, Frieda Silberstein moved in with her younger sister *Fanny Mann* in Ludwigshafen. They were both deported to southern France on 22nd October 1940 and interned in the camp at Gurs along with their brother *Ludwig Mann.* While Fanny Mann was subsequently deported to Auschwitz-Birkenau, Frieda Silberstein and Ludwig Mann were able to remain in the camp. Frieda Silberstein died in an old people's home in Toulouse a few months after liberation.

SALLY SINGER NÉE MAYER

Sally Singer was born in Ulm on 26th August 1879 as the fourth child of Abraham Mayer and his wife Frieda (née Steiner). Her father came from Altenstadt (Iller). Her mother was the daughter of the businessman Gabriel Steiner. Sally married Ludwig Singer and moved with him to Mannheim in 1915. Their daughter Ruth emigrated to the United States in 1933. Sally Singer was deported from Mannheim to France on 22nd October 1940. She was brought to Drancy from the Vernet camp on 22nd May 1944 and was then deported five days later to Auschwitz-Birkenau along with over 1,000 other Jews. The majority of the deportees on the transport were murdered in the extermination camp immediately after their arrival on 2nd June 1944 and the 64-year-old Sally Singer is presumed to have been among them.[419]

CHARLOTTE STEINER

Charlotte Steiner was born in Ulm on 21st May 1897 as the daughter of the businessman Julius Steiner and his wife Helene (née Friedmann). Her father was a partner in the firm of Steiner & Friedmann, which was located on Neutorstraße. She had four siblings, including an older sister *Anna,* who later became a *Bach* by marriage. Charlotte Steiner was mentally disabled and remained with her parents long-term as a result. After Kristallnacht she was faced with a "Jewish Capital Levy" of 12,500 reichsmark.[420] Charlotte Steiner was brought via the Winnenden sanatorium to Grafeneck and was killed in the gas chamber there as part of the "Euthanasia Programme" on 24th June 1940. To cover up the murder the death certificate listed the place of death as Sonnenstein in Saxony and the date as 8th July 1940.[421]



In mid-1939 the Steiner family home at Neutorstraße 15 was declared a Judenhaus. Building plan showing the west façade, around 1900.

FANNI STEINER NÉE WEIMERSHEIMER

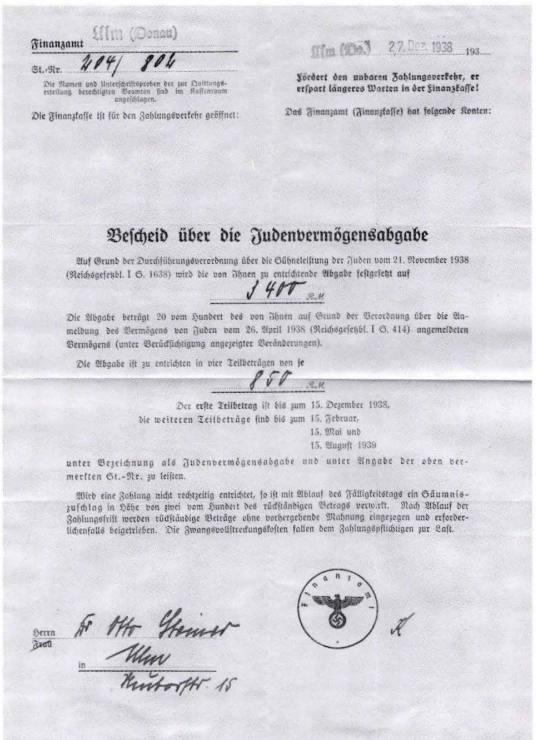
Fanni Steiner was born in Ichenhausen on 2nd December 1872 as the daughter of the merchant Benno Weimersheimer and his wife Flora (née Kuhn). On 24th October 1910, Fanni Steiner married the widower Salomon Steiner, known as Sally, the couple lived at Neutorstraße 15. Salomon Steiner owned the Gebrüder Steiner textile factory, which was located in the building to the rear of Neutorstraße 15. The couple had no children. Salomon Steiner, who had six children from his first marriage, died on 6th March 1936. Fanni Steiner remained in the house, which was converted into a Judenhaus in 1939. In June 1940, the seven rooms on the ground floor were occupied by Fanni Steiner and her stepchildren *Otto* and *Frieda Steiner,* as well as *Bertha Hirsch,* Amalie Bauland and *Rosa Wolff.* On the first floor were Gustav Levi and his wife Anna, *Fanny Hilb, Selma Schulmann,* and *Heinrich Barth* and his family. The second and third floors were occupied by non-Jewish families. The Jewish community's prayer room was also located in the building following the destruction of the Synagogue. On 8th October 1941, the Steiner heirs had to sell the property to the German Reich. Fanni Steiner was deported to Theresienstadt on 22nd August 1942 and was then sent from there to her death in Treblinka on 29th September 1942.

FRIEDA STEINER

Frieda Steiner was born in Ulm on 16th December 1897 as the daughter of Salomon Steiner and his first wife Rosa (née Oettinger). Frieda had five siblings including her older brother *Otto Steiner.* Frieda lost her mother on 14th May 1907 at the age of nine. Her father got married again almost three years later to *Fanni Steiner.* Frieda Steiner never married and is listed in the 1925 Directory as living at Fischergasse 2, which was the "Zum Wilden Mann" guest house.[422] In 1938 she joined the Israelite Women's Association.[423] On 1st December 1941, Frieda Steiner was deported via the Stuttgart-Killesberg detention camp to Riga, where all trace of her is lost.

Otto Steiner

DR OTTO STEINER



Finanzamt Ulm (Donau)

St.-Nr. 214/ 806

Die Namen und Unterschriftsproben der zur Quittungserteilung berechtigten Beamten sind im Kassenraum angeschlagen.

Die Finanzkasse ist für den Zahlungsverkehr geöffnet:

Ulm (Donau) 27. Dez. 1938 193...

Fördert den unbaren Zahlungsverkehr, er erspart längeres Warten in der Finanzkasse!

Das Finanzamt (Finanzkasse) hat folgende Konten:

Bescheid über die Judenvermögensabgabe

Auf Grund der Durchführungsverordnung über die Sühneleistung der Juden vom 21. November 1938 (Reichsgesetzbl. I S. 1638) wird die von Ihnen zu entrichtende Abgabe festgesetzt auf

3 400 RM

Die Abgabe beträgt 20 vom Hundert des von Ihnen auf Grund der Verordnung über die Anmeldung des Vermögens von Juden vom 26. April 1938 (Reichsgesetzbl. I S. 414) angemeldeten Vermögens (unter Berücksichtigung angezeigter Veränderungen).

Die Abgabe ist zu entrichten in vier Teilbeträgen von je

850 RM

Der **erste Teilbetrag** ist bis zum 15. Dezember 1938,
die weiteren Teilbeträge sind bis zum 15. Februar,
15. Mai und
15. August 1939

unter Bezeichnung als Judenvermögensabgabe und unter Angabe der oben vermerkten St.-Nr. zu leisten.

Wird eine Zahlung nicht rechtzeitig entrichtet, so ist mit Ablauf des Fälligkeitstags ein Säumniszuschlag in Höhe von zwei vom Hundert des rückständigen Betrags verwirkt. Nach Ablauf der Zahlungsfrist werden rückständige Beträge ohne vorhergehende Mahnung eingezogen und erforderlichenfalls beigetrieben. Die Zwangsvollstreckungskosten fallen dem Zahlungspflichtigen zur Last.

Herrn Jud Dr Otto Steiner

in Ulm Neutorstr. 15

Finanzamt

Payment demand for the "Jewish Capital Levy" imposed on Dr Otto Steiner, December 1938.

Otto Steiner was born in Ulm on 8th February 1895 as the son of Salomon Steiner and his first wife Rosa (née Oettinger). Otto was the couple's second child, although his older brother had died at the age of three months. Dr Otto Steiner bought war bonds during the First World War, but these investments were lost on Germany's defeat. In 1923 his brother Ludwig Steiner died at the age of 20. Dr Otto Steiner lived at Neutorstraße 15 for many years[424] and was interned in the Dachau concentration camp on 11th November 1938. He returned to Ulm after his release. He was then deported from the city via Stuttgart to Riga along with his sister *Frieda Steiner* on 1st December 1941. Dr Otto Steiner was declared dead after the Second World War. Julius was the only one of the Steiner siblings to survive the War. He had left the Jewish religion in 1927 and died in 1959 in Hemmerden in North Rhine-Westphalia.

EMMA STERN

Emma Stern was born in Ulm on 1st August 1870 as the oldest child of the insurance salesman Martin Stern and his wife Jeanette (née Löwenthal). Emma Stern later lived with her brothers *Max* and *Hugo* at Syrlinstraße 14 and never married. She ran the household so that her brother Hugo could concentrate on his insurance business. She had to move into the Jewish old people's home at Laupheim after 1939. Emma Stern was deported to Theresienstadt on 22nd August 1942 and then from there on 26th September 1942 to Treblinka, where she was murdered.

HUGO STERN

Hugo Stern was born in Ulm on 20th May 1879 as the youngest child of the insurance salesman Martin Stern and his wife Jeanette (née Löwenthal). He was the brother of *Emma* and *Max Stern.* After leaving school, Hugo Stern chose to become a real estate agent and insurance broker. During the First World War, he served in the 120th Reserve Infantry Regiment. His brother Max represented his business interests during this period. He resumed his work when he returned from the war. The 1931 Directory has an entry for "Stern, Hugo: property, tenancies, mortgages and insurance". The agency existed from 5th August 1909 until 22nd April 1939. The Sterns were very popular in the neighbourhood, especially with children: the Stern siblings let them run small errands and were generous with their tips in return.[425] The following event from the period after 1933 shows that Hugo Stern, who was well-known in Ulm as a Jewish businessman, attempted to protect his sister Emma from problems as much as possible. An acquaintance reported on a meeting between Hugo and his sister Emma in spring 1933: "The pair met in the street. He crossed the road and she did the same, asking why he had done so. He said to her: 'You must do the same from now on when you see me, as if you don't know me, so that we don't encounter any difficulties.'"[426] Hugo Stern was mistreated during Kristallnacht and was taken to the Dachau concentration camp on 11th November 1938. His financial situation deteriorated so much after his release that he was forced to give up his apartment at Syrlinstraße 14 in mid-1940 and was completely dependent on Jewish welfare support.[427] Hugo Stern is presumed to have been deported on 26th April 1942 via Stuttgart to Izbica, which was a transit camp for the extermination camps of Belzec, Majdanek and Sobibor.

JULIE STERN NÉE LAUPHEIMER

Julie Stern was born in Ulm on 2nd July 1891 as the daughter of the master butcher Julius Laupheimer and his wife Hannchen (née Gideon). The couple had eight children, of whom Julie was the sixth. On 11th November 1937, she married the innkeeper Ludwig Stern from Hörden near Gaggenau and left Ulm. Her husband was arrested in their home on the first anniversary of their wedding and taken to the Dachau concentration camp. He was murdered there on 26th November 1938.[428] Julie Stern was deported to France on 22nd October 1940 and was held at the Gurs camp until August 1942. She was put on a deportation transport to Auschwitz-Birkenau from the Drancy transit camp on 10th August 1942.[429] Julie Stern is believed to have been murdered in the gas chambers of the extermination camp immediately after her arrival on 12th August 1942.[430]

MAX STERN

Max Stern was born in Ulm on 25th January 1875 as the second of three children born to the insurance salesman Martin Stern and his wife Jeanette (née Löwenthal). He was the brother of *Emma* and *Hugo Stern*. Max Stern lived for a time in Cologne and got married there on 1st May 1906 to Katharina Bruland, with whom he had four children. The marriage ended in divorce eight years later. Max Stern returned to Ulm and got married for a second time in 1919 to Dorothea Julie Nuffer, and went on to have one child with her. Max Stern worked in his brother's property and mortgage business for 12 years. During the First World War, Max Stern managed the firm on behalf of his brother, who spent four years at the front. The inflation at the beginning of the 1920s forced his brother to reduce the size of the agency founded by their father and to make Max redundant. Max Stern also lost all his savings because of the inflation and was in extreme financial difficulty. All his efforts to find new employment proved fruitless.[431] Max Stern converted from Judaism to Catholicism and completely turned his back on both faiths on 24th July 1936. In 1939 he was living apart from his wife, but was ordered to move back in with her by the city administration so that his apartment could be made available to "Aryans".[432] On 1st June 1940, he moved onto the third floor of the Judenhaus at Schuhausgasse 9. Max Stern was brought to Stuttgart on 28th November 1941 and was then deported from there on 1st December 1941 to Riga, where all trace of him is lost.[433]



Advert for Martin Stern's insurance agency, 1902.

Alice Strassburger

ALICE STRASSBURGER NÉE NÖRDLINGER

Alice Strassburger was born in Buchau on 21st March 1894 as the daughter of the Sanitätsrat Dr Simon Nördlinger and his wife *Rosa* (née Dreifuss). Alice Strassburger joined the Red Cross during the First World War and worked as a nurse. On 27th December 1917, she married the rabbi Dr Ferdinand Strassburger in Buchau and moved with him to Ulm. She lived in the Gemeindehaus until the death of her husband in 1927, and the couple's two sons were also born there. As the wife of the rabbi, Alice Strassburger was heavily involved in community life. She was secretary of the Israelite Women's Association[434] and repeatedly made herself available for jury selection. In 1927 she moved to Olgastraße 7 and in 1930 to Krafftstraße 9. The widow looked after her parents in Ulm, who had moved to the city following her father's retirement. Both her sons emigrated to Palestine from Ulm as part of a "Youth Aliyah" transport. They emigrated there illegally and lived on the Kfar Menachem kibbutz. They managed to secure a entry visa for Alice Strassburger from there, but she declined this as she wished to stay with her mother. She accepted a position instead as deputy manager of the Jewish old people's home at Herrlingen.[435] She commuted each day between Ulm and her place of work, however, in order to continue caring for her mother. In 1942 she took over as manager of the Tigerfeld Jewish old people's home in the district of Reutlingen, of which her mother was also a resident by that time. Mother and daughter came to Theresienstadt together on 22nd August 1942. Alice Strassburger was employed as a clerk there in the Magdeburg Barracks. Her mother Rosa Nördlinger died just two weeks after their arrival. Alice Strassburger was deported to Auschwitz on 29th January 1943 and is believed to have been murdered on her arrival. *Resi Weglein* remembered: "... Mrs Alice Straßburger (48), who had managed the Tigerfeld old people's home in an exemplary manner before she was transported to Theresienstadt, (...) came to me every day in the camp to collect a piece of bread. I couldn't give her any of my own of course, but as Alice was not fussy and was suffering from terrible hunger, she gladly accepted the bread left behind by the dead. (...) When we heard about the transport and it trickled through that doctors and nurses would not be selected, Alice came to me for advice. I told her she should see how quickly she could become a nurse to avoid the danger of being selected for a transport. Unfortunately, it was no longer possible, as the SS had issued a notice that only those who had been working as nurses from the beginning would be protected."[436]

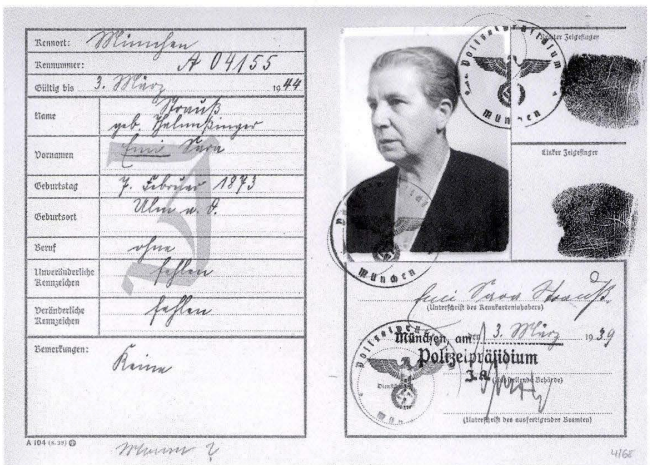


Alice Strassburger (left) with her sister Julia Dannhauser, around 1925.

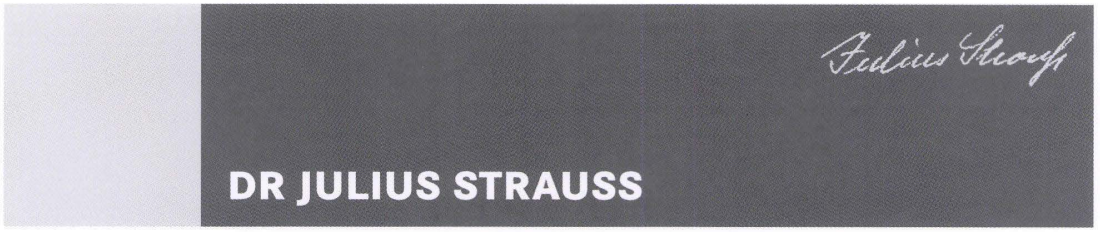


EMMA STRAUSS NÉE THALMESSINGER

Emma Strauss was born in Ulm on 7th February 1873 as the daughter of the banker Leopold Thalmessinger and his wife Jeanette (née Steiner). Emma, commonly known as Emi, was the youngest of the children and the sister of *Sophie,* who later became a *Weinschenk* by marriage. She attended the Höhere Töchterschule secondary school in Ulm and trained as a sales representative. Emma Strauss moved to Regensburg after marrying August Strauss, a banker and merchant from Karlsruhe. She gave birth to three children there: Ferdinand, Johanna and Henriette. Her husband ran a bank in Regensburg alongside Hugo Thalmessinger.[437] The family moved to Munich in 1914. She took orders in the city for spirits and foodstuffs for the firms of Sigmund Kahn and Magister Mayer & Hirsch. The couple later sold juices from the Burach fruit farm in Württemberg.[438] They had to end all their commercial endeavours in July 1938 and attempted to arrange emigration to Switzerland. Their daughter Henriette also wished to emigrate there, but only her husband was able to obtain a visa. Their second daughter Johanna did not try to emigrate, because she was married to an SA man and was protected by a "privileged intermarriage". At the time of Kristallnacht, Emma and August Strauss were living in the old people's home run by the Israelite Community Organisation on Mathildenstraße. On the night of 9th November 1938, a gang of thugs rampaged through the home and drove out all the residents. The Strauss couple found temporary refuge with their daughter Henriette Weil, before returning to the old people's home four weeks later. From 1941 their daughter Henriette had to work as a forced labourer preparing flax at the camp in Lohhof.[439] On 3rd April 1942, Henriette was deported to Piaski and has been missing ever since. Ten days later, the Strauss couple were forced to move into the camp on Knorrstraße in Munich and were deported from there to Theresienstadt on 18th June 1942. Emma Strauss died there on 25th August 1942 and was followed by her husband August Strauss on 30th November 1942.



Emma Strauss' identity card, 1939.



Julius Strauss was born in Ulm on 29th September 1875 as the son of the manufacturer Wolf Strauss and his wife Ernestine (née Mann). His father owned the firm Wolf Strauss: Metallhandlung und Altmetalle at Blaubeurerstraße 71, which employed eleven people. Julius Strauss studied medicine and worked as a paediatrician after graduating. He served for a time as chairman of the Israelite Charitable Society.[440] Dr Julius Strauss moved to Mannheim and was taken from there to the Dachau concentration camp after Kristallnacht. The information in the Dachau Zugangsbuch (Entry Book) indicates that Dr Strauss was married at that time, had two children and was working as a bookkeeper. He returned to Mannheim after his release and was deported from there to France on 22nd October 1940. He spent almost two years in the camp at Gurs, before being deported via Drancy to Auschwitz-Birkenau on 4th September 1942.[441] After an initial selection in Ko le (Cosel), which saw around 200 people deemed suitable for work leave the transport, the rest of the deportees arrived in Auschwitz and were all murdered immediately after their arrival with just a few exceptions.[442] It is assumed that Dr Julius Strauss was among these victims.



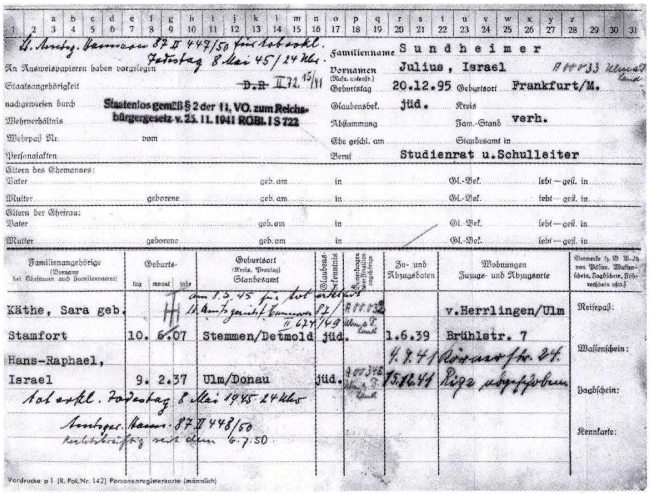
Max Moritz Strauss was born in Freiendiez near Limburg in Hesse on 8th May 1884 as the illegitimate son of Fanny Rosenwald. His mother later married the merchant Wilhelm Strauss, and Max Moritz also took his surname. After leaving school, Max Moritz Strauss trained as a sales representative with the Otto Pfeifer tobacco factory in Landau. He served at the Front for four years during the First World War and then returned to Ulm.[443] He married the Protestant widow Elsa Schwenk there on 27th September 1919. They had a daughter together. The family lived at various addresses in Ulm including König-Wilhelm-Straße 20.[444] Max Strauss, as he is usually described in the sources from this period, worked as a travelling salesman for the Sievert & Harthun barley coffee factory in Ulm. At the end of 1919, he applied for a permit to set up his own tobacco business, but this was refused. He was forced to drop the name of Max even before the enactment of the "Second Decree on the Execution of the Law regarding the Changing of Surnames and Forenames" of 17th August 1938: he had to sign a document for the Police Criminal records department on 15th May 1938 confirming that henceforth he would only go by the first name of Moritz. On 22nd March 1939, the Strauss couple were granted a divorce in Ulm, which meant that Max Moritz Strauss was no longer protected by a "privileged intermarriage". He had already moved away from Ulm at this point. The last trace of him is from the Weimar Registry Office, which issued his death certificate. This reveals that he died in the Buchenwald concentration camp on 20th July 1941. It has not been possible to discover any further information about his imprisonment or the circumstances of his death.

SIGMUND STRAUSS

Sigmund Strauss was born in Ulm on 5th September 1898 as the son of Jakob Löb Strauss from Berlichingen and his wife Rosa (née Bornstein), who came from Nuremberg. The family relocated to Nuremberg after his birth. Sigmund Strauss was deported from there to Izbica with his mother on 24th March 1942. The transport carrying 1,000 people reached its destination three days later. There is no further trace of either of the pair.

HANS RAPHAEL SUNDHEIMER

Hans Raphael Sundheimer was born in Ulm's Johanneum clinic at Parkstraße 11 on 9th February 1937, making him one of the last children born to Ulm's Jewish community during this period. His father Julius Sundheimer, who came from Frankfurt am Main and was a retired lecturer and headmaster, lived with his wife Käthe (née Stamfort) at Hildenbrandstraße 10 in Herrlingen. Käthe originally came from Stemmen in the Lemgo district. Hans Raphael Sundheimer was the couple's only child. The family moved to Hanover two years later on 1st June 1939. On 15th December 1941, Julius, Käthe and four-year-old Hans Raphael Sundheimer were deported along with around 1,000 others to Riga, where all trace of them is lost.[445] Their names are on a memorial to commemorate the murdered Jewish inhabitants of Hanover, which was erected in 1994.[446]


Familienname Sundheimer
Vornamen Julius, Israel
Geburtstag 20.12.95 Geburtsort Frankfurt/M.
Staatsangehörigkeit D.R.
nachgewiesen durch Staatenlos gem. § 2 der 11. VO. zum Reichsbürgergesetz v. 25. 11. 1941 RGBl. I S 722
Glaubensbek. jüd. Kreis
Wehrverhältnis Abstammung Fam.-Stand verh.
Wehrpaß Nr. vom Ehe geschl. am Standesamt in
Personalakten Beruf Studienrat u. Schulleiter
Eltern des Ehemannes:
Vater geb. am in Gl.-Bek. lebt – gest. in
Mutter geborene geb. am in Gl.-Bek. lebt – gest. in
Eltern der Ehefrau:
Vater geb. am in Gl.-Bek. lebt – gest. in
Mutter geborene geb. am in Gl.-Bek. lebt – gest. in
Familienangehörige (Ehefrau, Kinder bei Staatsang. auch Familienname)
Geburts- tag monat jahr
Geburtsort (Kreis, Provinz) Standesamt
Staatsangehörigkeit
Familienstand
Zu- und Abzugsorten
Wohnungen Zuzugs- und Abzugsorte
Bemerkungen (z. B. Wehrpaß, Waffenschein, Jagdschein, Führerschein usw.)
Käthe, Sara geb. Stamfort 10. 6.07 Stemmen/Detmold jüd. 1.6.39 Brühlstr. 7 v. Herrlingen/Ulm
Hans-Raphael, Israel 9. 2.37 Ulm/Donau jüd. 15.12.41 Riga abgeschoben
Reisepaß:
Waffenschein:
Jagdschein:
Kennkarte:
Vordrucke p 1 (R. Pol. Nr. 142) Personenregisterkarte (männlich)

Hanover registration card for the Sundheimer family with reference to the deportation ("Riga abgeschoben") and the legal declaration of death.

Else Thalmessinger

ELSE THALMESSINGER NÉE HENLE

Else Thalmessinger was born in Ulm on 24th January 1879 as the daughter of the textile merchant Eduard Henle and his wife Luise (née Kuhn). Else grew up on Münsterplatz, where her parents ran the E. Henle wholesale textile business. The 22-year-old Else Thalmessinger married the lawyer Otto Thalmessinger on 9th April 1901 and moved with him to Stuttgart. Their son Kurt was born in 1902 and their daughter Marie Elise one year later. The family lived at Lenzhalde 42 for more than two decades. Her parents also moved from Ulm to join them in 1923 at the latest. Else's father Eduard Henle died in Stuttgart in 1934.[447] The Nazi's occupation ban on Else's husband was particularly hard for the family and the increasing persecution of the Jews motivated their children to emigrate. Their son Kurt went to France and their daughter Marie Elise to England. Following the German occupation of France, Kurt Thalmessinger assumed a false name and found work in a French factory.[448] Else and Otto Thalmessinger were forced to move into a Judenhaus in Buchau along with Else's 85-year-old mother Luise Henle in February 1942. Otto Thalmessinger took his own life there on 21st July 1942.[449] His widow and her mother were deported via Stuttgart to Theresienstadt on 22nd August 1942. Else Thalmessinger died there almost three weeks later on 10th September 1942. Her mother died there on 13th December 1942.



HERMANN THALMESSINGER

Hermann Thalmessinger was born in Ulm on 13th July 1869 as the son of the banker Nathan Thalmessinger and his wife Jette (née Steiner). As the founder of a banking house, his father enjoyed a position of wealth and respectability. His siblings included *Rosa,* later a *Hecht* by marriage, *Otto Thalmessinger* and *Marie,* later a *Moos* by marriage. Hermann Thalmessinger married the Christian Sophie Fröhle in 1906 and the couple went on to have two sons, Max and Fritz. The family lived at Hafenbad 19. Hermann Thalmessinger was a general manager of the Hecht brewery. In 1921 he and his family relocated to Stuttgart, where Hermann Thalmessinger's younger brother Otto also lived with his family. Hermann Thalmessinger worked as a brewery director there. Both his sons emigrated to India after 1933. He declined the offer to join them. Living in a "privileged intermarriage", Hermann Thalmessinger wrongly believed himself to be safe. His wife Sophie died in 1938. The widower continued to live at Johannesstraße 40 until January 1944, but was eventually deported to Theresienstadt on transport "XIII/4" on 11th January 1944. There were 41 people on that transport. Despite his age – he was 76 when he was liberated – Hermann Thalmessinger did manage to survive his harrowing time in the concentration camp. He returned to Stuttgart deeply affected and had to go to a sanatorium in Degerloch. Hermann Thalmessinger died there on 21st August 1946.[450]



Otto Thalmessinger

OTTO THALMESSINGER

Otto Thalmessinger was born in Ulm on 3rd January 1872 as the son of the banker Nathan Thalmessinger and his wife Jette (née Steiner). His mother was the sister of Kilian von Steiner, the co-founder of the Württembergische Vereinsbank.[451] His siblings included *Hermann Thalmessinger, Rosa,* later a *Hecht* by marriage, and *Marie,* later a *Moos* by marriage. Otto Thalmessinger decided to study law after finishing school; he was granted a licence to practice law in Stuttgart at the age of 27. Two years later, he married *Else* Henle, the daughter of an Ulm merchant, on 9th April 1901. Their son Kurt and daughter Marie Elise were both born in Stuttgart in the two years following the wedding. From 1911 the family lived at Lenzhalde 42 in Stuttgart.[452] Thalmessinger was soon joined in his successful chambers by the two lawyers Dr Max Strauss and Dr Mandry. His son Kurt Thalmessinger also joined his father's chambers in 1927. Within this quartet of lawyers, Otto Thalmessinger predominantly handled commercial law cases. Otto Thalmessinger was deprived of his notary's office on 1st October 1933. Then in 1938, he lost his licence to practice law. His children were able to escape to safety by emigrating during this period. Otto and Else Thalmessinger were forced to move into a Judenhaus in Buchau am Federsee in February 1942. Otto Thalmessinger took his own life there on 21st July 1942.[453] The widow he left behind and her mother *Luise Henle* were deported to Theresienstadt one month later and both died there during the course of 1942.



Ernst Siegfried Ullmann

ERNST ULLMANN

Ernst Ullmann was born in Ulm on 28th July 1886 as the first child of the merchant Wilhelm Ullmann and his wife Klara Antonia (née Levinger). His father was a partner in the firm of Ullmann & Co. founded in 1872, which was initially located on Lange Straße, but later moved to Bismarckring.[454] After completing his education, Ernst Ullmann joined his father's firm along with his younger brother *Robert.* The brothers subsequently expanded the firm, which was also renamed several times. In addition, Ernst Ullmann was a partner in the wholesale manufacturing business Kohn & Ullmann at Bismarckring 34. On 12th August 1918, he married 29-year-old *Johanna* Nathan, the daughter of the owner of the Hecht brewery, Louis Nathan. The couple had no children. Ernst Ullmann was involved in the Jewish community and his memberships included the Israelite Charitable Society, the Jewish Cultural Union and the Central Association of German Citizens of the Jewish Faith.[455] The Ullmann brothers managed to maintain their firms until 1937. On 22nd July 1937, Ernst and Johanna Ullmann emigrated to the Netherlands and moved to the town of Naarden-Bussum, not far from Amsterdam. Ernst Ullmann was arrested following the German occupation of the Netherlands and was deported via the transit camp at Westerbork to Auschwitz-Birkenau. He lost his life there on 28th January 1944 and it is assumed that this was by violent means.



ERWIN ULLMANN

Erwin Ullmann was born on 24th September 1921 in Haigerloch near Rottenburg am Neckar. He moved to Ulm in 1936 at the age of 15 to become an apprentice in the restaurant in the Jewish Gemeindehaus. After the War, Erwin Ullmann reported that he was often given extra food for the Jewish community by grocers and butchers. As the Jewish community dwindled due to emigration, it became impossible for Ernst Ullmann to be employed at the Gemeindehaus. He worked temporarily in a non-Jewish bakery in Ulm and then moved to Stuttgart to take up a position in the Bloch Restaurant. He was deported from there to Riga on 1st December 1941.[456] He is the only former Jewish citizen of Ulm to have survived this ghetto and its liquidation. In 1945 he was liberated by the Red Army near Gdansk (Danzig). He emigrated to the United States in 1946 and worked at various establishments including the Waldorf Astoria Hotel.[457]

GERTRUDE ULLMANN NÉE KAHN

Gertrude Ullmann was born in Saarlouis on 10th November 1903 as the daughter of the merchant Leopold Kahn and his wife Emilia (née Fribourg). She grew up in her birthplace and married the Ulm merchant *Robert Ullmann* there on 26th January 1924. Gertrude moved to Ulm after the wedding and went on to have two daughters. She emigrated with her family to the Netherlands in 1937. After the German occupation of the neutral country, Gertrude Ullmann was once again vulnerable to the Nazi's persecution of the Jews. On 15th July 1942, her daughter *Leonore* was arrested during a raid and deported to Auschwitz-Birkenau. Gertrude herself was sent to Bergen-Belsen via the transit camp at Westerbork along with her husband and their second daughter in September 1943.[458] She was housed there in the same women's barracks as Anne Frank. She was also deported from Amsterdam in August 1944. After a short stay in Auschwitz-Birkenau, Anne Frank was taken to Bergen-Belsen on a transport of Jewish women in October 1944 and died there of typhus in March 1945. Gertrude Ullmann's husband Robert died in the concentration camp on 8th January 1945. She and her daughter survived in the Austauschlager ("Exchange Camp") and were deported in the direction of Theresienstadt shortly before the handover of the camp. Before the train could reach the camp, however, it was liberated by American troops on 13th April 1945 at Farsleben near Magdeburg. Gertrude Ullmann did not return to Ulm and emigrated with her daughter to the United States.



JOHANNA ULLMANN NÉE NATHAN

Johanna Ullmann was born in Ulm on 18th November 1888 as the daughter of the brewery owner Louis Nathan and his wife Mathilde (née Thalmessinger). She was the older sister of *Sofie,* who later married the artist Wilhelm *von Eiff.* Johanna grew up in the family home at Neutorstraße 1 on the site of the Hecht brewery. At the age of 19, she married the Ulm merchant *Ernst Ullmann* on 12th August 1918. After their wedding, the couple lived first at Zinglerstraße 52 and then at Bismarckring 34.[459] Johanna Ullmann was a member of the Jewish Cultural Union and the Israelite Women's Association.[460] She and her husband left their homeland on 22nd July 1937 and emigrated to the Netherlands. After the Germans occupied the Netherlands, Johanna Ullmann and her husband were arrested and deported to Auschwitz-Birkenau via the transit camp at Westerbork. Her husband died on 28th January 1944 and Johanna was subsequently murdered there on 28th June 1944.

LEONORE ULLMANN

Leonore Ullmann was born in Ulm on 23rd April 1925 as the daughter of *Robert Ullmann* and his wife *Gertrude* (née Kahn). She lived with her family at Bismarckring 34, which was also the site of the firm owned by her father and her uncle *Ernst Ullmann.* In 1937 she emigrated to Amsterdam with her parents and worked as a maid there. Following the German invasion of the Netherlands, Leonore Ullmann did not return home from work one evening. She was arrested during a raid and was deported to the main camp at Auschwitz on 15th July 1942. She was later murdered in the extermination camp on an unknown date.

ROBERT ULLMANN

Robert Ullmann was born in Ulm on 12th July 1893 as the son of the merchant Wilhelm Ullmann and his wife Klara Antonia (née Levinger). He was the younger brother of *Ernst Ullmann.* The family lived at Lange Straße 18. On 26th January 1924, Robert Ullmann married the merchant's daughter *Gertrude* Kahn in Saarlouis. The couple went on to have two children, the elder of whom was called *Leonore.* Together with his brother, Robert Ullmann owned the firms of Kohn & Ullmann and Ullmann & Co. He was active in the Jewish community and was a member of the Schild sports club, the Imperial Association of Jewish War Veterans, the Israelite Charitable Society, the Central Association of German Citizens of the Jewish Faith, and the Jewish Cultural Union.[461] After being stripped of their livelihood, the family emigrated in 1937 to Amsterdam, where they were in contact with *Sofie von Eiff,* who had likewise emigrated. After the German army had invaded the Netherlands, Robert Ullmann's daughter Leonore was arrested during a raid and deported to Auschwitz in 1942. In September 1943, Robert Ullmann, his wife Gertrude and their younger daughter were also deported via the transit camp at Westerbork to Bergen-Belsen, where they arrived on 1st February 1944.[462] The family were held in the Austauschlager, which was used for prisoners that the Nazis intended to exchange for German prisoners of war. The conditions there were better than in the rest of the concentration camp, but rapidly worsened, nevertheless. Robert Ullmann, who had been separated from his wife and daughter, died there from malnutrition on 8th January 1945. Gertrude Ullmann and her younger daughter were sent to Theresienstadt when the Bergen-Belsen Austauschlager was cleared, but were liberated before they reached their destination by American forces near Magdeburg on 13th April 1945. Mother and daughter did not return to Ulm after the War.

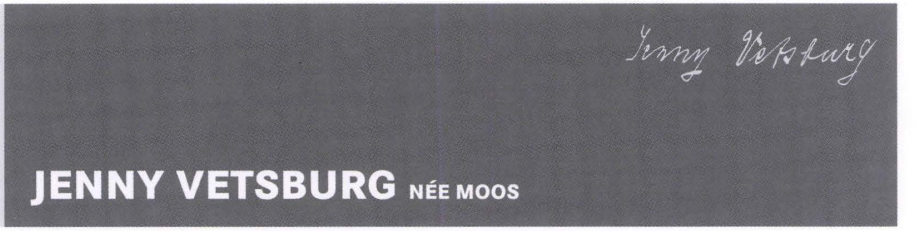
Fanny Hedwig Ury

HEDWIG URY NÉE ULLMANN

Fanny Hedwig Ury was born in Ulm on 26th February 1894 as the daughter of the merchant Nathan Ullmann and his wife Betty (née Winkler). Her mother was the daughter of Moritz Winkler, the malt factory owner from Ulm. Hedwig spent her childhood and youth on Lange Straße and on Olgastraße. On 18th October 1915, she married Dr Sigmar Ury in Ulm, who was serving on the Western Front as a medical officer at that time. After the First World War, from which her husband had returned with various decorations, Hedwig Ury gave birth to her only child Hans Peter in 1920. Hedwig Ury worked as a doctor's assistant in her husband's practice, which was located opposite the Schiller pharmacy at Zinglerstraße 44. Their son Hans Peter Ury emigrated to London in 1939. The doctor's practice had to be closed and Hedwig and her husband were forced to move into the Judenhaus at Beyerstraße 54.[463] Dr Sigmar Ury died there on 10th May 1941 due to a lack of medical treatment, having been refused a place in hospital because he was a Jew.[464] During this period, Hedwig Ury taught English to people wishing to emigrate. The lessons were initially held in the Gemeindehaus at Weinhof 3 and then, after this building was confiscated in August 1941, in the rear building at Neutorstraße 15. From the end of 1941 onwards, the widow is believed to have been employed as a kitchen help at the Jewish old people's home in Herrlingen, commuting daily to her place of work from Ulm. On 11th March 1942, she came to the compulsory Jewish old people's home housed in the dilapidated castle at Dellmensingen, where she cared for the elderly people.[465] On 17th August 1942, she was brought to Stuttgart, where she met up with many acquaintances from Ulm in the transit camp at Killesberg. They were deported to Theresienstadt together on 22nd August 1942. Hedwig Ury's last sign of life also comes from the ghetto there. *Resi Weglein* reported that she did manage to send a letter home.[466] It is most likely due to her medical skills that she was assigned to a transport for Auschwitz on a comparatively late date. The deportation transport "Es" reached its destination on 20th October 1944.[467] 342 people were selected for forced labour and 1,158 people for immediate death in the gas chamber of crematorium III.[468] Hedwig Ury is believed to have been assigned to the second group.



Wedding of Dr Sigmar and Fanny Ury, 1915.



JENNY VETSBURG NÉE MOOS

Jenny Vetsburg was born in Ulm on 22nd September 1877 as the daughter of the merchant Max Moos and his wife Klara (née Binswanger). She was the sister of *Mathilde,* later *Goldmann* by marriage, and *Bertha,* later *Hechinger* by marriage. Jenny grew up on Weinhof, where her father ran a leather business. On 24th December 1900, the 23-year-old married the merchant Philipp Vetsburg from Nuremberg. She moved with him to Berlin and the couple's first address was Hohenstaufenstraße 62 in the district of Schöneberg. Jenny Vetsburg's husband died in 1938. The couple were living at the time at Belle-Alliance-Straße 30 (now Mehringdamm) in the district of Kreuzberg. On 25th January 1942, Jenny Vetsburg was deported from Berlin-Grunewald to Riga. The deportees were transported in icy weather in open goods wagons with tarpaulins their only protection against the wind and cold. The transport also included an acquaintance of Victor Klemperer.[469] He wrote about her in his diary: "Lissy was evacuated on 25.01 during the period of heavy frost. Admittedly she went on the orders of the health authorities, because of her job as a nurse, and so she may have seen the deportation as fortunate. Robbed and expelled inside of 48 hours in any event."[470] Klemperer's comments indicate that at the beginning of 1942 he still had no knowledge of the true reason for the "evacuations". The deportation transport arrived in Riga after five days. Many people had already died during the journey and countless more were murdered on the platform at Riga-Skirotava immediately after their arrival. 13 of the 1,044 deportees were still alive at the end of the War.[471] Jenny Vetsburg was not among the survivors.



MARTHA WÄLDER NÉE HIRSCH

Martha Wälder was born in Ulm on 3rd October 1878 as the daughter of Moritz and Anna Hirsch. Her father ran the firm of "M. H. Hirsch: Futter für Herrenkonfektion und Kurzwaren en gros" at Bahnhofstraße 18. On 12th February 1900, Martha Wälder married the merchant Simon Wälder from Rottweil and moved with him to Berlin. The couple had two children there. Martha Wälder brought up their children and ran the household. Their last residential address in Berlin was Suarezstraße 55 in Charlottenburg. Martha Wälder was on the 9th transport from Berlin to the East, which left the capital on 19th January 1942. It was the first deportation transport that consisted of open goods wagons covered only with tarpaulins.[472] The train arrived in Riga after a four-day journey, during which the deportees were exposed to the winter cold with almost no protection. Martha Wälder is believed to have been killed in Riga.

ISAAK FRIEDRICH WASSERMANN

Isaak Friedrich Wassermann was born on 20th September 1888 in Aufhausen near Regensburg. Due to a mental disability he lived in the Oberer Riedhof regional care facility in Ulm's Danube Valley. He was the only Jew among the patients of the clinic and was addressed by the staff and other residents using the derogatory name of "Jud Süß" (the lead character of an anti-Semitic propaganda film released in 1940).[473] Isaak Friedrich Wassermann was brought to Grafeneck on 19th November 1940 as part of the "Euthanasia Programme" and was murdered by gas on the same day.[474]

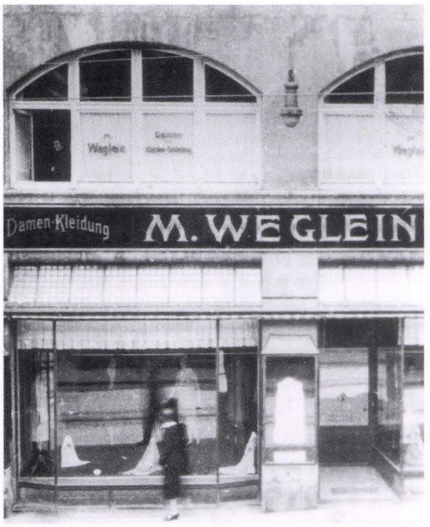
According to a decree of the Württemberg Interior Ministry of 27th December 1940: "The accommodation of mentally ill Jews in a psychiatric clinic is no longer acceptable in the long-term for the 'German' mentally ill, their relatives and the medical staff."[475]

KARL WASSERMANN

Karl Wassermann was born in Ulm on 6th July 1877 as the son of the merchant Bernhard Wassermann and his second wife Jeanette (née Moos). His father died on 27th September 1895 and his mother on 22nd July 1925, both in Stuttgart.[476] The family moved on an unknown date to Augsburg, where Karl Wassermann was deported to an "unknown destination" in March 1943. No information has been found on his subsequent fate.

PAULINE (BELA) WEGLEIN NÉE THEILHEIMER

Pauline Weglein was born on 6th April 1862 as the daughter of Völklein Theilheimer and his wife Fanny (née Marx) in Wittenheim in the Vosges. Pauline, commonly known as Bela, grew up in Gunzenhausen, the community where her father was born. On 22nd December 1884, she got married there to the merchant Max Weglein from Hainsfarth near Nördlingen and moved with him to Ulm.[477] Her husband Max was employed by C. Baums Nachfolger until the turn of the century and then founded his own company: Max Weglein Damen-Mäntelfabrik und Confection. The store was originally located on the south side of Münsterplatz at number 46, before being moved in 1912 to number 33. The family also lived there until the 1930s. The Weglein couple had four children: Willy, who only lived to the age of two, *Siegmund* – known as Siego –, Irma, who only survived for eight months, and Klara, who likewise did not survive past infancy. Pauline Weglein's husband died in October 1935 and she had to move into the Jewish old people's home at Laupheim after the War started. She was deported from there via Stuttgart to Theresienstadt on 22nd August 1942 together with her son Siegmund and her daughter-in-law *Resi.* Pauline Weglein was forced to endure the humiliating search for valuables in the Schleuse (lit. "lock" in the nautical sense) checkpoint room on her arrival alongside *Emma Gumbel* from Ulm. Resi Weglein described Pauline Weglein's first night in the concentration camp in her memoirs: "Obviously there were no beds; you just had to lie down on the bare rough stones, which were thick with many years' dirt. Mother Bela Weglein and I had found ourselves in the Schleuse after a long search and stayed together during that night, and that was a good thing. We got hold of a paper, which mother laid on the dirty ground. I was resigned to it all; I sat on my coat. Men, women and children sat or lay down side-by-side all around. There were 2,500-3,000 people housed in this attic and naturally quiet was out of the question."[478] Pauline Weglein's condition worsened steadily over the course of the following months. Resi Weglein reported further: "On 2.1.43 the room commandant took me to my mother-in-law. I saw that there was nothing else that could be done. Dr Karpeles, the doctor for rooms 167–170, also believed that mother would not survive the day. Despite this, the poor woman lay in agony for 27 hours and for 27 hours I sat on a small stool by the bed. On 3.1.43 at 9am, Mother finally passed away peacefully. In accordance with her wishes I did not let anyone else touch her, I undressed and washed her myself, wrapped her body in a clean sheet and then handed her over to the pallbearers. The cremation was on 4.1. Hedwig Ury and Lola Albala accompanied me to the central mortuary. A Czech rabbi said the usual prayers for the 28 dead. Around this number of dead were sent on their final journey in this way every hour. The coffins were then loaded onto a horse-drawn cart, the mourners were allowed to accompany it for a while. You had to turn back at the walls of the ghetto."[479]



The Weglein family's clothing store at Münsterplatz 33, around 1925.



Resi Weglein

RESI WEGLEIN NÉE REGENSTEINER

Resi Weglein was born in Nördlingen on 15th February 1894 as the daughter of the salesman Moses Regensteiner and his wife Sofia (née Wuchermann). After marrying *Siegmund Weglein* on 28th December 1922 in Ulm, Resi moved to Münsterplatz with her husband. Their sons Heinz Joachim and Walter Manfred were born there in 1924 and 1926 respectively. Resi Weglein cared for her husband Siegmund Weglein, who had been seriously wounded during the war, and also helped in the sales department of the M. Weglein store until the business was given up. She also took care of her fellow Jews during the years of Nazi persecution. She regularly visited the Jewish old people's home at Herrlingen, for example, where many of her acquaintances were forced to live, bringing them toiletries and treats. After Ulm's Jews were affected by deportations from November 1941, she helped the deportees to pack up their belongings and tried to give them support and comfort. On 21st August 1942, i.e. one day before the deportation to Theresienstadt, the Stuttgart Gestapo ordered the confiscation of all her assets on behalf of the Reich. Resi Weglein worked as a nurse in Theresienstadt. She took care of her patients in the infirmary there under completely inadequate conditions and experienced first-hand how they died en masse. Resi Weglein managed to survive the malnutrition and epidemics and was not put on a transport to an extermination camp. She returned to Ulm in May 1945 and wrote down her harrowing memories of the concentration camp for her sons living in Great Britain. On 28th January 1977, Resi Weglein died in Ulm at the age of almost 83. Her memoirs, which also describe the fate of many of her acquaintances from Ulm in the Theresienstadt concentration camp, were published posthumously in 1988 entitled Als Krankenschwester in Theresienstadt ("As a Nurse in Theresienstadt"). They provide an impressive testimony to Jewish life in Ulm under National Socialism and particularly to the living conditions in Theresienstadt.

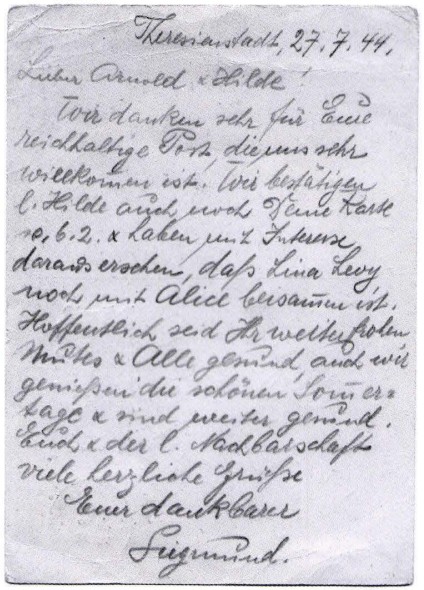


Siegmund and Resi Weglein with their son Walter, 1947.

Siego Siegmund Weglein

SIEGMUND WEGLEIN

Siegmund Weglein was born in Ulm on 10th March 1887 as the son of the merchant Max Weglein and his wife *Pauline* (née Theilheimer). Siegmund, commonly known as Siego, grew up on Münsterplatz, where his parents ran the Modehaus M. Weglein store specialising in ladies' and children's clothes. Siego Weglein volunteered for the Front during the First World War at the age of 27. He served in the 15th Bavarian Reserve Infantry Regiment, in the 12th Bavarian Infantry Regiment and in a radio unit. He was awarded the Iron Cross 2nd Class and the Bavarian Military Service Cross 3rd Class with Swords for his service. His leg was amputated following a serious injury and this continued to cause him pain for the rest of his life. After 1933, he lost all the wealth he had accrued as a partner in the family firm. When he was forced to move into a Judenhaus, the Wegleins asked Ulm's city administration to reconsider in light of his invalidity. Siegmund Weglein had to bathe frequently to relieve his pain, which meant he needed a bathroom. In addition, the home had to be accessible with his artificial leg. As a result, Siegmund Weglein and his wife were left in their home at Olgastraße 6.[480] On 22nd August 1942, he, his wife and his mother were deported to Theresienstadt. On his arrival at the station, he was loaded onto a flatbed truck due to his impaired mobility, but the load floor broke in two during the journey to the concentration camp and many people were injured as a result. Siegmund Weglein managed to survive the accident and the years that followed in the ghetto. He returned to his home town of Ulm after Theresienstadt was liberated in May 1945 and spent his last years with his wife back in the apartment at Straßburgweg 1 on the Kuhberg. He died in a hospital in Ulm on 1st June 1967.



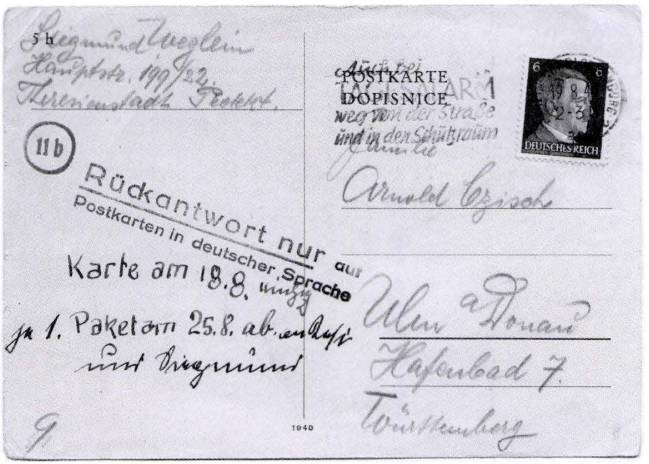
Theresienstadt, 27.7.44.

Lieber Arnold & Hilde!

Wir danken sehr für Eure reichhaltige Post, die uns sehr willkommen ist. Wir bestätigen l. Hilde auch noch Deine Karte v. 6.2. & haben mit Interesse daraus ersehen, daß Lina Levy noch mit Alice beisamm ist. Hoffentlich seid Ihr weiterhin Mutes & Alle gesund auch wir genießen die schönen Sommertage & sind weiter gesund. Auch & der l. Nachbarschaft viele herzliche Grüße

Euer dankbarer

Siegmund.



5 b

Siegmund Weglein
Hauptstr. 199/22
Theresienstadt Protektorat

POSTKARTE
DOPISNICE

DEUTSCHES REICH

11 b

Rückantwort nur auf Postkarten in deutscher Sprache

Karte am 18.8. mitgg.
ja 1. Paket am 25.8. ab.
mit Siegmund

Arnold Czisch

Ulm a Donau
Hafenbad 7.
Württemberg

9

1940

Postcard from Theresienstadt sent by Siegmund Weglein to Arnold Czisch in Ulm. The inhabitants of the concentration camp were only able to send innocuous messages because all correspondence was monitored, 1944.



EDITH WEIL

Edith Antonie Weil was born in Ulm on 24th October 1926 as the youngest of three children born to *Isidor* and *Elsa Weil* (née Kahn). She was the niece of *Emma Honold.* Her parents ran a shop on Münsterplatz selling clothing for men and boys. Edith was a member of the Schild sports club and of Makkabi-Hazair, the Jewish youth movement. She completed her schooling at the Jewish boarding school in Herrlingen, which she attended as a day pupil. After this closed, she went temporarily to the Wilhelmspflege boarding school in Esslingen.[481] Edith, who was unwell at this time, moved to Laupheim with her parents in September 1939.[482] Her brother Otto, who later took the name of Michael Wheeler, and her sister Mathilde, who later became a Fraenkel by marriage, were both living in Great Britain by this point. On 1st May 1941, she took up a position as a trainee housekeeper in the Jewish old people's home at Herrlingen. She was the last member of staff to relocate to Oberstotzingen on 16th July 1942.[483] From there she had to join the deportation transport for Theresienstadt with her parents on 22nd August 1942. Her father died there on 7th February 1943. *Resi Weglein* wrote about Edith Weil in a letter to Edith's sister Mathilde in 1946: "No sooner were we pleased that the young girl was free of fever, then a week later some other condition would make itself known and so we could never relax."[484] Edith Weil was assigned to transport "Eq" to Auschwitz on 12th October 1944.[485] This train reached the extermination camp two days later. A small group of Jews deemed fit for work were brought into the transit camp, among them H. G. Adler, who created a definitive work on Theresienstadt after his liberation. The majority of the new arrivals, however, were murdered on the same day in the gas chamber of crematorium III and Edith Weil is believed to have been among them.[486]



Elsa, Edith and Isidor Weil in Laupheim, around 1940.

ELSA WEIL NÉE KAHN

Elsa Weil was born in Ludwigsburg on 17th November 1882 as, the daughter of the trader Daniel Kahn and his wife Fanny (née Rothschild). Elsa was the younger sister of *Emma Honold.* She married the salesman *Isidor Weil* at the age of 37 on 2nd January 1920 in Neu-Ulm. The couple lived at Olgastraße 66 in Ulm after they married.[487] They had their first child Otto in 1921, followed by Mathilde in 1923 and *Edith* in 1926. During the 1930s, Elsa Weil was a member of the Zionist organisation in Ulm and of the Association of Jewish Women for Palestine Work. The two oldest children, Mathilde and Otto, were able to emigrate to England in 1937 and 1939 respectively. The youngest daughter Edith remained with her parents. On 7th October 1939, they moved together from Ulm to Laupheim, where Elsa Weil took over as manager of the Jewish old people's home.[488] Elsa and *Resi Weglein* got to know one another more closely there and remained in contact once they were in Theresienstadt. After the liberation, Resi Weglein reported to Mathilde Weil about the fate of her parents: "In addition to her heavy work, your mother also did an enormous amount for your father. She was admirable for it because she, who had come to Th. from Laupheim as a stronger, more capable person, lost weight very quickly from the hunger and was only a shadow of her former self. Your mother was very ill on two occasions, but recovered very quickly as she had a strong will, and she worked until October 1944 distributing the food rations. She had to carry heavy loads to do so and also injured herself. Despite everything she would have come through if she had not been assigned to a transport for Auschwitz. She was saved from her fate once because of her work, only to be assigned to the next transport."[489] Elsa Weil and her daughter Edith left Theresienstadt on transport "Eq" on 12th October 1944. On arrival in Auschwitz, most of the deportees were murdered in the gas chamber of crematorium III, and Elsa Weil is presumed to have been among them.[490]

ISIDOR WEIL

Isidor Weil was born in Meisenheim near Bad Kreuznach on 21st August 1875 as the son of the merchant Emanuel Weil and his wife Elisabetha (née Michel). After finishing school, he trained as a merchant. He served in the First World War, returning home with a severe rheumatic condition, which often confined him to his bed.[491] Isidor Weil moved to Ulm after marrying *Elsa* Kahn on 2nd January 1920. The Directories reveal that the family lived first at Olgastraße 66 from 1920 to 1932 and then at Bahnhofstraße 1 until 1938. Isidor Weil ran a clothing store for men and boys at Münsterplatz 3 offering bespoke garments. He was a member of Ulm's Zionist organisation. In 1938 the family moved to Karpfengasse 4, the home of his sister-in-law *Emma Honold.* On 7th October 1939, the Weils resettled in Laupheim, where his wife took over as manager of the Jewish old people's home. On 22nd August 1942, the family were deported from Stuttgart to Theresienstadt. The condition of Isidor Weil's health rapidly worsened there. He was cared for in the infirmary by his wife and by *Resi Weglein.* She later reported that he became very ill and died on 7th February 1943. His wife and daughter were deported to Auschwitz-Birkenau in October 1944 and murdered there.



Elsa and Isidor Weil on holiday, around 1920.

SOPHIE WEINSCHENK NÉE THALMESSINGER

Sophie Weinschenk was born in Ulm on 28th February 1867 as the daughter of Leopold Thalmessinger and his wife Jeanette (née Steiner). Sophie had several siblings, including *Emma,* later *Strauss* by marriage. On 23rd May 1886, she married the banker and Kommerzienrat (Councillor of Commerce) Max Weinschenk from Windsbach near Ansbach and moved with him to Regensburg. He ran the "Bank- und Wechselgeschäft Weinschenk" business there. Sophie gave birth to children Martha, Gretchen and Hans in Regensburg. The couple moved from Regensburg to Munich on 1st February 1920 and lived there at Rondell Neuwittelsbach 3. Max Weinschenk died eight years later and his widow moved into the retirement home at Renatastraße 48 in June 1932, but moved back to the Rondell two years later.[492] Her two daughters were both married to non-Jewish husbands and these "privileged intermarriages" protected them after 1933. Her mentally disabled son Hans was transferred to a killing facility along with other patients from Eglfing-Haar on 20th September 1940 and was murdered there as part of the "Euthanasia Programme". To cover up the murder of the patient, the place of death is listed as "Cholm" in the file.[493] Sophie Weinschenk received her deportation order for Theresienstadt in summer 1942 and took her own life in Munich on 11th July 1942. The comment "melancholia because of resettlement" is recorded in the police suicide register.[494]



Sophie Weinschenk's identity card, 1939.

MARIE WESSEL (DREIFUSS) NÉE DREIFUSS

Marie Wessel was born in Ulm on 11th April 1875 as the daughter of Hermann Dreifuss and his wife Jette (née Einstein). Her mother was Hermann Einstein's older sister and, thus, she was Albert Einstein's cousin. On 6th July 1911, Marie married the non-Jewish travel courier Peter Hubert Wessel in Lucerne in Switzerland. Their son Ernst Albert was born 18 days after the wedding. In April 1912, she moved to Munich and then returned from there on 1st April 1914.[495] On 22nd April 1918, her marriage was annulled by the königliches Landgericht (Imperial District Court) in Traunstein. Marie initially retained her married name and is listed under this name in the Ulm Directory of 1927 with a delicatessen at Pfauengasse 27 and in later editions up to 1937 with a residential address of Beyerstraße 28. Her maiden name is used in documents after 1940. Marie, who was now completely penniless and dependent on the support of the Jewish welfare organisation in Stuttgart, was a member of the Israelite Women's Association from 1936 onwards.[496] On 21st May 1942, she was charged with repeatedly concealing the Judenstern badge in public. She responded to the charges in a letter: "It is correct that I had covered the Judenstern with a shawl during a walk in Wilhelmshöhe park on 17.5.42, and also about 10 days previously. I did this intentionally, but only because I was born in Ulm and am well-known in wide circles. I do not like walking around with the Judenstern and am always very embarrassed when I meet an acquaintance. In addition, I am repeatedly harassed by young boys and girls who shout at me: 'Juda, Juda!' or 'Jud, Jud, häpp häpp häpp, wenn Dich der Teufel hätt'. I admit that around 10 days before I had been approached in this respect in the same place by a man in plain clothes and had been warned. However, I did not think anything more about it, especially as the man was not in uniform. From now on I promise I will always wear the Judenstern openly and will no longer cover it."[497] She was deported a few months later on 22nd August 1942 from Stuttgart to Theresienstadt, where she died on an unknown date.

ALFRED WOLF

Alfred Wolf was born on 9th May 1905 and came to Ulm in the 1930s. Until 1938 he was a member of the Jewish Cultural Union and later moved away from Ulm, but it has not been possible to establish the exact date. He was taken to the Izbica transit camp on 26th April 1942 and is presumed to have been deported from there to one of the extermination camps, Belzec, Majdanek or Sobibor.[498]

OTTO ALFRED WOLF

Otto Alfred Wolf was born in Ulm on 22nd October 1873 as the third child of Jacob Wolf and his wife Bertha (née Rosengart). He had two older siblings Benno and *Ida,* who later became an Ebert by marriage. After completing his commercial training, Otto Alfred Wolf was a partner alongside his brother Benno in the firm of "Rosengart und Wolf: Baumwollwaren en gros" on Karlsplatz in Ulm. Otto Alfred Wolf moved to Stuttgart on an unknown date. He was taken to Theresienstadt on 22nd August 1942 and was deported from there to the Treblinka extermination camp on 29th September 1942. He is believed to have been murdered there immediately after his arrival.

ROSA WOLFF NÉE SICHEL

Rosa Wolff was born on 24th June 1871 in Hanau. She is known to have lived in Ulm from 17th May 1939 to 14th June 1940 and lived on the ground floor of the Judenhaus at Neutorstraße 15.[499] It is no longer possible to ascertain how long Rosa Wolff lived in Ulm, because the city's registry office files were destroyed during an air raid towards the end of the Second World War. On 22nd August 1942, Rosa Wolff was deported via Stuttgart to Theresienstadt. She died there on 5th December 1942.

HEDWIG ZODICK NÉE OPPENHEIMER

Hedwig Zodick was born on 12th October 1897 in Essen. She married *Siegmund Zodick* and the couple then lived in Montabaur for a while. The couple had two children *Ruth* and *Kurt* there. Siegmund Zodick became a Rabbinatsverweser (Acting Rabbi) in Ulm in early 1940 and moved to Neutorstraße 1 with his wife Hedwig and their two children. The family later moved to Buchau, from where they were deported to Riga via Stuttgart on 1st December 1941. Hedwig Zodick, her husband and their daughter Ruth are all presumed to have been murdered there. Their son Kurt was murdered in Auschwitz-Birkenau in autumn 1944.

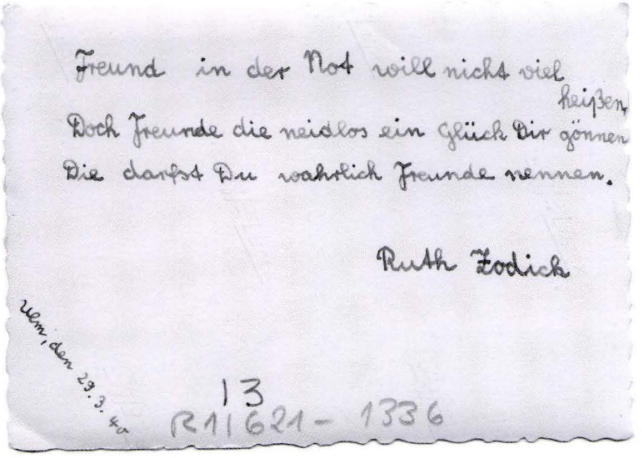
KURT ZODICK

Kurt Zodick was born in Montabaur on 11th June 1925 as the younger of two children born to *Siegmund* and *Hedwig Zodick*. He came to Ulm with his family in early 1940 and later moved with them to Buchau. On 1st December 1941, he was deported to Riga with his parents and sister *Ruth*. While his parents and sister lost their lives there, Kurt Zodick survived in the Riga Ghetto for three and a half years. On 23rd August 1944, he was brought to the Stutthof concentration camp near Gdansk (Danzig) and was then deported on 10th September 1944 to the Auschwitz-Birkenau extermination camp. There is no further trace of him after that date.



RUTH ZODICK

Ruth Zodick was born in Montabaur on 25th June 1923 as the older of two children born to *Siegmund* and *Hedwig Zodick*. She came to Ulm at the start of 1940 with her parents and her brother *Kurt* and lived in the Judenhaus at Neutorstraße 1. She quickly made friends in the Jewish community. On 29th March 1940, Ruth Zodick wrote to her friend Hannelore Baer, the granddaughter of *Emmy Frankfurter*, who later became a Wolf by marriage and was able to emigrate to the United States: "Not many want to be a friend in need. Yet friends who ungrudgingly wish you luck, you can truly call friends." One and a half years later, the 18-year-old Ruth Zodick was deported with her family to Riga and murdered there.



Reverse of Ruth Zodick's memento photo for her friend Hannelore Baer, March 1940.

SIEGMUND ZODICK

Siegmund Zodick was born on 5th June 1893 in Laubach to the north of Frankfurt am Main. He married *Hedwig* Oppenheimer and came to Buchau with his family on 6th May 1935. He worked as a teacher at the Jewish school there and was a cantor in the synagogue.[500] Siegmund Zodick was interested in history and translated documents on the history of the Jewish communities of Buchau and Kappel from Hebrew into German. He was arrested during Kristallnacht and taken to the Dachau concentration camp, which he was subsequently able to leave on 6th December 1938. On 28th August 1939, he had to leave Buchau with his family by police order. He moved first to Mergentheim and then from there in early 1940 to Ulm, where he took up a position as a Rabbinatsverweser. This was a period during which Ulm's Jewish community was already disintegrating. In mid-1940, the family were living on the first floor of the Judenhaus at Neutorstraße 1.[501] The Zodick family left Ulm on an unknown date. They were deported via Stuttgart to Riga on 1st December 1941. All members of the family except for son *Kurt* are believed to have come to a violent end in Riga. Kurt Zodick survived the Riga Ghetto and was murdered in Auschwitz-Birkenau in autumn 1944.

FANNY ZÜRNDORFER NÉE MAIER

Fanny Zürndorfer was born in Heidelsheim near Bruchsal on 5th May 1871 under the maiden name of Maier. After marrying the manufacturer Hugo Zürndorfer, she lived with him in Ichenhausen and went on to have a son and a daughter there. She moved to Ulm following her husband's death in December 1928 and is listed at the address of Susoweg 17 from 1935 onwards. Fanny Zürndorfer was a member of the Israelite Charitable Society.[502] In 1935 the widow moved to Rexingen and then from there to the compulsory Jewish old people's home at Herrlingen on 12th July 1939.[503] She was transferred to the Jewish old people's home housed in the derelict castle at Oberstotzingen on 10th June 1942. She was then brought to Theresienstadt on 22nd August 1942 via the transit camp at Stuttgart-Killesberg. One month later, Fanny Zürndorfer was deported to the Treblinka extermination camp on 29th September 1942 and was murdered there immediately after her arrival.

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NOTES

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43 There is a wealth of literature on the Holocaust. Particular mention is given to a selection of definitive works and newer histories: W. Benz, Der Holocaust. 7th edn. Munich 2008; I. Gutman (ed.), Enzyklopädie des Holocaust. Die Verfolgung und Ermordung der europäischen Juden. German edition ed. E. Jäckel, P. Longerich, and J. H. Schoeps, 2nd edn. 3 vols. Berlin 1998; S. Friedländer, Das Dritte Reich und die Juden. Vol. 1: Die Jahre der Verfolgung 1933–1939. Munich 1998. Vol. 2: Die Jahre der Vernichtung 1939–1945. Munich 2006; R. Hilberg, Die Vernichtung der europäischen Juden. 3 vols. Frankfurt a. M. 1990; P. Longerich, Politik der Vernichtung. Eine Gesamtdarstellung der nationalsozialistischen Judenverfolgung. Munich/Zurich 1998; id., Die Ermordung der europäischen Juden. Eine umfassende Dokumentation des Holocaust, 1941–1945. Munich/Zürich 1989; H. Mommsen, Auschwitz, 17. Juli 1942. Der Weg zur europäischen „Endlösung der Judenfrage". Munich 2002.

44 Stadtarchiv Ulm, H. Keil 1/5.

45 RGBl. 1941 I, 722.

46 On the deportation of Württemberg Jews cf. J. Hahn, Erinnerungen und Zeugnisse jüdischer Geschichte in Baden-Württemberg. Stuttgart 1988; P. Sauer, Die Jüdischen Gemeinden in Württemberg und Hohenzollern. Denkmale, Geschichte, Schicksale. Stuttgart 1966; id., Die Schicksale der jüdischen Bürger Baden-Württembergs während der nationalsozialistischen Verfolgungszeit 1933–1945. Statistische Ergebnisse und Erhebungen der Dokumentationsstelle bei der Archivdirektion Stuttgart und zusammenfassende Darstellung. 2 vols. Stuttgart 1969; a victim's report: Weglein, Krankenschwester im KZ Theresienstadt (as n. 10).

47 Stadtarchiv Ulm, H. Keil 1/5.

48 A. Angrick and P. Klein, Die „Endlösung" in Riga. Ausbeutung und Vernichtung 1941–1944. Darmstadt 2006.

49 R. Kuwalek, ‚Das Durchganslager in Izbica', Theresienstädter Studien und Dokumente 2003, 328.

50 Ibid.

51 Ibid. 341.

52 Weglein, Krankenschwester im KZ Theresienstadt (as n. 10), 18 f.; cf. also Stadtarchiv Ulm, H. Keil 1/5.

53 Weglein, Krankenschwester im KZ Theresienstadt (as n. 10), 20.

54 His daughter Amelie provided a vivid depiction of the family's fate in Fried, Schuhhaus Pallas (as n. 31).

55 Keil, Dokumentation (as n. 7).

56 Memorial page for Adolfine Adler: http://www.yadvashem.org as at 24th September 2008.

57 Archivdirektion Stuttgart (ed.), Die Opfer der nationalsozialistischen Judenverfolgung in Baden-Württemberg 1933–1945. Ein Gedenkbuch. Stuttgart 1969, 2.

58 The Adler family are recorded at the following addresses in the Ulm Directories and the Registry Office files: Hirschstr. 19 (1914), Herrenkellergasse 8 (1916–1921), Neutorstr. 16 (1934), Karlstr. 13.

59 Schwäbische Zeitung of 9th November 1993.

60 Stadtarchiv Ulm, H. Keil 3/1.

61 A detailed account of the life of Alfred Moos is offered by C. Dauerer, Alfred Moos, ein Ulmer Jude auf der Flucht vor dem NS-Staat. Ulm 1995.

62 Anna Bach is recorded at the following addresses in the Ulm Directories: Ensingerstr. 8 (1891–1891), Neutorstr. 13 (1900–1914).

63 W. Strauss (ed.), Lebenszeichen. Juden aus Württemberg nach 1933. Gerlingen 1982, 31.

64 Stadtarchiv München (ed.), Biographisches Gedenkbuch der Münchner Juden (1933-1945). Munich 2007, 70.

65 Ibid.

66 A. Gottwaldt and D. Schulle, Die „Judendeportationen" aus dem Deutschen Reich 1941–1945. Wiesbaden 2005, 288.

67 Stadtarchiv Ulm, Zeugnisse (as n. 4), 142.

68 However, Bruchsal is given as her last place of residence in the Württemberg Memorial Book: Archivdirektion Stuttgart, Opfer (as n. 57), 14.

69 Staatliches Museum Auschwitz-Birkenau, Syg D-RF-3/16, No inw 22017.

70 D. Czech, Kalendarium der Ereignisse im Konzentrationslager Auschwitz-Birkenau 1939–1945. Reinbeck 1989, 271.

71 Staatliches Museum Auschwitz-Birkenau, Syg D-RF-3/16, No inw 22017, Z6 Str. 903.

72 Alfred Balbier is recorded at the following addresses in the Ulm Directories: Marktplatz A 341 (1880–1889), Schuhhausgasse D 238 (1889), Münsterplatz 44 (1896–1933).

73 Stadtarchiv München, Gedenkbuch (as n. 64), 87.

74 Otto Balbier is recorded at the following addresses in the Ulm Directories: Marktplatz A 341 (1880–1889), Schuhhausgasse D 238 (1889), Münsterplatz 44 (1896–1933).

75 Stadtarchiv Ulm, Gedenkbuch (as n. 64), 87 f.

76 Volksbund Deutsche Kriegsgräberfürsorge e.V., RigaKomitee der deutschen Städte, Stiftung Neue Synagoge Berlin – Centrum Judaicum, and Gedenkstätte Haus der WannseeKonferenz (ed.), Buch der Erinnerung. Die ins Baltikum deportierten deutschen, österreichischen und tschechoslowakischen Juden. Munich 2003, 130.

77 Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg, EL 350 I ES 29821.

78 Stadtarchiv Ulm, Zeugnisse (as n. 4), 143.

79 Südwest Presse of 28th November 1991.

80 The family of Heinrich and Eda Barth are recorded at the following addresses in the Ulm Directories and in Stadtarchiv Ulm, H. Keil 1/5: Basteistr. 33 (1919–1920), Olgastr. 81 (1921–1933), Ensingerstr. 21 (1933–1939), Neutorstr. 15 (1939–1941).

81 Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg, EL 350 I ES/A 10724.

82 The married couple Julius and Theodora Barth are recorded at the following addresses in the Ulm Directories: König-Wilhelm-Str. 35 (1919–1935), Adolf-Hitler-Ring (now Promenade) 11 (1937).

83 Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg, FL 300/33 II Bü 103.

84 Ibid.

85 Written information from the KZ-Gedenkstätte Dachau of 11th January 2008.

86 Kreisarchiv Alb-Donau-Kreis, OA Ulm No. 355.

87 Stadtarchiv Ulm, Zeugnisse (as n. 4), 142.

88 Flora Bayersdorfer is recorded at the following addresses in the Ulm Directories: Sattlergasse A 150 (1878), Bahnhofstr. B 134 (1880–1902).

89 The previous assumption that Flora Bayersdorfer was deported via Stuttgart to Izbica on 26th April 1942 is no longer accepted as correct. Cf. Keil, Dokumentation (as n. 7), 384, and Stadtarchiv Neu-Ulm, registration files.

90 Esther Béjarano has recorded her memoirs in: E. Béjarano and B. Gärtner, Wir leben trotzdem. Esther Béjarano – vom Mädchenorchester in Auschwitz zur Künstlerin für den Frieden, Bonn 2004.

91 Marie Bernheim is recorded at the following addresses in the Ulm Directories: Promenade 6 (1873), Münsterplatz 33 (1876–1896).

92 Stadtarchiv München, Gedenkbuch (as n. 64), 134 f.

93 Lina Binswanger is recorded at the following addresses in the Ulm Directories: Weinhof A 107 (1873–1876), Münsterplatz C 131 (1878), Hospitalgasse A 301 (1880–1891).

94 Stadtarchiv München, Gedenkbuch (as n. 64), 151; the liqueur factory was "aryanised" following Kristallnacht.

95 Gottwaldt/Schulle, Judendeportationen (as n. 66), 191.

96 Kreisarchiv Alb-Donau-Kreis, OA Ulm No. 356.

97 Written information from the Bundesarchiv of 28th July 2008.

98 http://www.bundesarchiv.de/gedenkbuch/directory.html as at 14th September 2008.

99 Yad Vashem (http://www.yadvashem.org/wps/portal/IY_HON_Welcome as at 24th September 2008) lists Freiburg i. Br. as Marie Bloch's place of residence, and Archivdirektion Stuttgart, Opfer (as n. 57), 31, lists Mannheim as her last address.

100 Staatliches Museum Auschwitz-Birkenau, Syg D-RF-3/32, No inw 22033.

101 Czech, Kalendarium (as n. 70), 304; we are grateful to Marie Bloch's granddaughter Traude Brendler, Berlin, for revising her grandmother's biography. Cf. also T. Brendler, Marie Bloch. Die letzten Lebenszeugnisse meiner Großmutter. Berlin: book on demand 2008, and T. Brendler, Marie. Ein Leben. Die Tagebücher von Marie Bloch, verw. Zivi, geb. Murr. Berlin: book on demand 2012.

102 Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg, EL 350 I, AZ ES7/A 14643-1.

103 Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg, EL 350 I, AZ ES7/A 14643.

104 Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg, EL 350 I, AZ ES7/A 14643-1.

105 http://www.bundesarchiv.de/gedenkbuch/directory.html
as at 14th September 2008.

106 Stadtarchiv München, Gedenkbuch (as n. 64), 184 f.

107 Ibid.

108 Sara Breslauer is recorded at the following addresses in the Ulm Directories: Bei der Hauptwache (later Sattlergasse) A 153 (1868–1881), Münsterplatz 43 (1886–1890).

109 http://www.berlin.de/ba-charlottenburg-wilmersdorf/bezirk/lexikon/geschichtewilmersdorf.html#06
as at 24th September 2008.

110 Gottwaldt/Schulle, Judendeportationen (as n. 66), 309 f.

111 Sara Breslauer had ten other siblings, of whom the four oldest died in infancy, however. Her sister Fanny Buttenwieser was murdered in Treblinka in September 1942.

112 Kreisarchiv Alb-Donau-Kreis, OA Ulm No. 355.

113 The Brumlik family are recorded at the following addresses in the Ulm Directories: Münsterplatz 23 (1921–1927), Wagnerstr. 5 (1929–1935), Olgastr. 41 (1937).

114 Staatliches Museum Auschwitz-Birkenau, Syg D-RF-3/85. No. inw 107390 T2 Str. 63.

115 Neu-Ulmer Zeitung of 22nd October 1988.

116 Kreisarchiv Alb-Donau-Kreis, OA Ulm No. 355.

117 The sources are contradictory with regard to the date of Fritz Brumlik's emigration: the registration file for the Jewish associations in the archive of the Landkreis Alb-Donau (Section OA Ulm No. 355) lists 1st September 1937, whereas the date is recorded as 18th May 1938 in the Jewish community's family register. It is likely that he was no longer able to play an active role in the associations after moving to Herrlingen and left as a result, but did not actually move to Prague with his parents until the later date.

118 Fritz Brumlik is on the deportation list for Theresienstadt under number 995 and for Auschwitz under number 1247: Staatliches Museum Auschwitz-Birkenau, Syg D-RF-3/85. No. inw 107390 T2 Str. 63.

119 Amendment report: International Tracing Service, Archive.

120 Staatliches Museum Auschwitz-Birkenau, Syg D-RF 3/85. No inw 1077390 T2 Str. 63.

121 The Chose family are recorded at the following addresses in the Ulm Directories: Theatergasse 3 (1922–1927), Olgastr. 24 (1927–1938).

122 Kreisarchiv Alb-Donau-Kreis, OA Ulm No. 355.

123 http://www.bundesarchiv.de/gedenkbuch/directory.html as at 14th September 2008.

124 Kreisarchiv Alb-Donau-Kreis, OA Ulm No. 355.

125 Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg, FL 300/33 II Bü 1905.

126 http://www.bundesarchiv.de/gedenkbuch/directory.html as at 14th September 2008.

127 Stadtarchiv Schwäbisch Gmünd (ed.): Zeitzeugen berichten... Schwäbisch Gmünd – Erinnerungen an die Zeit von 1930 to 1945. Schwäbisch Gmünd 1989, 52 f.

128 Südwest Presse of 28th November 2002.

129 Seemüller, Herrlingen (as n. 41), 130 f.

130 Staatliches Museum Auschwitz-Birkenau, Syg D-RF 3/107, No inw 107412, T22 Str.3.

131 Czech, Kalendarium (as n. 70), 912.

132 http://www.alemannia-judaica.de/rabbiner_baw.htm#Calvaria,%20Lewin%20L%F6b
as at 10th September 2008.

133 Dr Julius Cohn is recorded at the following addresses in the Ulm Directories and in the Kreisarchiv Alb-Donau-Kreis, OA Ulm No. 355: Weinhof 3 (1928–1938), Lange Straße 18 (1938–1939).

134 Stadtarchiv Ulm, H. Keil 1/3.

135 Leo Baeck Institute, New York, AR 1233.

136 Ibid.

137 Sofie Dingfelder is recorded at the following addresses in the Ulm Directories: Platzgasse 6 (1902), Vestgasse 4 (1904), Hafenbad 21 (1906–1907).

138 Else Dölzer's mother Mathilde emigrated to join her son in her birthplace of New York in May 1939.

139 Czech, Kalendarium (as n. 70), 778; Staatliches Museum Auschwitz-Birkenau, Syg D-RF 3/97a. No inw 107492 T12 Str.48.

140 Admission form: International Tracing Service, Archive, Doc. No. 4451798#1.

141 Neu-Ulmer Zeitung of 18th July 1991.

142 Klara Dreyfuss is recorded at the following addresses in the Ulm Directories: Stubengasse 1 (1877–1896), Lange Str. 19 (1898–1900), Kramgasse 2 (1902).

143 Seemüller, Herrlingen (as n. 41), 149.

144 Ida Ebert is recorded at the following addresses in the Ulm Directories: Theatergasse D 120 (1873–1891), Karlsplatz 4 (1891–1894).

145 Written information from the Stadtarchiv Rottenburg a. N. of 1st February 2008.

146 Written interview with Tilde von Eiff, Stuttgart, 17th August 2008.

147 Ibid.

148 Ida Einhorn is recorded at the following addresses in the Ulm Directories: Sammlungsgasse A 282 (1879–1889), Ensingerstr. 3 (1891), Karlsplatz 4 (1891–1898).

149 Stadtarchiv München, Gedenkbuch (as n. 64), 285 f.

150 Institut Theresienstädter Initiative (ed.): Theresienstädter Gedenkbuch. Die Opfer der Judentransporte aus Deutschland nach Theresienstadt 1942–1945. Prague 2000, 277.

151 Lina Einstein is recorded at the following addresses in the Ulm Directories and in Stadtarchiv Ulm, H. Keil 1/5: Weinhof 3 (1876), Weinhof A 90 (1878), Münsterstraße A 175 (1880–1883), Sattlergasse A 151 (1886–1891), Kronengasse 9 (1896–1910), Herdbruckerstr. 1 (1931–1939), Herdbruckerstr. 8 (1940), Weinhof 3 (1940–1941), Neutorstr. 1 (1941).

152 Seemüller, Herrlingen (as n. 41), 102.

153 Kreisarchiv Alb-Donau-Kreis, OA Ulm No. 355.

154 Report by David Eis of February 1961 concerning his mistreatment during Kristallnacht: Stadtarchiv Ulm, B 320/761 No. 14.

155 Written information from Beate Goetz, Arbeitskreis Jüdisches Bingen, of 31st March 2008.

156 Resi Weglein remembered that the 58 people were completely starving when they arrived in Theresienstadt and were very shocked by the living conditions there: Weglein, Krankenschwester im KZ Theresienstadt (as n. 10), 81.

157 Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg, EL 350 I ES 1440.

158 Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg, EL 350 I, Bü 1928.

159 A. Bargur, Ahawah heißt Liebe. Die Geschichte des jüdischen Kinderheims in der Berliner Augustusstraße. Munich 2006, 147 f.

160 The Fackenheims are recorded at the following addresses in the Ulm Directories and in the Kreisarchiv Alb-Donau-Kreis, OA Ulm Nos. 355 and 356: Michelsbergstr. 20 (1936), Adolf-Hitler-Ring (now Olgastr.) 141 (1938), Herdbruckerstr. 8 (1940).

161 Ibid.

162 Staatliches Museum Auschwitz-Birkenau, Syg D-RF 3/108. No inw 107413, T23 Str. 69.

163 Czech, Kalendarium (as n. 70), 915.

164 Staatliches Museum Auschwitz-Birkenau, Syg D-RF 3/108. No inw 107413, T23 Str. 69.

165 Kreisarchiv Alb-Donau-Kreis, OA Ulm No. 356.

166 Bertha Fischl is recorded at the following addresses in the Ulm Directories: Am Lautenberg C 122 (1868), Mohrengasse 3 (1870–1890).

167 Name also spelled Lippmann.

168 http://mms.pegasis.fr/jsp/core/MmsGlobalSearch.jsp as at 11th September 2008.

169 Simon and Minna Frank are recorded at the following addresses in the Ulm Directories: Griesbadgasse 1 (1910), Kronengasse 9 (1912), Grünhofgasse 4 (1914), König-Wilhelm-Str. 13 (1919–1935), Wildstr. 5 (1937–1940), Schuhhausgasse 9 (1940).

170 Stadtarchiv Ulm, Zeugnisse (as n. 4), 68.

171 Information by telephone from Herbert Berkemann, Bad Sobernheim, of 10th November 2007.

172 Südwest Presse of 29th January 2000.

173 Written information from Henry Frankel, Edison, New Jersey, USA, of 22nd April 2007.

174 The Frenkel family are recorded at the following addresses in the Ulm Directories: Hafengasse 1 (1912), Bahnhofstr. 4 (1914), Olgastr. 64 (1919–1938).

175 Volksbund Deutsche Kriegsgräberfürsorge, Buch der Erinnerung (as n. 76), 597.

176 Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg, EL 350, Bü ES 11124.

177 Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg, EL 350, Bü ES 11124.

178 A. Galinski, ‚Getto w Zdunskiej Woli', Biuletyn, Glownej Komisji Zbrodni Przeciwko Naradowi Polskiemu. Warsaw 1993, 142 ff.

179 Ibid.

180 Stadtarchiv Ulm, B 121/003 No. 28.

181 Jakob and Ida Frenkel are recorded at the following addresses in the Ulm Directories: Hafengasse 1 (1912), Bahnhofstr. 4 (1914), Olgastr. 64 (1919–1938).

182 Stadtarchiv Ulm, H. Keil 1/4.

183 Verbal information from Manfred Eger, Neu-Ulm, of 5th March 2008.

184 Eugen Goldfisch is recorded at the following addresses in the Ulm Directories: Münsterstraße A 161 (1878–1880), Fischergasse A 444 (1883), Sattlergasse A 146 (1886–1891), Gerbergasse 6 (1896–1806), Schaffnerstr. 4 (1906–1911).

185 http://www.alemannia-judaica.de/bad_ems_synagoge.htm as at 22nd June 2008.

186 Written information from Su Goldfish, Sydney, Australia, of 16th January 2008.

187 http://www.museenkoeln.de/ns%2Ddok/default.asp?s=222&tid=125&kontrast=&schrift= as at 16th September 2008.

188 Mathilde Goldmann is recorded at the following addresses in the Ulm Directories: Sattlergasse A 151 (1870–1876), Weinhof 22 (1878–1925), Weinhof 18 (1938).

189 Seemüller, Herrlingen (as n. 41), 153.

190 Ibid. 102.

191 Written information from the Bundesarchiv of 28th July 2008.

192 Stadtarchiv Ulm, Zeugnisse (as n. 4), 168 f.

193 Max Guggenheimer is recorded at the following addresses in the Ulm Directories: Münsterplatz A 194 (1875–1876), Schelergasse 4 (1878–1900), Schuhhausgasse 7 (1902), Olgastr. 81 (1914).

194 Centralverein deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens, Jüdische Frontsoldaten (as n. 12).

195 Written information from Fred Einstein, West Orange, New Jersey, USA, of 15th August 2007.

196 Written information from the Stadtarchiv Wiesbaden of 14th February 2008.

197 Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg, EL 350 I ES/A 11938.

198 Weglein, Krankenschwester im KZ Theresienstadt (as n. 10), 27.

199 Sara Breslauer is recorded at the following addresses in the Ulm Directories: Karlstr. 34 (1907–1910), Neutorstr. 15 (1912–1934), Donaustr. 11 (1934), Beyerstr. 54 (1935–1940).

200 Seemüller, Herrlingen (as n. 41), 139 f.; his wife and both sons were deported from Haigerloch to Riga: Archivdirektion Stuttgart, Opfer (as n. 57), 113.

201 The family of Alice and Julius Harburger are recorded at the following addresses in the Ulm Directories and in Stadtarchiv Ulm, H. Keil 1/5: Heimstr. 13 (1930), Donaustr. 5 (1933), Olgastr. 4 (1934–1939), Ensingerstr. 3 (1939/40), Weinhof 3 (1940).

202 Stadtarchiv Ulm, H. Keil 1/4. On the inn of the Jewish Gemeindehaus see Stadtarchiv Ulm, B 121/61, Section 1, File 193, Document 2.

203 http://www.bundesarchiv.de/gedenkbuch/directory.html as at 13th September 2008.

204 Gottwaldt/Schulle, Judendeportationen (as n. 66), 323 ff.

205 Dr Ludwig and Rosa Hecht are recorded at the following addresses in the Ulm Directories and in Stadtarchiv Ulm, H. Keil 1/5: Hafenbad 3 (1893), Hafenbad 16 (1896–1898), Sattlergasse 20 (1902–1907), Olgastr. 69 (1910–1914), Olgastr. 4 (1919–1937), Ensingerstr. 3 (1939–1940). On Ludwig and Rosa Hecht see also the work of their granddaughter A. L. Geschmay Mevorach, Von der Schwäbischen Alb zur Venezianischen Lagune. Ein Füllhorn voller Erinnerungen. Göppingen 2011.

206 Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg, EL 350 I ES/A 11931.

207 http://www.bundesarchiv.de/gedenkbuch/directory.html as at 16th September 2008.

208 http://www.stolpersteine-stuttgart.de/index.php?docid=279 as at 5th September 2008.

209 Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg, EL 350 I ES 27636.

210 Stadtarchiv Ulm, Zeugnisse (as n. 4), 20 ff.

211 http://www.geo-net.net/4-6)%209.%20November.htm as at 16th September 2008.

212 Gottwaldt/Schulle, Judendeportationen (as n. 66), 197 ff.

213 http://www.bundesarchiv.de/gedenkbuch/directory.html as at 24th September 2008.

214 Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg, EL 350 I ES/A 10813-2.

215 http://www.alemannia-judaica.de/worblingen_synagoge.htm as at 28th August 2008.

216 Arbeitskreis 27. Januar, Sport in Ulm 1933 (as n. 19), 40 f.

217 Written information from the Standesamt Gedern of 26th September 2007.

218 Dokumentationszentrum Oberer Kuhberg, R 1/621–1326.

219 Written information from Margot Rosenmeir, Quebec, Canada, of 13th August 2007.

220 Stadtarchiv Ulm, Zeugnisse (as n. 4), 13.

221 Ibid. 14.

222 Dr Robert Hirsch is recorded at the following addresses in the Ulm Directories: Bahnhofstr. B 135 (1891), Olgastr. 41 (1896–1931), Heimstr. 17 (1933).

223 Stadtarchiv Ulm, G 2/Dr Robert Hirsch.

224 Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg, EL 402/27 No. 158.

225 Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg, EL 350 I ES/A 13873.

226 Czech, Kalendarium (as n. 70), 427.

227 Berta Hofheimer is recorded in the Ulm Directories at Stubengasse 1 from 1873 to 1898.

228 Stadtarchiv Ulm, G 5/30.

229 Stadtarchiv München, Gedenkbuch (as n. 64), 613.

230 Stadtarchiv Ulm, E/Israelitische Kirchengemeinde

231 Beate Hommel is recorded at the following addresses in the Ulm Directories: Kronengasse A 83 (1891), Hirschstr. 6 (1896–1904), Hirschstr. 16 (1906), Walfischgasse 4 (1907), Lautenberg 3 (1910), Hahnengasse 1 (1912–1935).

232 Kreisarchiv Alb-Donau-Kreis, OA Ulm No. 355.

233 http://www.alemannia-judaica.de/sontheim_synagoge.htm as at 13th September 2008.

234 Written information from the Stadtarchiv Heilbronn of 19th February 2008.

235 Written information from Tilde Fraenkel, London, Great Britain, of 17th September 2007.

236 Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg, EL 350 I ES 10041.

237 Written information from the Stadtarchiv Frankfurt am Main of 27th August 2007.

238 Seemüller, Herrlingen (as n. 41), 160.

239 Rosa Kahn is recorded at the following addresses in the Ulm Directories and in Stadtarchiv Ulm, H. Keil 1/5: Herrenkellergasse 26 (1925), Zeughausgasse 11 (1927–1929), Frauenstr. 52 (1931–1939), Schuhhausgasse 9 (1939–1942).

240 Written information from Dr Irmgard Schmidt-Sommer, Stuttgart, of 10th June 2008. International Tracing Service, Archive, Doc. No. 27226674#1.

242 Address is now Olgastr. 114.

243 Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg, EL 350 I ES/A 17297.

244 Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg, ES/A 17297.

245 Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg, EL 350 I ES/A 17297.

246 Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg, EL 350 I ES/A 17297–1.

247 Salomon Karnowski is recorded at the following addresses in the Ulm Directories and in Stadtarchiv Ulm, B 121/17 No. 4: Hafenbad 5 (1904), Hafenbad 13 (1906), Lange Str. 37 (1907–1910), Donaustr. 2 (1912–1914), Sedelhofgasse 20 (1917–1925).

248 Stadtarchiv Ulm, B 121/17 No. 4.

249 Ibid.

250 http://www.bundesarchiv.de/gedenkbuch/directory.html as at 13th September 2008.

251 Gottwaldt/Schulle, Judendeportationen (as n. 66), 444 f. 252 Stadtarchiv München, Gedenkbuch (as n. 64), 674.

253 Ibid.

254 Ibid.

255 United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, RG 11.001 M Reels 1–5.

256 Staatliches Museum Auschwitz-Birkenau, Syg D-RF 3/121/14. No inw 149712, T14 Str. 22.

257 http://www.bundesarchiv.de/gedenkbuch/directory.html as at 16th September 2008.

258 The Kaufmann family are recorded at the following addresses in the Ulm Directories: Hirschstr. 24 (1921–1925), Schmiedgasse 18 (1927), Neutorstr. 28 (1929), Keplerstr. 21 (1931).

259 Written information from the Gedenkstätte Grafeneck of 18th February 2008.

260 Mathilde Kaufmann's family are recorded at the following addresses in the Ulm Directories: Beyerstr. 54 (1925), Zeitblomstr. 20 (1927–1929), Karlstr. 25 (1931–1935).

261 Gertrud Keil is recorded in the Ulm Directories at Lange Str. 12 from 1902 to 1939.

262 Written information from Wolfgang Knoll, Berlin, of 21st February 2008.

263 The previous assumption that Gertrud Keil was deported via Stuttgart to Izbica on 26th April 1942 is no longer accepted as correct: cf. Keil, Dokumentation (as n. 7), 384, and http://www.bundesarchiv.de/gedenkbuch/directory.html as at 22nd September 2008.

264 Volksbund Deutsche Kriegsgräberfürsorge, Buch der Erinnerung (as n. 76), 348.

265 Jakob Klappholz is recorded at the following addresses in the Ulm Directories: Vestgasse 1 (1914), Bahnhofstr. 3 (1919–1929), Marktplatz 9 (1931–1937).

266 Kreisarchiv Alb-Donau-Kreis, OA Ulm No. 355.

267 Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg, EL 350 I ES/A 13153.

268 Gottwaldt/Schulle, Judendeportationen (as n. 66), 197.

269 Report on arrivals and departures during the week from 19–25.4.1947: International Tracing Service, Archive.

270 Kreisarchiv Alb-Donau-Kreis, OA Ulm No. 355.

271 Stadtarchiv Ulm, H. Keil 1/4.

272 Written information from the Standesamt Goch of 18th February 2008.

273 Report from the UNRRA Area Team 1005 of 2nd December 1946: International Tracing Service, Archive, Doc. No. 28252495#1.

274 Gottwaldt/Schulle, Judendeportationen (as n. 66), 215.

275 The family of Isak and Lina Krippel are recorded at the following addresses in the Ulm Directories: Hirschstr. 16 (1907), Lange Str. 16 (1910–1912), Platzgasse 15 (1914), Hafengasse 8–10 (1919–1929).

276 Kreisarchiv Alb-Donau-Kreis, OA Ulm No. 355.

277 Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg, EL 350 I ES 15831.

278 Ibid.

279 Kreisarchiv Alb-Donau-Kreis, OA Ulm No. 355.

280 Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg, EL 350 I ES 27633.

281 Kreisarchiv Alb-Donau-Kreis, OA Ulm No. 355.

282 Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg, ES 15831.

283 Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg, EL 350 I ES 27633.

284 Ibid.

285 Stadtarchiv München, Gedenkbuch (as n. 64), 756 f.

286 Iska Lamm's family are recorded in the Ulm Directories from 1900–1906 at Weinhof 3.

287 Heinrich Lebrecht's family are recorded at the following addresses in the Ulm Directories: Zeitblomstr. 43 (1919–1925), Steinhövelstr. 5 (1927–1939).

288 Stadtarchiv Ulm, Zeugnisse (as n. 4), 224.

289 Ibid. 120.

290 Ibid. 120 f.

291 Staatliches Museum Auschwitz-Birkenau, Sterbebuch 31187/1943.

292 Eduard and Ernestine Leiter are recorded at the address of Außerhalb 15 in Keil, Dokumentation (as n. 7), 385.

293 Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg, EL 350 I ES/A 11494.
294 Gottwaldt/Schulle, Judendeportationen (as n. 66), 227 f.; www.stolpersteine-stuttgart.de.
295 Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg, EL 350 I ES 19863.
296 Kreisarchiv Alb-Donau-Kreis, OA Ulm No. 355.
297 Written information from the Jüdisches Museum Frankfurt of 3rd September 2007.
298 M. Kingreen, Nach der Kristallnacht. Frankfurt am Main 1999, 363.
299 Ibid. 365.
300 Ibid.
301 Ibid. 366.
302 Ludwig and Sofie Levy are recorded at the following addresses in the Ulm Directories and in Stadtarchiv Ulm, H. Keil 1/5: Vestgasse 3 (1902), Herdbruckerstr. 8 (1904–1939), Beyerstr. 54 (1941).
303 Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg, EL 350 I ES/A 13877.
304 Ibid.
305 Ibid.
306 Kreisarchiv Alb-Donau-Kreis, OA Ulm No. 355.
307 Seemüller, Herrlingen (as n. 41), 102.
308 Ibid. 164.
309 Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg, EL 402/27 No. 176.
310 Julius Löwenthal is recorded at the following addresses in the Ulm Directories: Ensingerstr. 2 (1896–1910), Olgastr. 82 (1912–1921), Olgastr. 81 (1925–1931), Olgastr. 11 (1933–1937), Ensingerstr. 3 (1939).
311 Weglein, Krankenschwester im KZ Theresienstadt (as n. 10), 23.
312 Esther Béjarano has recorded her memories in a book: Béjarano/Gärtner, Mädchenorchester in Auschwitz (as n. 90).
313 Kreisarchiv Alb-Donau-Kreis, OA Ulm No. 355.
314 Cf. also H. Lebrecht, Gekrümmte Wege, doch ein Ziel. Erinnerungen eines deutsch-israelischen Kommunisten. Ulm 2007.
315 Kreisarchiv Alb-Donau-Kreis, OA Ulm No. 355.
316 Béjarano/Gärtner, Mädchenorchester in Auschwitz (as n. 90).
317 Lebrecht, Gekrümmte Wege (as n. 311).
318 Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg, EL 350 I ES 25980.
319 Ibid.
320 Staatliches Museum Auschwitz-Birkenau, Syg D-RF 3/16. No inw 22017, T6 Str. 915; Czech, Kalendarium (as n. 70), 271.
321 Hugo Mann is recorded at the following addresses in the Ulm Directories:
Marktplatz A 57 (1870), Donaustr. A 17 (1873–1878), Frauenstr. 34 (1880–1896), Weinhof 19 (1896–1904), Heimstr. 43 (1906–1912), Staufenring 19 (1914–1921), Ensingerstr. 3 (1925–1935).
322 Kreisarchiv Alb-Donau-Kreis, OA Ulm No. 355.
323 Stadtarchiv München, Gedenkbuch (as n. 64), 37.
324 Ibid.
325 Kreisarchiv Alb-Donau-Kreis, OA Ulm No. 355.
326 There is no further mention of Frieda Mayer in the records of the Israelite Community Board of Elders made during the period of living space restrictions from 10th June 1939 to 20th November 1940: Stadtarchiv Ulm, H. Keil 1/3.
327 Friedrich Mayer is recorded at the following addresses in the Ulm Directories: Promenade 11 (1906–1907), Weinhof 6 (1910–1939).
328 Ibid.
329 Ibid.
330 Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg, EL 350 I ES 27244.
331 Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg, EL 350 I Bü 715.
332 Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg, EL 350 I ES 723.
333 Ibid.
334 Stadtarchiv Ulm, H. Keil 1/5. On Rosa Mayer see also T. Brendler, Marie Bloch. Die letzten Lebenszeugnisse meiner Großmutter. Berlin: book on demand 2008, 11 and 149.
335 http://www.bundesarchiv.de/gedenkbuch/directory.html as at 16th September 2008.
336 Rosa Mitlehner/Kahn is recorded at the following addresses in the Ulm Directories: Herrenkellergasse 26 (1925), Zeughausgasse 11 (1927–1929), Frauenstr. 52 (1931–1939).
337 Kreisarchiv Alb-Donau-Kreis, OA Ulm No. 355.
338 Stadtarchiv Ulm, B 054/62 No. 2.
339 Erdöl und Kohle. No. 1/48, 55.
340 Ibid.
341 Written information from the Gedenkstätte Bergen-Belsen of 20th December 2007.
342 Thüringisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Weimar, NS 4 Bu prisoner number file. Prisoner personnel card: International Tracing Service, Archive, Doc. No. 6654823#1.
343 Seemüller, Herrlingen (as n. 41), 169.
344 Dr Ernst Moos is recorded at the following addresses in the Ulm Directories: Olgastr. 6 (1912–1921), Ensingerstr. 3 (1933–1939).
345 Weglein, Krankenschwester im KZ Theresienstadt (as n. 10), 20.
346 Czech, Kalendarium (as n. 70), 920.
347 Staatliches Museum Auschwitz-Birkenau, Syg D-RF 3/109. No inw 107414, T24, Str. 81.
348 Hugo Moos is recorded at the following addresses in the Ulm Directories and in Stadtarchiv Ulm, H. Keil 1/5: Lange Str. 9 (1902–1906), Keplerstr. 12 (1907–1910), Ensingerstr. 12 (1910–1929), Haßlerstr. 13 (1931–1933), Haßlerstr. 7 (1935–1937), Neutorstr. 16 (1939), Bahnhofstr. 20 (1940).
349 Seemüller, Herrlingen (as n. 41), 169.
350 Ibid. 170.
351 Ibid. 102.
352 Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg, EL 350 I ES/A 11571.
353 Stadtarchiv Ulm, H. Keil 1/1.
354 Stadtarchiv München, Gedenkbuch (as n. 64), Vol. II, 126.
355 Ibid.
356 Ibid.
357 Jenny Moos is recorded at the following addresses in the Ulm Directories and in Stadtarchiv Ulm, H. Keil 1/5: Münsterplatz 2 (1913–1931), Neutorstr. 16 (1933–1939), Bahnhofstr. 20 (1941–1942).
358 Stadtarchiv Ulm, Zeugnisse (as n. 4), 106.
359 Ibid. 108 f.
360 Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg, EL 350 I ES/A 9150.
361 Written information from the Jüdisches Museum Frankfurt a. M. of 20th December 2007.
362 Stadtarchiv Ulm, Zeugnisse (as n. 4), 92.
363 Ibid.
364 Marie Moos is recorded in the Ulm Directories at Olgastr. 24 from 1902 to 1914.
365 Written information from the Gedenkstätte Bergen-Belsen of 20th December 2007.
366 Dr Paul Moos and his parents are recorded at the following addresses in the Ulm Directories: Rothstr. 27 (1902), Olgastr. 11 (1904–1910), Promenade 7 (1914–1925). In 1933 the practice was located at Frauenstr. 52.
367 Stadtarchiv Ulm, Zeugnisse (as n. 4), 55.
368 Ibid.

369 Fanny Nathan is recorded at the following addresses in the Ulm Directories and in Stadtarchiv Ulm, H. Keil 1/5: Sattlergasse 6 (1898), Hafenbad 6 (1900–1907), Keplerstr. 12 (1910–1914), Keplerstr. 27 (1919–1939), Neutorstr. 1 (1940).

370 Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg, EL 350 I AN 122.

371 Dr Paul Nathan is recorded in the Ulm Directories and in Stadtarchiv Ulm, H. Keil 1/5 from 1925 to 1940 at Neutorstr. 1.

372 Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg, EL 350 I ES/A 10852.

373 Information by telephone from Tilde von Eiff, Stuttgart, 13th March 2008.

374 Staatliches Museum Auschwitz-Birkenau, Syg D-RF 3/104. No inw 107409, T19, Str. 36.

375 Sara Nathan is recorded at the following addresses in the Ulm Directories and in Stadtarchiv Ulm, H. Keil 1/5: Sattlergasse 8 (1898), Hafenbad 6 (1900–1907), Keplerstr. 12 (1910–1914), Keplerstr. 27 (1919–1939), Neutorstr. 1 (1940).

376 Alfred Neuburger is recorded at the following addresses in the Ulm Directories: Platzgasse 29 (1902), Hirschstr. 6 (1904–1906), Heimstr. 25 (1907–1933), Olgastr. 4 (1937).

377 Ibid.

378 Stadt Neu-Ulm (ed.), Stadt Neu-Ulm 1869–1994. Texte und Bilder zur Geschichte. Neu-Ulm 1994, 332 f.

379 Stadtarchiv Ulm, Zeugnisse (as n. 4), 17.

380 Staatliches Museum Auschwitz-Birkenau, Syg D-RF-3/109. No inw 107414, T2 Str. 88; Czech, Kalendarium (as n. 70), 920.

381 Bertha Neuburger is recorded in the Ulm Directories and in Stadtarchiv Ulm, H. Keil 1/5 from 1886 to 1942 at Schuhhausgasse 9.

382 Seemüller, Herrlingen (as n. 41), 171.

383 Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg, EL 350 I ES/A 11489.

384 Seemüller, Herrlingen (as n. 41), 102.

385 Gottwaldt/Schulle, Judendeportationen (as n. 66), 226.

386 Seemüller, Herrlingen (as n. 41), 171.

387 Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg, EL 350 I ES/A 11919-3.

388 Martha Neuburger is recorded in the Ulm Directories at Schuhhausgasse 9 in Ulm from 1893 to 1939.

389 Stadtarchiv Ulm, B 121/17 No. 6.

390 Rosa Nördlinger is recorded in the Ulm Directories from 1931 to 1939 at Kraftstr. 9. On Rosa Nördlinger see also the written account of Martha Price, Richmond, Great Britain of 10th February 2009.

391 Seemüller, Herrlingen (as n. 41), 141.

392 Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg, EL 350 I ES/A 10867.

393 Martha Oettinger is recorded in the Ulm Directories and in Stadtarchiv Ulm, H. Keil 1/5 from 1889 to 1941 at Sattlergasse 16.

394 Stadtarchiv Ulm, H. Keil 1/5.

395 http://www.ellisisland.org as at 24th September 2008.

396 Stadtarchiv München, Gedenkbuch (as n. 64), Vol. II, 293.

397 Ibid.

398 http://www.bundesarchiv.de/gedenkbuch/directory.html as at 16th September 2008.

399 Written information from the Verein zur Förderung des Andenkens an die Juden in Telgte e.V. of 9th January 2008.

400 Frieda Robert is recorded in the Ulm Directories at Lange Str. 12 in Ulm from 1900 to 1939.

401 Ulmer Sturm – Ulmer Tagblatt of 15th April 1935.

402 The previous assumption that Frieda Robert was deported via Stuttgart to Izbica on 26th April 1942 is no longer accepted as correct: cf. Keil, Dokumentation (as n. 7), 384, and http://www.bundesarchiv.de/gedenkbuch/directory.html as at 22nd September 2008.

403 Ulmer Sturm – Ulmer Tagblatt of 13th May 1939, 5.

404 Julius Salomon is recorded at the following addresses in the Ulm Directories and in Stadtarchiv Ulm, H. Keil 1/5: Karlstr. 13 (1902–1919), Ensingerstr. 3 (1921–1940).

405 Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg, EL 350 I ES/A 10011.

406 Stadtarchiv München, Gedenkbuch (as n. 64), 449 f.

407 Hedwig Schulmann is recorded at the following addresses in the Ulm Directories and in Stadtarchiv Ulm, H. Keil 1/5: Wengengasse 18 (1904–1914), Karlstr. 44 (1919–1931), Neutorstr. 14 (1933–1935), Neutorstr. 16 (1937–1939), Neutorstr. 15 (1940–1941).

408 Seemüller, Herrlingen (as n. 41), 138.

409 Ibid.

410 Written information from Dr Irmgard Schmidt-Sommer, Stuttgart, of 1st May 2008.

411 Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg, EL 350 I ES/A 17598.

412 Seemüller, Herrlingen (as n. 41), 98 f.

413 Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg, EL 350 I ASch 362.

414 Stadtarchiv München, Gedenkbuch (as n. 64), 487.

415 Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg, EL 350 I ES/A 16569.

416 Ibid.

417 Staatliches Museum Auschwitz-Birkenau, Syg D-RF-3/97a. No inw 107492 T12 Str. 48.

418 Gottwaldt/Schulle, Judendeportationen (as n. 66), 430 f.; Czech, Kalendarium (as n. 70), 776.

419 Czech, Kalendarium (as n. 70), 792.

420 Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg, EL 350 I ES/A 11796.

421 Written information from the Gedenkstätte Grafeneck of 30th August 2007.

422 Frieda Steiner is recorded at the following addresses in the Ulm Directories and in Stadtarchiv Ulm, H. Keil 1/5: Karlstr. 31 (1898–1900), Zeitblomstr. 41 (1902), Neutorstr. 15 (1904–1921), Fischergasse 2 (1925).

423 Kreisarchiv Alb-Donau-Kreis, OA Ulm No. 355.

424 Dr Otto Steiner is recorded at the following addresses in the Ulm Directories and in Stadtarchiv Ulm, H. Keil 1/5: Karlstr. 31 (1900), Zeitblomstr. 41 (1902), Neutorstr. 15 (1904–1921), Fischergasse 2 (1925), Neutorstr. 15 (1938–1940).

425 Stadtarchiv Ulm, AR 320/60.

426 Ibid.

427 Hugo Stern is recorded at the following addresses in the Ulm Directories and in Stadtarchiv Ulm, H. Keil 1/5: Kronengasse A 96 (1880–1883), Syrlinstr. 17 (1886–1891), Frauengraben 18 (1896), Syrlinstr. 14 (1898–1940).

428 Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg, EL 402/27 No. 167.

429 http://mms.pegasis.fr/jsp/core/MmsGlobalSearch.jsp as at 17th June 2008.

430 Staatliches Museum Auschwitz-Birkenau, Syg D-RF-3/16. No inw 22017, T6, Str. 921; Czech, Kalendarium (as n. 70), 271.

431 Stadtarchiv Ulm, B 121/127 No. 3-4.

432 Max Stern is recorded at the following addresses in the Ulm Directories and in Stadtarchiv Ulm, H. Keil 1/5: Frauenstr. D 211 (1878), Kronengasse A 96 (1880–1883), Syrlinstr. 17 (1886–1891), Frauengraben 18 (1896), Syrlinstr. 14 (1898–1914), Sattlergasse 18 (1919–1925), Promenade 3 (1927–1929), Böfinger Str. 14 (1935–1937), Federmannweg 3 (1939), Schuhhausgasse 9 (1940–1941).

433 Volksbund Deutsche Kriegsgräberfürsorge, Buch der Erinnerung (as n. 76), 592; Weglein, Krankenschwester im KZ Theresienstadt (as n. 10), 15.

434 Kreisarchiv Alb-Donau-Kreis, OA Ulm No. 355.

435 Seemüller, Herrlingen (as n. 41), 141.

436 Weglein, Krankenschwester im KZ Theresienstadt (as n. 10), 38 f.

437 Stadtarchiv München, Gedenkbuch (as n. 64), Vol. II, 603.

438 Ibid.

439 Ibid.

440 Kreisarchiv Alb-Donau-Kreis, OA Ulm No. 355.

441 Staatliches Museum Auschwitz-Birkenau, Syg D-RF 3/27. No. inw 22028. Str. 1544. T10.

442 Czech, Kalendarium (as n. 70), 296.

443 Stadtarchiv Ulm, B 121/17 No. 7.

444 Max Strauss is recorded at the following addresses in the Ulm Directories: König- Wilhelm-Str. 20 (1921–1929), Karlstr. 26 (1931), Moltkestr. 5 (1933), Schwörhausgasse 15 (1935–1937).

445 Gottwaldt/Schulle, Judendeportationen (as n. 66), 130.

446 Written information from Dr Peter Schulze, Hanover, of 6th September 2007.

447 http://www.stolpersteine-stuttgart.de/index.php?docid=279 as at 9th June 2008.

448 Ibid.

449 Ibid.

450 The text about Hermann Thalmessinger is based on the memorial piece by the Stuttgart Stolperstein Initiative: http://www.stolpersteine-stuttgart.de/index.php?docid=386 as at 9th June 2008.

451 Cf. O. K. Deutelmoser, Kilian Steiner und die Württembergische Vereinsbank. Ostfildern 2003.

452 http://www.stolpersteine-stuttgart.de/index.php?docid=279 as at 9th June 2008.

453 Ibid.

454 Ernst Ullmann is recorded at the following addresses in the Ulm Directories: Lange Str. 18 (1886–1891), Lange Str. 16 (1900–1906), Promenade 9 (1907–1910), Bismarckring 34 (1912–1914), Zinglerstr. 52 (1919–1927), Bismarckring 34 (1931–1937).

455 Kreisarchiv Alb-Donau-Kreis, OA Ulm No. 355.

456 Volksbund Deutsche Kriegsgräberfürsorge, Buch der Erinnerung (as n. 76), 596.

457 Stadtarchiv Ulm, B 377/90 No. 14.

458 Written information from the Gedenkstätte Bergen-Belsen of 11th August 2007.

459 Johanna Ullmann is recorded at the following addresses in the Ulm Directories: Neutorstr. 1 (1900–1918), Zinglerstr. 52 (1919–1925), Bismarckring 34 (1927–1937).

460 Kreisarchiv Alb-Donau-Kreis, OA Ulm No. 355.

461 Ibid.

462 Written information from the Gedenkstätte Bergen-Belsen of 11th August 2007.

463 Fanny Ury is recorded at the following addresses in the Ulm Directories and in Stadtarchiv Ulm, H. Keil 1/5: Zinglerstr. 44 (1919–1939), Beyerstr. 54 (1939–1941).

464 Written information from Tanya Ury, Cologne, of 11th March 2008.

465 On the Jewish old people's home at Herrlingen: letter of 9th January 1942 from Hedwig Ury to her son Peter in Ottawa, Canada. On the Jewish old people's home at Dellmensingen: Stadtarchiv Ulm, H. Keil 12.

466 Weglein, Krankenschwester im KZ Theresienstadt (as n. 10), 44.

467 Staatliches Museum Auschwitz-Birkenau, Syg D-RF 3/107. No inw 107412. T22. Str. 15.

468 Czech, Kalendarium (as n. 70), 912.

469 Gottwaldt/Schulle, Judendeportationen (as n. 66), 134.

470 Klemperer,Victor, Tagebücher 1942. Berlin 1999, 18.

471 Volksbund Deutsche Kriegsgräberfürsorge, Buch der Erinnerung (as n. 76), 300.

472 The train was also carrying members of the Chotzen family, whose fate during the period of Nazi persecution has been recorded by the Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung and by the Deutsches Historisches Museum in a print publication and online: cf. Gottwaldt/Schulle, Judendeportationen (as n. 66), 132 f.

473 W. Wuttke, O, diese Menschen. Blaubeuren 2005, 122.

474 Written information from the Gedenkstätte Grafeneck of 18th February 2008.

475 Ibid.

476 Written information from Rolf Hoffmann, Stuttgart of 19th May 2009.

477 Pauline Weglein is recorded at the following addresses in the Ulm Directories and in Stadtarchiv Ulm, H. Keil 1/5: Vestgasse A 157 (1886–1891), Hafenbad 6 (1896–1898), Münsterplatz 4 (1900–1906), Hafenbad 1 (1907–1910), Sattlergasse 19 (1912–1921), Münsterplatz 33 (1925–1929), Olgastr. 6 (1931-1940).

478 Weglein, Krankenschwester im KZ Theresienstadt (as n. 10), 28 f.

479 Ibid. 34 f.

480 Siegmund Weglein is recorded at the following addresses in the Ulm Directories and in Stadtarchiv Ulm, H. Keil 1/5: Münsterplatz 4 (1900–1906), Hafenbad 1 (1907–1910), Sattlergasse 19 (1912–1921), Münsterplatz 33 (1925–1929), Olgastr. 6 (1931–1940). He lived at Straßburgweg 1 from 1945 until his death.

481 Seemüller, Herrlingen (as n. 41), 143.

482 Written information from Tilde Fraenkel, London, Great Britain, of 22nd July 2007.

483 Ibid.

484 Letter from Resi Weglein to Mathilde Weil of 27th April 1946. Privately owned.

485 Staatliches Museum Auschwitz-Birkenau, Syg D-RF 3/105, No inw 10741 T20 Str. 35.

486 Czech, Kalendarium (as n. 70), 906; Staatliches Museum Auschwitz-Birkenau, Syg D-RF 3/105, No inw 10741 T20 Str. 35.

487 The Weil family are recorded at the following addresses in the Ulm Directories: Olgastr. 66 (1920–1932), Bahnhofstr. 1 (1933–1937), Karpfengasse 4 (1938–1939).

488 Seemüller, Herrlingen (as n. 41), 143.

489 Letter from Resi Weglein to Mathilde Weil of 27th April 1946. Privately owned.

490 Czech, Kalendarium (as n. 70), 906.

491 Verbal report from his son Otto Weil alias Michael Wheeler, London, Great Britain, of 5th December 1995.

492 Ibid.

493 Stadtarchiv München, Gedenkbuch (as n. 64), 737 f.

494 Ibid.

495 Marie Wessel is recorded at the following addresses in the Ulm Directories: Stubengasse 1 (1900–1911), Neutorstraße 1 (1919), Beyerstraße 28 (1925–1937).

496 Kreisarchiv Alb-Donau-Kreis, OA Ulm No. 355.

497 Stadtarchiv Ulm, H. Keil 1/6.

498 Kreisarchiv Alb-Donau-Kreis, OA Ulm No. 355.

499 Stadtarchiv Ulm, H. Keil 1/5.

500 Written information from Charlotte Mayenberger, Bad Buchau, of 5th September 2008.

501 Stadtarchiv Ulm, H. Keil 1/5.

502 Kreisarchiv Alb-Donau-Kreis, OA Ulm No. 355.

503 Seemüller, Herrlingen (as n. 41), 184.

PICTURE CREDITS

Ulm Directory: p. 10 bottom, 30 top, 69 bottom, 77 right, 96 bottom, 100 centre, 109, 116 bottom, 121, 134 bottom, 146

Kreisarchiv des Alb-Donau-Kreises: p. 84

Bildarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz: p. 20 right, 21, 22

Dokumentationszentrum Oberer Kuhberg (DZOK): p. 10 top, 11, 15, 24, 31, p 32, 33, 52 bottom, 53, 54 top, 64 centre, 72, 73, 85, 104, 115 top, 116 top, 120, 22 bottom, 123 bottom, 136, 144, 153, 159, 160, 162 top, 169

Erdöl und Kohle 1/48: P. 113 bottom

In private hands: p. 8, 13, 19, 27 top, 34, 45 bottom, 46, 47, 50, 51 top, 54 bottom, 55, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 64 top, 68, 69 top, 96 top, 97 top, 107, 113 top, 114, 115 bottom, 118, 122 top, 126 right, 130, 141, 147, 151, 152, 154, 156, 161, 162 bottom, 164

Stadtarchiv Hannover: p. 150

Stadtarchiv München: p. 28, 36, 37, 40, 51 bottom, 75, 83, 95, 106, 107 bottom, 117, 132 top, 138, 140, 148 bottom, 165

Stadtarchiv Stuttgart: p. 20 centre

Stadtarchiv Ulm: title page, 9, 14, 16, 17 right, 18, 20 left, 45 top, 76, 77 left, 87 bottom, 92, 100 top, 102, 126 left, 127, 128, 135 top, 142

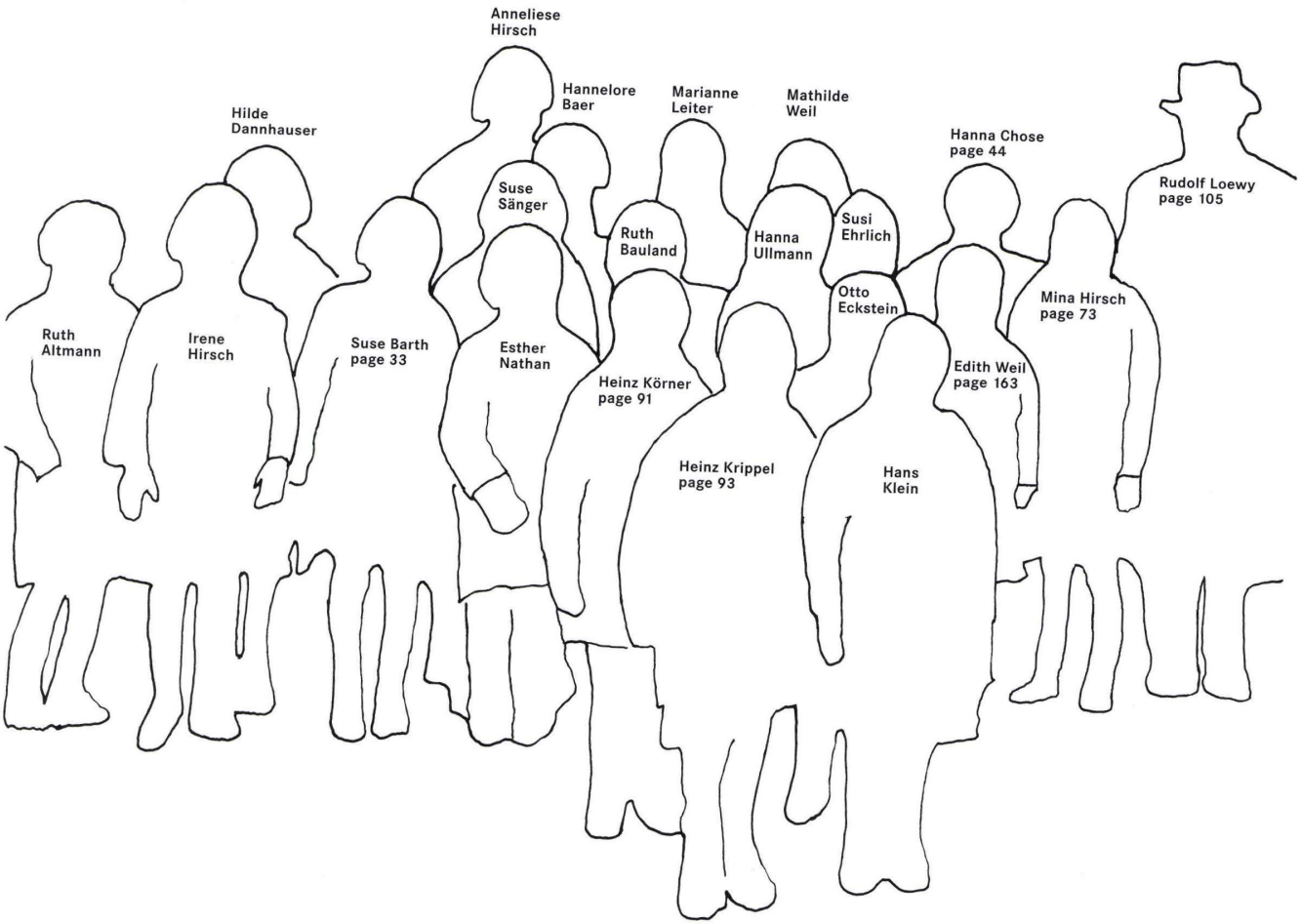
Stadtarchiv Wiesbaden: p. 64 bottom, 97 bottom

Ulmer Tagblatt/Ulmer Sturm: 12th November 1938: p. 17 left, 26th April 1933: p. 30 bottom, 15th April 1933: p. 123 top, 13th May 1939: p. 135 bottom, 15th April 1933: p. 87 top

Verein zur Förderung des Andenkens an die Juden in Telgte e.V.: p. 132 bottom, 133 bottom, 134 top

Yad Vashem, Hall of Names:
Page of Testimony for Anna Bach: p. 27
Page of Testimony for Anna Bach: p. 38
Page of Testimony for Anna Bach: p. 52 top
Page of Testimony for Fritz Helmut Levi: p. 99
Page of Testimony for Ludwig Levy: p. 100 top
Page of Testimony for Emi Strauss: p. 148 top

Title:
Mixed-age class of the compulsory Jewish school on Weinhof, around 1936.



Stadt Ulm

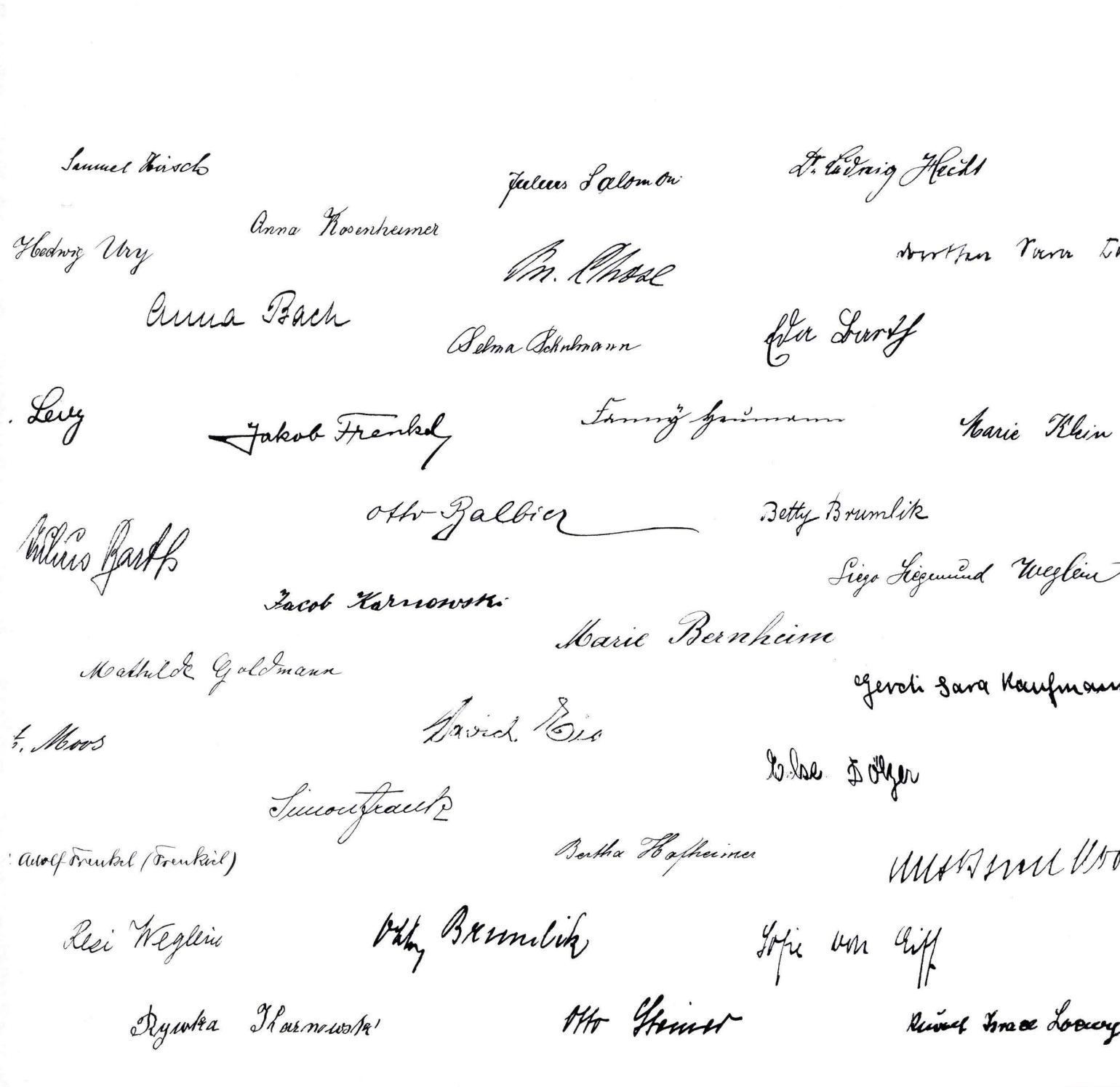
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"All the best and always remember me if we should never meet again."

From the farewell letter of 15-year-old Mina Hirsch, murdered in Auschwitz in 1943, to her friend Hannelore Baer, who had emigrated to the United States (1940).

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