# THE DESTRUCTION OF THE JEWISH COMMUNITY OF WORMS 1933-1945

## A Study of the Holocaust Experience in Germany

Henry R. Huttenbach

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New York, 1981

A Publication of
The Memorial Committee of
Jewish Victims of Nazism from Worms

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Library of Congress Catalog Card No. 80-83117
ISBN No. 0-9604964-1-6

# THE DESTRUCTION OF THE JEWISH COMMUNITY OF WORMS 1933-1945

# FOREWORD

On June 3, 1934, I was a guest of the Jewish community of Worms to participate in the 900th anniversary of the Old Synagogue. It was the second year of the Hitler Era. Assembled in the historic house of worship were hundreds of Jews from Worms as well as distinguished Jewish personalities from throughout Germany, including Rabbi Leo Baeck. No one representing the city of Worms, in which Jews had resided for close to a thousand years, chose to sit alongside their Jewish neighbors and citizens.

In normal times the occasion would have called for extended rejoicing; but 1934 was not a normal year. Instead, my remarks focused on exhorting the Jews of Worms, and through them all Jews living in Germany, to lay plans for an unprecedented act, mass emigration, to uproot and to begin life anew elsewhere. I do not know how many heeded my words or had already decided to leave without my prompting. All too tragically, as this book recounts, too many could not or failed to leave in time.

The story of the 6 Million who perished in the Holocaust will never be fully written; it can only be recorded one segment at a time. The story of the 450 Jews from Worms who fell victim to the crime of genocide is but a tiny part of the greater catastrophe that befell the Jewish people. In this book, Professor Huttenbach, himself from Worms, forcefully traces the extended agony of those Jews who did not manage to escape. With meticulous scholarship, Professor Huttenbach takes the story from 1933, with the outbreak of anti-Semitic violence in the streets of Worms, to 1945, when the last vestiges of Jewish life had been expunged from the city, all in full view of the population and with the help of a number of its citizens.

As he details the path of martydom of the 450 Jews, Professor Huttenbach repeatedly raises the question of culpability, of knowledge and of cooperation. What happened to the Jews in Worms was never invisible and never without the participation of the city authorities. The crime against these Jews was not committed without the direct and indirect consent of the local population and its leadership. Throughout the book, Professor Huttenbach pursues the two related themes of Jewish martydom and local responsibility as Holocaust history unfolds in Worms. Quite correctly, he does not feel it sufficient to ascribe the question of guilt to distant and impersonal forces located in the capital. Instead, Professor Huttenbach relates each category of suffering inflicted upon the Jews of Worms to identifiable segments of the population, some of whom found themselves in the highest echelons of government in Berlin.

While still working on behalf of German Jewry in Berlin, I happened to meet Hans Hinkel, Goebbel's deputy minister. Unabashedly, he proudly confided to me that he had been born and raised in Worms, "the same city that had nourished the venerable Rashi." I could not help but think that Hinkel had failed to profit from the spiritual heritage which had inspired so many rabbis and Jews throughout the ages and which had had its origin in Worms. I do not know whether Hans Hinkel was ever held accountable for his part in exterminating that priceless Jewish tradition of which the 450 martyrs recalled in this book are the natural heirs. But I do know that this book will help preserve their memory and shed revealing light upon a past which effects all mankind.

*Joachim Prinz*

Judaism is a celebration of life: even as one mourns the dead, the glory of life is reaffirmed.

That is why this book is dedicated simultaneously to the last two children born in the Jewish community of Worms.

One was gassed in the Belzec extermination camp: his memory embodies that of the Six Million other Jewish Martyrs. The other survived, and her life points to the future.

יחדשהו הקדוש ברוך הוא

עלינו ועל כל עמו

בית ישראל לחיים

ולשלום לששון ולשמחה

לישועה ולנחמה ונאמר

אמן

"May the Holy One, praise be He, renew for us and for all his people, the House of Israel, Life and Peace, Joy and Gladness, for Salvation and Consolation; to this we say AMEN."

DEDICATED to the Living and to the Dead

to Hillel WEIS (28 xi 1939, Worms—
April, 1942, Belzec, Poland)

who was murdered for the crime of being
Jewish, but must not be forgotten,

and

to Bela MANN (30 i 1940, Worms—)

who lives and must remember.

## ELEGY FOR THE VICTIMS OF THE HOLOCAUST FROM WORMS

We are the remnants, unravelled and torn
from fabric once sturdy, a proud congregation.
We, the survivors, returned here to mourn
those others, the doomed ones. We seek consolation
in reviving their names, recording their end
on a tablet for new generations to view:
Whether relative, neighbor, stranger or friend,
each of these victims was from Worms—and a Jew.

Age learns accepting but never forgetting;
time is a healer though scars shall remain
as constant reminders, lest the callous be letting
bygones be bygones, lest they blot out the stain.
Who can imagine how six million perished
when even six hundred should stagger the mind?
Theirs are the names from a City they cherished—
this fraction our portion, forever enshrined.

© Anne Marx (22 March 1980)
(née Anneliese Löwenstein)

## ELEGIE FUER DIE OPFER DES HOLOCAUSTS VON WORMS

Wir sind die Letzten, einst fort gehetzt
aus der stolzen Gemeinde starkem Gewebe.
Errettet, so stehen wir trauernd hier jetzt,
damit jeder Name der Opfer noch lebe!
Uns zum Trost wird auf dieser Tafel ihr Ende
von spaeteren Generationen gelesen . . .
All diese Toten—Geschwister wie Fremde—
stammten aus Worms und sind Juden gewesen.

Man fuegt sich im Alter, doch man kann night vergessen.
Die Zeit mag ja heilen, doch die Narben verbleiben
als dauernde Mahnung, dass kein schales Gewissen
kann der Vergangenheit Schande ausreiben.
Wie glaubt man, dass sechs Millionen umkamen?
Waer' sechshundert nicht schon die unglaublichste Zahl?
In der Stadt, die sie liebten, hier steh'n diese Namen—
Ein Teil unseres Lebens—ein ewiges Mal.

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# ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This book would not have been possible without considerable help. I am deeply indebted to the generous cooperation of the staffs of several archives and libraries: to the Leo Baeck Institute (New York); the Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People (Jerusalem); the Wiener Library (London); the YIVO Institute (New York); the Joint Distribution Archive (New York); to Fritz Reuter, Stadtarchiv (Worms); and to Gunter Metsch of the Worms Police Department, for having placed crucial documentation at my disposal.

A deep debt is owed to the Memorial Committee for Jewish Victims of Nazism from Worms. It was their dedication and contributions which turned this book from a project to a reality. Above all, I must thank my friends on the Executive Committee: Rabbi Helmut Frank, Miriam Gerber, Henry Heyman, Walter Kehr, Ann Marx, Eric Mayer, Edith Pagelson, Gerhard Spies, and Kurt Wimer, each of whom helped me in innumerable ways which cannot be listed individually.

Together we are grateful to the Gustav Wurzweiler Foundation for donating a generous grant to the Memorial Committee, allowing us to obtain quality materials and workmanship for the printing of this book. Without Robert Browning's patient and expert advice, however, this book would not be as attractive as it is.

I owe particular thanks to Mr. Sidney Hecker for his sensitive photographic work; to Mrs. Carol R. Blucher for typing with great patience and understanding; and to Samuel Gilbert for his art work.

Lastly, I am indebted to my family who provided a tranquil and happy setting for writing a book filled with sadness, cruelty and suffering, especially to my mother, who remembers the way it was and who had to relive the tragedy of so many friends and neighbors.

Brooklyn, N.Y.
October, 1980. H.R.H.

# PREFACE

## The Death of "Little Jerusalem" on the Rhine

Jewish memory in Worms is so ancient that it goes far beyond the written record; there are families who can trace their ancestry back to the Middle Ages, to a time so distant that weather has eroded the tombstone inscriptions holding the secrets of their heritage. Jewish architectural monuments carry history still further into the past, to the very frontiers of the Christian and Roman eras; the Mikvah (the Jewish ritual bath) in Worms, constructed with stones taken from the nearby Roman wall, points to Jewish life reaching beyond the surviving structure, bringing one into the realm of legend, history couched in ancient folk tales.

No Jewish community in Europe could boast a richer corpus of legends than that preserved by the Jews of Worms. Over the centuries, Jewish oral tradition linked them to pre-Christian and pre-Teutonic days, when "Wormatia" was still a Roman frontier city. Though historic proof for a Jewish presence during Roman Imperial rule along the Rhine rests on valid hypothesis and imaginative speculation, there is no firm evidence for a Jewish community related to that of the Middle Ages. It is not, however, the historic reality which counts, but the symbolic and psychological truths contained in the legends. In them we sense the profound self-consciousness of the Jews of Worms.

None is more indicative of their local pride than the legend which tells of dramatic events in the days of the emperors, when Rome's power stretched from the Rhine to the Jordan. According to this tale, a message from Jerusalem to the Jews of Worms exhorted them to send a representative to take part in the Sanhedrin election ceremonies. In reply, they turned down the invitation to participate in the festivities, claiming to have built their own "new" Jerusalem on the banks of the Rhine. In other words, Worms had become the seat of a new Promised Land which had first claim on their loyalties.

The legend spread far and wide among Medieval Jewry, far beyond the eastern frontiers of the Holy Roman Empire. Reflecting the prestige of Worms as a former center of rabbinical study was a set of late 17th century wall paintings on the walls of the synagogue of Mogilev in White Russia. In this

example of Jewish graphic art, the stylized skyline of Worms appeared opposite that of Jerusalem. The reference to their implied equality is obvious; the reverence shown both Jewish communities is both touching and indicative of the peculiar centrality once enjoyed by the Jewish community of Worms.

Over the centuries, despite a series of bitter experiences, the Jews of Worms never abandoned the image of Worms as their Jerusalem. Repeated massacres and expulsions throughout the centuries did not dispell their love for the city, a love they nourished till the final catastrophe that befell them during the Hitler decade. Even now, those who survived the Nazi storm cherish with a measure of bitter-sweet nostalgia fading memories of the Jewish community that was once theirs but is no more.

The "Little Jerusalem" on the Rhine belongs to history; the Jews have left. All that remains is memory, the wellspring of legends. This book is a final tribute to those Jews in Worms who could not escape the wrath of Nazism, who, even as they died as martyrs in the remote regions of eastern Europe, did not abandon the love for their

KEHILLAH KEDUSHA WORMESEI

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# INTRODUCTION

This is the story of the last years of the Jewish Community of Worms. After one thousand years, marked by glorious achievement as well as tragedy, Jewish life in Worms came to a violent end, victim of the crime of genocide. Within the short span of ten years, the community was totally erased from the map of the city, systematically destroyed according to the logic of genocide. Launched in 1933, the state assault on German Jewry effected every single Jewish community in the country, including the one in Worms, Germany's oldest and most distinguished. In its Old Synagogue some of Ashkenazic Jewry's most venerable rabbis and sages had once taught and studied. Ten years later in 1942, the synagogue stood charred and empty, its Jews dispersed across the globe, the living scattered across six continents, the dead and dying inhabitants of the Holocaust Kingdom.

This is their story, of the Holocaust experience in Worms, a history of the years during which the Jewish Community—its Jews, their organizations and the ancient synagogue—were wantonly terrorized and murdered, attacked and dismantled, desecrated and put to the torch in full view, for all to see—with the complete collaboration of the city's authorities and with the indisputable knowledge of the entire adult population.

From the boycott in 1933, through the pogrom in 1938, and the deportations in 1942, the Holocaust experience enmeshed Jew and non-Jew in a tangled web of unprecedented relationships whose significance points to the heart of the moral, ethical, intellectual and political crises in European civilization in the 20th century.

This is the story not only of the Jewish victims' experiences of the Holocaust as it enveloped Worms, but also of the non-Jews in whose midst the crime of the century took place. If the total destruction of the historic community traumatized the consciousness of the Jews, the legacy of the Holocaust can be no less nightmarish to the non-Jewish majority in whose behalf the crime was committed. It is they who must come to grips with the haunting questions: "How was it possible?"—"Who was responsible?" These are no idle questions for a city which was and still remains a vital Christian center, in which Catholicism and Protestantism continue to grapple with central problems of

faith, co-existence and ecumenism, but have not yet fully explored their relationship to the tragedy that befell their Jewish neighbors.

This story, written a generation after, expresses the fervent hope that in memorializing the suffering of the Jewish victims, the questions raised throughout the book will inspire a compassionate and passionate commitment to answer them honestly. This story was not written as an act of recrimination against anyone, but only as an expression of respect and love for the innocent dead. It is an account of their deaths; we the living must search for answers. Though their murder was vindicated through the lives of their surviving children and grandchildren, this is not enough. Their decade-long brutalization and planned slaughter will have no meaning unless the next generations, Jewish and Christian, live united by a common purpose—that the crime of the past must never happen again. Without this commitment, nothing has changed; nothing will change unless one has the courage and honesty to come face to face with the past and its questions.

This is the story first of all of Jewish suffering, of the ten-year road to martyrdom of 456 human beings who had once been members of the community in Worms. But it is also the story of those who inflicted and passively watched that suffering. Though this is a book devoted to the memory of each victim so he or she may not be forgotten, it is also a book about the criminals in Worms who participated in the act of genocide. Their names, too, must be kept in mind; names that appear prominently on documents, documents which supplied much of the incriminating information of the story of the Holocaust experience in Worms.

This is a story for those prone to forget and for those haunted by memories. May the first be discomfitted while the others find peace.

# PART I

## THE REIGN OF TERROR
## 1933-1938

# A HOLOCAUST CALENDAR

Between 1933 and 1944, literally thousands of legislative and administrative acts systematically squeezed the life out of each Jewish community in Germany. The following selection is but a sample of the more significant moments of harassment and torment which sought to deprive the Jewish community of Worms of its Jews and its institutions. From it emerges the logic of genocide.

In response, the Jews of Worms did not remain passive. As items 1, 10, 11 and 13 illustrate, the community responded positively, enriching itself from within as long as its strength held out. As the external world isolated the Jews, the busier life became inside their community. Until the end of 1938, when most activities were forbidden or became impossible, hundreds of events (religious, cultural, educational, social and athletic) took place on a regular basis.[1] In the case of Worms, the Jewish community tapped its talents, energetically and imaginatively, thereby courageously filling the void of isolation. In a very real sense, morally and spiritually, life in the Jewish community successfully challenged the barbarism around it.

A detailed accounting and analysis of the rich and humane life that flourished in the face of the reign of terror outlined in the "Holocaust Calendar" below has been written elsewhere.[2] Nevertheless, it must be borne in mind in order to emphasize the fundamental spiritual impotence of the enemies of the Jews. Bodies and buildings were broken and burned; yet dignity, self-respect and the will to live with grace remained intact to the end, to the very doors of the gas chambers.

Nothing demonstrates more poignantly and graphically the vital life lived by the Jews of Worms in the face of the Nazi terror that sought to destroy them than the Jewish School. Within its cramped confines, the children learned and played. While barbarism and violence swirled around them, they experienced love, truth, beauty and gentleness. Their parents and teachers taught them respect for moral law and the value of human life. Some survived to live fruitful lives; too many did not, tragic victims of a brutalized people who had forgotten how to love and to tolerate their Jewish neighbors.

[1]Henry R. Huttenbach, "The Reconstruction and Evaluation of a Social Calendar as a primary source for the History of the Jewish Community of Worms (1933–1938)" *Proceedings of the Sixth World Congress of Jewish Studies* Vol 2 (Jerusalem, 1975) 367–397.

[2]*Ibid.;* also *The Cultural and Social Life of the Jews of Worms, 1933–1938: A Study of Response and Resistance to the Holocaust Crisis by a German Jewish Community* (New York, 1975). Typescript 104 pp.

| | *Date* | | *Event* | *Source* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *1932* | | | |
| 1. | 26 | x | **Re-opening of Jewish Museum (founded 16 xi 1924)** | *Wormser Zeitung* |
| | *1933* | | | |
| 2. | 9 | iii | Several Jews beaten in S.A. Headquarters | Düwell, 83. |
| 3. | 19 | iii | Further physical assaults on Jews | Bundesarchiv, (Koblenz): Bestand R 43, II/603 |
| 4. | 20/1 | iii | Attacks on Jewish stores | *Düwell, 85. |
| 5. | 21 | iii | Temporary forced closing of Jewish stores | Düwell, 84. |
| 6. | 1 | iv | Boycott of Jewish stores | |
| 7. | April | | First laws expelling Jews from Civil Service | |
| 8. | 25 | iv | Jews in High Schools not to exceed 1.5% | *Reichsgesetzblatt* II/225 |
| 9. | 16 | vi | Several Jews detained in KZ Osthofen | Bundesarchiv: Bestand R 43, II/603 |
| 10. | October | | **Establishment of "Bildungswerk" to further Jewish Cultural life in Worms** | |
| | *1934* | | | |
| 11. | 3 | vi | **Celebration of 900th Year of the Synagogue** | |
| | *1935* | | | |
| 12. | 26 | iv | 1st Aryanization Law to "dejudaize" German economy | |
| 13. | 2 | x | **Opening of the Jewish School** | |
| 14. | 10 | ix | All Jews ordered out of Public Schools by 1936 | |
| 15. | 15–18 | ix | Nuremberg Racial Laws | *Reichsgesetzblatt* I/1146 |
| | *1936* | | | |
| 16. | March | | Deprived of right to vote | *Reichsgesetzblatt* I/133 |
| 17. | 15 | x | Jews forbidden to teach Aryans | **Colodner, 37 |
| | *1938* | | | |
| 18. | 28 | iii | Jewish community denied its corporate status | *Reichsgesetzblatt* I/338 |
| 19. | 26 | iv | Registration of all Jewish wealth and property | *Reichsgesetzblatt* I/414 |

| | *Date* | | *Event* | *Source* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 20. | 1 | vi | Jewish School denied tax exemption | Colodner, 37 |
| 21. | 15 | vi | First mass arrest of Jews in Germany | |
| 22. | 25 | vii | Jewish doctors lose their professional status | |
| 23. | 17 | viii | Ordinance requiring "Sarah" and "Israel" for all Jews as of 1 January 1939 | *Reichsgesetzblatt* I/1044 |
| 24. | 27 | ix | Jewish lawyers disbarred as of 30 xi 1938 | *Reichsgesetzblatt* I/1403 & 1439 |
| 25. | 27–8 | x | Expulsion of Polish Jews from Germany | |
| 26. | 7 | ix | Heinrich Müller, Chief of Gestapo, orders mass arrest of Jews and seizure of archives | I.M.T./P.S. 274 |
| 27. | 10 | xi | KRISTALLNACHT POGROM. 87 male Jews from Worms arrested and incarcerated; Synagogue burned; community records seized; Museum contents impounded; Jewish homes and property looted and destroyed | |
| 28. | 11 | xi | Jews banned from all economic life | |
| 29. | 12 | xi | Jews forbidden to attend public functions | *Reichsgesetzblatt* I/1076 |
| 30. | 12 | xi | RM1 Billion indemnity imposed on all German Jewish communities for damages during Kristallnacht Pogrom | *Reichstagsgestzblatt* I/1580 |
| 31. | 12 | xi | 2nd Aryanization Law to "dejudaize" German economy | "Kaufverträge," Bürgermeisteramt, Worms |
| 32. | 19 | xi | Jews denied welfare benefits | Düwell, 166 |
| 33. | 19 | xi | Jews to be evicted from non-Jewish houses by 30 iv 1939 | *Reichsgesetzblatt* I/864 |
| 34. | 3 | xii | 3rd Aryanization Law to "dejudaize" German economy | |
| | *1939* | | | |
| 35. | 4 | iii | All adult Jewish males subject to labor conscription | |
| 36. | 30 | iv | Jewish residency permitted only in designated "Judenhäuser" | *Reichsgesetzblatt* (1938) I/864 |

| | *Date* | *Event* | *Source* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 37. | 4 vii | All Jewish communities placed under jurisdiction of the "Reichsvereinigung der Juden Deutschlands" | *Reichsgesetzblatt* I/1097 |
| 38. | 1 ix | Curfew imposed on all Jews | |
| 39. | 4 ix | World War II begins | |
| | *1940* | | |
| 40. | 1 i | Worms Jewish community placed under jurisdiction of Mainz (along with Bingen, Giessen, Darmstadt, and Offenbach) | *Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt* (No. 8, 1940) |
| 41. | 26 i | Special War Tax imposed on Jews | *J.N.* (No. 8, 1940) |
| 42. | January | Census of all Jewish households | |
| | *1941* | | |
| 43. | 19 ix | Yellow Star required of all Jews over 6 years old. | *Reichsgesetzblatt* I/547 |
| 44. | 1 ix | No Jew may leave Worms without permission | Juden-Akten, Worms |
| 45. | 1 x | Jews denied further emigration from Germany | |
| 46. | 14 xi | First deportation of Jews from Worms | |
| 47. | November | Jews restricted to shop in designated stores; most of Worms placed out of bounds | |
| 48. | 26 xii | Jews forbidden use of public phones | *J.N.* (#76, 1941) |
| 49. | 31 xii | Jews forbidden use of electric appliances | *J.N.* (#53, 1941) |
| | *1942* | | |
| 50. | 20 i | Wannsee Conference: Declaration of Final Solution | |
| 51. | 20 ii | Jews forbidden to read newspapers | *J.N.* (#8, 1942) |
| 52. | 30 iii | 79 Jews from Worms deported to Piaski, Poland | |
| 53. | 1 iv | Each Jewish residence to post a Star of David | *J.N.* (#15, 1942) |
| 54. | 24 iv | Jews denied access to public transportation | |
| 55. | 20 vi | All Jewish schools closed by 30 vi 1942 | Colodner, 136 |
| 56. | July | Jews denied rationing privileges | |
| 57. | 27 ix | 97 Jews from Worms deported to Theresienstadt | |

| | *Date* | *Event* | *Source* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 58. | 30 ix | 5 Jews from Worms deported to General Gouvernement | |
| 59. | 9 x | Jews forbidden to purchase books | *J.N.* (#41, 1941) |
| 60. | 7 xii | United States enters the War | |
| | *1943* | | |
| | *1944* | Final Racial Purification of Worms | *Juden-Akten,* Worms |
| | *1945* | | |
| 61. | 3 iii | Major General Eddy, Commander of XII Corps, US Army, enters Worms | Hillgruber, 149 |

*Düwell—Kurt Düwell, *Die Rheingebiete in der Judenpolitik des Nationalsozialismus vor 1942* (Bonn, 1968)

**Colodner—Solomon Colodner, *Jewish Education under the Nazis* (New York, 1964)





























# 1

# Prelude to Destruction, 1933-1938

The election of January, 1933, and the Nazi seizure of power unleashed a storm of unprecedented hatred. Overnight, anti-Semitism became national policy, and overt expression of hatred for Jews had the legal backing of the state. Overnight, every Jewish community lost the physical protection of the authorities it had enjoyed until the beginning of 1933. Anti-Jewish sentiment had not lain dormant in Germany after World War I. Nevertheless, with but few exceptions, the power of the law set definite limits upon the enemies of German Jewry, most of whom had to remain content with mouthing loud anti-Semitic statements. Outbreaks of serious violence directed at Jews and Jewish property usually remained isolated. However, the 1920's was a decade that left few Jews in Germany untroubled, especially those living in towns where anti-Semitism had deep roots and where it found opportunity to rise to the surface.

Worms was one of these. Its recent history placed it among those cities less than friendly toward its Jewish population. According to the memory of former Jewish residents, though they enjoyed close friendships and cordial business relations with the Christian population, the overall climate in Worms pointed towards a deep-seated antipathy for Jews among the general population and the city authorities. Support for the Nazi movement stood above the national average. With the victory of Nazism, therefore, the new political era opened the doors to these anti-Semitic elements.

As soon as the Nazis came to power, there was no need to import party personnel to give local impetus to anti-Semitic policy. The overall sentiments of the city's population and the attitudes of its officials more than favored the assault upon Jewish citizens and their community. No mayor had to be removed to make way for a pro-Nazi candidate; no chief of police needed to

be purged in favor of a more reliable head of the police. Nor did the Party have difficulty recruiting from among the citizens of Worms.

Isidore Kiefer, the President of the Jewish Community, had sensed that all was not well even before the Nazi seizure of power. On 25 October 1932, on the occasion of the rededication of the Jewish Museum, Kiefer spoke his mind openly. "Today," Kiefer said to those assembled in the display rooms of the museum, "we live in times of deep unrest, dissatisfaction and uncertainty."[1] In the years ahead, Kiefer anticipated a severe worsening of conditions for the Jews of Worms, whose history he so revered and with whose past he felt so intimately intertwined. True to his assessment of the political climate, Kiefer planned a visit to the United States in conjunction with his annual holidays. In April, 1933, (even as the violent Nazi boycott of Jewish stores disrupted the economy of the Jewish community in Worms,) Kiefer, while visiting the World's Fair in Chicago, made up his mind to leave Germany.[2] For the rest of 1933, Kiefer quietly arranged to emigrate. Then in 1934, he and his family left for Belgium from where he announced his resignation from the community and officially confirmed his plans to go to the United States.[3] The new circumstances, since the advent of the Nazi regime, precluded his return to Worms, Kiefer admitted a few years later.[4] His departure, cautious and unpublicized, symbolizes the exodus of Jews from Worms that began in 1933 in response to the prevailing climate.

The physical assault upon Jews in Worms began very early in 1933 and quickly assumed the proportions of a pogrom. Only two weeks after Hitler's coming to power, Jewish stores were tear-gassed on February 12, 1933.[4a] On 9 March, several Jews were brutally beaten by contingents of the local S.A.[5] The decision to attack Jews came from the local S.A. office without prompting from Berlin. The license to beat Jews without fear of legal consequences opened an era of terror which signalled to the Jewish community that it would find no protection from traditional sources—namely from the police. Again, on 19 March 1933, violence broke out in Worms, this time involving both the S.A. and the auxiliary police (Hilfspolizei).[6] Many Jews were severely injured, requiring extensive hospitalization.[7] Pogrom-like incidents escalated from day to day. On 21 March, Jewish stores were forced to close and kept closed indefinitely by S.A. guards without a sign of objection from the mayor's office. On the night of 21/22 March, bands of Nazis and their volunteer assistants roamed the streets of Worms, breaking into Jewish stores, looting their contents and leaving behind ugly and intimidating slogans urging the Jews of Worms to leave.[8]

On one occasion in March, Jews were rounded up by the S.A. and forced to clean the gutters of the business districts in full view of hundreds of shoppers who passed by without seeking to prevent this blatant act of humiliation and illegal arrest. Other Jews had to remove Communist political posters left over from the previous election or slogans defiantly scrawled on walls.[9] Many were arrested on charges of belonging to the Communist Party or for sympathizing

with its views and sent to the nearby concentration camp in Osthofen.[10] One man was beaten to death on 20 March by members of the Nazi Party, later hanged to simulate suicide.[11] According to witnesses on the night of 21/22 March, several Jews were seized from their homes and locked into a pigpen by Party units. Here they were beaten mercilessly, some of them crippled for life.

**An Excursus Into the Question: "Who Was Responsible?"(1)**

This is the first of a series of side essays raising the central question of responsibility. Anti-Semitic action in Worms broke out with little attempt to hide the violence with which it was carried out. The pogrom-like episodes during the month of March fundamentally transformed life for all Jews in the city. Physical assaults took place with the full cooperation of the local authorities whose intervention might have saved Jewish lives and property.

The police force of Worms had the arms and the manpower to protect the Jewish community. Equally important, they had the duty to prevent this series of crimes which ranged from theft to murder. It was the professional responsibility of the police force to protect *all* the citizens of Worms. The very nature of a civilian police organization is to maintain social order and to guard against crime. Nevertheless, that is not what took place in March, 1933.

Instead, the police made no effort to arrest those responsible for attacking Jews. They made no plans to protect these citizens from future intimidations and assaults. The police refused to come to the assistance of those Jews illegally forced to scrub sidewalks with toothbrushes. They behaved, instead, as if under explicit orders not to frustrate the policy of intimidation and terror. They acted as if instructed to support these crimes which reduced the city to the level of a Ukrainian town in the Tsarist Empire at the time of the Russian-inspired pogroms.

The police in Worms could not have been ignorant of the events of March, 1933. In allowing themselves to be so totally corrupted, the city police assumed much of the responsibility for the terror which began the process of destroying the Jewish community in Worms. As a result of their behavior, unlimited violence reigned in the city, and terror received carte blanche to wreak its worst against the Jews. By their perverse example, the police signaled the entire population that the day of legal restraint had come to an end. The day of the lynch-mob had begun in Worms. Instead of resisting the local S.A. and Party members, the police lent them its power, thereby adding to the violence that had exploded in March, 1933.

By the time Berlin declared a national boycott against all Jewish stores, the police in Worms had undergone a metamorphosis of purpose. It had voluntarily joined the ranks of the forces of crime and renounced its devotion to the welfare of the public at large. Henceforth, the police represented the powers of destruction. Their key role in showing the way to others—to firemen, to lawyers, and to clergymen—cannot be underestimated. With the breakdown of police protection, the moral collapse of all other segments of the local population was not far behind.

**End of Excursus**

In response, the Jewish community took two divergent paths. One part turned inward in the expectation the storm would pass.[12] The other opted for emigration abroad. Within a short time, like Isidore Kiefer, hundreds of Jews began a mass exodus which was to undermine the demographic viability of the ancient Jewish community.[13] In the first year alone, 170 (15.5%) of the entire community left Germany, the preponderance to France (60), Palestine (43), and Poland (32). In 1934, emigration continued to syphon away the life blood of the community. That year another 94 (8.5%) emigrated, among them 29 to the United States and 26 to Palestine. In all, by the end of 1934, 264 Jews (nearly 25%) had chosen the radical path of emigration. Among them were the youngest men and women, the future of the Jewish community. Single adults and young couples with their children made up the overwhelming part of the exodus.[14] Equally serious to the health of the community was the departure of its elite, such as physicians and wealthy businessmen. This attrition spelled a serious loss to those remaining behind, hoping to preserve a semblance of a Jewish community during the Nazi crisis.

The handwriting on the wall was visible to many. The youth left, assured of a life ahead of them. Those of Polish extraction (tragically) returned to Poland and the security of relatives; others easily moved on to France, having sunk only shallow roots in Worms; while many of Zionist persuasion turned to Palestine, convinced that Europe held out no more hope for Jews. The more established and assimilated Jews from Worms cautiously sent a son or daughter ahead to explore possibilities abroad while they held on to their properties in Germany. Understandably only the older generation showed little inclination to emigrate, despite daily intimidations, ranging from insulting remarks on the street to indecent telephone calls at night, from loss of work to loss of civil rights.

The fear sown in 1933 triggered off an unprecented exodus that marked the beginning of the end for the Jewish community. Though emigration slowed down somewhat in 1935 (7%), it picked up tempo again in 1936 (12%) and increased steadily in 1937 (15%) and 1938 before the thunderbolt of the Kristallnacht Pogrom struck on 10 November. Thereafter, emigration assumed the character of escape rather than that of an orderly move abroad. From November on, until October, 1941, emigration resembled the mass departures in 1933 following the lethal March pogroms. When the November, 1938, pogrom hit the Jewish community of Worms, the Jewish population had declined dramatically from 1104 in January, 1933, to about 400, a loss of nearly 65%. What the terror between 1933 and 1938 had failed to do, the greater terror inaugurated on 10 November sought to complete, namely the total departure of all Jews from Worms.

Since 1933 the groundwork had been laid. Worms had become a lawless city for its Jews. Despite the courage of those who remained to overcome inhuman difficulties,[15] the 5 year reign of terror had caused its fatal toll, leaving

the community mortally wounded before the Kristallnacht Pogrom. That day, the process of expelling Jews from Worms acquired an even more murderous character than it had had. This time the naked violence of March, 1933, returned with increased ferocity in November, 1938. The demon unleashed in 1933 assumed satanic proportions 5 years later. Once unfettered, the forces of anti-Semitism followed a logic of their own in a city where potential voices for decency remained steadfastly silent though the intensity of the immorality against Jews escalated before their own eyes.

1. Isidore Kiefer Collection III, No. 12, p. 2. Leo Baeck Institute (New York).
2. *Ibid.,* II, No. 18.
3. *Ibid.,* II, No. 17.

4a. *The Evangelical Visitor* (published in Indiana), February 13, 1933, p. 2.

4. *Ibid.,* II, No. 18.
5. Kurt Düwell, *Die Rheingebiete in der Judenpolitik des Nationalsozialismus vor 1942* (Bonn, 1968) p. 83.
6. Bestand R 43 II/603: Bundesarchiv, Koblenz.
7. The incident was also reported in the *Manchester Guardian,* 27 iii 1933.
8. Bestand R 43 II/603. See also *Frankfurter Zeitung,* 23 iii 1933.
9. Based on interviews with Jews and non-Jews from Worms.
10. *Ibid.*
11. An undated testimonial found among the collection *Juden Angelegenheiten* in the Police Archives, Worms. See also Helmut Eschwege, "Resistance of German Jews against the Nazi Regime," *Year Book* (1970) of the Leo Baeck Institute, p. 152.
12. The positive response towards self-reliance has been chronologically surveyed by the author in an article entitled "The Reconstruction and Evaluation of a Social Calendar as a Primary Source for the History of the Jewish Community of Worms (1933–1938)," *Proceedings of the Sixth World Congress of Jewish Studies* II (Jerusalem, 1975), pp. 367–397.
13. This phenomenon was studied in detail by the author in a book, *The Emigration Book of Worms: The Character and Dimension of the Jewish Exodus from a small German Jewish Community, 1933–1941* (Koblenz, 1974).
14. *Ibid.,* pp. 24 & 25.
15. An analysis of the socio-economic conditions suffered by the Jewish community can be found in a study by the author, *The Cultural and Social Life of the Jews of Worms, 1933–1938,* (New York, 1975). Typescript 104 pages.

# 2

# The Kristallnacht Pogrom 10 November 1938

Nothing would be the same again after this ferocious day. Till then, hope had lingered in many a heart that the day was not far off when the terror would cease and Jew and non-Jew would once again live side by side as civilized neighbors. Even those who had decided to emigrate, did so with gnawing doubt, uncertain whether the next day might not bring with it a promise of improvement. Most Jews were prepared to forgive and to forget, ready to ascribe the brutalities of the past five years to the difficulties of the times rather than to the malignant intentions of their countrymen and fellow citizens in Worms. All that changed during 18 nightmarish hours on 10 November leaving no more room for ambiguities and false speculations. When that Thursday came to an end, the Jews of Worms knew that they were absolutely alone. The entire city had turned against them. What had transpired loomed so clear that it removed any residual doubts about the meaning of the recent past. As for the future, it pointed unequivocally away from Worms and Germany. The tidal wave of violence that had swept over the Jewish community conveyed the same message to everybody. The end had finally come to Jewish life in Worms.

Throughout this book, the events associated with that Thursday in November have been linked consciously to the pogrom phenomenon in order to emphasize the underlying reality of the day. Though the attack came suddenly and unexpectedly for the victims, it was not unplanned. Though it had all the makings of spontaneity—of an outburst of popular rage against the Jews—it was, in fact, a carefully staged and choreographed use of violence by the state with the full cooperation of its regional and local organizations.[1] The Nazi regime's planned assault on German Jewry included a detailed listing of each of the communities and their major properties selected for destruction.[2] As the day for the pogrom approached, the police in the various localities included

in the grand plan received secret memoranda on the purpose of the pogrom and precise guidelines on what and what not to do.[3] At the same time, party and S.S. functionaries received their orders on whom to arrest and what kind of properties they were to seize.[4] The whole affair, despite its lynch-mob characteristics had all the attributes of a stage-managed demonstration in which each participant had been carefully coached.

To the historian's eye, the Kristallnacht Pogrom master-minded from Berlin bears a striking resemblance to the bloody 3-day pogrom of October, 1937, which descended upon the Jews of Danzig.[5] Having taken place technically and legally outside Germany (Danzig was still an independent entity,) the outburst of violence, though similarly staged by the Nazi party, failed to serve as a general warning. As the months passed, German Jews tended to look upon the Danzig experience as an exception and not as a prelude. In contrast, for the Nazi regime in Germany, the pogrom in Danzig served as a small-scale dress rehearsal.

Again with hindsight, the weeks immediately preceding the Kristallnacht were filled with clues suggesting an escalation of violence. The signals, however, went for the most part unheeded because no one knew what to do in the event of an outbreak of violence. By 10 November, there had indeed been several hints pointing towards an imminent crisis. At the time, though, it was impossible to see them as coherently as one can with the benefit of hindsight. The deportation of all Polish Jews from Germany in early October should have been an ominous index. By mid-October, rumors indicated even worse measures against Jews.[6] Towards the end of the month even more threatening information leaked out, further raising the fears of Jewish officials in Berlin.[7] By 8–9 November, some of these rumors had reached the leaders of the Jewish community in Worms.[8] Throughout the day on 9 November, unconfirmed reports of physical attacks on Jews in neighboring towns came to several individuals in Worms. That day, the Gestapo sent the Jewish community an unexplained order to keep the community center closed throughout the next day and to cancel all classes of the school which was located in the same building. But nobody, at the time, knew what to make of such a request. Seen together, they are indicative of the fact that when the violence exploded the following day, all of it had the markings of a finely orchestrated event, which, despite some isolated hints that came to the attention of a few Jews, had all the elements of surprise associated with a military campaign. Each unit—each locality—had studied the plan of action.

### An Excursus into the Question: "Who Was Responsible?"(2)

When the attack began on the morning of 10 November, all participating organizations had received precise instructions and strict orders on how to carry out their assignments. The day's events went according to schedule contradicting

any possibility of ignorance about the purpose of the wholescale violence. A series of meetings must have taken place to make sure that there would be absolute compliance with the guidelines from Berlin and coordination between the party, the Gestapo and the various city agencies.

The general instructions emanating out of Berlin called for an attack on all Jewish property with the following provisos:

i) Synagogues were to be burned, unless adjacent to non-Jewish buildings.

ii) Jewish stores were to be destroyed, but there could be no looting.

iii) Jewish community offices were to be ransacked, but not before seizure of the archives.

iv) Prominent Jewish males were to be arrested (along with all other able-bodied Jewish men), and then sent to concentration camp; the old and infirm could not be apprehended.

In order to carry out this blueprint in Worms, lists of names, addresses, buildings and stores had to be studied in order to determine the precise identity of Jews and the exact location of their properties.[9] Those entrusted with arresting Jews had to know which ones fell under the rubric spelled out by the general instructions. Those selected to enter homes had to know precisely which families owned their homes, which ones rented from Jews and which ones lived in non-Jewish apartments. (Whenever there was any doubt, upon entering each home, before beginning the task of destroying possessions, the attackers would inquire about the status of ownership of the building and whether all persons in it were Jewish or not.) In the case of the synagogues, the Old Synagogue stood apart whereas the Levy Synagogue was attached to houses belonging to non-Jews, explaining why the former was destroyed and the latter not.

Since arson was involved, the fire department had received orders not to put out fires in the synagogue. Throughout the morning of 10 November, the department refused to respond to numerous telephone calls from members of the Jewish community.[10] To each call, the department steadfastly refused to send help, on one or two occasions adding abusive language to its negative answers, as further proof of its awareness of what took place in the city. Thus, although the department's express function was to prevent fire, its behavior on that day totally contradicted its mission to safeguard the city and its citizens from the dangers of fire. Instead, it fully cooperated with those who set the fire, instructing its personnel not to heed any calls concerning the burning of the synagogue. While this contributed further to the overall sense of abandonment on the part of the Jews—who had already experienced the perversion of the local police since 1933—it highlights the corruption of the city whose agencies enthusiastically participated in the pogrom.

**End of Excursus**

From the vantage point of the Jews, the only word to describe what happened is pandemonium. It all began early in the morning with the burning of the synagogue. A telephone call to Rabbi Frank quickly brought him on the scene, along with three or four other men and teenage boys. There they found a fire burning in the middle of the ancient synagogue. Along with Herta

Mansbacher, assistant principal of the Jewish school, they tried to quench the flames and rescue the precious Torah scrolls. Miraculously they succeeded in controlling the fire, preventing it from spreading, despite the absence of the fire department.

Two police guards stationed outside the locked community building witnessed the setting of the fire and observed the attempts to put it out. Noticing that the Jews succeeded in rescuing the synagogue, one of them reported the incident over the telephone. A short time later, around 9:00 A.M., a second arson attack on the synagogue took place.[11]

In this incident, the police and a gang of men arrived. The police arrested the Rabbi and his male helpers. Then they began to relight the fire, but not before Herta Mansbacher threw herself before them at the synagogue's entrance in a defiant gesture of resistance.[12] In that split second, two civilizations came into collision: decency confronted barbarity; courage faced cowardice. In that single act—a lone woman standing against several armed men—the essence of the Holocaust comes into full view. As much as they sought to put a Jewish house of worship to the torch, she was equally willing to stop them, even at the risk of her life. In this evil episode, all that is sacrilegious about Nazi anti-Semitism stood in naked contrast to Mansbacher's heroic deed. Acting spontaneously on behalf of the interests of the Jewish community, she placed her life at stake in order to safeguard what is most sacred to Jews. In so doing, however briefly and futile, this single Jewish woman won a symbolic victory over the enemies of the Jews in Worms. Seen across the decades, this extraordinary incident serves as a permanent reminder that the battle fought against the Jews in November, 1938, in Worms, despite the terrible damage wreaked that day, ended in a moral defeat for all those who thought that with brutal violence they could break the spiritual back of the Jews. The flame lit by Herta Mansbacher continues to burn brightly while that which consumed the synagogue only lasted a few hours.

In those few hours, the Jewish community was reduced to shambles. Untold property damage left the Jews of Worms in economic ruin. A once prosperous community of middle-class citizens suffered widespread losses. In the city center, dozens of stores, shops and offices stood empty and, for the most part, permanently disrupted. Hundreds of homes scattered throughout Worms remained almost uninhabitable, their contents smashed and hurled out of the windows into the street below. Throughout the day, gangs went from street to street, systematically destroying each Jewish residence on their list of targets, with no regard for the kind of property they damaged.

Understandably, (at least according to the logic of Nazi anti-Semitism,) they attacked those targets that were Jewish in nature: the synagogue, its Torah scrolls and religious artifacts; and the museum with its priceless collection of historic Jewish memorabilia dating back five or six centuries.[13] But what is one to make of the willful destruction of non-Jewish art in the possession

of Jews? What is one to think of the mad destruction of the valuable painting collection belonging to Max Levy? Of the burning of incunabula book collections? Of manuscripts, of musical instruments, of antique furniture, of famous chinaware—none of which had any Jewish "content" and which could have been enjoyed by non-Jews?[14] In the assault on so-called "Jewish" property, grievous losses were incurred by the entire population of Worms. In permitting the pogrom, the city authorities and its agencies had unwittingly allowed an act that included, in the final analysis, an assault on the very civilization they claimed to represent.

Further compounding the absurdity of the violence was the express order from Berlin *not* to damage the old Jewish cemetery since it was of historic value. By what logic the cemetery assumed greater significance than the equally ancient synagogue defies analysis. From a Jewish perspective the graves of one's ancestors are as sacred as the religious contents of a synagogue, dictating *both* should be destroyed. From an historic vantage point, both monuments shared the same importance and ought, therefore, to have been spared, along with the unique items in the museum. These, however, were a legitimate target whereas the community archives were destined for preservation. In the warped mind of the anti-Semitic masterminds, Jewish tombstones and community records were to be used for future research. A collection point in Darmstadt served as a temporary regional repository for a future government-sponsored institute for the study of German Jewry. On the one hand, the policy of Kristallnacht called for wholesale destruction; on the other, it demanded selective preservation!

On the human side, the turmoil of the day led to mass tragedy. In all 87 Jewish men were rounded up and locked into the cells and rooms of the police precinct stations. Around noon they were led out and, in full view of the population, ordered to clean up the streets and sidewalks of the shopping district which were littered with the glass and wares of Jewish shops. Elsewhere in the city, Jews were told to pick up their broken personal belongings that had been thrown out of windows. In the evening, the men under arrest returned to the central police station and assembled in one large room. Later that night, without explanation or permission to contact their families, they were herded into three trucks and sent to the concentration camps in Buchenwald and Dachau; whereupon they caught their first glimpse of the Holocaust Kingdom prepared for them by the Nazi regime.[15]

Once entombed in Buchenwald, the men encountered the ultimate terror, exposure to camp guards with the license to brutalize and kill. Decorated World War I veterans could be released upon presentation of proof: only one man happened fortuitously to have his medal with him, but he committed suicide upon his return to Worms. Release came only to those who could demonstrate completion of emigration plans; by 1941 about 70 managed to secure passage abroad. In the interim, over 10% were capriciously killed, their

ashes returned to their relatives without any explanation. The remaining half dozen suffered continued imprisonment till they died or were deported to extermination camps in Poland.

In the aftermath of the Kristallnacht Pogrom, any semblance of normal community life came to a halt. Nevertheless, much to the credit of the survivors, a skeletal Jewish life was restored. Thanks to Herta Mansbacher the school reopened the following Monday. Mrs. Spies made sure that welfare work continued, in particular the administration of the Old Age Home which stood immediately behind the blackened synagogue. Rabbi Frank, upon his return from Buchenwald in December, held religious services in an improvised synagogue located in the Community Center. During his absence this new chapel had been lovingly prepared by a group of devout Jews determined not to be deprived of the opportunity to worship. Dozens of volunteers donated time, money, books, furniture and their talents to restore the community back to life despite the temptation of despair brought on by the paralyzing experience of 10 November. Like Herta Mansbacher, the majority discovered unknown resources, hidden strength with which to survive and affirm their faith, despite the complete silence that emanated from the Christian communities.

### An Excursus into the Question: "Who Was Responsible?"(3)

If the city authorities knew ahead of time, then the city as a whole knew about the extent of the pogrom shortly after it had begun. The citizens saw and watched the attacks, the arson, and the public humiliation of those arrested. Under the circumstances, it is unfair and unrealistic to expect public expressions of protest and opposition. In a totalitarian setting, the intimidation of the masses is well-known. Nevertheless, there remain numerous public incidents, spontaneous demonstrations of approval: passers-by jeering at individual Jews, groups of pedestrians applauding those that ransacked Jewish homes, and hundreds of silent onlookers who failed to show any shock. Instead of leaving in disgust, they remained to stare, like entranced voyeurs mesmerized by pornography; for what else was the Kristallnacht Pogrom if it was not also pornography—absolute indecency which gave perverse pleasure to the perpetrators and their audience? And who were these people? Was there no one who could touch their conscience now that they lived in a city where human rights had been set aside and lawlessness condoned from the mayor's office on down to the lowliest policeman and fireman? At this moment of the simultaneous collapse of their government and of their Christian conscience, where were the Protestant and Catholic clergy? The question arises out of the silence that followed that Thursday on 10 November. No voice spoke with moral outrage from any pulpit in Worms on Sunday, 13 November. It was religion as usual as if nothing of theological import had taken place in Worms. No spoken or written statement took note of the immorality that reigned in the streets of Worms. It seemed as if the assault on the Jews was beyond the purview of Christian concern. Not even the sacrilegious burning of the syna-

gogue in the shadow of the cathedral broke the terrible silence enveloping the Jews of Worms. No sermon or pastoral letter mentioned them. It seemed as if what everybody knew had never happened or should be forgotten by not referring to it. What explains this compromising of conscience on the part of the Christian leadership of Worms? Was it fear, fear of the same fate? Or was it a hidden sympathy with the fate the Nazis inflicted upon the Jews?

These are neither idle nor theoretical speculations but have their concrete ramifications. The price of the failure of will to spring to the aid of suffering Jews in the name of Christian humanism cost a terrible moral penalty. When, during 1943 and 1944, the Nazi hunters for Jews reached into the Christian communities, the churches lacked the fortitude to help their own congregants. In those two years, Jewish converts to Christianity and Christians with Jewish parentage, stigmatized as Jews by Nazi racist categories, were deported from Worms and incarcerated in concentration camps. When that time came, a morally emasculated clergy could not summon the courage to rally itself and its parishioners to protect their fellow Christians. Their faith was not sufficient to arouse in them a cry of indignation for the injustice heaped upon another Christian. All the victims were Lutherans; but neither Protestant pastor nor Catholic priest interposed himself between these Christian martyrs and the forces of the anti-Christ. Once again, as in November, 1938, the religious authorities remained inactive and silent in the face of evil.

In looking aside, in ignoring what happened, was this a crisis of faith, of human weakness, or did it go deeper, pointing to a doctrinal flaw, a crisis of the faith itself? Why, one has to ask, was there in Worms not even one counterpart to Herta Mansbacher? And, to go one step further, why was the question never raised and satisfactorily answered in all the years since? Unresolved issues of moral responsibility do not stop conveniently in the past; they have a life of their own which projects them into the future when they tend to reappear on their own terms.

**End of Excursus**

The horror of the Pogrom never receded. From that day on, the approximately 400 Jews still in Worms lived in a perpetual state of shock. Kristallnacht stands as a watershed in the Holocaust experience of the community. The violence of that day left no one any other option but emigration. Their community had offered neither consolation nor haven; nothing but silence. According to one who recalled that day, the most painful sensation next to the fear of further violence came from "the silence." Since that day in November, there was no one who could look a Jew straight in the eye, no one who engaged him in a conversation. When the pogrom ended, a piercing silence isolated the Jewish community from the rest of Worms. And with that silence began a futureless existence for those for whom emigration became a hopeless dream. Each day, the empty burned shell of the synagogue reminded them of the futility of life in Worms.

1. Ball-Kaduri, K. J., "Die Vorplanung der Kristallnacht," *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden,* No. 4 (1966), pp. 211–218.
2. Fritz Berger, "The List of Targets Earmarked For Destruction During the Kristallnacht," Yad Vashem 01/318.
3. On the policy of the Kristallnacht Pogrom, see the records of the *International Military Tribunal,* P.S. 3051.
4. *International Military Tribunal,* P.S. 274.
5. Jewish Telegraphic Agency, Report III, No. 79 (4 November 1937); *The New York Times* (4 November 1937); YIVO: Hias-Hicem Archives, Series I, Danzig III, File 118; Joint Archive: Danzig, "Gitermann Report."
6. Rudolf Heymann, "Before November 10, 1938," Yad Vashem 01/97.
7. Berthold Loewenstein, "Prelude to the Pogrom of November, 1938." Yad Vashem 01/9.
8. Interview with Rabbi Helmut Frank (24 November 1974).
9. One of these lists was a special one compiled in October, 1938, of all Jewish businesses in Worms, extracted from a larger listing of all business enterprises in the city. "Liste der angemeldeten Gewerbebetriebe, die sich zur Zeit in nichtarischen Händen befinden," *Gewerberegister der Stadt Worms,* (October, 1938).
10. *Ibid.* The President, (Bernhard Spies), Rabbi Frank, Mr. Weis, the sexton, Herta Mansbacher, a teacher, and others had tried to contact the fire department.
11. These details were obtained in June, 1976, in Worms from interviews with two non-Jewish eyewitnesses, one of whom actively participated in the pogrom. Under the circumstances, their identities must remain anonymous.
12. The first mention of Mansbacher in the context of Kristallnacht is in Paul Ansberg's, *Die jüdischen Gemeinden in Hessen* (Frankfurt, 1971) II, p. 437. The incident has since been corroborated by several persons, including two eyewitnesses. Henry R. Huttenbacher, *Herta Mansbacher* (New York, 1980) p. 50, note 17.
13. A 5-page copy of a complete inventory of the Jewish Museum's holdings is in the City Archive in Worms. *Isidor Kiefer Sammlung:* "Museum der Israelitischen Gemeinde Worms; Beschreibung und Abbildungen."
14. The indiscriminate assault in the Jewish Museum is a case in point. Many of its holdings were as important to Jewish history as they were to the history of Worms and Germany. *Ibid.*
15. The term "Holocaust Kingdom" was coined by Alexander Donat and serves as a title to his memoirs published in New York in 1961.

# 3

# The Jewish Ghetto 1939-1942

One of the byproducts of the *Kristallnacht* Pogrom was the systematic throttling of Jewish life. Heretofore, the primary thrust of anti-Semitic legislation had been aimed at circumscribing the spiritual/intellectual and economic life of Jews in Germany in order to undermine their psychological wellbeing. With the 10 November pogrom, the Nazis initiated a series of laws aimed at squeezing the physical parameters of Jewish life, designed to force them into a ghetto-like existence reminiscent of the Middle Ages. Then as now Jews were formally restricted to a Jewish quarter or its equivalent. The formation of the Worms Ghetto in 1377 led to a series of stifling restrictions of movement, to clothing stipulations, employment limitations, and barriers against having many children in order to limit the number of Jewish residents. Suddenly, in 1933, after a century of emancipation and assimilation, the historic process was reversed. In Worms, where the ancient Jewish Quarter still existed, the regression into the past was made especially visible since after November 1938, an ever larger proportion of Jews lived in the quarter.

The key law laying the foundation for the de facto re-ghettoization of the Jews of Worms came down from Berlin on 19 November. It required that all Jews living in Aryan quarters be evicted by 30 April 1939. Henceforth, Jews could only be tenants in Jewish-owned or designated housing. This had the effect of concentrating Jews into a small number of units, which, in time, led to a majority living in the Jewish Quarter (where the community owned two large buildings in the Hintere Judengasse: No. 6, the Old Age Home and No. 2, the Community Center.)

The law had a profound psychological impact. Throughout the 19th century, in response to emancipatory statutes, Jews had rapidly dispersed and lived throughout the city. The distribution of the Jewish population in Worms was singularly complete by 1933; a glance at the city's address registers reveals no concentration of Jews. All but a handful in the Old Age Home lived

scattered thinly all over the city. After 1938, within a few weeks, the remaining Jews suddenly found themselves artificially lumped together in a few residences which the authorities designated as "Judenhäuser."

Originally, in mid-1939, these numbered about 60 houses and apartments for approximately 360 people, an average of six persons per unit, *twice* the average of the non-Jewish population. Overcrowding and mandatory living with strangers led to emotional strain, especially in the wake of the Kristallnacht Pogrom. (Numerous families had a father, husband, brother or son in a concentration camp.) Many made the difficult move to new quarters with someone recently back from camp, in most instances a physical and emotional shell of his former self. The spate of evictions simply added another anxiety on top of the trauma brought on by the November Pogrom.

The high rate of emigration in 1939 cut deeply into the Jewish population of Worms, but it did not ease the housing shortage. That year 93 Jews left Worms, 70 (75%) for Europe and 23 (25%) for overseas. Another 30 migrated elsewhere in Germany.[1] The remaining Jewish population, however, did not profit from the space left vacant by the emigrants. As soon as they had departed, the city invariably declassified these domiciles as Jewish residences. Often it helped manipulate sales at prices far below market value, pressuring Jewish homeowners to sell at great losses, threatening otherwise to make bureaucratic difficulties in issuing the myriad of papers required of would-be emigrants.[2] Consequently, as the Jewish population dwindled, so did available housing.

By January, 1940, the process of ghettoization intensified. By the beginning of World War II, 223 Jews were housed in 38 locations in Worms. While the overall average, 5.9 persons per unit remained the same as a year earlier, the figure hides the true reality that prevailed by the end of 1939. A breakdown of the data reveals the following distribution of the Jewish population of Worms.

TABLE 1
"Distribution of the Jewish Population(1): January, 1940"[3]

| Location | # of Jewish houses/apts | | # Residents | | % of Jews | | Ave. @ Unit | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I. Outside Jewish Quarter | 28 | | 83 | | 37.2 | | 2.9 | |
| II. Jewish Quarter | 10 | | 140 | | 62.8 | | 6.1 | |
| a) Judengasse | | 8 | | 49 | | 22.0 | | 6.1 |
| b) Hintere Judengasse | | 2 | | 91 | | 40.8 | | 45.5 |
| TOTAL | 38 | | 223 | | | | 5.9 | |

One third of the Jewish population still lived at-large throughout the entire city, a radical shift from 1933. The remaining two-thirds were concentrated in the former Jewish Quarter, in the Judengasse and in the Hintere Judengasse. The unequal distribution of people in category II highlights the consequences of mass evictions.

In the Judengasse, 33 out of 49 lived in two houses: No. 27, 18 people and No. 33, 15 people, with an average of 16.5 residents per house, a total far too high to maintain sanitary standards and healthy social relationships.

In the Hintere Judengasse, the plight of the Jews of Worms is even more evident. Here, clustered around the Old Synagogue were the Community Center and the Old Age Home, housing 33 and 58 people respectively. Neither was equipt to handle such a large number of permanent residents. The Community Center, which already housed the office, the museum and the school, was partially reorganized to accommodate homeless Jews, especially those too old and too poor to care for themselves; these could eat at the nearby Old Age Home. The latter suddenly found itself strained beyond capacity as a result of a flood of older people, many coming from villages near Worms.

While there was some consolation in proximity in the midst of an inexorably alien world, the sense of isolation had the effect of creating psychological claustrophobia. The spate of legislation following the Kristallnacht Pogrom literally imprisonned the Jews of Worms in their homes.[4] On 11 November, most Jewish stores were closed, forcing unemployment upon the few remaining gainfully employed Jews. The decree added to the economic strain of the community which had already lost its tax exemption status in March, 1938. Another law, passed on 12 November 1938, denied Jews attendance at public functions.

To make matters worse, the community lost its independence in July, 1939, when it fell under the jurisdiction of the Reichsvereinigung, a new government agency with headquarters in Berlin. Meanwhile, a decree passed in March made all Jewish males subject to labor conscription,[5] further adding to a sense of loss of control. On 1 September, coinciding with Germany's invasion of Poland, the state imposed a strict curfew on all Jews (a 9 P.M. deadline in summer and an 8 P.M. limit in winter.) On 26 January 1940, with most Jews already financially destitute, a new law subjected them to a stiff 15% special war tax, further jeopardizing their means to survive economically.

In the first year of the war, life rapidly deteriorated for the Jews of Worms. By the beginning of October, 1940, the 193 surviving Jews lived in even more cramped quarters than in early 1940.

In less than 12 months, despite a 13.5% decline in population, the overall persons per unit average rose 16.9%, in large measure because the available housing stock had been reduced by 34.2%. Conditions remained relatively stable in the two larger buildings in the Hintere Judengasse due to their having been filled to capacity. Several old persons were located in the remaining housing, forcing up averages in the other homes, especially in the Judengasse

TABLE 2
"Distribution of the Jewish Population(2): October, 1940"

| Location | # of Jewish houses/apts | # Residents | % of Jews | Ave. @ Unit |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| I. Outside Jewish Quarter | 18 | 58 | 30.0 | 3.3 |
| II. Jewish Quarter | 7 | 135 | 70.0 | 19.3 |
| a) Judengasse | 5 | 49 | 25.4 | 9.8 |
| b) Hintere Judengasse | 2 | 86 | 44.6 | 43.0 |
| TOTAL | 25 | 193 | | 7.7 |

where it leaped from 6.1 to 9.8. In all, the proportion of Jews living in the Jewish Quarter rose from nearly 63% in January, 1940, to 70% in October.

During 1940, the legal status of the Jews continued to erode even as they lived in more crowded conditions and insecure circumstances. Shopping was limited to a few hours on certain days of the week in specific stores designated by the mayor's office. Meanwhile, the Jewish community's office lost the last of its autonomy, finding itself under the jurisdiction of the district office of the Reichsvereinigung in Mainz. The explicit purpose of this administrative reorganization became tragically clear in the winter of 1941–42 (the months during which plans were laid for the deportation of all Jews from Germany.)

Mass deportations began in March, 1942. By then, the reduction of the Jewish population to the equivalent of a ghetto community was complete. Throughout 1941, law after law continued to impose strangulating conditions upon the captive Jewish minority in Worms. By the end of the summer, none could leave the city for any reason without special permission from the police. The police, in turn, issued no travel permits unless a reason was fully documented and confirmed. Those requiring special medical treatment beyond the means of Dr. Elisabeth Spies (the last practicing Jewish doctor in Worms) had to receive a medical reference from the City Health Bureau.[6] Numerous bureaucratic delays in obtaining these certificates led to the avoidable deaths of several individuals who required speedy attention in the Jewish Hospitals in Mannheim or Frankfurt.

**An Excursus into the Question: "Who Was Responsible?"(4)**

Traditionally, physicians are trained to heal the sick, regardless of the patients' identity. Their oath is first to their profession, unrestricted by political considerations. During the Nazi years, especially after Jewish physicians were demoted in professional status in July, 1938, competent medical attention became increasingly scarce for Jews. In Worms, several victims of the Kristallnacht Pogrom died, in large measure because "Christian" doctors and hospitals in the

city refused to treat these criminally injured people. Just as the city's fire department refused to extinguish the burning synagogue, and the city police refused to protect Jews from the violence of political thugs, so must one indict the doctors of Worms for disloyalty to their solemn oath.

The doors to non-Jewish physicians remained closed till the last Jew left Worms. Instead of dispensing their skills to Jews, private physicians and those employed by the Health Bureau examined Jews only to assess the seriousness of each case. Instead of referring them to local doctors and hospitals, these medical functionaries fully cooperated with the "law" and referred sick Jews to Jewish hospitals, even if this meant fatal delays. While hospital beds lay empty in Worms, Jews could *not* be assigned to them. All hospital administrators collaborated with anti-Semitic laws in direct contradiction with their medical code of ethics.

When reviewing the list of martyrs, the medical profession in Worms must bear some responsibility in the deaths of specific persons. Among those who died of old age prior to the 1942 deportations were quite a few whose death came earlier, having been refused medical services in Worms. Many old Jews simply could not undertake the strenuous journey to Mannheim and Frankfurt without risk to their health. It was compliance with the immoral laws of the state which corrupted the integrity of the medical profession in the City of Worms. After 1945, none lost his license to practice medicine; not a single doctor from Worms was asked to account for his actions.

**End of Excursus**

Permission to leave the city was often denied.[7] Requests to visit sick relatives, to attend funerals or to visit friends were constantly turned down by the police on grounds that the person would be absent longer than the curfew law permitted, (an utterly capricious interpretation of the regulations) a decision for which there was no appeal.

**An Excursus into the Question: "Who Was Responsible?"(5)**

Like their medical colleagues, the ranks of practicing lawyers in Worms also compromised themselves, though, as might be expected, in a manner protected by legalistic loopholes. In practice, a lawyer is sworn to uphold the law but also to secure justice for the innocent. The Jews of Worms, though guilty of no crime, found little solace in the courts. Judges rendered verdicts upholding the legality of anti-Semitic legislation.

In order to sell their properties, Jews had to turn to Aryan lawyers. These, however, counseled their clients to bow to "facts" and to sell to the advantage of the buyer. No attempt was made to represent the interests of their unfortunate Jewish clients. In criminal matters, the legal profession never came to the rescue of Jews abused by their fellow citizens. No lawyer in Worms came forward to appeal on behalf of those illegally incarcerated in Buchenwald and Dachau. They, like the clergy when the Jewish House of G-d was set on fire, cast a blind eye. By the time mass deportations began—a complete violation of all civil and human rights—the legal profession in Worms had grown totally insensitive,

lacking the will to uphold the spirit of true law and the moral courage to defend justice.

**End of Excursus**

Knowledge of the absolute abandonment on the part of their former neighbors aggravated the loneliness of the Jews confined to their ghetto-like circumstances, which ultimately led to their being hermetically sealed off from the world outside Germany. As of October, 1941, access to other countries came to an end; that month the law forbade all further emigration, an ominous ruling by a regime that openly sought to rid itself of all its Jews. Communication with the rest of the world also came to an abrupt end in December, 1941, when the use of public telephones was forbidden (all long distance calls abroad had to be placed via public telephones.) Then, in February, 1942, one month before the first large deportation transport left Worms, Jews were no longer permitted to read newspapers.

By March, 1942, the circle of isolation was completed; the walls of the modern ghetto were sealed tight. The Jews of Worms had neither access to nor news of the outside world. Travel beyond the city was strictly limited and available only on an exceptional basis. Within the city, movement was restricted to certain stores at prescribed times of the day and week. Even in their own homes, Jews had no space in which to lead a private life. The hangman's noose was tight; he had only to spring the trap to complete his work.

Shortly before the start of the mass deportation in March, 1942, the last 185 Jews in Worms lived as follows:

TABLE 3
"The Distribution of the Jewish Population on the Eve of the First Deportation, February, 1942."

| Location | # of Jewish houses/apts | # Residents | % of Jews | Ave. @ Unit |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| I. Outside Jewish Quarter | 12 | 91(+4)* | 50.2 | 7.9 |
| II. Jewish Quarter | 7 | 90 | 49.8 | 12.9 |
| a) Judengasse | 5 | 28 | 15.5 | 5.6 |
| b) Hintere Judengasse | 2 | 62 | 34.4 | 31.0 |
| i Community Center | | 21 | 11.6 | |
| ii Old Age Home | | 41 | 22.7 | |
| TOTAL | 19 | 181 (+4)* | | 9.5 |

(*4 additional Jews lived in Aryan homes with their Christian spouses.)

While both houses in Category II b remained filled far beyond capacity, a breakdown of Category II a shows the following population distribution:

| Apartments | | Houses | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Judengasse 6 | 2 | Judengasse 27 | 10 |
| Judengasse 24 | 3 | Judengasse 33 | 9 |
| Judengasse 25 | 4 | | |

with a relatively acceptable per unit average.

This, however, was not the case for Category I, where the bulk of the people, 82 (91%) were compressed into 9 one-family apartments with a 9.1 per unit average:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Moltkeanlage 6 | 15 | Karolingerst 13 | 8 |
| Hafergasse 7 | 11 | Moltkeanlage 6 | 7 |
| Andreasst 23 | 10 | Sixtusplatz 3 | 6 |
| Kaiser-Wilhelmst 10 | 10 | Wallstrasse 11 | 5 |
| Obermarkt 18 | 10 | | |

After the 20 March 1942 deportation of 79 persons, the proportionate distribution of the remaining 106 Jews did not change significantly. The first transport included 42 from the city at large, 13 from the Judengasse and 24 (13 & 11) from the Hintere Judengasse:

TABLE 4
"The Final Distribution of the Jewish Population," April, 1942

| Location | Houses | # of Jews | # @ | Percentage |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| I. Outside Jewish Quarter | 8 | 49 (+4) | | 48.0 |
| II. Jewish Quarter | 4 | 53 | | 52.0 |
| a) Judengasse | | 15 | | 14.7 |
| b) Hintere Judengasse | | 38 (8+30) | | 37.3 |
| TOTAL | 12 | 102 (+4) | 8.5 | |

Following the two September deportations of 97 and 5 people respectively, only 4 Jews, those married to Christians, were all that remained in Worms. The ghetto—the former Jewish houses—stood empty. Community life had ceased.

Once again, Worms had had a Jewish ghetto by order of the state with the collaboration of the local city authorities and in full view and knowledge

of its citizens. The moral and legal responsibility for the plight of the Jews of Worms falls squarely upon those who contributed both to the formation of policy, its execution and its condonation. The idea of the total removal of the Jews of Worms from the mainstream of the city's life could not have taken place without compliance on the part of the local institutions and leaders and the tacit assent of the citizenry. Because of the absence of fundamental aversion to what was taking place in their midst and before their very eyes in Worms, the people of Worms collectively helped the anti-Semitic program initiated by Nazism. It could not have been sustained for so many years until the moment of expulsion in the face of popular sentiments against the treatment of the Jews. In calculating the degree of responsibility, what happened in Auschwitz or in Belzec may not have been willed by the population in Worms. However, the genocidal crime that took place had its roots in a decade of terror operating in full view of the public. In condoning what happened to the Jews in Worms between 1933 and 1942, the population and its leaders signalled to those in power that the final acts that transpired in 1942—deportation and extermination—would not disturb the collective conscience as long as the ultimate deed —liquidation—took place elsewhere.

From this perspective, the ghetto in Worms was but the logical prelude to genocide. One went hand in hand with the other, with the responsibility for the criminality of the former joined inextricably to the latter. The evil perpetrated in Worms is the same Evil that reigned in Belzec. There is little moral distinction between a compliant doctor or collaborating policeman in Worms and a Dr. Mengele and an SS officer in Auschwitz. The legalistic mind that cultivates such differences is no different from the lawyer who justified his lack of concern for the legally abused Jews of Worms.

1. Huttenbach, *Emigration Book,* p. 21.
2. Exit from Germany was impossible without receiving a number of clearances from local, state and federal offices. The process forced an emigrant to make his way through a dismaying maze of government bureaus, each having the power to prevent his departure. For a detailed accounting of the steps involved, see: "Schematische Darstellung der für die Auswanderer anzulaufenden Ämter und Organizationen," Jewish Community Archive, Vienna, The Central Archive for the History of the Jewish People, The Hebrew University, Jerusalem.
3. "Census questionnaires: Worms," Yad Vashem: 08/16.
4. Sources for individual laws cited below can be found in the "Holocaust Calendar."
5. Conscription was a device to obtain cheap labor. Several firms made use of this in order to recruit workers at very low wages. Among the businesses were Werner and Mertz (who employed 11 Jews from Worms) and Blendax-Fabrik (who employed

7 Jews.) Both firms were in Mainz. See "Kennzeichnung der Juden," File II. 72.42. *Juden Akten bis 1945;* Police Archives, Worms.

6. Samples of this documentation can be found in "Kennzeichnung der Juden," File II. 72.42. *Juden Akten bis 1945,* Police Archives, Worms. This includes a denial of Dr. Spies' request to treat Jewish patients outside of Worms, a denial rendered by the police on grounds that included her failure to obtain support from the Health Bureau which saw no urgent reason for her leaving Worms' city limits.
7. *Ibid.* This includes a handwritten list of 37 travel permits issued between 19 September 1941 and 16 December 1941, an average of less than 3 per week over a three month period for a community of 200 people, proof of the policy of keeping travel to an absolute minimum.

# 4

# The Deportations: Year 1942

There was but one logical direction after isolation into a ghetto-like existence. All signs pointed towards mass expulsion from Worms. The October, 1938, deportation of Polish Jews from Germany remained a gnawing memory as the first hint of what lay ahead; the order had forced out of Worms most of the remaining Jews of Polish background. Yet, one still continued to hope it would not happen to German Jews. This illusion vanished on 22 October 1940 when all Jews from the Pfalz (in southwest Germany) were suddenly deported to Gurs. Until the trains moved in the direction of France many feared they were destined to go east;[1] rumors of the creation of a Jewish Reservation in Polish territory had already reached German Jewish communities. By the autumn of 1941, the fears of the Jews of Worms increased when about half a dozen of them were sent to Theresienstadt.[2] With the start of the winter, most knew that it was just a question of time since the Worms office of the Reichsvereinigung had received orders to prepare lists of Jews (supposedly in preparation for deportations as yet unspecified.)

Lists of Jews still residing in Worms had been compiled on several occasions. The mayor's office, the police, the Gestapo, and other bureaus in the city had counted and made lists of local Jews on numerous occasions for a variety of reasons. Counting Jews (as will be seen in the next chapter) had become a regular habit. The most thorough and systematic tally of Jews took place in February/March, 1940, a special census only of the Jewish population.[3] It immediately raised the questions: "Why?"—towards what end had each household been examined in detail when a national census had just taken place earlier in mid–1939? Each household had had to fill out a lengthy questionnaire which asked several key questions, among them an accounting of all near and distant relatives. Evidently, the purpose of the census was not only to identify exactly all Jews in Worms, but to establish the location of others elsewhere in Germany who may have escaped the previous census. The effort seemed like an ominous prelude. With the deportation to Gurs the following

October, everybody had no doubt as to the purpose of the census at the beginning of 1940. Everyone's turn would undoubtedly come: only where and when remained unknown, forcing each one to live in a frightful state of uncertainty as the news about the deportation of relatives and friends elsewhere in Germany reached them from time to time.

There were other signs indicative of new impending arrangements for the Jews of Worms. Ever since the formation of the Reichsvereinigung in 1939, German Jewry down to the community level became bound directly to the central government. In 1940, the Reichsvereinigung was subdivided into regional segments, Worms falling under the immediate jurisdiction of Mainz. Whereas the Reichsvertretung had been organized along autonomous lines, preserving local independence, the Reichsvereinigung was strictly centralized and hierarchical.

On 15 September, the government appointed Michel Oppenheim from Mainz as the senior Jewish official for Rheinhessen.[4] Shortly thereafter, orders reached several communities to prepare lists for "resettlement," a vague term which simultaneously brought on anxiety of the unknown and hope for some improvement of life in another place. In the middle of October, positive word about Theresienstadt circulated even as disquieting news about transports "to the east" engendered a deep fear. The former came from calculated Nazi propaganda cynically designed to tranquilize the Jews; the latter originated from relatives of deportees who feared for families and friends heading towards vaguely defined destinations. A month later, in mid-December, orders reached Worms to prepare tentative lists of the older and younger Jews, as well as a list according to family units (parents and children.) From that moment on, everyone lived with packed suitcases in the event of a sudden order to leave. (No one could forget that a year earlier, the deportees from the Pfalz had received an hour's warning to assemble their belongings and vacate their homes.)[5]

One of the more onerous aspects of the deportation phenomenon lay in the Nazi insistance that the Jews prepare the initial lists, thereby giving the outward appearance of voluntary compliance. In retrospect, entrusting this responsibility to the local Jewish functionaries of the Reichsvereinigung unjustly burdened them posthumously with the terrible accusation of complicity. The documentation, however, makes it quite clear that the orders stemmed directly from the government and non-cooperation would have in no way disrupted the deportation process: all the data about each Jew in Germany had already been centralized and computed.[6] By December, 1941, lists of the Jewish population by region and locality gave the government total power over their disposition. All that remained to be done, after deportation had been agreed upon as a general policy, was the size, timing and destination of individual transports. All three came from Berlin; it was up to regional offices to supply the necessary number of deportees.

Sometime in late January, Mainz received instructions to prepare a list of approximately 1000 Jews made up initially of people under 60 years of age. In turn Mainz sent out requests to its subsidiary bureaus that they compile lists with a proportional number for each. Originally the Worms office of the Reichsvereinigung, then run by August Mayer, received orders to provide 100 Jews from Worms and environs. Officially Worms proper still had 185 Jews (plus 5 in concentration camps), so that the order meant over 50% were subject to immediate deportation.[8] Their removal effectively spelled the end of a functioning Jewish community; the remaining 90–100 people, most of them aged and ill, could no longer fend for themselves in an organized manner.

The initial list of 100 names included people from Worms and three neighboring communities:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Worms | 85 | of 190 = | 45% of total Jews |
| Wachenhein | 6 | 6 = | 100% |
| Herrnsheim | 4 | 5 = | 80% |
| Florsheim | 3 | 9 = | 33% |
| Hohensulzen | 2 | 2 = | 100% |
| | 100 | | |

For reasons that remain unclear, 11 people were dropped and one was added.[9] The age factor may have played a role and the total may have been lowered.

On 8 February 1942, the regional Gestapo office asked for an up-dated statistical report of all Jews in Rheinhesse according to (i) *location* (including those in concentration camps in Germany); (ii) *age* (under 16, between 17 and 54, 55 and 64, and over 65); (iii) *marital status* (including mixed marriages); and (iv) *nationality.*[10] For the next ten days there was considerable communication between Mainz and Worms in order to complete the local list exactly to specifications resulting in further modifications, corrections and additional information about each person as required by the orders from the Gestapo.[11]

On 24 February, copies of four revised lists left Worms for Mainz for final editing before being submitted to the Gestapo.[12] Pressure of a deadline on 28 February increased tensions all around.[13] On 25 February, upon receipt of the lists from Worms, Mainz had to ask for still further corrections.[14] For example, a sub-rubric, "infirmities," was to be omitted altogether; children over 16 were to be listed separately in proper alphabetical order and not beneath their parent(s). These were promptly returned with all amendments on 26 February in time to make the deadline.[15] Thus, remorselessly the noose tightened around those selected when on 27–8 February the list was turned over to the Gestapo headquarters in Mainz. This, however, was not the last of the ordeal. On 1 March the lists returned for unspecified corrections.[16] Again on 3 March instructions came down to rearrange all children under 18 to appear under their respective parent(s).[17]

At last the tension broke. During the following week Worms received two pages of instructions for its deportees. Each one received a copy of these

"helpful hints."[18] One included suggestions for appropriate clothing and baggage. (The list reads like a harmless set of suggestions one might send a child preparing for summer camp, or to an inexperienced tourist about to embark to a foreign land.) The other page spelled out necessary medicaments from laxatives to disinfectants, from tranquilizers to stimulants, and from bandaids to aspirins. Given the hellish destination, these instructions had the effect of "normalizing" the impending journey out of Worms, all part of a calculated camouflage, a deception to assure the maximum of psychological cooperation.

The departure date for the first transport of Jews from Worms was set for Thursday, 19 March 1942.[19] On that day, the deportees reported to the Community Center. There, in the Hintere Judengasse, wearing exaggerated amounts of clothes, their baggage piled in the center of the street, they heard their names read from the fateful list. Still no one knew where he was heading. The guards herding them together said nothing; strict orders forbade any form of communication. At last they received orders to march towards the railroad station. Marching in silence through the streets of Worms, the 79 began a voyage to another reality, to a world beyond anyone's imagination.

First came the cruelty of deportation, a form of violence robbing a person of his habitat. Then followed the ignominy of travel to an unspecified destination—a further loss of control over one's destiny. After a night in an isolated part of the train depot in Mainz, the deportees left by train, headed in the general direction of Poland. Altogether 986 Jews from Bingen, Darmstadt, Mainz and Worms and their environs left that day for Piaski near Lublin, Poland.[20] A long, slow voyage, without food and drink, brought them to the Jewish Reservation which, since mid-1941, had become the center of the extermination program for European Jews.[21]

Upon arrival, the deportees were sent into the Ghetto where they lived in quarters formerly inhabited by Jews recently deported to nearby extermination centers. For the next few months they languished in Piaski with neither work nor sufficient food.[22] The brutal treatment rapidly taught those that survived that only worse awaited them. Resettlement was a hoax. Some lived long enough (surviving Piaski and evading deportation to Belzec or Maidanek) to be reassigned to Chelm, a labor camp also in the Lublin District.[23] There, husbands and wives lost track of one another. A lethal regime of brutal work awaited them in Chelm. Those that survived this ordeal died in the Belzec gas chambers.

In Worms, an occasional, but heavily-censured postcard from Piaski and Chelm conveyed sporadic signs of life and hinted vaguely at poor living conditions. Friends and relatives learned about unfurnished rooms in Piaski; later they read that men and women had lost contact with one another. Those in Worms who sought to relieve the misery of the deportees were told that regulations forbade the sending of any kind of packages.[24] Between April and September they received fewer and fewer postcards as the number of the

surviving deportees declined. Those that still lived could not write about the deaths, not even about the simple fact, because this would expose the reality behind the deportations program. Since the majority had been of the younger generation, their early death, just a few weeks after deportation, could only mean one thing: brutal treatment and intolerable conditions. In order to keep up the facade of "resettlement" and not to undermine the flagging morale of those in Germany awaiting their turn, the authorities made sure that no damaging information leaked out. The absence of correspondence, however, though not definitive in itself, was enough to indicate to those in Worms that all was not well. When at last their turn came in September, their faith in any kind of acceptable life elsewhere had disappeared.

The September transports took the bulk of the remaining Jews. The lists were drawn up with little difficulty. Everyone was included except for two categories: (i) those married to non-Jews,[25] and (ii) those classified as part-Jews.[26] On 27 September nearly 100 old and infirm people, many of them too weak to carry their own baggage were forcibly removed from Worms.[27] Among them were 26 elderly couples; the remainder were single or widowed. Nearly 50% had been residents in the Old Age Home. Their ages ranged from 54 to 88, and the average was 72 years. Instead of living out their last few years in the relative peace of the Hintere Judengasse, they were shipped to Theresienstadt where, as a subsequent chapter shows, they died horrible deaths from exposure and neglect. On 30 September another 5 persons were sent east to an unknown destination.[29]

The purging of Worms of its Jews was now, with but a few exceptions, complete. Year 1942 left Worms without a single professing Jew. All the rest were so-called "Rassenjuden" (Racial Jews). Their martyrdom began the next year.

1. From the diary of Miriam Gerber (née Sondheimer) now living in New York City.
2. This can be deduced from the amendments made on several lists compiled between 1940 and 1942. File 1 "Listen," *Juden Angelegenheiten, 1933–1945.* Police Archive, Worms.
3. Yad Vashem: 08/16 and 08/16a.
4. "Reichsvereinigungangelegenheiten," Yad Vashem. The following information comes from a file entitled "Worms-Mainz Korrespondenz." Subsequent references will be "W-M," plus the item in question.
5. This detail is found in the diary of Miriam Gerber. See note 1 above.
6. All data concerning Jewish demography went directly to the Statistics Department of the Reichsvereinigung Central Office in Berlin. In turn, it had to forward all its

information to Gestapo headquarters where deportation plans were made according to the data received from the Statistical Department.

8. "W-M": folio 117; also folios 113 and 114.
9. "W-M": folios 134 r & v.
10. "W-M": folios 113 and 114.
11. e.g. "W-M": folio 91, 92 (samples of letters).
12. *Ibid.*, folio 82 (letter).
13. *Ibid.*, folio 81 (letter).
14. *Ibid.*
15. *Ibid.*, folio 78 (letter).
16. *Ibid.*, folio 75 (letter).
17. *Ibid.*
18. *Ibid.*, folios 65 and 66.
19. *Ibid.*, folio 42 (Date found on the title of a handwritten list of names).
20. The official deportation list only says "Poland" as the destination. Yad Vashem: 08/24. The actual destination was reported at a slightly later date. "W-M": folio 2 (letter).
21. On Piaski and other camps, see Part II.
22. Else Rosenfeld (ed), *Lebenszeichen aus Piaski: Briefe Deportierter aus dem Distrikt Lublin, 1941–1943.* (Munich, 1968).
23. Postcard from Moritz Mayer, dated 10 August 1942 in the possession of his children. (New York City and Baltimore).
24. "W-M": folio 2 (letter).
25. They were listed separately: "W-M": folio 113 and 114.
26. There were two classifications according to the 1935 Racial Laws: of the "1st Degree" (one Jewish parent); and of the "2nd Degree" (one "1st Degree" parent). They are discussed in the next chapter.
27. Deportation List. Yad Vashem: 08/24.
28. *Ibid.* The destination read "General Gouvernement." For an explanation, see Part II.

# 5

# The Final Madness 1943-1945: Making Worms "Judenrein"

Removing the Jews en masse did not satisfy those waging a war against them. To have burned and later bulldozed into a pile of rubble the ancient synagogue was not enough. Not until the last vestiges of all things Jewish had been expurgated could there be any rest. By the time the Jews of Worms had been deported, involvement with the problem of ridding society of the Jewish presence had become ingrained and institutionalized to the point of obsession. What had originally started out as a policy planned by a few fanatics had metamorphosized in the course of a decade into a national pasttime. Though the Jews were gone, the machinery for their extinction continued to function with the same intensity. The price for adopting racial anti-Semitism was a national pathology; the idée fixe of the Jew as evil incarnate grew into an uncontrollable national involvement, a cancer whose diseased cells reached into all levels of society. Germany had fallen ill due to its long exposure to anti-Semitism, an illness from which Worms suffered along with the rest of the country.

There is a profound irony in the contagious character of anti-Semitism and its tendency to spread rapidly in all corners of the body politic. In their crusade against Jews, Nazi ideologists couched their anti-Semitic pronouncements in medical terms to affect an aura of scientific credibility. In their minds, the Jew represented a bacillus, a threat to the health of society. If allowed to go untreated, Jewish influence, according to this analysis, would spread, like a plague. Consequently, it became necessary to take radical surgical and prophylactic steps to expunge this dangerous disease-causing element and to protect the nation from fatal contamination. In carrying out this assignment, the practitioners of racist anti-Semitism organized their forces as if they were a form of medical society entrusted with the health of the German, that is, of the Aryan race.

Though the Jewish population no longer lived in their midst, the task of cleansing society of the malevolent consequences of having had Jews among them for so long was by no means over. The plague could break out again unless all signs of it had been completely excised from society. To ensure the future welfare of the race, they were obligated to remain alert and to look for any residual Jewish presence that might endanger the purity of the nation's blood. Constant vigilance demanded they remain alert guardians of racial purity against the slightest outbreak of the Jewish epidemic. All those tainted with Jewish blood had to be identified and destroyed.

Since the passage of the 1935 Nuremberg Laws to ensure the future of the Aryan race against Semitic impurities, the Nazi government had taken a variety of steps to guard against any violations of the laws which forbade the mixing of the Aryan race with the Jewish people. A local branch of the Bureau of Racial Affairs (Rassenpolitisches Amt) functioned out of the Party Headquarters on Bismarkallee 7. In conjunction with the local Criminal Police, the Bureau pursued its business with predictable thoroughness. Within its jurisdiction were several "crimes" which ranged from cases dealing with sexual relations, marriages, employment permits, to the classification of a person's racial identity and that of his/her offspring. The power they wielded over the fate of individuals was out of all proportion; the decisions made by the functionaries in the Bureau could not be appealed in the courts. They enjoyed, therefore, an extra-legal status that gave the office an aura of ominous might especially as the classifications it attached to each person under investigation finally meant a matter of life and death. With a stroke of the pen, the Bureau literally could cast someone out of society by declaring him a Jew or part-Jew, or restore him to acceptability by rendering a favorable verdict, declaring him to be Aryan.

Over the years, the Bureau in Worms investigated hundreds of persons in order to establish their racial identity. Members of the Jewish community by no means included all those classified as Jews according to National Socialist law. Non-observant Jews, converts to Christianity, products of mixed marriages, all fell under the rubric of "Jew" as defined by the Nuremberg Laws; and it was the responsibility of the Bureau to locate such Jews and include them on the list of persons subject to the provisions of the racial laws. This meant going through the entire population to ferret out persons suspect of being Jewish. Dozens suspected of being Jews because of their names were called to the Bureau and asked to prove their racial identity, a traumatic experience lasting weeks and months, sometimes even years as the required documents had to be assembled. This kept many people in a limbo of excruciating uncertainty; they along with their families and friends were often kept in long periods of anxiety. Corruption, an offspring of the Bureau's dreadful power, led to attempts to bribe or otherwise influence the Bureau officials sitting in judgment over a person's racial classification. In this way, the terror that tormented the Jews spilled over into the rest of the

population. On numerous occasions, the Bureau acted upon rumors, anonymous letters and phone calls initiated by persons, acting out of spite, harboring a grudge, or seeking revenge upon a personal enemy or business rival. Once it was known someone was under investigation by the Bureau, he immediately became socially ostracized. The stigma of the ongoing investigation made association with the suspect unwise, as if he were suffering from a contagious disease.

In its early years, the Bureau helped prepare for the Gestapo and Worms police several files on cases involving violations of the so-called "Blood Protection" law, designed to prevent sexual contacts between the races and the birth of mixed breeds. These cases involved such matters as continued employment by Jews of female Christians under 45 all of which had to be approved by 1 January 1936. For example:[1]

1) A request (initiated on 14 December 1935) by a 53-year-old invalid male convert to Christianity, married to a Christian, to retain three female domestic servants aged 33, 27, and 25. *Denied.*

2) A request by a Jewish widow, a landlady of the community's cantor (aged 25), to retain a 40-year-old female housemaid. *Denied.*

3) A request by a retired 76-year-old Jew for a female caretaker in his house wherein his unmarried 44-year-old son also lived. *Denied.*

4) A request by the Jewish Old Age Home to retain a female employee under 45. *Granted.*

5) A request (4 January 1936) by a 44-year-old male Jew to hire a housemaid two weeks before her 45th birthday. *Denied.*

6) Investigation of suspected illegal employment beyond the 1 January 1936 deadline.

All these detailed investigations led to lengthy personal interviews and the systematic exposure of persons working for Jews with the result that non-Jews did not dare work for Jews for fear of involvements with the police and the Bureau.

Detailed lists of all Christian employees and their Jewish employers were constantly revised and kept up to date so that the slightest violation could be avoided or promptly prosecuted. Applications for work initiated by non-Jews meant the same public exposure to the crude investigatory methods by the police and the Bureau personnel. Any discrepancy of information was regarded with deep suspicion, a suspicion that lingered long after the matter had been resolved. Much human energy and time were expended, often leading to ludicrous decisions and absurd opinions expressed in pompous bureaucratic language accompanied by a plethora of stamps, initials and signatures. The entire paraphernalia of officialdom was devoted to matters utterly insignificant in a normal society. However, when viewed from the vantage of the emerging genocidal atmosphere, then each document, each letter, each case assumes a frightening character. In the context of the perverse racial policies, the absurd became lethal and none escaped its corrosive consequences.

**An Excursus into the Question: "Who Else Was Involved?"**

One of the advantages of keeping records is that they supply the historian with unexpected clues to the dynamics of the past. In this instance, the police files compiled on each case included a variety of correspondence. Occasionally, these letters came from collaborating agencies as far as Berlin, illustrating how harmoniously intertwined local and federal offices were, smoothly cooperating in administering justice according to the new racial laws. In other instances, unsolicited correspondence came from "concerned" or vigilant quarters of the civilian population who volunteered information, instigated investigations or volunteered complaints about possible infringements of the law, demonstrating how far the desire to participate in the quest for racial purity had penetrated the rest of society.

Among the files there is a copy of a letter, dated 2 December 1937, sent by the police to the Employment Bureau.[2] In response to a complaint made by an unnamed citizen, the police called for an immediate investigation of two female workers, aged 17 and 40, still employed by a Jewish butcher; it had heard he was often alone in the store with one of the women. A prompt reply and explanation was expected.

On 4 December the reply came from the head of the agency confirming the situation claimed by the police, with the amendment that there was a third employee who was always present in the store. Nevertheless, the Employment Bureau had had these employees checked out by the Bureau to determine their exact ages and religious affiliation; it agreed the matter should be pursued further in order to avoid the slightest infringement of the law. Thus, to protect its own oversight in having granted work permits to two unqualified individuals (under 45), the Employment Bureau supported the police in its endeavor to uncover yet another case of dangerous racial comingling. Instead of seeking to defuse the whole affair as an innocuous non-event and spare its non-Jewish clients needless agonies, the Employment Bureau bowed to the police's insistence to prosecute the case further.

**End of Excursus**

So it was that more and more non-Jews were involved in the sordid campaign to purge society. In the process, the most intimate details of ones private life were recorded, examined and discussed.

Again in cooperation with the Bureau of Racial Affairs, the city police compiled several files in matters concerning permissions to marry between Christians (between bona fide Aryans and persons whose racial identity was in dispute.) Five such files have survived spanning the years 1935–1941.[3] Over the years, more and more so-called "Mischlinge," (partial-Jews,) came to the attention of the authorities.[4] According to the complex calculus of the racial laws, their disposition was never clear, leaving considerable room for lengthy consultations, controversial exceptions and, once again, corruption. These files are stuffed with letters whose contents are classic samples of the turgid style and convoluted thought process associated with the racist mentalities, which seem to delight in the voyeurism permitted by the investigations.

In each case lay a personal tragedy, young lovers denied the right to marry. An inflexible bureaucracy, at the service of racism, separated couples, locating one partner on the Aryan side of the abyss and the other on the Jewish side. Every city agency was eventually brought into these cases to determine birth, parentage, background, criminal record, health, religious profile, etc. Character testimonials for and against individuals illustrate how far from the persons involved each case radiated. Relatives, friends, acquaintances, employers, teachers, the clergy, etc., none was immune from participating in these cases. Information was culled and stored as if by compulsion. In some instances, matters dragged on resulting in the birth of illegitimate children, further clouding the issues and complicating the case. Enthusiasm never seemed to flag in pursuit of the tiniest fragment of data in order to arrive at a decision whose artificiality would have been ludicrous to those not enmeshed in a nightmarish pursuit of an unattainable ideal—racial purity.

By the time the war had started, countless lists of racially suspect persons filled the files of all the agencies concerned with "cleansing" Worms of its Jews. The actual deportation of the Jews had little impact on those entrusted with the responsibility of carrying out racial laws and preserving racial purity. According to their information, the Jewish "danger" was by no means over. There were still Jews married to Christians residing in the city. Besides them, there were 48 Jews of mixed race among the citizens of Worms. These divided into 27 Jews of the First Grade and 21 Jews of the Second Grade, most of them Christians.

Great care was taken to keep these Jews in sight in order to avoid their skipping town and escaping. Records of revised lists of these "half" Jews were kept until the winter of 1944. Address changes and travel intentions appeared regularly in each new list. These "Jews" and their families were subjected to the same terrors that had once tormented the Jewish citizens of Worms. As husband and wife, as children and parents, they were drawn into the same genocidal net which a year earlier had sent the Jews to Theresienstadt and the extermination centers in Poland. The same machinery worked on them as had arranged the deportation of their Jewish fellow citizens. The same silence—lack of opposition and protection on the part of society—accompanied unfortunates who, at one time, had been the relatives and associates of Christians with whom they had once prayed to the same G-d in the many picturesque churches of Worms.

But the madness did not stop there. In pursuit of a racial utopia, the Bureau hunted far beyond the parameter of the Jewish "threat." In 1942, the Bureau compiled lists of gypsies, half-gypsies and of suspected gypsies.[5] The latter suffered investigations whose pseudo-scientific character makes a mockery of once respectable scientific terms. Each case was pursued by the Research Institute for Racial Hygiene of the Department of Health (Rassenhygienische Forschungstelle des Reichsgesundheitsamt) in Berlin. Nearly 50 cases from Worms were sent for final disposition to the Institute. Throughout 1943 and

1944, decisions on these people's racial status generated a stream of correspondence, consuming great amounts of time, and causing immeasurable personal anguish. The verdicts that eventually arrived from Berlin declared 30 to be Aryan and 17 to be gypsies of mixed racial composition. The latter were almost all deported along with the other local gypsies.

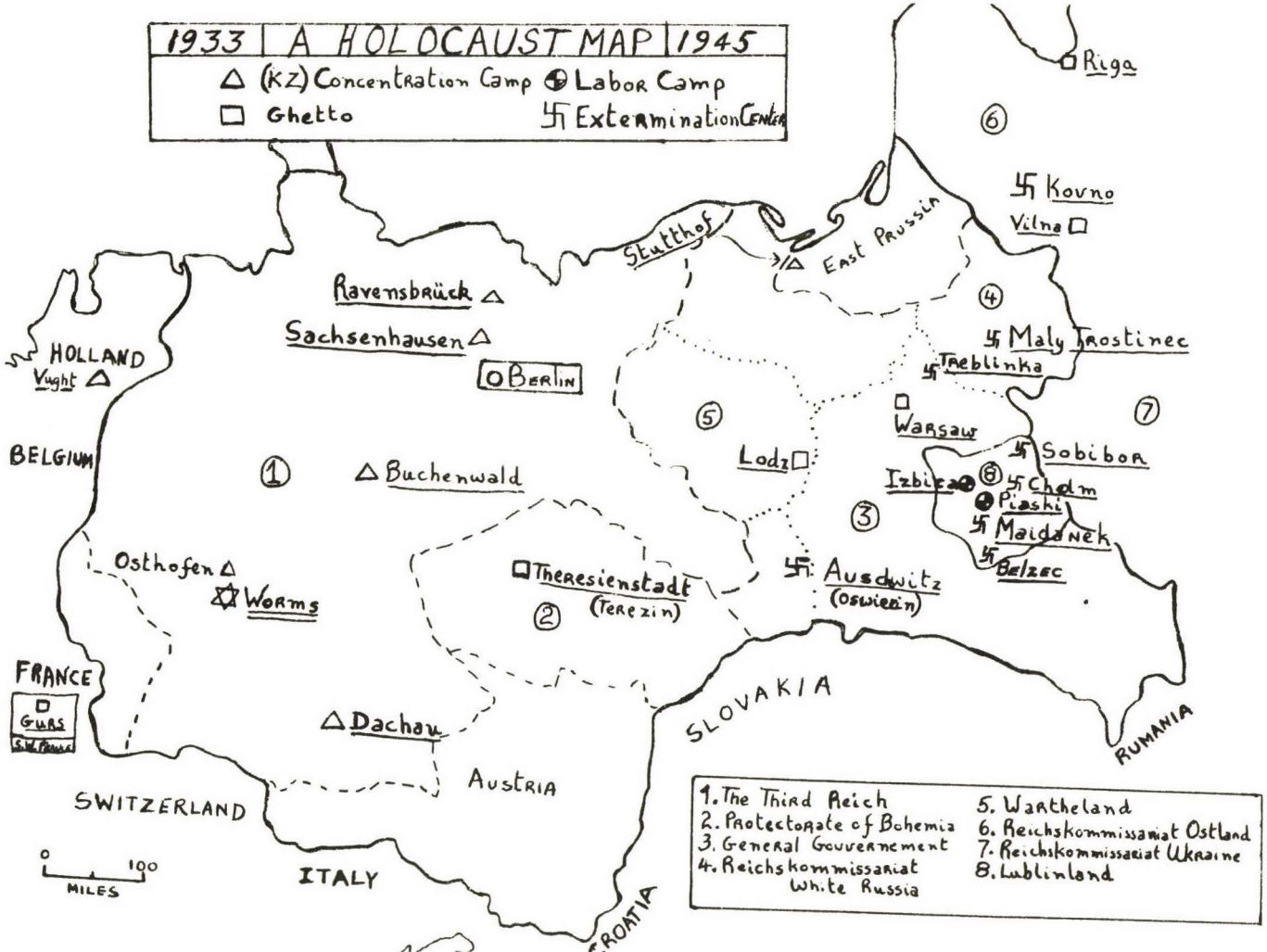
Similarly, before the end of the War, the Jews married to Christians, and most of those classified as partial Jews, were eventually arrested and deported to Theresienstadt or directly to extermination centers. Indicative of the obsessive quality of the pursuit after all those suspect of Jewish racial "content" is the ceaseless activity of the hunters. The last extant list compiled by the fanatic purgers up-dates their files of Worms to 31 December 1944. Evidence suggests they were still reviewing their data for further arrests and investigations as late as February, 1945, a mere month before American military units forced them to flee in haste and leave behind some of the incriminating documentation.

The Bureau of Racial Affairs had done its job well. Worms was indeed Judenrein: except for 7 people classified as Jews—Second Grade, it had thoroughly "cleansed" the city's population of its Jewish "element." As they retreated in defeat before one enemy, they could justifiably claim victory over another—the Jew. Despite the upheavals wrought by the war, the machinery for the de-judaization of Worms had worked continuously and efficiently, far beyond anyone's expectations. Though designed primarily to expunge the Jewish race, the hunters for racial impurity had touched the lives of hundreds of other citizens. Once set in motion, the agencies entrusted with safeguarding the purity of the Aryan race could not be stopped. Given limitless power, they exercised it without restraint, not only upon innocent Jews, but also upon others equally innocent of any crime. The madness originally unleashed on the Jews spread like a voracious cancer. Its insatiable appetite whetted, it turned automatically and indiscriminately towards new "nourishment." Having devoured the Jews of Worms, it began to feed off the population at large.

1. "Blutschutzgesetz Einzelfälle," File II 72.03. Juden Angelegenheiten 1933–1945. Police Archives, Worms.
2. *Ibid.,* Folio 1.
3. "Einzelakten II 72:Oi." Juden Angelegenheiten.
4. "Verzeichnis über die im Stadtkreis Worms bekannt gewordenen Mischlinge und Bastarde." File II, 72.70. *Ibid.*
5. "Gutarten über Zigeunerische Personen." File III. *Ibid.*

# PART II

## THE HOLOCAUST EXPERIENCE


1933 A HOLOCAUST MAP 1945
△ (KZ) Concentration Camp
Labor Camp
Ghetto
Extermination Center
Riga
Kovno
Vilna
Stutthof
East Prussia
Ravensbrück
Sachsenhausen
Berlin
HOLLAND
Vught
BELGIUM
Buchenwald
Maly Trostinec
Treblinka
Warsaw
Lodz
Sobibor
Izbica
Chelm
Piaski
Majdanek
Belzec
Osthofen
Worms
Theresienstadt
(Terezin)
Auschwitz
(Oswiecim)
FRANCE
Gurs
Dachau
Austria
SLOVAKIA
RUMANIA
SWITZERLAND
ITALY
CROATIA
0 100
MILES
1. The Third Reich
2. Protectorate of Bohemia
3. General Gouvernement
4. Reichskommissariat White Russia
5. Wartheland
6. Reichskommissariat Ostland
7. Reichskommissariat Ukraine
8. Lublinland

## A HOLOCAUST GEOGRAPHY FOR WORMS: A GUIDE TO THE CAMPS

The Holocaust Kingdom erected by the Nazis began in Germany and spread across Europe like a vast net from which there was no escape. Before the Third Reich and its empire collapsed, the map of Europe had been revolutionized. Superimposed upon the familiar map, there appeared another with the names of hundreds of camps, a temporary world whose citizens were destined never to leave. In order to comprehend the Holocaust experience of the Jews of Worms, one must acquire a familiarity with Holocaust "geography," with the camps they inhabited in the nether world, light years apart from that of cities, towns and villages found on the traditional map of Europe.

*Auschwitz:* (Oswiecim) A huge complex of camps erected in 1941 in southwest Poland. It included the largest extermination center for Jews—Birkenau (Auschwitz II). The first gassing experiements began on 23 September 1941. It operated until January, 1945.

*Belzec:* One of the three major extermination centers in the *Lublin* ("Reservation") District. Originally (since late 1939) a labor camp, it became from Spring, 1942, until June, 1943, exclusively a killing center, run by Ukrainian guards under German supervision.

*Berlin:* Operation center of the Final Solution, headquarters of the RSHA —Reichsicherheitshauptamt (State Security Center). In it was housed Amt IV—the Gestapo—with its Bureau 4 (Jewish Department), nerve center of the extermination program.

*Buchenwald:* A large concentration camp near Weimar initially opened on 16 July 1937, for hardened criminals. On 13 June 1938 individual Jews with but minor police "records" were sent there; later thousands of innocent Jews arrested during the Kristallnach Pogrom (9/10 November 1938) were incarcerated in Buchenwald. In September/October, 1942, the camp's survivors were deported to the *Lublin* "Reservation" in Poland.

*Cholm:* (Chelm) A "labor" camp in the *Lublin* district set up in early 1942 as a way-station to the extermination centers in the "reservation."

*Chelmno:* (Kulmhof) A major extermination center opened 8 December 1941. Jews were killed in gas vans. Many of the Jews came from the *Lodz Ghetto.* It ceased operating in January, 1945.

*Cracow Ghetto:* One of several regional urban districts opened in October, 1939, for the concentration of Jewish populations before their deportation to extermination centers. It was liquidated in March, 1943.

*Dachau:* The first of several large Concentration Camps, opened 23 March 1933. Originally intended for political "opponents" of the Nazis; as of 25 January 1938, it received Jewish "antisocials." After 9/10 November 1938, it housed thousands of Jews arrested during the Kristallnacht Pogrom.

*Drancy:* An Internment Camp outside Paris where foreign Jews were detained until their deportation to *Theresienstadt* or *Auschwitz.* The inmates suffered a high death rate and were often shot as hostages. The French police guarded the camp.

*General Gouvernement:* A Nazi term for the western part of occupied Poland, where they built the largest ghettos and extermination centers. Its Holocaust heartland was the Lublin District.

*Gurs:* A detention camp in southern France at the foot of the Pyrennees; originally designed to house refugees from the Spanish Civil War, to which Jews from Southwest Germany were deported on 22 October 1940; and later, in 1942–4, to *Theresienstadt* and *Auschwitz.*

*Izbice:* A "labor" detention camp near Lublin; also served as a transit camp to the extermination centers. Operated from 1 x 1941 until 25 xi 1942.

*Kovno Ghetto:* (Kaunas) For the concentration of Jews in Lithuania; opened in July, 1941, to provide forced labor. By January, 1942, the large majority had been exterminated in nearby Fort No. 9 by Einsatzgruppe "A" (special Death Squads attached to the German Army.)

*Les Milles:* An internment camp near Marseilles to which foreign Jews from *Gurs* were sent to complete their emigration plans. Those who failed were sent to *Drancy* or *Noé.*

*Lodz Ghetto:* (Litzmannstadt) One of the largest regional urban districts set up for Jews before deportation for liquidation to *Auschwitz* or *Chelmno.*

*Lublin* "Jewish Reserve": A district in central Poland in which the Nazis located the largest concentration of Ghettos, Labor Camps and Extermination Centers in late 1941 and early 1942.

*Maidanek:* Opened as a labor camp in November, 1940. In April, 1942, became one of three (*Belzec* and *Sobibor*) extermination

centers servicing the *Lublin* District. It closed in July, 1944.

*Maly Trostinec:* In Byelorussia. Operated as an extermination center from 1941 to 1944. Jews from Germany were deported there between 28 November 1941 until 5 October 1942. It also served as a slave labor camp; killings took place in gas vans in the Blahoustina Wood, 3 miles from the camp compound. The guards were detachments of Byelorussians, Hungarian, Latvian, Rumanian and Ukrainian S.S. auxiliaries.

*Noé:* An internment camp in France to which the older, German Jews with no emigration plans or hopes were sent from *Gurs* in February-March, 1941. From there, they were shipped to extermination centers in Poland.

*Osthofen:* (See below)

*Piaski:* A ghetto segregated by barbed wire from the rest of the village. In April, 1942, some of its inmates were gassed in *Maidanek.* In June, 1942, 5,500 Jews were shipped to *Cholm.* On 25 xi 1942 the ghetto was liquidated and the survivors sent to *Sobibor.*

*Ravensbruck:* A special concentration camp for women, near Mecklenburg; opened 23 March 1939.

*Récébédou:* Internment/transit camp for Jews from Gurs sent there, 1941, prior to their deportation to Poland.

*Riga Ghetto:* An urban center, recipient of 20 transports of German Jews (2 from Theresienstadt) between 27 November 1941 and 6 February 1942. Of 20,000, fewer than 1,000 survived the War.

*Sachsenhausen:* A large concentration camp near Berlin opened in 1936, to which were sent several thousand Jews arrested in November, 1938.

**An Excursus into the Question: "How much did Worms know?"**

*KZ Osthofen*

Whereas the network of camps in Stalin's Soviet Union—Solzhenitsyn's "Gulag Archipelago"—was literally out of sight, this was not the case with Hitler's Germany. Until 1939, the Third Reich had no Siberia or wide steppe in which to hide its illegal penal camps. Germany's concentration camps were visible and impossible to ignore. Everyone had to have seen or heard of the camps in one's vicinity. Those living in Worms had to know about the concentration camp operating nearby, in Osthofen, 34 kilometers south of Mainz, directly on the rail line to Worms.[1]

Here, the Nazis opened one of their first camps in 1933.[2] Indeed it was the first major Nazi concentration camp in Hessen,[3] originally designed for "political" (i.e., Communist) prisoners.[4] The first Jews sent there had been accused of communist affiliation and activities.[5] Until the mass arrest of Jews in November, 1938,

GRATZ COLL. LIB., PHILA.

(when they were sent to Buchenwald and Dachau,) KZ Osthofen served as the regular place of temporary incarceration for Jews apprehended on any charge.[6]

Jews arrested between 1933 and 1938 were often threatened by the Worms police with imprisonment in Osthofen,[7] instead of detention in the regular prisons for legally convicted persons.[8] Evidently, the Worms authorities knew the difference between the legal, established local institutions and the new extra-legal, punitive camps expressly designed to terrorize targets selected by the Nazis. This abuse of power by the Worms police demonstrates the intimate link between them and the brutalization of the Jews. As a result of this close and enthusiastic cooperation, it stretches credibility to believe that the Worms city government did not have concrete knowledge of the mistreatment Jews could expect in K.Z. Osthofen. The extant documentation clearly points in the direction of their being fully aware of the nature of this concentration camp.

[1] *Basic Handbook: Konzentrationslager. Axis Concentration Camps* G-2. (Counter Intelligence Sub-Division: London, 1946), p. A:81.

[2] Osthofen is first mentioned on 15 iv 1933 and identified as a concentration camp for men. *Vorläufiges Verzeichnis der K.Z., 1933–1945.* (Arolsen, 1969)

[3] Franz-Joseph Heyen, *Nationalsozialismus im Alltag: Quellen zur Geschichte des National sozialismus vornehmlich im Raum Mainz-Koblenz-Trier* (Boppart a/R., 1967), p. 86.

[4] Staatsarchiv Koblenz: Abteilung 805, No. 304.

[5] *Ibid.* and No. 303.

[6] *Das Schwarzbuch: Tatsachen und Dokumente. Die Lage der Juden in Deutschland.* (Paris, 1934).

[7] "Berichte des Reichskommissionars für das Polizeiwesen in Hessen, 16 vi 1933 über das K.Z. Osthofen im Kreis Worms." Bundesarchiv: Bestand R 43, II/603.

[8] That is either in the city jail for short term sentences, or in the larger prison compound for more serious crimes in Dieburg, opened on 21 iv 1938, known as "Strafgefangenlager Rodgau," (nicknamed "Camp I"). See International Tracing Service: *Catalogue of Camps and Prisons in Germany* (Arolsen, 1949), Vol. I, pp. 169, 178 and Vol. II, p. 158.

**End of Excursus**

*Sobibor:* A major extermination center in the *Lublin* District to which many Jews from Holland were deported. It operated from March, 1942, until 14 October 1943, when an uprising forced it to dismantle.

*Stutthof:* A major concentration camp in East Prussia near Danzig with several satellite slave labor camps in its vicinity.

*Theresienstadt:* (Terezin) A former military garrison near Prague, opened on 10 October 1941 supposedly for older Jews from Germany, including decorated World War I veterans. Its inmates died rapidly from exposure; many were transported for extermination to *Auschwitz* and other death centers.

*Treblinka:* A major extermination center in the *General Gouvernement;* opened in Spring, 1942; it also serviced the Byelorussian districts.

*Vilna Ghetto:* Established in August, 1941. The majority of its Jews were slaughtered by December, 1941, by units of the Einsatsgruppe "A".

*Vught:* Along with Westerbork, an assembly point for Jews in Holland destined for deportations to extermination camps in Poland. The first deportees were refugees from Germany.

*Warsaw Ghetto:* Opened in November, 1939. Its population faced death by starvation long before deportations to extermination centers started in 1942.

*Westerbork:* Originally set up by the Dutch to accommodate Jewish refugees from Germany. After German occupation it became a transit camp mainly to *Theresienstadt, Auschwitz* and *Sobibor.*

# 6

# A Holocaust Inventory

The deportation of German Jewry took place under the official rubric "resettlement"—Umsiedlung—a code word intended to camouflage the real intention, namely, the complete removal of all Jews from the Third Reich. As a final step in the complete "aryanization" of society, the Nazis planned on making the population "judenrein"—free of Jews. Thus, while "resettlement" suggested some kind of normal life in a new location, in fact it was exclusively predicated upon a negative premise. The destinations selected for the deportees had literally no viable provisions for their survival. The "camps," by whatever nomenclature the Nazis dubbed them, were futureless enclaves in which the inmates could only await death. Even without the Wannsee Declaration of a "Final Solution," in spring, 1942, (i.e., the extermination of the Jews,) mass death would have been the end result of the deportation program since the tens of thousands of uprooted had absolutely no means of survival once transplanted from their native soil. No matter whether they found themselves in so-called "labor" or "transit" camps, or in "ghettos" or "concentration" camps, the end result was the same—death from exposure to inhuman conditions.

In the first wave of deportations, the Jews from Worms traveled in transports intended to expel them from Germany, a policy that had its roots in Nazi plans for the Jews dating back to 1933. With the exception of individuals already imprisoned in concentration camps, most of the 456 victims experienced mass deportation to locations outside Germany, to places where they were barely able to cling to life after traumatic journeys from the relative comfort of their homes to a brutally raw existence in "camps" which lacked even the most primitive requirements for human life.

By the time deportations had removed from Germany all Jews from Worms (as well as all those once associated with the community,) deportees found themselves "resettled" in the following locations (Table 1).*

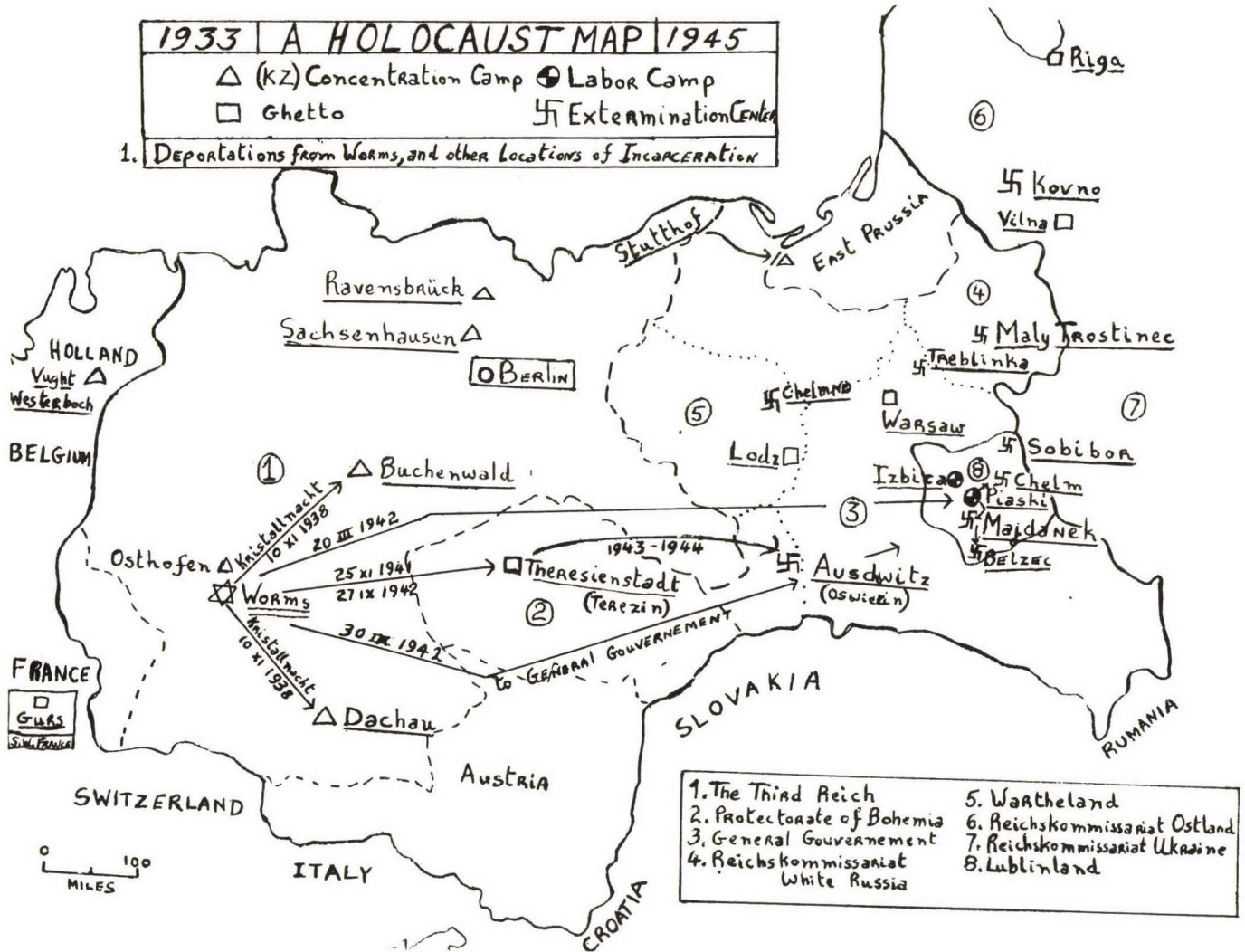
TABLE 1 (See Holocaust Map 1)
"Location after the first Deportation/Incarceration and 'Resettlement' "

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I. | *Concentration Camps in Germany* | | | | |
| | | Buchenwald | 6 | | |
| | | Dachau | 4 | | |
| | | Ravensbruck | 1 | = | 15 |
| | | Sachsenhausen | 1 | | |
| | | Other | 3 | | |
| II. | *Ghettos* | | | | |
| | | Lodz | 28 | | |
| | | Riga | 10 | | |
| | | Vilna | 7 | = | 59 |
| | | Warsaw | 14 | | |
| III. | *"Camps"* | | | | |
| | a) Western Europe | | | | |
| | i. | Gurs | 32 | | |
| | ii. | Drancy | | | |
| | France: | Les Milles | | | |
| | | Noé | 26 | = | 65 |
| | | Récébédou | | | |
| | Holland: | Vught | | | |
| | | Westerbork | 7 | | |
| | b) Eastern Europe | | | | |
| | | Chelm | 1 | | |
| | | Izbice | 4 | | |
| | Poland: | Piaski | 79 | = | 222 |
| | | General Gouvernement | 9 | | |
| | | **Theresienstadt | 129 | | |
| | | (97 directly from Worms) | | | |
| IV. | *Extermination Centers* | | | | |
| | | Auschwitz | 7 | | |
| | | Maly Trostinec | 2 | = | 9 |
| | | TOTAL | | | 370 |

*The bulk of the statistical data of this section is drawn from information in the "List of Martyrs."

**Transports to Theresienstadt taken by Jews from Worms

a) VII/2 = 25 vii 1942 from Dusseldorf (980 people)
b) XII/3 = 16 ix 1942 from Wiesbaden (1369 people)
c) XVII/1 = 28 ix 1942 from Darmstadt (1287 people)
(See Zdenek Lederer *Ghetto Theresienstadt* (London, 1953) pp. 259–260)


1933 A HOLOCAUST MAP 1945
△ (KZ) Concentration Camp ◒ Labor Camp
□ Ghetto 卐 Extermination Center
1. Deportations from Worms, and other Locations of Incarceration
Riga
⑥
卐 Kovno
Vilna □
Stutthof
East Prussia
Ravensbrück △
Sachsenhausen △
④
卐 Maly Trostinec
Treblinka
HOLLAND
Vught △
Westerbork
BERLIN
卐 Chelmno
⑤
□ Warsaw
⑦
BELGIUM
Lodz □
卐 Sobibor
① △ Buchenwald
Izbica
⑧ 卐 Chelm
Piaski
③
卐 Majdanek
卐 Belzec
Osthofen △ Kristallnacht 10 XI 1938
20 III 1942
25 XI 1941
27 IX 1942
Worms
□ Theresienstadt (Terezin)
1943 - 1944
卐 Auschwitz (Oswiecin)
②
30 IV 1942
to GENERAL GOUVERNEMENT
Kristallnacht 10 XI 1938
△ Dachau
FRANCE
□ Gurs
SLOVAKIA
RUMANIA
Austria
SWITZERLAND
0 100 MILES
ITALY
CROATIA
1. The Third Reich
2. Protectorate of Bohemia
3. General Gouvernement
4. Reichskommissariat White Russia
5. Wartheland
6. Reichskommissariat Ostland
7. Reichskommissariat Ukraine
8. Lublinland

*MAP 1*

The data concerning the Worms experience accurately reflects the significant features and stages of the Final Solution of German Jewry.

Phase I: *Terror* (1933–1938)
- a) Individual arrests and incarcerations in concentration camps.
- b) Mass arrests and detention in concentration camps.

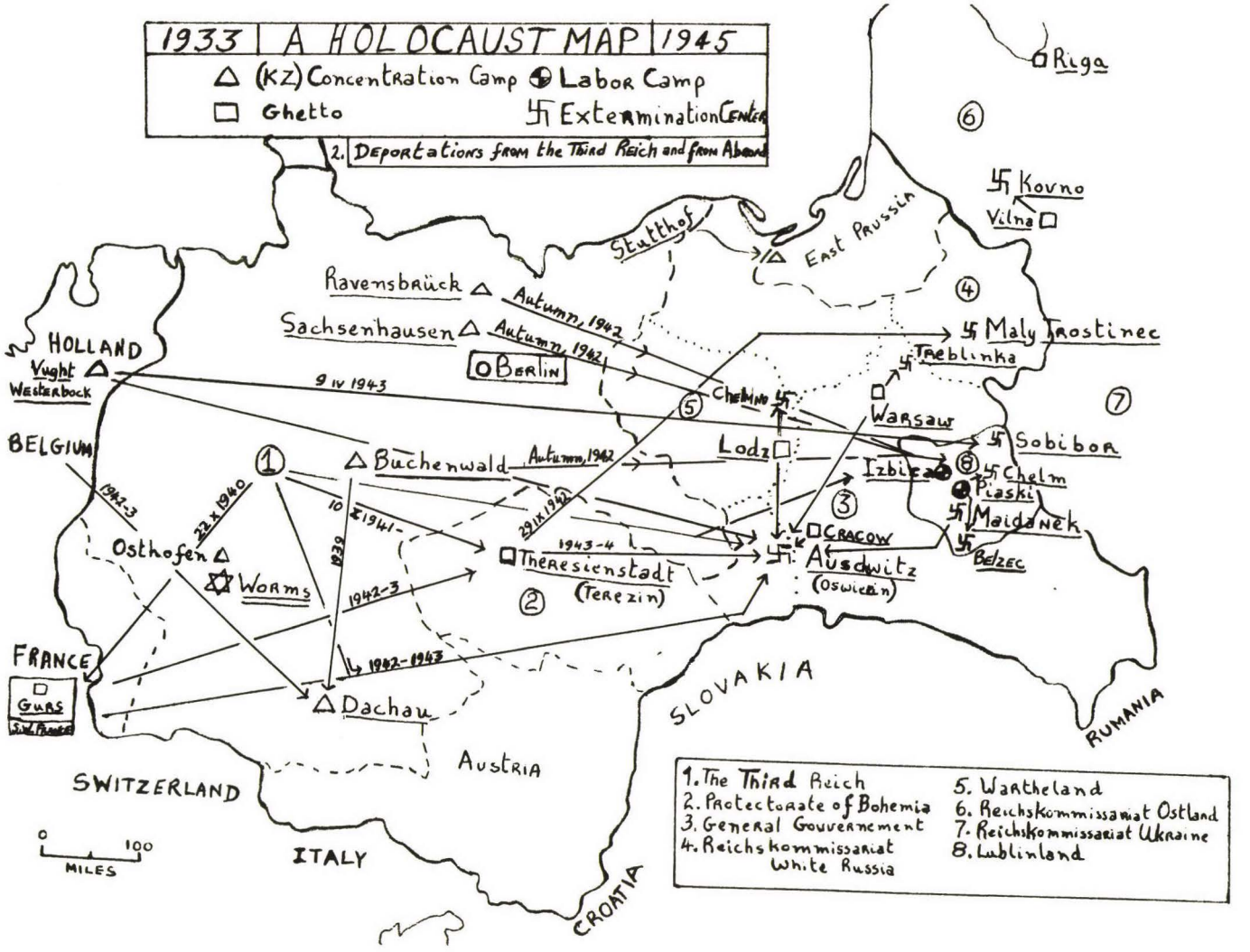
Phase II: *Deportation* (1940–1943)
- a) To Ghettos } outside Germany
- b) To Labor Camps }

Phase III: *Extermination* (1942–1945)
- a) Redeportation from Ghettos } to Death Centers
- b) Redeportation from Labor Camps }

For the most part, category I reflects the mass arrests that took place during the Kristallnacht Pogrom in November, 1938, when over 80 Jews from Worms were imprisonned in concentration camps in Germany. Category II and III(a) illustrate the first phase of the removal of Jews from the Third Reich and its empire. In Eastern Europe this took the form of ghettoization, urban districts into which hordes of Jews were packed, where they soon began to die from the consequences of exposure and insufficient food. In Western Europe, outside Germany, they were herded into huge compounds away from urban centers, until their deportation to the east, that is to one of the camps east of Germany.

As the mass transports out of Worms to Piaski and Theresienstadt in category III(b) illustrate, the intention of the Nazis was to compress all the Jews together in the east, around Central Poland, the locus of heaviest concentration of Jews in Europe. It was there that they erected an entire stratum of "settlements," most often named after the nearest village. By the time the first wave of deportations was over and German society had been "cleansed" of Jews, the bulk of the surviving Jews originally associated with Worms languished in ghettos and in other similar "settlements." Two hundred and ninety (78.3%) of those about whom their precise fate is known as deportees ended up in the territories to the east of the Third Reich. They were, therefore, not far from the extermination centers, to which only 9 had been sent initially.

These Death Factories were a logical outgrowth of the policy to remove Jews from German society and to separate them from the non-Jewish popula-


1933 | A HOLOCAUST MAP | 1945
△ (KZ) Concentration Camp ● Labor Camp
□ Ghetto 卐 Extermination Center
2. Deportations from the Third Reich and from Abroad
Riga
Kovno
Vilna
Stutthof
East Prussia
Ravensbrück
Autumn, 1942
Sachsenhausen
Autumn, 1942
Berlin
Maly Trostinec
Treblinka
HOLLAND
Vught
Westerbock
9 IV 1943
Chelmno
Warsaw
Sobibor
BELGIUM
Buchenwald
Autumn, 1942
Lodz
Izbica
Chelm
Piaski
Majdanek
1942-3
22 X 1940
10 XI 1941
29 IX 1942
Cracow
Osthofen
Worms
1943-4
Theresienstadt
(Terezin)
Auschwitz
(Oswiecim)
Belzec
1939
1942-3
FRANCE
Gurs
SLOVAKIA
RUMANIA
1942-1943
Dachau
Austria
SWITZERLAND
0 100
MILES
ITALY
CROATIA
1. The Third Reich
2. Protectorate of Bohemia
3. General Gouvernement
4. Reichskommissariat White Russia
5. Wartheland
6. Reichskommissariat Ostland
7. Reichskommissariat Ukraine
8. Lublinland

tions.* Conditions in *all* the "camps" and ghettos indicated that the Germans had no intention of promoting any normal Jewish life, including the birth of another generations of Jews: pregnancy was strictly forbidden. Upon arrival, men and women were separated. Those who did not die from malnutrition, were steadily worked to death at labor that had little connection with economic production as understood by normal society. In Theresienstadt, the most benign of the "camps," (intended as a cynical showcase for the outside world,) the death rate far exceeded the norm of any society. By 1942, since Jews were not dying fast enough for the racial architects of the "New Order," they naturally turned their minds to more radical measures to accelerate the process of genocide.

With the construction of death centers, explicitly designed to "manufacture" human death on a grand scale along industrial lines, the fate of the Jews from Worms moved into its last phase: the second deportation, which, in all but a few cases, led to death from willful neglect, sadistic brutality, or suffocation in a gas chamber. This last "journey" was suffered, according to surviving documentation, by at least the following, who died anonymous deaths in the most famous of Hitler's murder factories.

*MAP 2*

Essentially illustrates the complex process of the singlemindedness underlying the Final Solution as it effected German Jews.

Phase I: January, 1933–August, 1939
The imposition of terror, incarceration in a network of concentration camps, to induce *voluntary* emigration.

Phase II: October, 1938–1944
The forced removal of all Jews from Germany and their deportation to Ghettos and Labor Camps.

Phase III: June, 1941–1945
The liquidation of European Jewry; deportations from all countries to extermination camps in the East.

Whereas *Table 1* was compiled with sufficient data to be more than certain of the accuracy of its constituent parts, *Table 2* unavoidably is filled with lacunae stemming from the nature of the Holocaust. In but very few instances, the documents for establishing anything but the raw outlines of the final phase of deportation were destroyed by the Nazis as they dismantled the

* As Heine observed: "Once one begins to burn books, the time is not far away when one will start to burn people."

TABLE 2 (see Holocaust Map 2)
"The Second/Final Deportation: The Policy of De-settlement"

| | *Destination* | *Point of Origin* | Comments *No.* | *Unknown* | *Total* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I. | Theresienstadt | Gurs etc. (France) | 29 | ? | 29+ |
| | Chelm | Piaski | (2 iii 42 Transport) | | ? |
| II. | AUSCHWITZ | Buchenwald | 1 | | 1 |
| | | Gurs | 10 | ? | 10+ |
| | | Lodz Ghetto | | ? | ? |
| | | Theresienstadt | 20 | ? | 20+ |
| | | Warsaw Ghetto | | ? | ? |
| | | Vught/Westerbork | 5 | | 5 |
| | | Other | 4 | | 4 |
| | BELZEC | Chelm | (20 iii 42 Transport) | | ? |
| | MALY TROSTIANEC | Theresienstadt | 4 | | 4 |
| | | Lodz Ghetto | | ? | ? |
| | | Warsaw Ghetto | | ? | ? |
| | MAIDANEK | Piaski & Chelm | (20 iii 42 Transport) | | ? |
| | SOBIBOR | Vught/Westerbork (Holland) | 7 | | 7 |
| | TREBLINKA | Warsaw Ghetto | | ? | ? |
| | GENERAL GOUVERNEMENT | Gurs | 4 | | 4 |
| | | TOTAL | | | 84+ |

Holocaust establishment before the advancing Soviet armies. Though lists were kept of those transported from camp to camp, most of them no longer exist (unlike the records of the transports which systematically emptied Theresienstadt.) Thus, only a skeleton of information remains. Often sheer accident (the survival of a witness or a postcard) allows one to trace the fate of the victim to his or her bitter end.

**Another Excursus into the Question: "How much did Worms know?"**

This is the case of the 20 March 1942 transport to Piaski. A single extant postmarked card from one of the deportees provides an indisputable clue where the transport from Mainz was destined other than to the shadowy and unspecified "east" that so often appeared as an anonymous, pencilled comment in the margin of typed deportation lists. Dated April 10 with a return address indicating "Piaski, Kreis Lublin," with a "General Gouvernement" stamp cancelled on 11 April in Lublin, the postcard pinpoints the first location of this group of Jews deported from Worms.[1] A similar postcard from the same deportee dated 12 August and

sent by the Reichspost on 15 August is the first communication indicating that some of this group of 79 had by then been shifted to the ghetto in Chelm, also in the Lublin District.[2] What happened to each one specifically who survived the ordeal of Chelm is unknown; all that is known for certain is that other inmates of the Chelm "Judenlager" were eventually shipped to the Belzec extermination center where they were gassed after being greeted with the following sign over the gas chamber: "First bath and breakfast,—and then to work!"[3]

In this manner one can determine with complete certitude the final whereabouts of 88 victims and project with reasonable assurance the fate of about 120 more. The pattern of derpotations is well known; all that cannot be determined with finality is exactly where the deportees died. Their death is indisputable; only the location of their murder remains subject to some controversy. That is to say, in some cases, an individual may have expired prior to reaching the extermination center. The overall pattern of experiences endured by the Jewish victims from Worms alongside the millions of others cannot be contested. The substance of genocide remains a historic truth, only the individual fate of single people is lost in the tidal wave of mass slaughter.

As a matter of moral record and legal evidentiary requirement, it is no longer important to carry the deed committed against the Jews of Worms to its ultimate conclusion. Moral and criminal violations began far earlier; it is not necessary to carry the story to its infernal end in order to establish guilt. Only the demands of historical accuracy command one to try and push the narrative in as much detail as the record permits, so that as much as possible is remembered; and every shred of information about the victims is preserved in order to forestall the invidious efforts to deny what happened to them.

To this day, the police records in Worms contain misleading comments on all the cards of each of the victims. Though it was known precisely where they would be deported, the official record states "unbekannt wohin"—destination unknown.[4] A trail of forged information and calculated lies sought to hide from future generations what transpired in 1942. The prevarications of those collaborators in mass murder have to be exposed and rectified. The record must show for all posterity to know where former Jewish citizens of Worms spent their last miserable and isolated moments: not somewhere in the "east," but in MAIDANEK, not in some "unknown" location, but in AUSCHWITZ. As *Table 2* highlights and *Map 2* reaffirms, all roads pointed to the Holocaust heartland, the Lublin and Auschwitz extermination complexes. All the evidence gathered about the fate of 456 points to their murder in the context of human history's most damnatory event; that evidence suggests that the authorities in Worms knew all along about the general fate of their Jews.

**End of Excursus**

In drawing up an inventory of the varied deaths of the 456 Jews from Worms, one confronts a catalogue of the crimes that are the essence of the Final Solution, a theme and variation of the manner in which Jews were individually killed and collectively slaughtered in accordance with a grand design emanating out of the capital city, Berlin.

TABLE 3
"An Inventory of Death"

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (A) | I. | Ghettos, Labor Camps and Extermination Centers . | 356 | (78.1%) |
| | II. | Concentration Camps (in Germany) . . . . . | 14 | (3.1%) |
| | III. | Killed by Gestapo (in Worms). . . . . | 6 | (1.4%) |
| | IV. | Died from Injuries incurred in II. or from Insufficient medical help . . . . . | 6 | (1.4%) |
| | V. | Suicide . . . . . | 13 | (2.6%) |
| (B) | VI. | Disappeared . . . . . | 61 | (13.4%) |
| | | TOTAL | 456 | |

Not surprisingly, the majority of the victims died in the huge network of temporary "camps" erected to accommodate the millions of deported Jews. The remainder (categories II–VI) died from a variety of circumstances, each of which conveys a segment of the total horror of the Final Solution, including the pre-1941 years. They suggest to what extent German society had been absolutely corrupted by prisons for the innocent, by a lawless police system, and a crassly dehumanized community. The burden of living under such unprecedented barbarity simply proved intolerable for some who, in response to the collapse of the normal world around them, chose, in quiet desperation, to terminate life at their own hands.

As much as one is sure from documentary evidence of the deaths of the 395 (86.6%) in group A, one can be certain from circumstantial evidence of similar deaths for the remaining 61 Jews from Worms whose fate cannot be traced definitively. Group B, however, is part of the historic calamity that befell the Jewish people as a whole throughout Europe. Part of the grand design of the Final Solution for the Jews included that they disappear with no trace of their fate. As Heinrich Himmler proclaimed to his troops: "This is to be an unwritten and forever unrecorded blank page in our history."

In Eastern Europe entire communities of thousands of human beings literally disappeared as if swallowed up by the earth. In the case of the tragedy that befell the Jews of Worms, the historian has the good fortune to account definitively by name for almost all of them. Even those who disappeared had relatives and friends to recall their names and some vital statistics with which first to establish their existence and identity and lastly to point in the general direction of their violent end. As already stressed elsewhere, the responsibility for *disproving* their murder rests with those who created the unnatural circumstances in which they disappeared. It is the radical nature of the Holocaust to reverse the tradition of innocence before guilt in the face of the immensity of the crime. Unless there is evidence to the contrary, the missing 61 have to be considered as part of the mass of humanity murdered and, therefore, correctly numbered among those for whom there is such proof.

1. See Document section: #1(b)
2. *Ibid.,* #6(a)
3. "Erst ein Bad und Frühstuck, dann zur Arbeit." Lederer, p. 215.

4.a) A letter from the Rabbi's office in Mainz (15 iv 1942)—3 weeks after the transport left—informs a Jew in Worms that packages may not be sent to Piaski! "Worms-Mainz Korrespondence: 5 ii 42–15 iv 42," Yad Vashem: *Reichsvereinigung-angelegenheiten.*

b) An official report (in French and German) on the fate of the Jewish population of Worms, dated 13 xii 1946, and signed by the City Police Director, states that the authorities had always known that the 20 iii 1942 transport had left for Piaski. "Einzelakten," File II 72.01, *Juden-Akten,* Police Archive, Worms.

c) Nevertheless, a list (17 vii 1962) compiled by the mayor's office, continued to maintain that the destination was "unknown." *Pinkas Kehillot Germania,* Varia 4. Yad Vashem.

# 7

# Death and Survival in the Camps

## I

As stated previously, the camp system was designed to promote the destruction of human beings. Each camp, no matter of what category, had as its ultimate raison d'être, the death of its inmates, in particular, the death of the Jewish contingent. Except for the extermination centers, where death was almost instantaneous (timed to coincide with the arrival of each transport of Jews,) death came more slowly in the other categories of camps. In them, death resulted from exposure, undernourishment, starvation, disease, over-taxing hard labor and physical brutality. Even in the more benign transit or detention camps, such as those in France and Holland, conditions were so minimal for human survival that the death rate rose alarmingly and rapidly, outpacing that of any normal society. Only the hardiest and luckiest survived long enough for transfer to an extermination center.

Since a large segment of Jews from Worms went to Theresienstadt, their survival rate can be accurately recorded as a measure of the true character of this camp. The death rate at Theresienstadt demonstrates how utterly unsuitable the camp's facilities were to sustain any but the sturdiest. During the six months following the arrival of the transport with the Jews from Worms in late September, 1942, the death rate reached 50% by the middle of the winter of 1942–3.[1] As the following accounting demonstrates, the rapid loss of life experienced by the Jews of Worms in Theresienstadt parallelled that of the entire population in the camp.

TABLE 1
"A Calendar of Death in Theresienstadt"*

| | *Date* | *MEN* | *Date* | *WOMEN* | | *TOTAL* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1942 | | | | | | |
| September | 25,27 | 2 | | 0 | = | 2 |
| October | 6,7,10,11, 16,20 | 6 | 5,6,6,6,14,19, 20,23,26,26 | 10 | = | 16 |
| November | 6,14,19 | 3 | 20,23 | 2 | = | 5 |
| December | 15,25 | 2 | 2,4,7,9,27 | 5 | = | 7 |
| 1943 | | | | | | |
| January | 1,23 | 2 | 24,27,29 | 3 | = | 5 |
| February | 8,18,22,26 | 4 | 2 | 1 | = | 5 |
| March | 8,9,17,17, 18,28 | 6 | 2,10,16,21,27 | 5 | = | 11 |
| April | | 0 | 1,2 | 2 | = | 2 |
| May | | 0 | | 0 | | |
| June | 7 | 1 | 29 | 1 | = | 2 |
| July | | 0 | | 0 | | |
| August | | 0 | 21,22 | 2 | = | 2 |
| September | | 0 | | 0 | | |
| October | | 0 | 5 | 1 | = | 1 |
| November | | 0 | | 0 | | |
| December | | 0 | 5,9,12,20 | 4 | = | 4 |
| 1944 | | | | | | |
| January | | 0 | | 0 | | |
| February | | 0 | | 0 | | |
| March | | 0 | | 0 | | |
| April | 11,20,30 | 3 | | 0 | = | 3 |
| May | 2,2 | 2 | 21 | 1 | = | 3 |
| June | | 0 | | 0 | | |
| July | | 0 | | 0 | | |
| August | | 0 | | 0 | | |
| September | | 0 | | 0 | | |
| October | | 0 | | 0 | | |
| November | | 0 | | 0 | | |
| December | 24 | 1 | | 0 | = | 1 |

*Based on data taken from the list of victims from Worms. Sufficient information (birth, death, deportation and redeportation dates) were available for 91 Therensienstadt inmates.

Of the 91 inmates, 54 were women and 37 were men. By April, 1943, 51 (56%)—26 men and 24 women—had succumbed to the terrible conditions of camp life. In those first seven months, before the warm weather began, 70.3% of the men and 44.4% of the women had died from exposure, illness, malnutrition, and improper medical attention.[2] By April, 1943, of the 91, only 36

remained (12 men and 24 women): 5 others (1 man and 4 women) had already been deported to extermination camps.

Thereafter, the death rate tapered off. Between May, 1943, and April, 1944, 4 men (33.3%) and 8 women (33.3%) died. Compared to the first half year, the death ratio of men and women rose markedly from about 1+:1 to 1:2; yet their respective death rates dropped from a high of 60.5% for women and 42.1% for men to 33.3% for both groups. After the first winter had weeded out the weakest among the men and women, the survival rate for both was nearly the same.

By mid-1944, of the 91 Jews only 22 (15 women and 7 men) survived, (1 man and 1 woman having been deported in the interim.) Thus in a year and a half, (with the exception of the 7 deported to extermination camps,) 63 out of 84 (75%) had perished in Theresienstadt, a death rate geometrically higher than that which would have occurred under normal circumstances. Though the 91 had an average age over 60, their potential longevity under normal conditions is attested to by the long life expectancy of the Jews in Worms which almost reached 70 years for men and women combined.[3] Consequently, the deaths in Theresienstadt have to be attributed to causes other than physical frailty—namely, to the appalling deprivation forced upon the inmates by those who designed the camp.

On 16 May 1943, 13 of those still alive (10 women and 3 men) were deported to Auschwitz, leaving behind 9 survivors. In September, 4 more were shipped to Auschwitz. The remaining 5 died in the winter of 1944–5 before the camp was liberated.

There remains but one conclusion about Theresienstadt from the perspective of the experience of the Jews from Worms, it was merely a variation of a death camp. For the older inmate and for those in poor health, life in the camp meant an early death. For the hardier ones survival—which the Nazis interpreted as 'a stubborn refusal' to die—meant either dying a slower death in Theresienstadt or, as was the case with 24 (18 men and 6 women,) deportation to a rapid execution in extermination centers.

Their second deportation brought them to Maly Trostianec and to Auschwitz in a series of transports arranged to empty Theresienstadt in order to hasten the extermination process. Survival in Theresienstadt, therefore, simply increased one's chances of 'desettlement'—Endsiedlung—the code word for deportation to an extermination center. At worst Theresienstadt was a death camp in its own right or a mere transit camp for eventual removal to a killing center.

TABLE 2

"Transports to Auschwitz and Maly Trostianec from Theresienstadt"

*Auschwitz*

(There were 66 transports from Theresienstadt from 9 i 1942 to 28 x 1944.)

a) Ct (No 41) = 29 i 1943 (1000 people: 23 survivors) Arrived evening 30 i 1943. 122 men and women selected for labor gangs to work on railroad tracks. The remaining 878 were sent by truck to the gas chamber. *1 Jew from Worms.*
b) K = 15 iii 1943. *1 Jew from Worms.*
c) Ds (No 47) = 18 xii 1943 (2303 people: 443 survivors) Arrived 19/20 xii 1943 and placed in camp B II b, the "Family" camp. In July, the survivors went to labor gangs sent to work camps, while the rest were gassed. *1 Jew from Worms.*
d) Dz (No 49) = 15 v 1944 (2500 people: 119 survivors) Arrived 16/17 v 1944. First placed in camp B II b. In July, c. 150 selected for labor and transported to Stutthof. *1 Jew from Worms.*
e) Ea (No 51) = 16 v 1944 (2500 people: 5 survivors) Arrived 17/18 v 1944. Majority sent to camp B II b; most were worked to death or gassed. *13 from Worms.*
f) Ep (No 61) = 9 x 1944 (1600 people: 22 survivors) Majority gassed on arrival, 10/11 x 1944. *1 Jew from Worms.*
g) Es (No 64) = 19 x 1944 (1500 people: 51 survivors) Upon arrival 20/21 x 1944, 250 were selected for work; the rest were gassed. *1 Jew from Worms.*
h) Ev (No 66) = 28 x 1944 (2038 people: 137 survivors) The last transport from Theresienstadt to Auschwitz. 240 men and 140 women selected for work. The rest were gassed upon arrival, 29/30 x 1944. *1 Jew from Worms.*

(See: Josef Polak *Mesto za Mrlzemi* (Prague, 1964); Zdenek Lederer *Ghetto Theresienstadt* (London, 1953) pp. 225–242)

*Maly Trostianec*

a) Br = 26 ix 1942 (2004 people: 0 survivors) *1 Jew from Worms*
b) Br = 29 ix 1942 (2000 people: 0 survivors) *3 Jews from Worms*

(See: Zdenek Lederer, *Ghetto Theresienstadt* (London, 1953), p. 222)

## II

Survival in the context of the Holocaust has a macabre logic that defies rational analysis. The elements of luck, of the unpredictable, of sheer good fortune, each totally unrelated to the actions of the survivor, are so overwhelming that the phenomenon of survival suggests the intervention either of the principle of absolute caprice, or of the principle of pure chance whose patterns remain deeply hidden in mystery, refusing to lend themselves to rational explanation. Those who attribute survival to a combination of the extraordinary fortitude of an individual and to an invisible divine power, merely give expression to a dual faith in human strength and superhuman power against the forces of evil. The only flaw in this approach is the failure to account for the fatal principle of selection—namely why this person and not another.

In tracing the survival experience of several Jews from Worms, no definitive attempt will be made to link their survival to any specific reason; that will

be left up to the reader. Their experiences are chronicled to emphasize the horror of the Holocaust Kingdom whose gates, though hermetically sealed against escape, nevertheless, on rare occasions, let an infinitesimal percentage of its doomed captives slip through, thereby avoiding the universal death sentence imposed on all of them. The exception of survival, therefore, highlights the genocidal climate which reigned in the camp system from which a pitiful few did live long enough to tell of their months and years in that other world. As eyewitnesses of the unspeakable, their experiences testify more eloquently to the camp reality.

**Case 1**

This is the case of a little girl who, along with her parents and two uncles, had been deported to the Gurs internment camp in October, 1940, when she was only 4 years old.[4] From there, she was sent to a children's home (administered by the Quakers and supported by Jewish money from the United States) in Toulouse. Her parents remained in separate camps, the mother in Gurs and the father in Les Milles, near Marseilles, where he tried in vain to arrange for emigration to the United States for himself and his family.

In the meanwhile, the child, along with others, joined a children's transport destined for the United States. She left on 25 June 1942. A ship took her to Oran, Algeria (then a French colony,) then on to Casablanca and across the Atlantic to Havana, Cuba, and, finally, to New York, where a relative met her. A few months later, her parents and relatives were deported to Auschwitz, disappearing with no trace.[5]

While she survived—managing to emigrate overseas a few weeks before deportation would have carried her to an extermination center—her survival left her orphaned. United States immigration regulations crassly refused to consider her parents, thereby cruelly separating a family unit. Though an affidavit for the parents had been supplied by a relative in New York, at the last minute the United States Immigration and Naturalization Administration changed requirements, forcing the parents to begin the time-consuming process of acquiring a satisfactory affidavit all over again. This delay proved fatal, and they were deported in the midst of re-application, helplessly awaiting an affidavit that would satisfy the U.S. immigration officers before they changed the rules once again.

The tiny crack in the gates of the Nazi prison system was large enough for both the child and her parents to exit; yet the administrators of the U.S. immigration laws held open a door with even a narrower entrance. In this case, survival, though at a terrible loss, rested on clerical decisions made by an insensitive bureaucracy immune to the humanitarian responsibilities with which the times had annointed it, bestowing on low-level officers the power of life and death.

**Case 2**

This example of survival involves an entire family unit also incarcerated in Gurs, France.[6] In their case, emigration overseas succeeded, though not to

the United States. Their U.S. quota number meant a deadly waiting period far beyond the start of deportation out of France to the east. Instead, they managed to join a group of several hundred Jews permitted to enter the Dominican Republic on the condition they go into farming.

After several months in Gurs, from 22 October 1940, the family left France and sailed from Lisbon in May, 1941. During the winter of 1940–1, they had suffered deportation from Germany, (during which they were allowed no water while on the train) and the severe conditions of camp life, (cold, dampness, insufficient clothing, food and medicine and primitive hygenic provisions made a lethal combination.) Hundreds died from pneumonia, and a typhus epidemic killed 800 in the winter months. In February, 1941, the old were transferred to a camp in Noé, separating the family from one set of grandparents. While the younger generations (two parents and their two daughters) survived, thanks to emigration overseas, the two grandparents managed to evade further deportation by finding refuge in a Catholic convent. One of them died in 1943; but the grandmother lived to see the end of the war.

In both instances, survival depended on exceptional circumstances. In the case of the 4 emigrants overseas, they benefitted from a singular opportunity that surfaced at the last moment. Ever since the collapse in complete failure of the Evians Conference in 1938—an international effort to assist German Jews—the doors of the world closed ever more tightly. The limited scheme to promote agriculture in the Dominican Republic saved a few hundred out of tens of thousands of German Jewish refugees stranded throughout Europe, many of them trapped in camps in France. Fortunately, this family of four was selected out of the thousands of qualified persons.

As for the grandparents, they had the good fortune of encountering brave and decent people who sheltered them in an otherwise overwhelmingly unfriendly and disinterested Europe. It must be remembered that those who did escape camps, ran away into societies poisoned by anti-Semitic sentiments. The vast majority perished at the hands of collaborators with Germany's scheme to exterminate the Jews, whether Swiss border guards refusing entrance to anyone over 16, or the French police arresting foreign Jews, or Poles refusing to hide escapees from Ghettos, or Russian partisans who killed Jews seeking to join them in their fight against the Germans. In this morally depraved Europe, there were islands of exceptions, an occasional decent person who risked his life by opening his home, and a rare convent or monastery which had the moral backbone to extend sanctuary to persecuted Jews other than to those who had converted to Christianity.

**Case 3**

This example involves a mother and teenage daughter who traveled together the entire length of the Holocaust Kingdom.[7] Whereas cases 1 and 2 involved instances on the periphery of the extermination world, this case study takes one to the very heartland of the Holocaust. Through a combination of indescribable circumstances, the two survived each stage of deportation and

imminent death, a story worthy of a separate book. Here one can only convey their experiences in the form of a chronological accounting of their path through Holocaust Europe and an accompanying map to illustrate their maze-like trek towards survival.

In brief, the two survived:

i) Theresienstadt until June, 1944;

ii) the first selection upon arrival in Auschwitz;

iii) a second selection when the gas chamber to which they were sent malfunctioned;

iv) slave labor in two 'work' camps; and

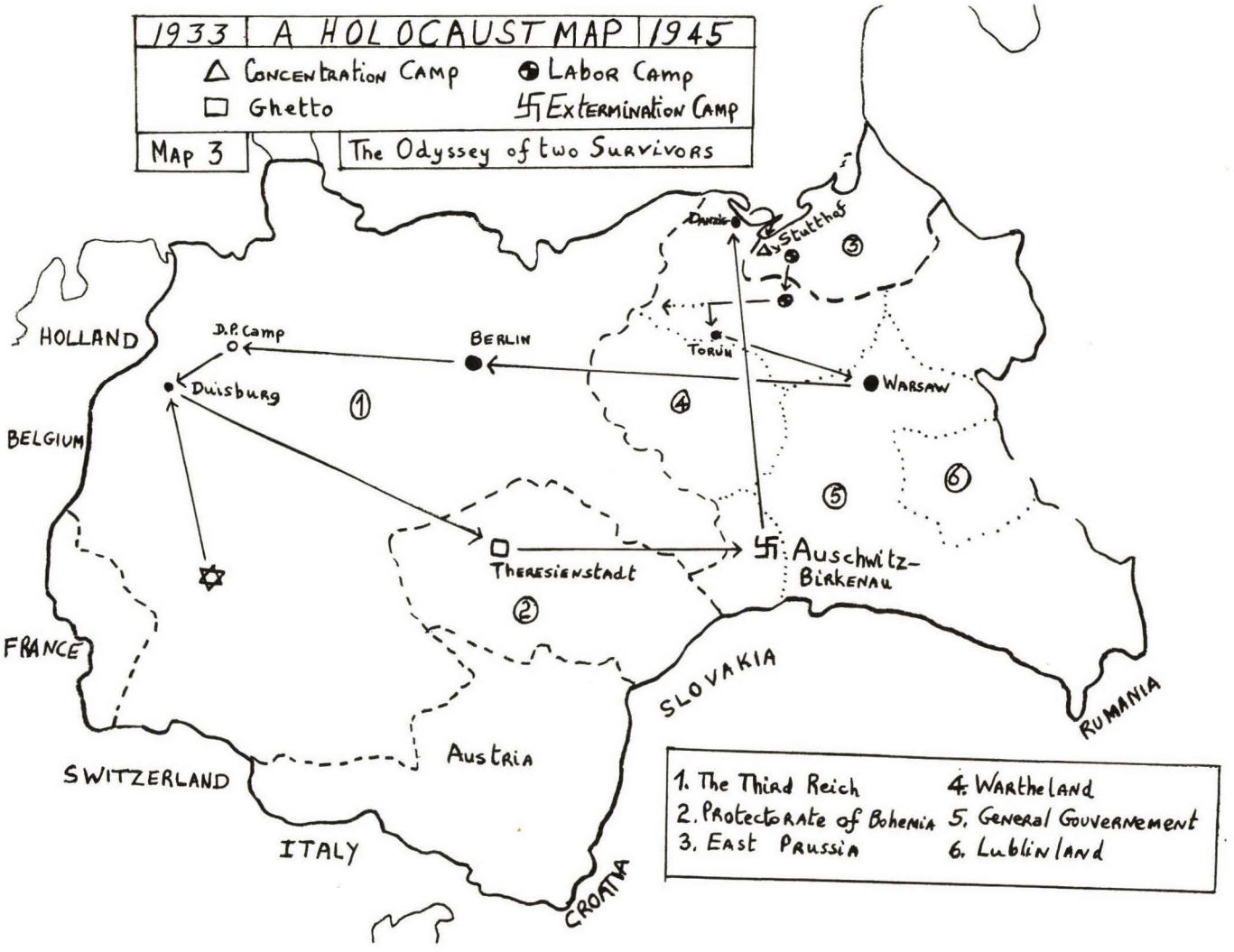
v) a forced death march following evacuation from the last camp.

After liberation, both recovered their health and, in a separate adventure lasting almost one year, made their way out of Russian occupied Poland, through the Soviet section in Berlin, into the English sector of Germany and from there emigrated overseas.

In this instance, survival can only be described with one word—miraculous—no matter how one defines a miracle!

**The Odyssey of Two Survivors**
(October, 1939–December, 1945)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| I. | *Internal Migration* | | *Comments* |
| | 1. 17 x 1939 | Worms to Duisburg | Emigration to U.S. unsuccessful |
| II. | *Deportations and Incarcerations* | | |
| | 2. 26 vii 1942 | Duisburg to THERESIENSTADT (Tr. VII/2, Nos 502–3) | |
| | 3. 15 v 1944 | AUSCHWITZ I/BIIb "Family" Section (Tr. Dz) (Tattoo Nos 2676 & 2674) | |
| | 4a. c. June, 1944 | AUSCHWITZ II/BIa,b Women's Section (Birkenau) | |
| | b. July, 1944 | (Selected for labor gangs by Dr. Mengele.) | |
| III. | *Slave Labor* | | |
| | 5. July, 1944 | (via Danzig and sea transport) KZ. STUTTHOF | Transit Section |
| | 6. c. September, 1944 | KZ. STUTTHOF | Satellite Labor Camp |
| | 7. October, 1944 | (vic.) Nowy Miasto | Labor Camp |
| | 8. January, 1945 | (Evacuation: death march westward) | |
| IV. | *Liberation, Recouperation and Repatriation* | | |
| | 9. 26 i 1945 | (vic.) Nowy Miasto | By Soviet Army |
| | 10. End January, 1945 | Nowy Miasto | 6 week recouperation |


1933 A HOLOCAUST MAP 1945
Concentration Camp
Labor Camp
Ghetto
Extermination Camp
MAP 3
The Odyssey of two Survivors
HOLLAND
D.P. Camp
BERLIN
Duisburg
BELGIUM
FRANCE
SWITZERLAND
ITALY
Austria
CROATIA
SLOVAKIA
RUMANIA
Theresienstadt
Auschwitz-Birkenau
TORUN
WARSAW
Danzig
Stutthof
1. The Third Reich
2. Protectorate of Bohemia
3. East Prussia
4. Wartheland
5. General Gouvernement
6. Lublinland

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 11. | Mid-March, 1945 | Torun | Supported by local Jewish charity organizations |
| 12. | End-March, 1945 | Warsaw | |
| 13. | End-March, 1945 | Berlin | Supported by UNRRA |
| 14. | November, 1945 | Hersfeld/Bt. Zone | Displaced Persons Camp |
| 15. | December, 1945 | Duisburg | |
| V. | *Emigration* | | |
| 16. | 1947 | New York | |

**Case 4**

The last study of survival concerns a child born in Worms in 1940.[8]

Her mother, a full Jew, but a convert to Christianity, had once been married to a Christian. The children from that "mixed" union were declared Christians. The couple, however, divorced in 1928 and the woman had an illegitimate child fathered by a Jew. The baby girl was immediately pronounced a full Jew.

Neither mother nor child were deported during 1942. In May, 1943, both moved from Worms to Frankfurt.[9] Sometime in 1944, she and her small child were deported to Theresienstadt. Early in 1945, the mother was deported to Auschwitz where she was killed and the father of the child also perished.[10] The 3 year old orphan managed to survive until the liberation of Theresienstadt, after which it was brought back to Worms by a former inmate, Mrs. Martha Wolf. This adult, married to a Christian, herself a practicing Christian—but "racially" a Jew—had been deported to Theresienstadt in 1944. There she met the mother and daughter. Once deportation separated the two, the acquaintance of the mother helped the child survive through the last months in Theresienstadt. Once back in Worms, the 4½ year old child was placed in a Christian orphanage.

Survival in this instance depended directly upon the love of one adult for a helpless orphaned child whom she sheltered and nourished for the duration of the war in Theresienstadt. How she and the mother managed to extract a child from the transport to Auschwitz will never be known. Survival, in this case, rested upon the courage and brilliant intrigue of a woman determined to salvage a life, no matter what the cost. A life was saved, but it was not of a child whose future would lead it back to the Jewish people. Humanity had gained but the Jews suffered an additional loss.

There were four or five other survivors from Theresienstadt. Three, like Martha Wolf, escaped death because they did not go until January/February, 1945, as a result of their marriages to Christians.[11] Only two survived the 1942 deportations to Theresienstadt.

1. Zdenek Lederer, *Ghetto Theresienstadt* (London, 1953) pp. 135–144, in particular a table of mortality rates on p. 143.
2. For the types of illnesses that felled the prisoners, see Lederer, pp. 140 and pp. 264–5.
3. "Beisetzungen auf den neuen israelitischen Friedhof Worms-Hochheim, 1911–1941," Central Archives of the History of the Jewish People (Hebrew University.) File G 3/225. The average age of those who died between March, 1940, and February, 1941 (the last fully recorded year), was 72.4 for 16 people.
4. Based on a series of 10 letters from Gurs and Les Milles written between 18 April 1941 and 13 July 1942, now in the possession of Mrs. Eve Boden (New Jersey).
5. A set of four surviving letters written in 1946 by relatives in Palestine attest to a futile search for any signs of those deported to the east. Neither survivors nor refugee agencies could offer any concrete information.
6. From the diary (1939–1944) of Mrs. Miriam Gerber (née Sondheimer), New York City.
7. Based upon a 6-hour taped interview of Mrs. Edith Pagelson and her mother, Mrs. Herz (Somers, New York.)
8. File II 72.42 "Kennzeichnung der Juden," *Juden Akten bis 1945.* Police Archives, Worms. Letter (28 iv 1943) from the Gestapo, Darmstadt.
9. *Ibid.* Letter (19 v 1943), Gestapo (Darmstadt) to police (Worms).
10. *Ibid.* "Ermittlungs Bericht," (13 xii 1946) by the Chief of Police, Worms.
11. *Ibid.*
12. These were Johanna Bockmann (née Scharff) and Selma Rosenheimer (née Türkheimer).

# PART III

## A MARTYROLOGY

# 8

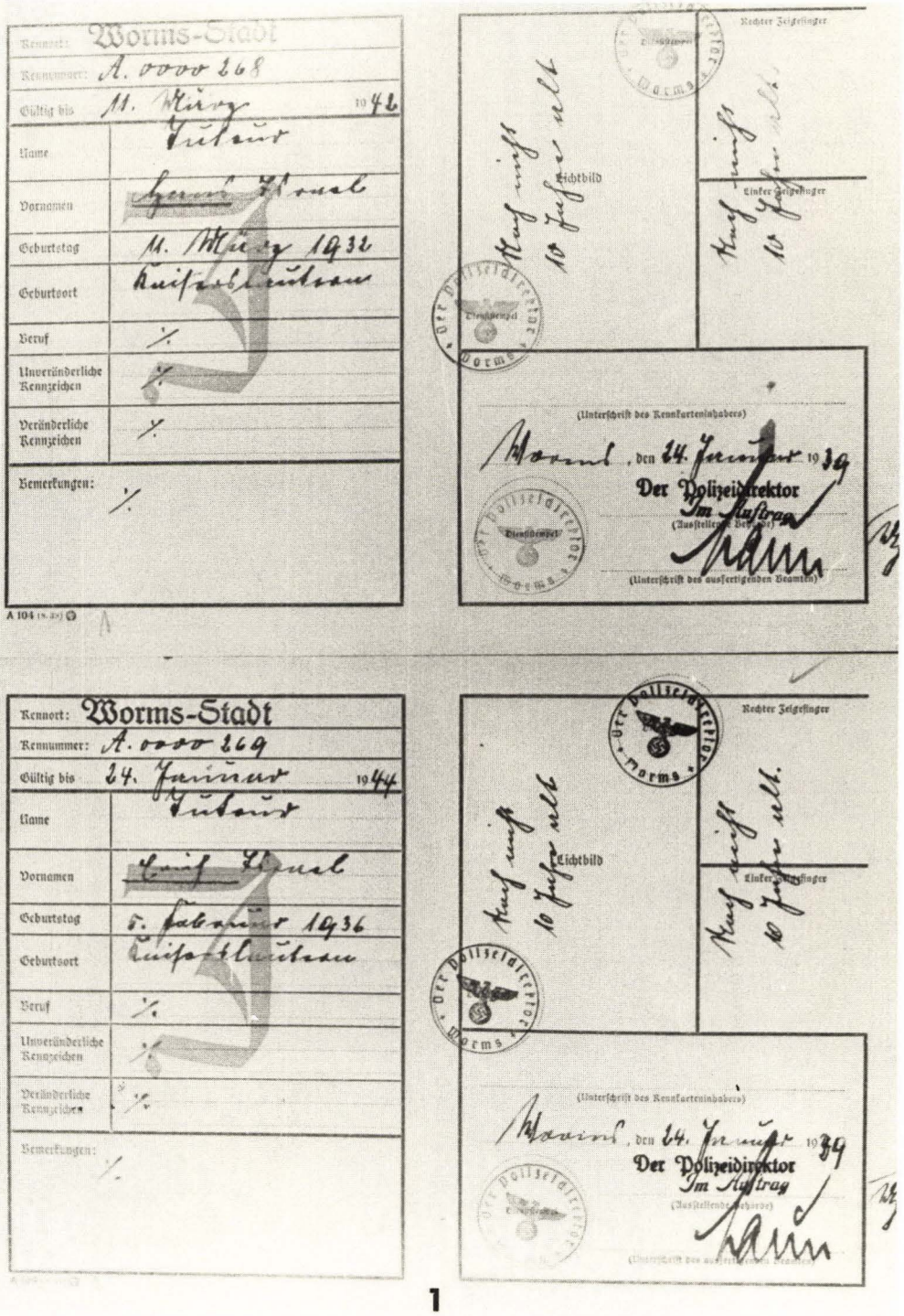
# Alphabetical and Biographical List of the Martyrs

The following list of 456 persons who lost their lives through Nazi action against Jews once resident in Worms is basically an inventory of irretrievable loss in human terms. The list has been compiled to focus attention simultaneously on the single person as well as on the community to which each one belonged. The value of a life consists not only of its worth to the individual but also of its meaning to those with which it was related. The 456 were not simply isolated persons, but people related by ties of family, friendship and business association. They had been neighbors; many grew up together. And as Jews, they formed the last link of a community's chain of existence that spanned back a thousand years.

To preserve a minimal memory of an individual other than his or her mere name, and to give it personal and historic substance, a skeletal biographical sketch accompanies each name. Whenever the extant documentation and surviving data permit, pertinent information has been included alongside a name so that the individual is rooted in time and space as a real person with relatives, a profession and an address. In this way the name listed assumes an identity with a precise age, family status, community function and residence. Fortunately, for one third of those listed, it was possible to provide a photograph, which vividly conveys how they looked in February, 1940. Reproduced from identity cards carried by all Jews, the photos allow a visual confrontation with the victim, bringing one face to face not only with the person, but, thanks to the prominent "J" (Jew), the obligatory "Sarah" or "Israel," and the accompanying signature of a police official, with the terrible reality that was responsible for each person's inclusion in this list of the dead.

While the individual deaths are one kind of historic truth, there is also a collective truth embodied in the totality of the list, the destruction of what

had once been a thriving and dynamic Jewish community. Together, the 456 embody at once the tragedy of those who remained in Worms and of those who sought refuge elsewhere; of those who stayed behind, unable to emigrate, and of those who did move but failed to find a safe haven from the Nazi terror which engulfed all of Europe. Though separated physically before deportations took them to a common death, the 202 Jews deported from Worms or killed in that city, and the 254 of their former fellow congregants scattered throughout Germany and Europe were united as the last members of the Jewish community of Worms.



Kennort: Worms-Stadt
Kennummer: A. 0000 268
Gültig bis 11. März 1942
Name: Trübner
Vornamen: Heinz Ernst
Geburtstag: 11. März 1932
Geburtsort: Kaiserslautern
Beruf: /.
Unveränderliche Kennzeichen: /.
Veränderliche Kennzeichen: /.
Bemerkungen: /.
A 104 (8. 39)
Rechter Zeigefinger
Lichtbild
Linker Zeigefinger
Auf nicht 10 Finger mit.
Der Polizeidirektor
Worms
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 24. Januar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Ausstellende Behörde)
(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)

Kennort: Worms-Stadt
Kennummer: A. 0000 269
Gültig bis 24. Januar 1944
Name: Trübner
Vornamen: Ernst Heinz
Geburtstag: 5. September 1936
Geburtsort: Kaiserslautern
Beruf: /.
Unveränderliche Kennzeichen: /.
Veränderliche Kennzeichen: /.
Bemerkungen: /.
Rechter Zeigefinger
Lichtbild
Linker Zeigefinger
Auf nicht 10 Finger mit.
Der Polizeidirektor
Worms
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 24. Januar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Ausstellende Behörde)

| | |
|---|---|
| Kennort: | Worms-Stadt |
| Kennummer: | A 03773 |
| Gültig bis | 2. Januar 1946 |
| Name | Roßmann |
| Vornamen | Ruth Sara Jasmine |
| Geburtstag | 25. September 1924 |
| Geburtsort | Worms |
| Beruf | Schülerin |
| Unveränderliche Kennzeichen | keine |
| Veränderliche Kennzeichen | keine |
| Bemerkungen: | Keine |

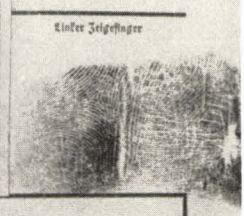
A 104 (S. 33)



Linker Zeigefinger



Linker Zeigefinger



Ruth Sara Roßmann
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)

Worms, den -2. JAN. 1941

Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Ausfertigende Behörde)

März
(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)

| | |
|---|---|
| Kennort: | Worms-Stadt |
| Kennummer: | A. 0000 497 |
| Gültig bis | 14. April 1944 |
| Name | Lebrecht |
| Vornamen | Edith Sara |
| Geburtstag | 31. April 1926 |
| Geburtsort | Worms |
| Beruf | Schülerin |
| Unveränderliche Kennzeichen | keine |
| Veränderliche Kennzeichen | keine |
| Bemerkungen: | Keine |



Linker Zeigefinger



Linker Zeigefinger

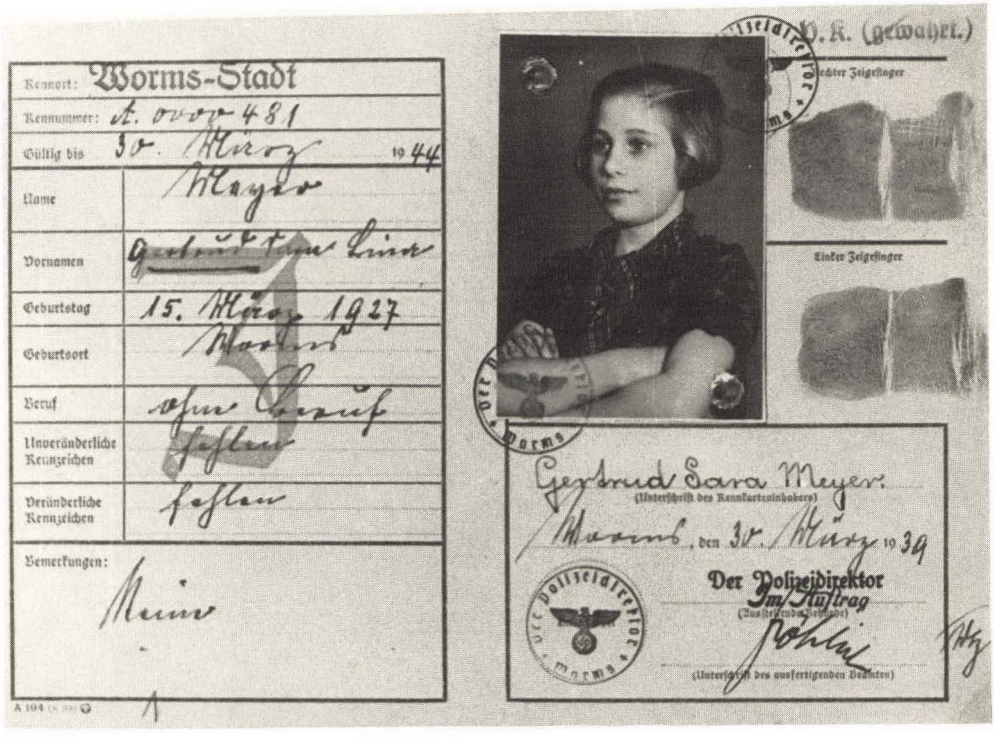


Edith Sara Lebrecht
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)

Worms, den 14. April 1939

Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag

Robst


Kennort: Worms-Stadt
Kennummer: K. 0002481
Gültig bis 30. März 1944
Name Mayer
Vornamen Gertrud Sara
Geburtstag 15. März 1927
Geburtsort Worms
Beruf ohne Beruf
Unveränderliche Kennzeichen keine
Veränderliche Kennzeichen keine
Bemerkungen: Keine
J
J. K. (gewählt.)
Linker Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Gertrud Sara Meyer
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 30. März 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)

U.K. (gewahrt.)

| | |
|---|---|
| Kennort: | Worms-Stadt |
| Kennummer: | A 0000 303 |
| Gültig bis | 27. Januar 1944 |
| Name | Mayer |
| Vornamen | Margot Fanny Sara Mayer |
| Geburtstag | 15. April 1926 |
| Geburtsort | Kirchheimbolanden |
| Beruf | Schülerin |
| Unveränderliche Kennzeichen | keine |
| Veränderliche Kennzeichen | keine |

Bemerkungen: Keine

A 104 (5.39)



Rechter Zeigefinger



Linker Zeigefinger



Margot Fanny Sara Mayer
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)

Worms, den 27. Januar 1939

Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Ausstellende Behörde)

(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)

| | |
|---|---|
| Kennort: | Worms-Land |
| Kennummer: | A 00 265 |
| Gültig bis | 22. März 1944 |
| Name | Mayer |
| Vornamen | Lothar Leopold Israel |
| Geburtstag | 25. März 1926 |
| Geburtsort | Bingen-Büdesheim |
| Beruf | Schüler |
| Unveränderliche Kennzeichen | keine |
| Veränderliche Kennzeichen | keine |

Bemerkungen: Keine



Rechter Zeigefinger



Linker Zeigefinger



Lothar Leopold Israel Mayer
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)

WORMS, den 22. März 1939

Der Landrat
des Landkreises Worms.

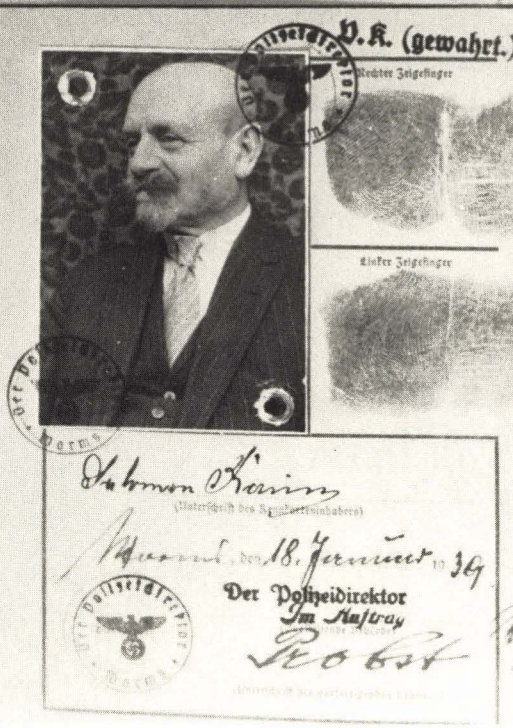
(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)


Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Worms
Johanna Sara Baer geb. Metzger
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 12. Januar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)
Elora Sara Baum
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 18. Januar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)
Johanna Sara Baum
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 5. Januar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
Ludwig Samuel Levi
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 3. Januar 1939
Polizeidirektion
Im Auftrag


Linker Zeigefinger
Regine Sara Baum
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 3. Januar 1939
Polizeidirektion
Im Auftrag
(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)
Worms

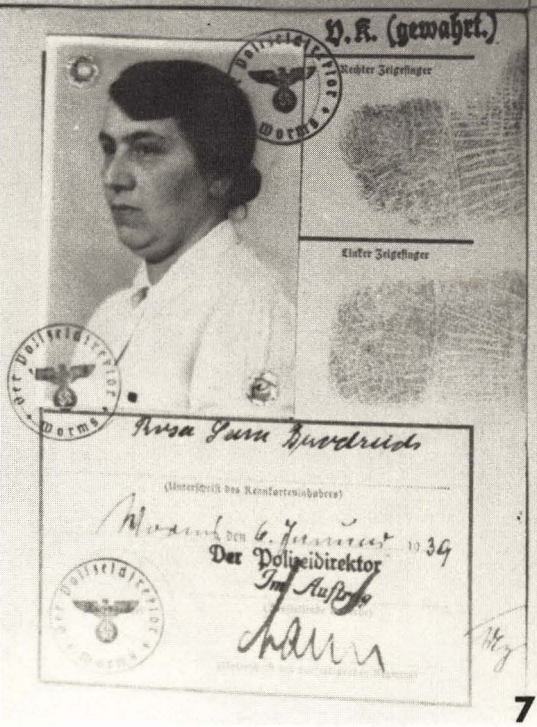

Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Wilhelmine Anna Braun
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 18. Januar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
Robst
(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)


Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Wilhelmine Anna Braun
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 18. Januar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
Robst


J. K. (gewahrt.)
Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Hermann Baum
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 18. Januar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
Robst


J.K. (gewahrt.)
Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Ort Polizeidirektor Worms
Worms, den 5. Januar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)


Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Ort Polizeidirektor Worms
Worms, den 18. Januar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)

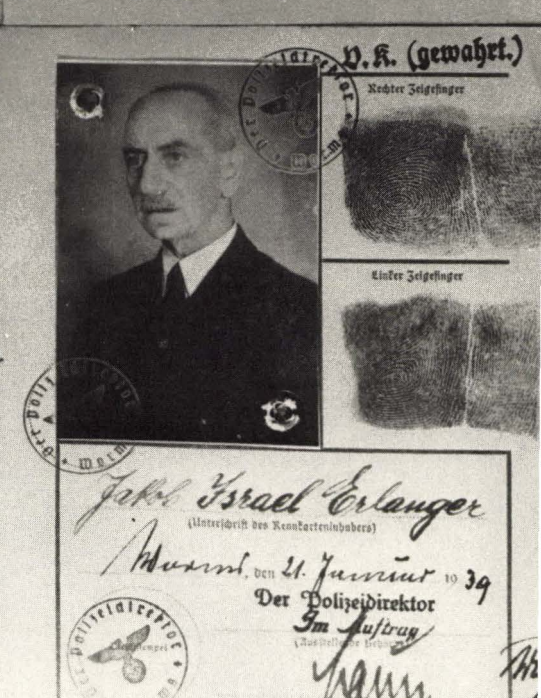

J.K. (gewahrt.)
Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Ort Polizeidirektor Worms
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 6. Januar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag


J.K. (gewahrt.)
Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Ort Polizeidirektor Worms
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 12. Januar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag


Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Polizeidirektion
Worms
Johanna Sara Ackermann
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 27. Januar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Ausstellende Behörde)
(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)


Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Polizeidirektion
Worms
Jakob Israel Bruchsfeld
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 13. Dezember 1938
Polizeidirektion
Im Auftrag
(Ausstellende Behörde)
(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)


V. K. (gewahrt.)
Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Polizeidirektion
Worms
Waltraut Sara Erlanger
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 21. Januar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Ausstellende Behörde)
(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)

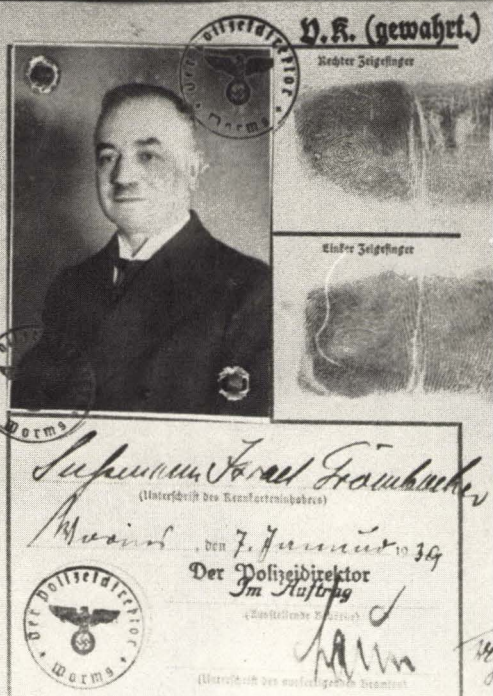

V. K. (gewahrt.)
Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Polizeidirektion
Worms
Jakob Israel Erlanger
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 21. Januar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Ausstellende Behörde)
(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)


V. K. (gewahrt.)
Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Mathilde Sara Frenck
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 30. März 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)
Isidor Frank
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 30. März 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)
Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Worms, den 13. Jan. 1941
Polizeidirektion
Im Auftrag:
Simon Israel Friedmann
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 6. März 1940
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)


J. K. (gewahrt.)
Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Ortspolizeibehörde Worms
Worms, den 12. Januar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag


J. K. (gewahrt.)
Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Ortspolizeibehörde Worms
Helene Sara Feld
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 5. Januar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag


J. K. (gewahrt.)
Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Ortspolizeibehörde Worms
Wilhelmine Sarah Frankenbach
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 7. Januar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag


J. K. (gewahrt.)
Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Ortspolizeibehörde Worms
Salomon Israel Frankenbach
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 7. Januar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag


V.K. (gewahrt.)
Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Paula Sara Hoff.
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 5. Januar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag


Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Johanna Sara Hess
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 17. Januar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag

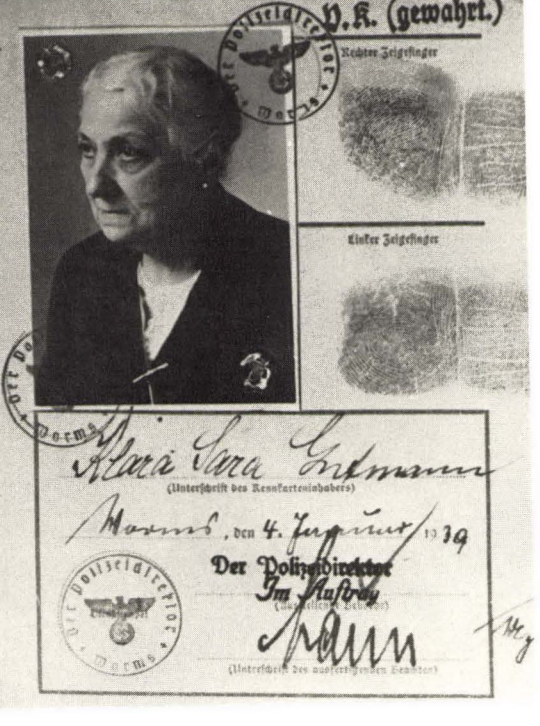

V.K. (gewahrt.)
Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Isa Israel Heumann
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 4. Januar 1939
Polizeidirektion
Im Auftrag


V.K. (gewahrt.)
Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Karoline Sara Heumann
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 4. Januar 1939
Polizeidirektion
Im Auftrag

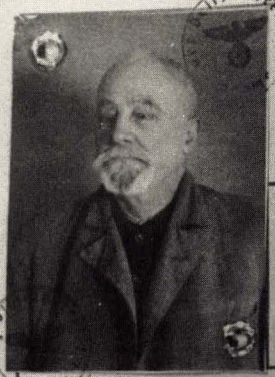

J. K. (gewahrt.)
Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Worms
Ilse Sara Guttmann
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms den 22. Dezember 1938
Polizeidirektion
Im Auftrag
(Ausstellende Behörde)
(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)
Vollzeldirektion
Worms


J. K. (gewahrt.)
Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Worms
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms den 22. Dezember 1938
Polizeidirektion
Im Auftrag
(Ausstellende Behörde)
(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)
Vollzeldirektion
Worms


J. K. (gewahrt.)
Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Worms
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 4. Januar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Ausstellende Behörde)
(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)
Worms


J. K. (gewahrt.)
Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Worms
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 4. Januar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Ausstellende Behörde)
(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)
Worms

J.K. (gewahrt.)



Rechter Zeigefinger



Linker Zeigefinger



Ludwig Conrad Dahlmann

(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)

Worms, den 4. Januar 1939

Der Polizeidirektor

(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)



Rechter Zeigefinger



Linker Zeigefinger



Moritz Conrad Dahlmann

(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)

Worms, den 4. Januar 1939

Der Polizeidirektor

(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)



Rechter Zeigefinger



Linker Zeigefinger



Emma Dora Dahlmann

(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)

Worms, den 23. Feb. 1939

Der Landrat

des Landkreises Worms.

(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)

J.K. (gewahrt)



Rechter Zeigefinger



Linker Zeigefinger



David Conrad Dahlmann

(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)

Worms, den 23. Feb. 1939

Der Landrat

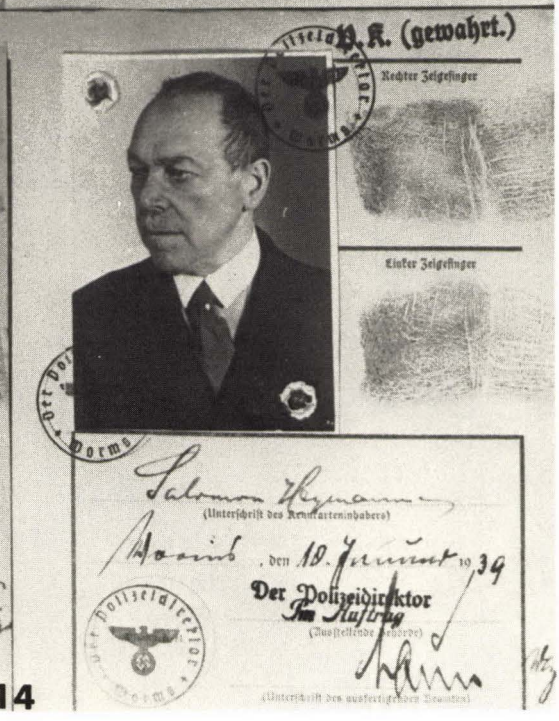
des Landkreises Worms.

(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)


Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Johanna Sara Hausmann
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 9. Januar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Ausstellende Behörde)
(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)
Der Polizeidirektor Worms


U. K. (gewahrt.)
Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Heilga Sara Herz
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 11. Januar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Ausstellende Behörde)
(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)
Der Polizeidirektor Worms


Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Sigmund Israel Herz
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 26. Januar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Ausstellende Behörde)
(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)
Der Polizeidirektor Worms


U. K. (gewahrt.)
Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Salomon Hermann
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 19. Januar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Ausstellende Behörde)
(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)
Der Polizeidirektor Worms

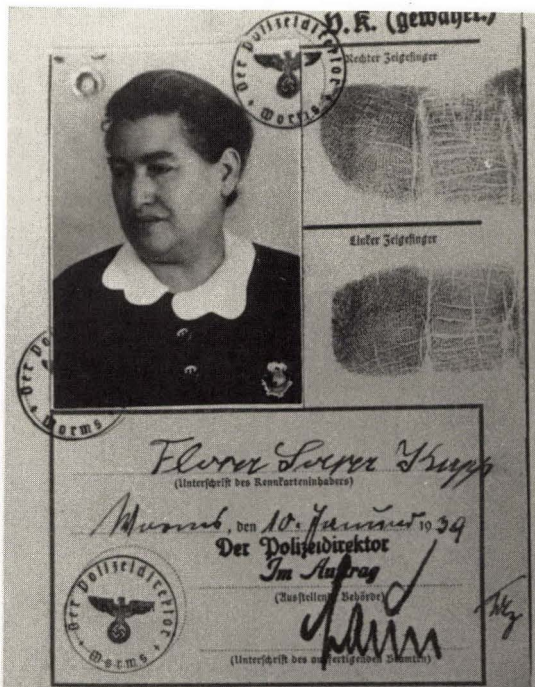

Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Emilie Sara Henriette Egen
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 10. Januar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Ausstellende Behörde)
(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)


Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Der Landrat des Landkreises Worms
WORMS, den 2. März 1939.
Der Landrat
des Landkreises Worms.


V. K. (gewahrt.)
Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Helene Sara König geb. Egen
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 26. Januar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Ausstellende Behörde)
(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)


Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Johanna Sara Jacobi
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 4. Januar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Ausstellende Behörde)
(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)


J. K. (gewahrt.)
Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Bella Sara Joseph
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 13. Januar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)
J. K. (gewahrt.)
Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Berta Sara Joseph
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 3. Februar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)
J. K. (gewahrt.)
Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Worms, den 26. Januar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
J. K. (gewahrt.)
Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Henriette Sara Kahn
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 7. Januar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)


J. K. (gewahrt.)
Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Ort Polizeidirektor Worms
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 10. Januar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Ausstellende Behörde)
(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)


Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Ort Polizeidirektor Worms
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 11. Januar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Ausstellende Behörde)
(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)


J. K. (gewahrt.)
Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Ort Polizeidirektor Worms
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 11. Januar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag

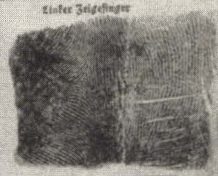

J. K. (gewahrt.)
Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Ort Polizeidirektor Worms
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 2. Februar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag



Rechter Zeigefinger



Linker Zeigefinger



Ort Landrat des Landkreises Worms



Albert Israel Keller

(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)

WORMS, den - 2. März 1939

Der Landrat
des Landkreises Worms.

(Unterschrift des unterschriftsbefugten Beamten)



Rechter Zeigefinger



Linker Zeigefinger



Ort Landrat des Landkreises Worms



Dina Sara Keller

(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)

WORMS, den - 2. März 1939

Der Landrat
des Landkreises Worms.

(Unterschrift des unterschriftsbefugten Beamten)

Volkskartei gewahrt



Rechter Zeigefinger



Linker Zeigefinger



Ort Landrat des Landkreises Worms



Arthur Richard Keller

(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)

WORMS, den 22. März 1939

Der Landrat
des Landkreises Worms.

(Unterschrift des unterschriftsbefugten Beamten)



Rechter Zeigefinger



Linker Zeigefinger



Ort Landrat des Landkreises Worms



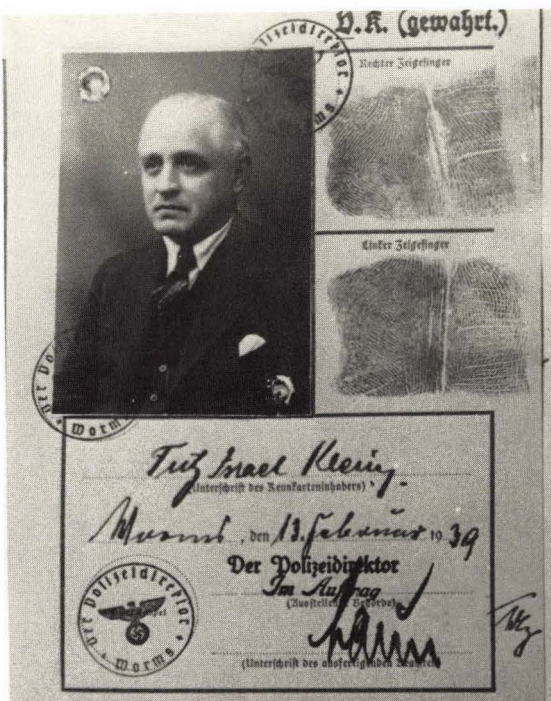
Eugen Israel Keller

(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)

WORMS, den - 2. März 1939

Der Landrat
des Landkreises Worms.

(Unterschrift des unterschriftsbefugten Beamten)


J.K. (gewahrt.)
Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Fritz Israel Klein
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Mannheim, den 13. Februar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)
Ort Polizeidirektor Worms


J.K. (gewahrt.)
Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Mannheim, den 16. Januar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)
Ort Polizeidirektor Worms


J.K. (gewahrt.)
Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Rosa Sarah Kahn
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Mannheim, den 6. Januar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
Ort Polizeidirektor Worms


J.K. (gewahrt.)
Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Walter Israel Kahn
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Mannheim, den 30. Januar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
Ort Polizeidirektor Worms


J. K. (gewahrt.)
Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Irene Sara Korn
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 5. Januar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)
Der Polizeidirektor
Worms


Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Alfred Israel Kohnmann
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den -2. JAN. 1941
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)
Der Polizeidirektor
Worms


J. K. (gewahrt.)
Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Emma Sara Kossmann
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 14. Januar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)
Der Polizeidirektor
Worms


J. K. (gewahrt.)
Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Paul Israel Kirchheimer
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 16. Januar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)
Der Polizeidirektor
Worms

J.K. (gewahrt.)



Rechter Zeigefinger



Linker Zeigefinger



Worms

Hilde Sara Kirschstein

(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)

Worms, den 13. Januar 1939

Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag

(Ausstellende Behörde)

(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)

J.K. (gewahrt.)



Rechter Zeigefinger



Linker Zeigefinger



Worms

Max Israel Lang

(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)

Worms, den 13. Februar 1939

Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag

(Ausstellende Behörde)

(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)

J.K. (gewahrt.)



Rechter Zeigefinger



Linker Zeigefinger



Worms

Max Israel Lang

(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)

Worms, den 13. Februar 1939

Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag

(Ausstellende Behörde)

(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)

J.K. (gewahrt.)



Rechter Zeigefinger



Linker Zeigefinger



Worms

Max Israel Lang

(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)

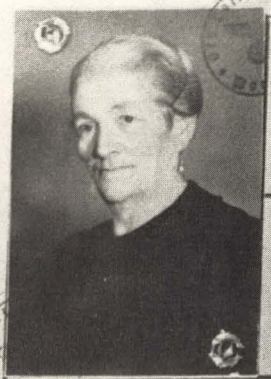
Worms, den 13. Februar 1939

Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag

(Ausstellende Behörde)

(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)

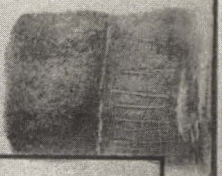
J. K. (gewahrt.)



Rechter Zeigefinger



Linker Zeigefinger



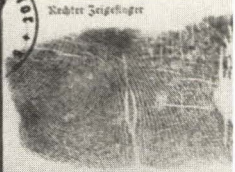
Sara Sara Lang
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)

Worms, den 13. Februar 1939

Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Ausstellende Behörde)

(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)

Rechter Zeigefinger



Linker Zeigefinger



Heinrich Israel Kahn
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)

Worms, den 9. Januar 1939

Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Ausstellende Behörde)

(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)

J. K. (gewahrt.)



Rechter Zeigefinger



Linker Zeigefinger



Emma Sara Lauser
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)

Worms, den 9. Januar 1939

Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Ausstellende Behörde)

(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)

Rechter Zeigefinger



Linker Zeigefinger



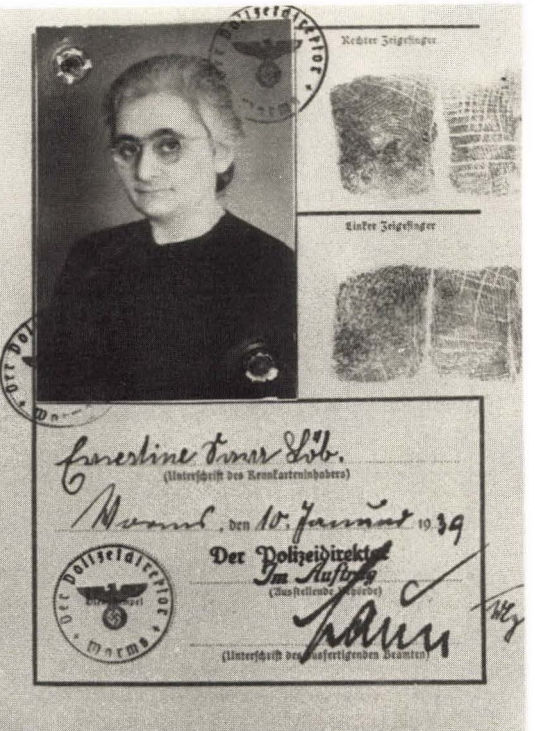
Jacob Israel Kahn
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)

Worms, den 18. Januar 1939

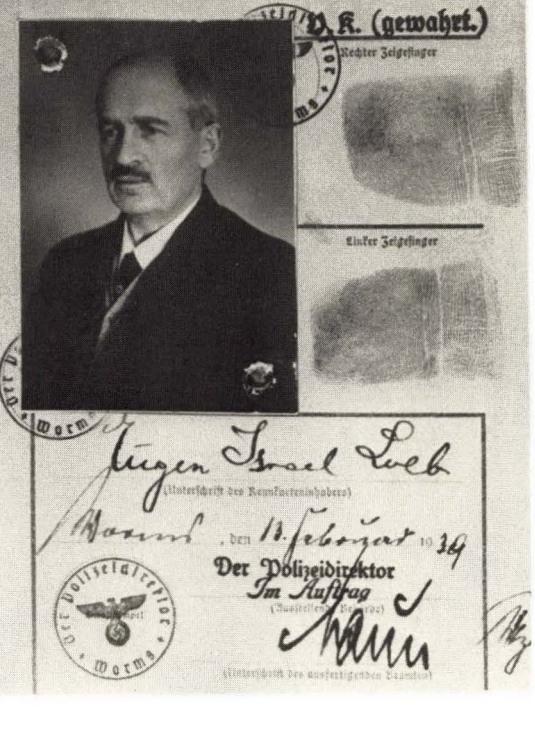
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Ausstellende Behörde)

(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)


Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Anna Sara Löb
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
WORMS, den 15. März 1939
Der Landrat
des Landkreises Worms.
(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)


Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Ernestine Sara Löb.
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 10. Januar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)


Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 10. Januar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)


U. K. (gewahrt.)
Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Eugen Israel Löb
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 11. Februar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)

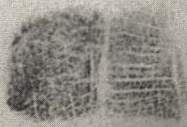
J. K. (gewahrt.)



Rechter Zeigefinger



Linker Zeigefinger



Orts-Polizeibehörde Worms

Mina Sara Lewin
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)

Worms, den 18. Januar 1939

Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Ausstellende Behörde)

(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)

J. K. (gewahrt.)



Rechter Zeigefinger



Linker Zeigefinger



Orts-Polizeibehörde Worms

Bertha Sara Lieber
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)

Worms, den 17. Januar 1939

Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Ausstellende Behörde)

(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)



Rechter Zeigefinger



Linker Zeigefinger



Orts-Polizeibehörde Worms

(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)

Worms, den 9. Januar 1939

Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Ausstellende Behörde)

(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)

J. K. (gewahrt.)



Rechter Zeigefinger



Linker Zeigefinger



Orts-Polizeibehörde Worms

Anna Sara Löb
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)

Worms, den 9. Januar 1939

Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Ausstellende Behörde)

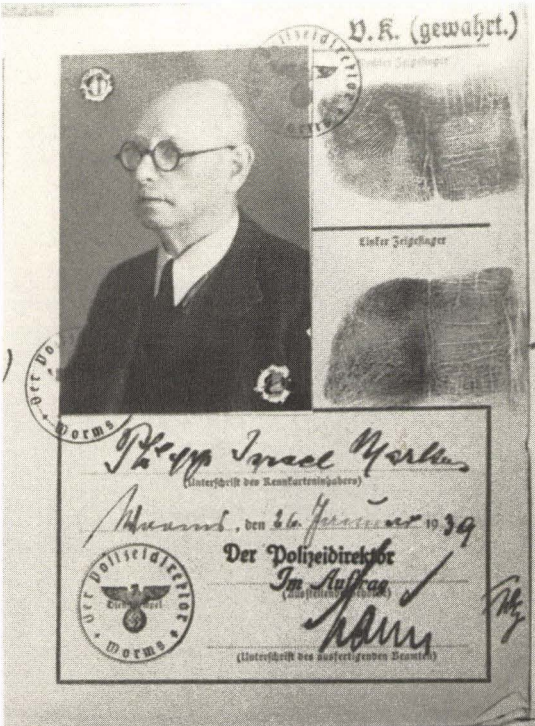
(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)


Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Mathilde Sara Loeb
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Mannheim, den 11. Januar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)

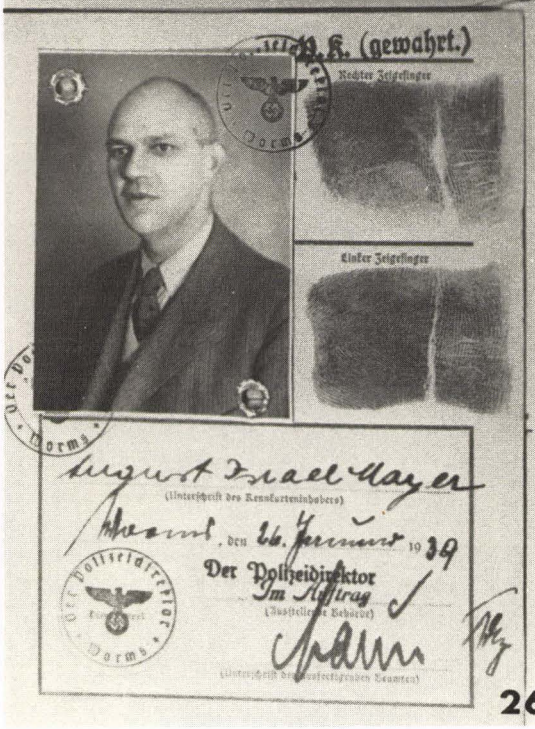

Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Willi Israel Loeb
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Mannheim, den 14. November 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)


J.K. (gewahrt.)
Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Mannheim, den 25. April 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag

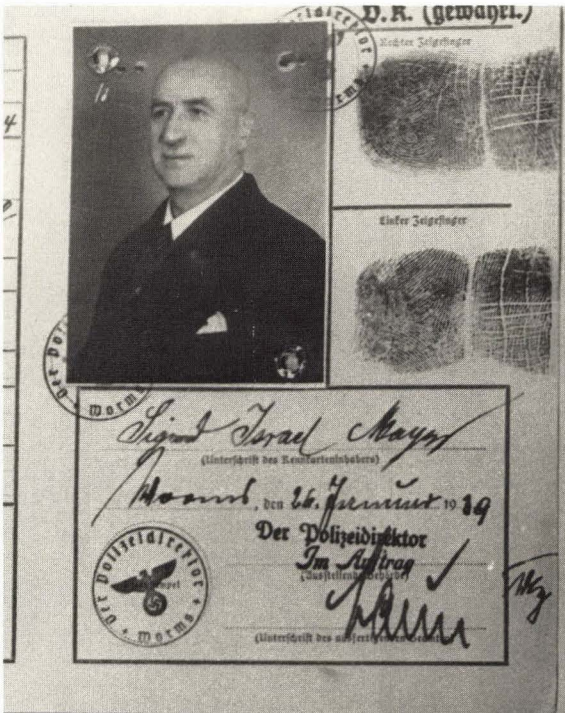

J.K. (gewahrt.)
Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Herta Sara Mansbacher
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Mannheim, den 16. Januar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag


V. K. (gewahrt.)
Linker Zeigefinger
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
Worms

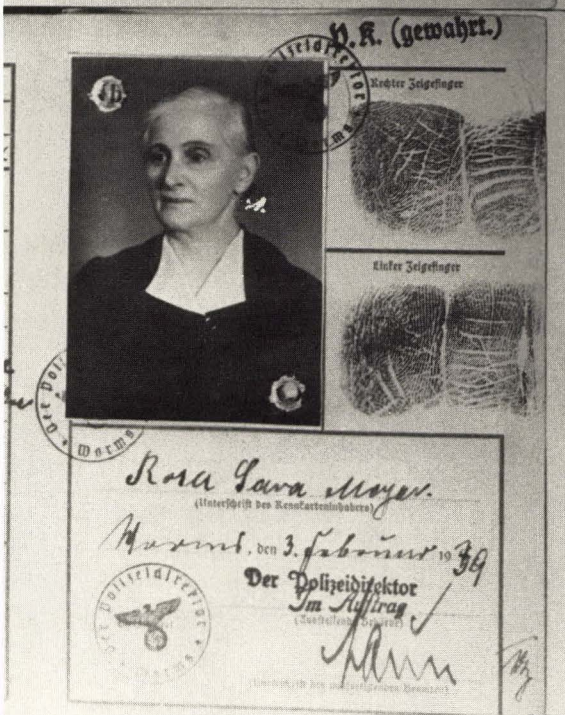

Linker Zeigefinger
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
Worms

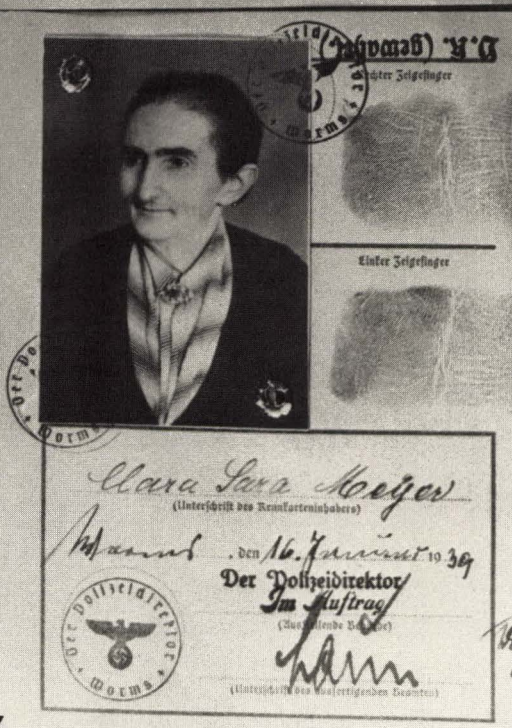

V. K. (gewahrt.)
Linker Zeigefinger
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
Worms


V. K. (gewahrt.)
Linker Zeigefinger
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
Worms


J. K. (gewahrt.)
Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Siegmund Israel Mayer
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 26. Januar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Ausstellende Behörde)
(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)
Ortspolizeibehörde Worms

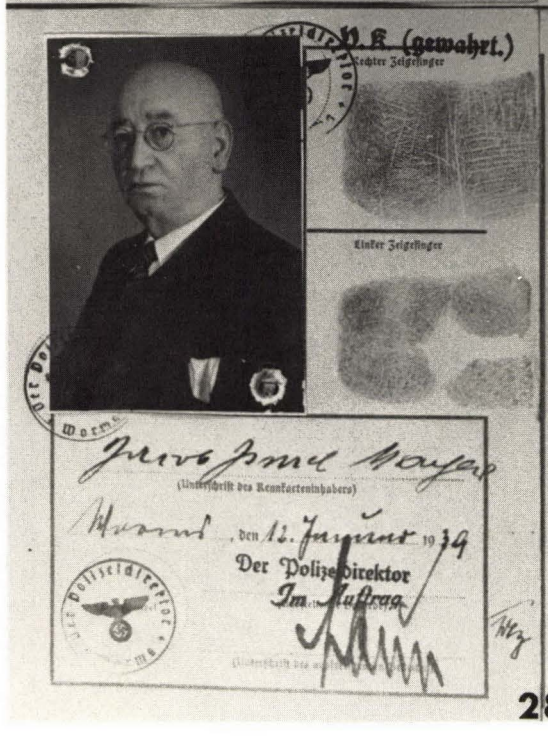

Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Rosa Sara Mayer
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 21. Januar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Ausstellende Behörde)
(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)
Ortspolizeibehörde Worms


J. K. (gewahrt.)
Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Rosa Sara Mayer
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 3. Februar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Ausstellende Behörde)
(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)
Ortspolizeibehörde Worms


Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Clara Sara Meyer
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 16. Januar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Ausstellende Behörde)
(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)
Ortspolizeibehörde Worms


J. K. (gewahrt.)
Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Der Polizeidirektor
Worms
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 16. Januar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)

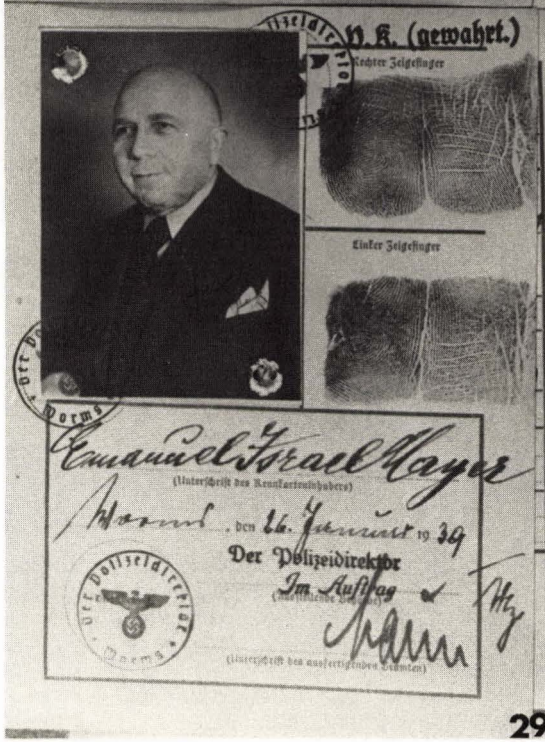

J. K. (gewahrt.)
Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Der Polizeidirektor
Worms
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 21. Januar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)


J. K. (gewahrt.)
Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Der Polizeidirektor
Worms
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 12. Januar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag


J. K. (gewahrt.)
Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Der Polizeidirektor
Worms
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 2. Februar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)

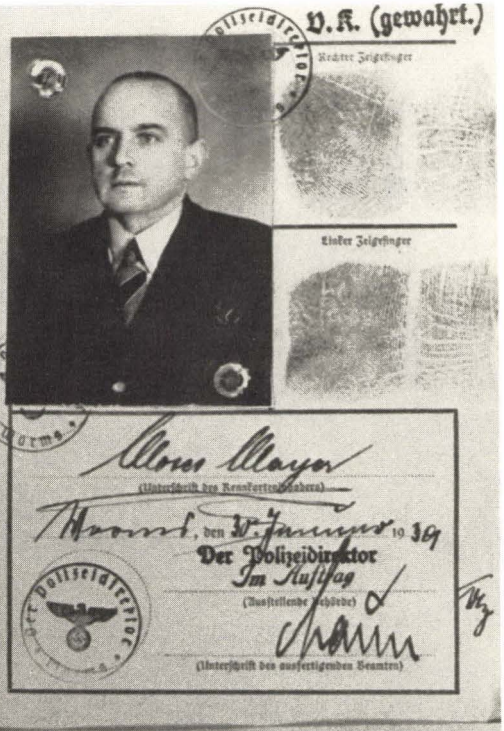

J. K. (gewahrt.)
Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Anna Sara Mayer
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 16. Januar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Ausstellende Behörde)
(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)
Worms


J. K. (gewahrt.)
Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Sara Mayer
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 30. März 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Ausstellende Behörde)
(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)
Worms


J. K. (gewahrt.)
Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Emanuel Israel Mayer
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 16. Januar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Ausstellende Behörde)
(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)
Worms


J. K. (gewahrt.)
Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Martha Sara Mayer
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 16. Januar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Ausstellende Behörde)
(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)
Worms


V. K. (gewahrt.)
Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Der Polizeidirektor
Worms
Matilde Sara Mayer
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 16. Januar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Ausstellende Behörde)
(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)


V. K. (gewahrt.)
Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Der Polizeidirektor
Worms
Moses Mayer
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 17. Januar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Ausstellende Behörde)
(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)


Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Der Polizeidirektor
Worms
Irma Sara Mayer
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 15. Februar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Ausstellende Behörde)


V. K. (gewahrt.
Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Der Polizeidirektor
Worms
Recha Sara Mayer
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 11. Januar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Ausstellende Behörde)


Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Max Israel Meyer
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 3. Februar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)

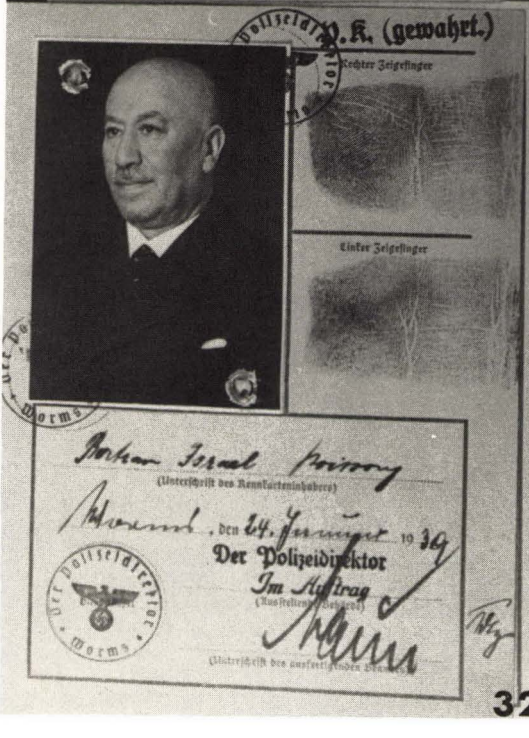

J. K. (gewahrt.)
Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Worms, den 26. Januar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)


Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 17. Februar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)


J. K. (gewahrt.)
Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Worms, den 18. Januar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)


P.K. (gewahrt.)
Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Helene Sara Neumann
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 18. Januar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
Krobst
(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)
Der Vollzeldfeffor
Worms


P.K. (gewahrt.)
Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Worms, den 14. Januar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
Der Vollzeldfeffor
Worms


P.K. (gewahrt.)
Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 24. Januar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)
Der Vollzeldfeffor
Worms


P.K. (gewahrt.)
Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 21. Januar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)
Der Vollzeldfeffor
Worms



Rechter Zeigefinger

Linker Zeigefinger

(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)

Worms, den 23. Januar 1939

Der Polizeidirektor

(Ausstellende Behörde)

(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)



Rechter Zeigefinger

Linker Zeigefinger

Amalie Sara Reinheimer

(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)

Worms, den 16. Januar 1939

Der Polizeidirektor

Im Auftrag

(Ausstellende Behörde)

(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)



Rechter Zeigefinger

Linker Zeigefinger

Frieda Sara Reinheimer

(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)

Worms, den 16. Januar 1939

Der Polizeidirektor

Im Auftrag

(Ausstellende Behörde)

(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)

J.K. (gewahrt.)



Rechter Zeigefinger

Linker Zeigefinger

Recha Reinheimer

(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)

Worms, den 17. Januar 1939

Der Polizeidirektor

Im Auftrag

(Ausstellende Behörde)

(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)

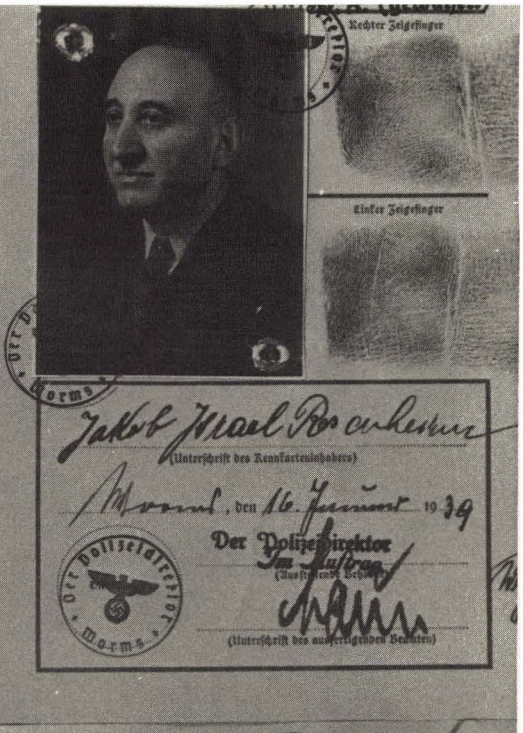

V. K. (gewahrt.)
Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Ortspolizeibehörde Worms
Sara Rinmann
(Unterschrift des Kennkartenin
Worms, den 12. Januar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)


Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Ortspolizeibehörde Worms
Max Israel Rinmann
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 12. Januar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag


Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Ortspolizeibehörde Worms
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Worms, den 12. Januar 1939
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Im Auftrag
(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)

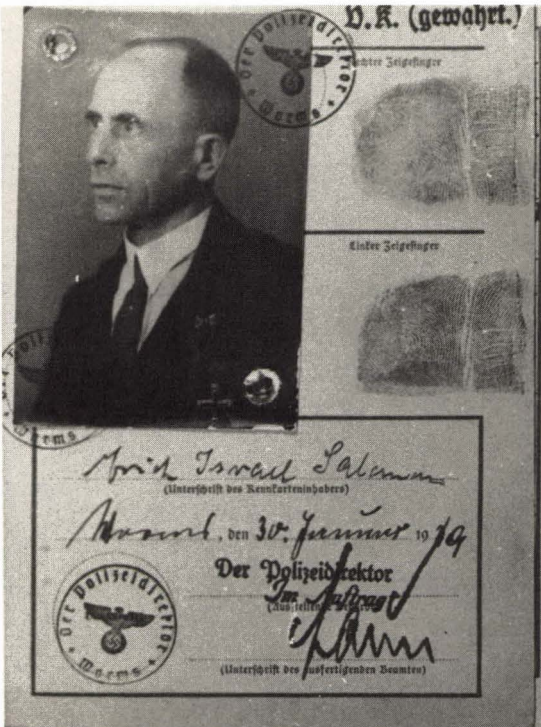

Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Ortspolizeibehörde Worms
Elsa Sara Rinmann
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 12. Januar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag


Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Adolf Israel Rosenberg
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 18. Januar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Ausstellende Behörde)
(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)
Ort Vollzeidirektor Worms


Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Jakob Israel Rosenheim
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 16. Januar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Ausstellende Behörde)
(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)
Ort Vollzeidirektor Worms


V. K. (gewahrt.)
Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Selma Sara Rosenheim
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 16. Januar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
Ort Vollzeidirektor Worms


Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Johanna Sara Rosenthal
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 16. Januar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Ausstellende Behörde)
Ort Vollzeidirektor Worms


V.K. (gewahrt.)
Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Ortspolizeibehörde Worms
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 30. Januar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)


Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Ortspolizeibehörde Worms
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 31. Januar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Ausstellende Behörde)
(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)


V.K. (gewahrt.)
Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Ortspolizeibehörde Worms
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 27. Januar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag


V.K. (gewahrt.)
Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Ortspolizeibehörde Worms
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 21. Januar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Ausstellende Behörde)
(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)



Linker Zeigefinger

Henriette Sara Schönfärber
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)

Worms, den 24. Januar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Ausstellende Behörde)

(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)

Der Vollzeldiffektor Worms



Linker Zeigefinger

Ludwig Israel Schwarz
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)

Worms, den 24. Januar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Ausstellende Behörde)

(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)

Der Vollzeldiffektor Worms



V.K. (gewahrt.)

Rechter Zeigefinger

Linker Zeigefinger

Julia Sara Schwarz
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)

Worms, den 24. Januar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Ausstellende Behörde)

(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)

Der Vollzeldiffektor Worms



V.K. (gewahrt.)

Rechter Zeigefinger

Linker Zeigefinger

Nathanael Sommer
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)

Worms, den 24. Januar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Ausstellende Behörde)

(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)

Der Vollzeldiffektor Worms

J. K. (gewahrt.)



Linker Zeigefinger

(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)

Worms, den 21. Januar 1939

Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Ausstellende Behörde)

(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)

Volkskartei gewahrt



Linker Zeigefinger

(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)

Worms, den 31. März 1939

Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Ausstellende Behörde)

(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)



Rechter Zeigefinger

Linker Zeigefinger

(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)

Worms, den 17. Januar 1939

Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Ausstellende Behörde)

(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)

J. K. (gewahrt.)



Rechter Zeigefinger

Linker Zeigefinger

(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)

Worms, den 17. Januar 1939

Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Ausstellende Behörde)

(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)



Linker Zeigefinger

(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)

Worms, den 18. Januar 1939

Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Ausstellende Behörde)

Probst

(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)



V. K. (gewahrt.)

Linker Zeigefinger

(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)

Worms, den 18. Januar 1939

Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Ausstellende Behörde)

Probst

(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)



V. K. (gewahrt.)

Rechter Zeigefinger

Linker Zeigefinger

(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)

Worms, den 26. Januar 1939

Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Ausstellende Behörde)

(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)



V. K. (gewahrt.)

Rechter Zeigefinger

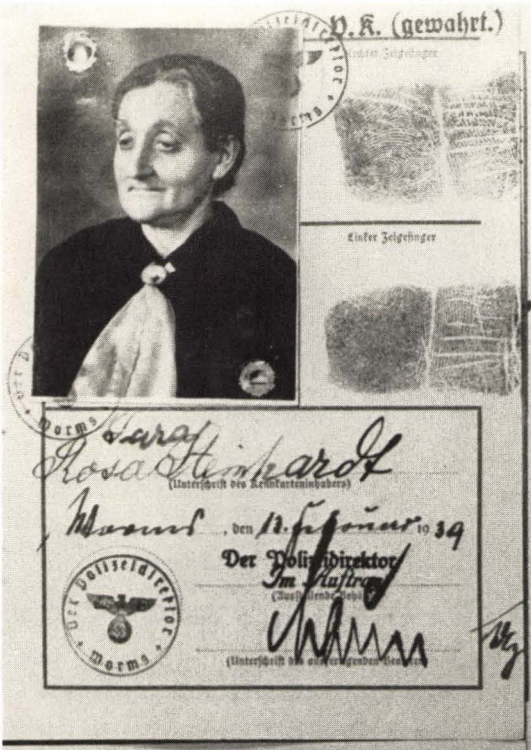
Linker Zeigefinger

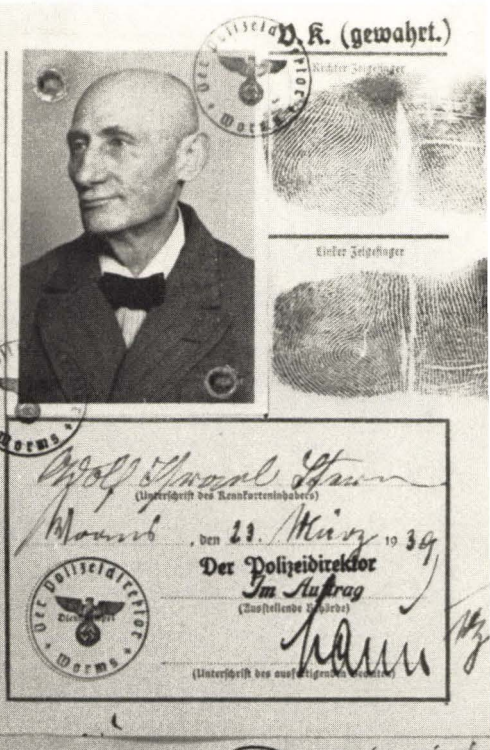
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)

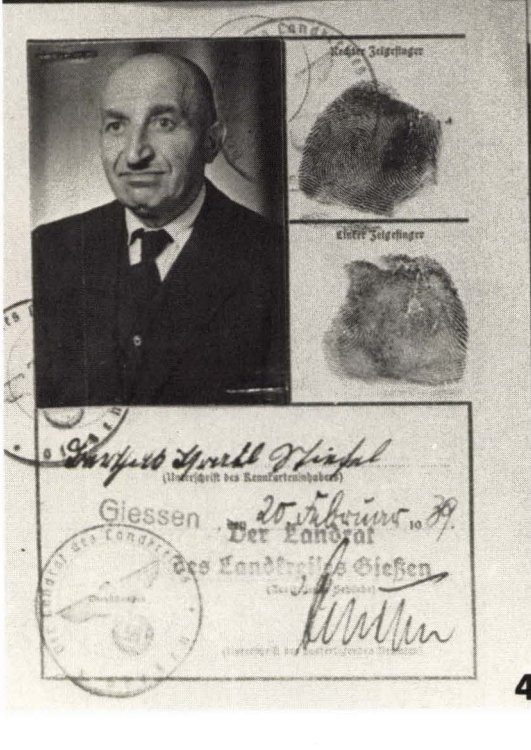
Worms, den 26. Januar 1939

Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Ausstellende Behörde)

(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)


J. K. (gewahrt.)
Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Sara
Rosa Hinkeardt
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 12. Februar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Ausstellende Behörde)
(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)
Ortspolizeibehörde Worms


J. K. (gewahrt.)
Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Israel
Adolf Marcel Stern
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 23. März 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Ausstellende Behörde)
(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)
Ortspolizeibehörde Worms


Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Sara
Hertha Gerda Kinkel
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Giessen, den 20. Februar 1939
Der Landrat
des Landkreises Gießen
(Ausstellende Behörde)
(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)


J. K. (gewahrt.)
Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Sara
Hertha Sara Kinkel
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 17. Juni 1940
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Ausstellende Behörde)
(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)
Ortspolizeibehörde Worms

J. K. (gewahrt.)



Rechter Zeigefinger

Linker Zeigefinger

Friedy Sara Strauss

(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)

Worms, den 12. Januar 1939

Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag

(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)

J. K. (gewahrt.)



Rechter Zeigefinger

Linker Zeigefinger

Hermine Sara Strauss

(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)

Worms, den 12. Januar 1939

Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag

(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)



Rechter Zeigefinger

Linker Zeigefinger

Moritz Israel Strauss

(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)

Worms, den 27. Januar 1939

Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag



Rechter Zeigefinger

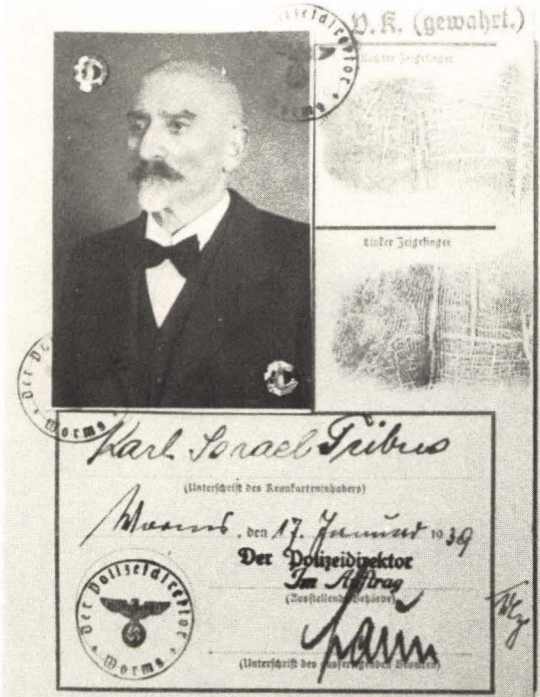
Linker Zeigefinger

Amalie Sara Tribus

(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)

Worms, den 10. Januar 1939

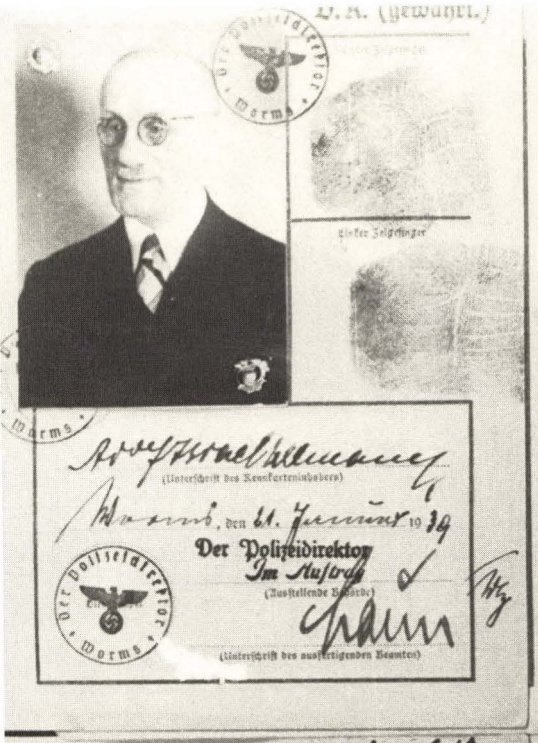
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag


J. K. (gewahrt.)
Linker Zeigefinger
Karl Israel Tribus
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 17. Januar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
Der Polizeidirektor
Worms


Linker Zeigefinger
Ludwig Israel Tribus
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 24. Januar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
Der Polizeidirektor
Worms


J. K. (gewahrt.)
Linker Zeigefinger
Liesa Sara Tribus geb. Mayer
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 24. Januar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
Der Polizeidirektor
Worms


K. (gewahrt.)
Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Worms, den 3. Juli 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
Worms


V. K. (gewahrt.)
Der Polizeidirektor
Worms
Linker Zeigefinger
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 21. Januar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Ausstellende Behörde)
(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)


V. K. (gewahrt.)
Der Polizeidirektor
Worms
Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 21. Januar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Ausstellende Behörde)
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V. K. (gewahrt.)
Der Polizeidirektor
Worms
Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 26. Januar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag


V. K. (gewahrt.)
Der Polizeidirektor
Worms
Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 26. Januar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag


V.K. (gewahrt.)
Linker Zeigefinger
Arr Israel Wälder
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 24. Januar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Ausstellende Behörde)
(Unterschrift des ausfertigenden Beamten)
Worms
V.K. (gewahrt.)
Linker Zeigefinger
Lina Sara Weis
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 24. Januar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
(Ausstellende Behörde)
Worms
V.K. (gewahrt.)
Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Martin Israel Weis
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 24. Januar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
Worms
V.K. (gewahrt.)
Rechter Zeigefinger
Linker Zeigefinger
Regina Sara Emilie Weis
(Unterschrift des Kennkarteninhabers)
Worms, den 24. Januar 1939
Der Polizeidirektor
Im Auftrag
Worms

## KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS

LAST NAME, First
(Maiden)
(Relatives)

b. Birth date : Place
r. Residence in Worms
m. Moved/Date : Place
a. Arrested/Date : Place
e. Emigrated/Date : Place
i. Imprisoned/Date : Place
*D.* Deported/Date : Place
Tr. Transport Numbers
d. Death/Date : Place
() Manner
B. Buried/Date : Place

Profession/
Marital Status

-Photo Page
Number-

1. ADLER, Carl — Merchant
(Husband of #5; Father of #2, 3&6)
b. 1 i 1872: Worms
e. 17 vi 1938: Holland
*D.* 1942: ?
d. Disappeared

2. ADLER, Erich — /Single
(Son of #1&5; Brother of #3&6)
b. 22 ix 1905: Worms
(Same as #1)

3. ADLER, Hans — /Single
(Son of #1&5; Brother of #3&6)
b. 10 vii 1910: Worms
(Same as #1)

4. ADLER, Hugo — Law Clerk/
e. 1933: Strassburg, France Single
d. Disappeared

5. ADLER, Josi — /Widow
(Jacobi)
(Wife of #1; Mother of #2,3&6)
b. 16 vii 1878
(Same as #1)

6. ADLER, Lotte — /Single
(Daughter of #1&5; Sister of #2&3)
b. 10 viii 1899
(Same as #1)

7. ARON, Helene — /Widow
(Altschuler)
b. ? : Monsheim
e. ? : Danzig
*D.* 1940: Poland
d. Disappeared

8. BÄR, Adolphine
(Samuel)
(Wife of #9)
b. 16 iii 1884: Vorderweidenbach
r. Schlossgasse 2
Judengasse 23
*D.* 27 ix 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. XVII/1, No. 940)
29 i 1943: Auschwitz
(Tr. Ct-74)
d. Gassed: Auschwitz

9. BÄR, Emanuel — Merchant
(Husband of #8)
b. 6 iv 1873: Schwegenheim
r. Schlossgasse 2
Judengasse 33
Judengasse 2
*D.* 27 ix 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. XVII/1, No. 939)
d. 14 xi 1942: Theresienstadt

10. BÄR, Johanna — /Widow
(Metzger)
(Sister of #299)
b. 16 vii 1878: Kirschheimbolanden
r. Karmeliterst. 2
Krimhildenst. 20/i
Hintere Judengasse 2
*D.* 20 iii 1942: Piaski, Poland
(Tr. List No. 368)
Summer: Chelm, Poland
d. Gassed: Belzec

11. BAUM, Flora — /Single
b. 23 iv 1920: Freilaubersheim
r. Gymnasiumst. 6 — -5b-
Judengasse 33
*D.* 20 iii 1942: Piaski, Poland
(Tr. List No. 370)
Summer: Chelm, Poland
d. Gassed: Belzec

12. BAUM, Johanna — Housemaid/
b. 11 v 1907: Freilaubersheim — Single
r. Horst Wesselst. 29 — -5c-
Kämmererst. 16
Gymnasiumst. 6
Judengasse 33
a. 25 ix 1941: Worms
*D.* 20 iii 1942: Piaski, Poland
(Tr. List No. 369)
Summer: Chelm, Poland
d. Gassed: Belzec

13. BAUM, Ludwig — Merchant
(Husband of #15)
b. 30 iii 1865: Thalfang — -5d-
r. Karmeliterst. 4
Hintere Judengasse 6
(Offenbach, 1938)
Judengasse 25
*D.* 27 ix 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. XVII/1, No. 1003)
d. 6 xi 1942: Theresienstadt

14. BAUM, Mathilde — /Single
(Sister of #16&17)
b. 11 iii 1873: Freilaubersheim — -6b-
r. Gymnasiumst. 6
Judengasse 33
*D.* 27 ix 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. XVII/1, No. 944)
d. 23 xi 1942: Theresienstadt

15. BAUM, Regine
(Levy)
(Wife of #13) — -6a-
b. 28 xi 1880: Saarwellingen
r. Karmeliterst. 4
Judengasse 25
Hintere Judengasse 6
*D.* 27 ix 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. XVII/1, No. 1004)
d. 21 v 1944: Theresienstadt

16. BAUM, Salomon — Merchant
(Husband of #18; Brother of #14&17)
b. 21 xi 1875: Freilaubersheim -6d-
r. Gymnasiumst. 6
Judengasse 33
Sixtusplatz 3
*D.* 27 ix 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. XVII/1, No. 941)
d. 20 iv 1944: Theresienstadt

17. BAUM, Wilhelmine /Single
(Sister of #14&16)
b. 3 v 1870: Freilaubersheim -6c-
r. Gymnasiumst. 6
Judengasse 33
*D.* 27 ix 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. XVII/1, No. 943)
d. 9 xii 1942: Theresienstadt

18. BAUM, Zerline /Widow
(Ackermann)
(Wife of #16) -7b-
b. 5 v 1876: Weyer/Goarshausen
r. Sixtusgasse 3
Judengasse 33
*D.* 27 ix 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. XVII/1, No. 942)
d. 2 iii 1943: Theresienstadt

19. BENSHEIM, Dr. Hans — Physician
b. 6 v 1897: Mannheim
e. Nov. 1933: Lyons, France
*D.* 1942: Poland
d. Disappeared

20. BERGMANN, Carola
b. 25 ii 1878

21. BERKOWITZ, Auguste /Widow
(Dojubkowitz)
(Mother of #22)
b. 5 v 1884: Stawiski, Poland (Stateless)
r. Zornst. 1
Judengasse 6
Judengasse 9
m. 18 xii 1939: Frankfurt a/M
*D.* 1942: Theresienstadt
d. 1943: Theresienstadt

22. BERKOWITZ, Frieda /Single
(Daughter of #21)
b. 30 xii 1909: Worms
r. Zornst. 1
Judengasse 6
Judengasse 9
m. 18 xii 1939: Frankfurt a/M
d. Disappeared

23. BERLINER, Ernest Merchant
(Husband of #25; Father of #24)
b. 4 i 1892: Worms
m. 23 iii 1937: Mannheim
? : Krefeld
*D.* 22 iv 1942: Izbice, Poland
d. Disappeared

24. BERLINER, Kurt Child (Age 11)
(Son of #23&25)
b. 16 vii 1931: Worms
m. 23 iii 1937: Mannheim
? : Krefeld
*D.* 22 iv 1942: Izbice, Poland
d. Disappeared

25. BERLINER, Marta
(Goldschmidt)
(Wife of #23; Mother of #24)
b. 2 xii 1901: Krefeld
m. 23 iii 1937: Mannheim
? : Krefeld
*D.* 22 iv 1942: Izbice, Poland
d. Disappeared

26. BLUM, Elise — Owner-Manager Ladies Clothing Store
(Sister of #27)
b. 15 ix 1857: Rohrheim
r. Obermarkt 22
m. 31 vii 1939: Mainz
*D.* 1942: Theresienstadt
d. ? : Theresienstadt

27. BLUM, Lea — Owner-Manager Ladies Clothing Store
(Sister of #26)
b. 20 ii 1863: Roxheim
r. Obermarkt 22
m. 31 vii 1939: Mainz
*D.* 1942: Theresienstadt
d. ? : Theresienstadt

28. BLUN, Emilie — /Divorced
(Kassel)
b. 1 x 1881: Worms
r. Speyerst. 57
m. 30 vi 1937: Mannheim
*D.* 22 x 1940: Gurs, France
d. Disappeared

29. BLUN, Paula — /Single
b. 31 v 1885: Worms
m. 5 x 1935: Frankfurt
2 i 1936: Mannheim
? : Berlin
*D.* 19 ii 1943: Auschwitz
d. Gassed: Auschwitz

30. BODENHEIMER, Emma /Single
b. 18 x 1882: Worms
m. ? : Goddelau (Riedstadt)
*D.* ? 1941: Chelm, Poland
d. 16 iii 1941: Chelm
(Typhus)

31. BOTTINGHEIMER, Wilhelmine /Divorced
(Lob)
b. 13 v 1884: Worms -7a-
r. Gymnasiumst. 6
Krimhildenst. 25
Hintere Judengasse 6
*D.* 27 ix 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. XVII/1, No. 1005)
29 i 1943: Auschwitz
(Tr. Ct-75)
d. Gassed: Auschwitz

32. BRAUN, Herbert Child (?)
(Son of #33&34; Brother of 35)
b. ? : Monsheim
m. : Mainz
*D.* 1942: Auschwitz
d. Gassed: Auschwitz

33. BRAUN, Selma
(Loeb)
(Wife of #34; Mother of #32&35)
r. Monsheim
m. : Mainz
*D.* 1942: Auschwitz
d. Gassed: Auschwitz

34. BRAUN, Siegfried Merchant
(Husband of #33; Father of #32&35)
b. : Worms
r. Monsheim
m. : Mainz
*D.* 1942: Auschwitz
d. Gassed: Auschwitz

35. BRAUN, Walter — Child (?)
(Son of #33&34; Brother of #32)
b. : Monsheim
m. : Mainz
*D.* 1942: Auschwitz
d. Gassed: Auschwitz

36. BRODREICH, Lionel — Merchant
(Husband of #37)
b. 8 iii 1881: Einwartshausen — -7d-
r. Siegfriedst. 9
Ringst. 25
Hafergasse 7
Renzst. 28
*D.* 20 iii 1942: Piaski, Poland
(Tr. List No. 371)
Summer: Chelm, Poland
d. Gassed: Belzec

37. BRODREICH, Rosa
(Stein)
(Wife of #36) — -7c-
b. 18 i 1891: Worms
r. Siegfriedst. 9
Ringst. 25
Hafergasse 7
Renzst. 28
*D.* 20 iii 1942: Piaski, Poland
(Tr. List No. 372)
Summer: Chelm, Poland
d. Gassed: Belzec

38. BRONNER, Esther
(Ziegler)
(Wife of #39)
b. 22 ii 1889: Gablocien, Poland
r. Renzst. 36
e. 15 viii 1939: Poland
*D.* 20 i 1942: Cracow Ghetto
? 1942: Auschwitz
d. Gassed: Auschwitz

39. BRONNER, Jeremias — Merchant
(Husband of #38; Brother of #40)
b. 13 iii 1882: Auschwitz, Poland
r. Renzst. 36
e. 15 viii 1939: Poland
*D.* 20 i 1942: Cracow Ghetto
? 1942: Auschwitz
d. Gassed: Auschwitz

40. BRONNER, Moses — Merchant
(Husband of #41; Brother of #39)
b. 28 ii 1878: Oswiecim, (Auschwitz), Poland
r. Kaiser-Wilhelmst. 22
e. 15 viii 1939: Poland
*D.* 20 i 1942: Cracow Ghetto
? 1942: Auschwitz
d. Gassed: Auschwitz

41. BRONNER, Rachel
(Dankewitz)
(Wife of #40)
b. 20 i 1882: Oswiecim, (Auschwitz,) Poland
r. Kaiser-Wilhelmst. 22
e. 15 viii 1939: Poland
*D.* 20 i 1942: Cracow Ghetto
? 1942: Auschwitz
d. Gassed: Auschwitz

42. BRUCHFELD, Jakob — Merchant/ Widower -8b-
b. 27 xi 1869: Crumstadt
r. Horst-Wesselst. 27
m. 23 xii 1938: Frankfurt
*D.* ? 1942
d. Disappeared

43. BURG, Frieda
(Mayer)
(Wife of #44)
b. 14 xi 1881: Velden
e. Sept. 1933: Saarbrücken
*D.* 22 x 1940: Gurs, France
d. Disappeared

44. BURG, Moritz — Merchant
(Husband of #43)
b. 10 xi 1874: Hattenbach
e. Sept. 1933: Saarbrücken
*D.* 1940: Gurs, France
d. Disappeared

45. BUSCHHOFF, Friedrich — Merchant/Single
(Brother of #46)
b. 30 ix 1891: Worms
r. Kaiser-Wilhelmst. 26
*D.* 1944: Concentration Camp unknown
d. Killed: ?

46. BUSCHHOFF, Wilhelm — Actor/Single
(Brother of #45)
b. 23 ii 1888: Worms
r. Kaiser-Wilhemst. 26
m. 6 viii 1940: Berlin
*D.* ? 1942: ?
d. Disappeared

47. DAVID, August — Merchant/Single
b. 26 v 1880: Gimbsheim
r. Adolf-Hitlerst. 6/10
i. 10 xi 1938: KZ Sachsenhausen
d. 1 v 1939: KZ Sachsenhausen

48. DAVID, Bernhard — Merchant
(Husband of #49)
b. : Worms
*D.* ? : Unknown
d. Disappeared

49. DAVID, Hattie
(Wife of #48)
*D.* ? : Unknown
d. Disappeared

50. DECKER, Johanna /Single
b. 13 i 1895: Wachenheim
r. Schlossgasse 2 -8a-
Moltkeanlage 10
*D.* 20 iii 1942: Piaski, Poland
Summer: Chelm, Poland
d. Gassed: Belzec

51. DOSENHEIMER, Anna /Widow
(Weil)
b. 12 iv 1869: Pirmasens
r. Krimhildenst. 8
m. 2 ii 1939: Heidelberg
*D.* ? 1942: Theresienstadt
d. ? : Theresienstadt

52. DREIFUS, Julius Cattle Merchant
(Husband of #53)
b. 27 i 1883: Gauersheim
e. 1933: Metz, France
*D.* ? : Unknown
d. Disappeared

53. DREIFUS, Mathilde
(Adler)
(Wife of #52)
b. 14 ix 1892: Londorf
(Same as #51)

54. DUKAS, Helene /Single
b. 20 xii 1890: Salzburg, Austria
r. Siegfriedst. 40
m. 17 iii 1939: Konstanz
*D.* 22 x 1940: Gurs, France
10 viii 1942: Auschwitz
d. Gassed: Auschwitz

55. EBERT, Ludwig — Merchant/Single
b. 22 vi 1867: Fürth
r. Krimhildenst. 22
m. 23 xii 1938: Frankfurth a/M
e. 1939: Holland
*D.* 1942: Poland
d. Disappeared

56. ELLKAN, Ottilie
b. 3 ix 1878

57. EMRICH, Julius — Merchant/Single
b. 9 vi 1868: Merhingen
r. Osthofen
m. ? : Mainz
*D.* 1942: Theresienstadt
d. ? : Theresienstadt

58. EMRICH, Siegbert — Merchant/Single
b. 19 vii 1898: Weikersheim
r. Dominikanerst. 2
m. 1 iv 1939: Mannheim
e. 25 vii 1939: Holland
*D.* 1942: Poland
d. Disappeared

59. ENGLENDER, Hedwig (Krieger) — /Widow
(Mother of #60; Daughter of #206&208; Sister of #205, 207&209)
b. 5 vii 1904: Rajecza, Poland
e. 1933: Biala, Poland
*D.* 1941: Unknown Ghetto
d. Disappeared

60. ENGLENDER, Ingeborg — Child (Age 13)
(Daughter of #59)
b. 2 ix 1929: Worms
(Same as #59)

61. ERLANGER, Jakob — Traveling Salesman
(Husband of #62) -8d-
b. 3 viii 1874: Altenstadt
r. Martingasse 13
Hafengasse 7
Judengasse 24
*D.* 27 ix 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. XVII/1, No. 946)
16 v 1944: Auschwitz
(Tr. Ea, No. 338)
d. Gassed: Auschwitz

62. ERLANGER, Ottilie
(Emmel)
(Wife of #61) -8c-
b. 10 ii 1883: Bad-Ems
r. Martingasse 13
Hafengasse 7
Judengasse 24
*D.* 27 ix 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. XVII/1, No. 947)
16 v 1944: Auschwitz
(Tr. Ea, No. 2432)
d. Gassed: Auschwitz

63. FRANK, Alice
(Hansmann)
(Wife of #69; Mother of #66)
b. 1 iii 1894: Worms
r. Kaiser-Wilhelmst. 6
m. 11 iii 1939: Cologne
*D.* 1942: ?
d. Disappeared

64. FRANK, Isidore — Merchant
(Husband of #67)
b. 8 v 1881: Aumenau — -9b-
r. Siegfriedst. 24
Hintere Judengasse 2
*D.* 20 iii 1942: Piaski, Poland
(Tr. List No. 374)
Summer: Chelm, Poland
d. Gassed: Belzec

65. FRANK, Julius
d. Killed, 1933; Dolgesheim KZ.

66. FRANK, Lotte — /Single
(Daughter of #63&67)
b. 13 ii 1921: Worms
r. Kaiser-Wilhelmst. 6
m. 11 iii 1939: Cologne
*D.* 1942: ?
d. Disappeared

67. FRANK, Mathilde
(Weil)
(Wife of #64) — -9a-
b. 4 iii 1883: Bruchsal
r. Siegfriedst. 24
Hintere Judengasse 2
*D.* 20 iii 1942: Piaski, Poland
(Tr. List No. 375)
Summer: Chelm, Poland
d. Gassed: Belzec

68. FRANK, Mathau — Merchant
b. 17 iv 1867: Berchtolsheim
r. Kämmererst. 33
d. 23 iv 1933: Worms
(Hanged)

69. FRANK, Oskar — Merchant
(Husband of #63; Father of #66)
b. 11 iv 1888: Bad-Ognhausen
r. Kaiser-Wilhelmst. 6
m. 11 iii 1939: Cologne
*D.* 1942: ?
d. Disappeared

70. FRANKEN, Lore — Housemaid
b. 15 vi 1918: ?
r. Moltkeanlage 11
m. 11 xi 1938: Leipzig
*D.* 1942: Poland
d. Disappeared

71. FRIEDMANN, Simon — Merchant (Retired)/ Widowed -9d-
b. 25 iv 1867: Selters Unter-Westerwald
r. Hintere Judengasse 6
*D.* 27 ix 1942: Theresienstadt (Tr. XVII/1, No. 1006)
d. 26 ii 1943: Theresienstadt

72. FROHNHAUSEN, Edgar
(Husband of #73)
i. 10 xi 1938: KZ Buchenwald
d. i 1939: KZ Buchenwald
B. 20 i 1939: Worms

73. FROHNHAUSEN, Marta (Bayerthal) — /Widow -9c-
(Wife of #72)
b. 6 ii 1870: Worms
r. Hintere Judengasse 6
*D.* 27 ix 1942: Theresienstadt (Tr. XVII/1, No. 1007)
d. ? : Theresienstadt

74. FULD, Helene /Single
b. 29 vi 1878: Mannheim
r. Gutenbergst. 27 -10b-
Schlossgasse 2
Renzst. 28/ii
*D.* 20 iii 1942: Piaski, Poland
(Tr. List No. 376)
Summer: Chelm, Poland
d. Gassed: Belzec

75. GELLER, Berta
(Braindel)
(Wife of #78; Mother of #76&77)
b. 3 viii 1895: Gwozdiec, Austria
e. 1933: Gwozdiec, Poland
d. Disappeared

76. GELLER, Franzisca Child (Age 18)
(Daughter of #75&78; Sister of #77)
b. 1 iii 1924: Wanne
(Same as #75)

77. GELLER, Leo Child (Age 11)
(Son of #75&78; Brother of #76)
b. 25 iii 1931: Worms
(Same as #75)

78. GELLER, Siegmund Merchant
(Husband of #75; Father of #76&77)
b. 27 xii 1901: Horodenki, Poland
(Same as #75)

79. GELLMANN, Frieda
(Daughter of #80&82; Sister of #81)
b. 17 xii 1917: Worms
e. 28 iv 1933: Lodz, Poland
d. Disappeared

80. GELLMANN, Georg — Construction Engineer
(Husband of #82; Father of #79&81)
b. 17 xii 1892: Pjontka, Poland
(Same as #79)

81. GELLMAN, Hugo
(Son of #79&82; Brother of #80)
b. 11 x 1920: Worms
(Same as #79)

82. GELLMANN, Magda
(Wife of #80; Mother of #81&82)
b. 22 xii 1896: Worms
(Same as #79)

83. GEORGE, Alma
(Wife of #85; Mother of #84)
b. 6 v 1902: Kirschheimbolanden
e. 1933: Luxemburg
d. Disappeared

84. GEORGE, Karl Heinz — Child (Age 16)
(Son of #83&85)
b. 8 ix 1926: Kirschheimbolanden
(Same as #83)

85. GEORGE, Norbert — Wine Merchant
(Husband of #83; Father of #84)
b. 4 viii 1902: Neuwied
(Same as #83)

86. GERNSHEIM, Dr. Friedrich — Physician
(Husband of #87)
b. 8 vi 1872: Worms
d. 29 vii 1938: Worms
(Suicide)

87. GERNSHEIM, Rosa
(Schott)
(Wife of #86)
b. 22 xi 1879: Hayenau
d. 29 vii 1938: Worms
(Suicide)

88. GERSOHN, Bertel
(Lichtenstein)
(Wife of #89)
b. 18 xii 1894: Worms
e. 1933: Riga, Latvia
i x 1941: Riga Ghetto
d. Shot: Rumbula Forest
(27 xi–9 xii 1941)

89. GERSOHN, Sascha
(Husband of #88)
b. 17 iii 1887: Windau, Latvia
e. 1933: Latvia
(Same as #88)

90. GOEDHARDT, Fanny /Widow
b. 12 x 1868: Schoppinghen
r. Gutenbergst. 27
Hintere Judengasse 6
m. 18 xii 1939: Frankfurt a/M
d. 1941: Frankfurt
(Insufficient Medical Attention)

91. GOLDSTEIN, Fanny Housemaid/
b. 7 ix 1876: Offenheim Single
r. Wallst. 11
m. 13 xi 1938: Darmstadt
d. Disappeared

92. GREGORI, Lina /Widow
(Feidel)
b. 3 vii 1876: Mettenheim -10a-
r. Kaiser-Wilhelmst. 21
d. 18 xi 1941: Worms
(Insufficient Medical Attention)

93. GROMBACHER, Sussmann Merchant
(Husband of #94)
b. 16 viii 1876: Strassburg -10d-
r. Seidenbenderst. 30
Hintere Judengasse 6
*D.* 27 ix 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. XVII/1, No. 1008)
d. 5 ii 1943: Theresienstadt

94. GROMBACHER, Wilhelmine
(Lehr)
(Wife of #93) -10c-
b. 30 xii 1878: Worms
r. Seidenbenderst. 30
Hintere Judengasse 6
*D.* 27 ix 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. XVII/1, No. 1009)
d. 4 xii 1942: Theresienstadt

95. GROSS, Helene /Widow
(Salomon)
(Mother of #96) -11b-
b. 13 ii 1856: Heppenheim
r. Steinst. 20
Obermarkt 18/ii
Karmeliterst. 1
Lutherplatz 5
Judengasse 6
*D.* 27 ix 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. XVII/1, No. 948)
d. 6 x 1942: Theresienstadt

96. GROSS, Paula — Accountant/
(Daughter of #95) — Single
b. 29 xi 1891: Beindersheim — -11a-
r. Steinst. 20
Obermarkt 18/ii
Lutherplatz 5
*D.* 20 iii 1942: Piaski, Poland
(Tr. List No. 377)
Summer: Chelm, Poland
d. Gassed: Belzec

97. GRÜNEBAUM, Elsa — /Single
(Sister of #98&99)
b. 5 v 1907: Worms
m. 5 ix 1933: Mannheim
*D.* 22 x 1940: Gurs, France
10 viii 1942: Auschwitz
d. Gassed: Auschwitz

98. GRÜNEBAUM, Hermann — /Single
(Brother of #97&99)
b. 4 ii 1911: Lodz, Poland
e. 1933: Liebau, Lithuania
d. Disappeared

99. GRÜNEBAUM, Siegfried — /Single
(Brother of #97&98)
b. 23 i 1916: Osthofen
e. 1933: Liebau, Lithuania
d. Disappeared

100. GRÜNFELD, Karoline
(Bodenheim)
(Wife of #101) — -11d-
b. 17 xi 1878: Worms
r. Berggartenst. 6
Kaiser-Wilhelmst. 11
Hintere Judengasse 6
*D.* 27 ix 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. XVII/1, No. 950)
d. 7 xii 1942: Theresienstadt

101. GRÜNFELD, Leo — Merchant
(Husband of #100)
b. 11 x 1869: Kromeriz, Poland -11c-
r. Moltkeanlage 6
Berggartenst. 6
Kaiser-Wilhelmst. 11
Hintere Judengasse 6
*D.* 27 ix 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. XVII/1, No. 949)
d. 17 iii 1943: Theresienstadt

102. GUSDORF, Hermann — Merchant
b. 23 iv 1888: Worms
r. Dreinermühlengasse 5/10
i. 9 ix 1938: Buchenwald
d. 16 xii 1938: Buchenwald
B. 15 i 1939: Worms

103. GUSDORF, Siegfried — Merchant/Single
b. 17 viii 1878: Worms
r. Obermarkt 12
Hintere Judengasse 6
*D.* 27 ix 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. XVII/1, No. 1010)
d. 18 xii 1942: Theresienstadt

104. GUTHMANN, Else
(Lövy)
(Wife of #109) -12a-
b. 29 v 1888: Karlsbad
r. Röderst. 11
Hintere Judengasse 2
*D.* 27 ix 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. XVII/1, No. 954)
9 x 1944: Auschwitz
(Tr. Ep, No. 525)
d. Gassed: Auschwitz

105. GUTHMANN, Klara
(Mayer)
(Wife of #110) -13c-
b. 7 xi 1871: Osthofen
r. Kämmererst. 48
Hintere Judengasse 2
*D.* 27 ix 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. XVII/1, No. 955)
16 v 1944: Auschwitz
(Tr. Ea, No. 339)
d. Gassed: Auschwitz

106. GUTHMANN, Klara /Widow
(Salomon)
b. 27 iv 1869: Worms -12d-
r. Hintere Judengasse 6
*D.* 27 ix 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. XVII/1, No. 1011)
d. 5 x 1942: Theresienstadt

107. GUTHMANN, Johanna /Widow
(Morgenthau)
b. 19 vi 1864: Mainz
r. Goethest. 8
m. 24 x 1938: Kassel
*D.* 1942: ?
d. Disappeared

108. GUTHMANN, Mathilde Seamstress/
b. 1 ii 1880: Worms Single
r. Kämmererst. 5
*D.* 25 ix 1941: Theresienstadt
(Tr. S - 13717)
15 iii 1943: Auschwitz
(Tr. K)
d. Gassed: Auschwitz

109. GUTHMANN, Max — Merchant
(Husband of #104)
b. 11 v 1874: Worms -12b-
r. Röderst. 11
Renzst. 28
Kriemhildest. 20
Andreasst. 23
Hintere Judengasse 2
*D.* 27 ix 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. XVII/1, No. 953)
d. 15 xii 1942: Theresienstadt

110 GUTHMANN, Moritz — Baker
(Husband of #105)
b. 24 xii 1868: Rohrbach -13b-
r. Kämmererst. 48
Judengasse 2
i. 10 vi 1942: Dachau
d. 10 vi 1942: Dachau

111. GUTHMANN, Moses — Bookbinder
b. 29 iii 1900: Losnowiece, Poland
r. Weckerlingsplatz 1
m. 5 ix 1939: Paris, France
*D.* 1942: ?
d. Disappeared

112. GUTMANN, Franzisca
(Giesel)
(Wife of #113) -12c-
b. 14 vi 1873: Ober-Mockstadt
r. Judengasse 16
*D.* 27 ix 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. XVII/1, No. 952)
d. 10 iii 1943: Theresienstadt

113. GUTMANN, Ludwig — Antiquarian
(Husband of #112)
b. 20 ii 1874: Worms -13a-
r. Judengasse 16
*D.* 27 ix 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. XVII/1, No. 951)
d. 8 ii 1943: Theresienstadt

114. HALLE, Bertha
(Wolf)
(Wife of #115)
b. 22 xii 1880: Bonn
r. Burkardst. 16
d. 8 xii 1938: Worms
(Suicide)

115. HALLE, Josef — Merchant
(Husband of #114)
b. 15 x 1876: Heubach
r. Burkhardst. 16
d. 8 xii 1938: Worms
(Suicide)

116. HAMBURGER, Gustav — Retired/Single
(Brother of #118)
b. 11 v 1874: Rimbach
r. Hintere Judengasse 6
a. Spring, 1941: Frankfurt a/M
d. 25 v 1941: Frankfurt

117. HAMBURGER, Johanna
(Furth)
(Wife of #118)
b. 27 xi 1876: Osterspei
r. Hintere Judengasse 6
d. 23 viii 1942: Worms
(Suicide)

118. HAMBURGER, Rudolf — Retired
(Husband of #117; Brother of #116)
b. 12 ii 1871: Rimbach
r. Hintere Judengasse 6
d. 23 viii 1942: Worms
(Suicide)

119. HAUSMANN, Daniel — Retired/Widower
b. 26 iii 1872: Molsheim
r. Hintere Judengasse 6 -13d-
*D.* 27 ix 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. XVII/1, No. 1012)
d. 28 iii 1943: Theresienstadt

120. HAUSMANN, Johanna /Widow
b. 17 v 1862: Nieder-Ingelheim
r. Kaiser-Wilhelmst. 6 -14a-
m. 18 xi 1939: Cologne
*D.* 1942: ?
d. Disappeared

121. HEINEMANN, Emma /Widow
(Alexander)
b. 1 vii 1869: Altenrüthen
e. 15 v 1939: Riga, Latvia
i. x 1941: Riga Ghetto
d. Shot: Rumbula Forest
(27 xi–9 xii 1941)

122. HERZ, Albert Merchant
(Brother of #125,127&136)
b. 12 xi 1888: Obertiefenbach
r. Kämmererst. 10
m. 17 x 1939: Duisburg
*D.* 26 vii 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. VII/2, No. 500)
d. 6 x 1942: Theresienstadt

123. HERZ, Alfred
(Son of #133; Brother of #134)
b. ? : Worms
m. 1939: Frankfurt a/M
*D.* 1942: Poland
d. Disappeared

124. HERZ, Alfred Hans Child (Age 20)
(Son of #127&135)
b. 22 iii 1922: Worms
r. Kaiser-Wilhelmst. 27
m. 18 xi 1938: Mannheim
*D.* 22 x 1940: Gurs, France
1942: Poland
d. Disappeared

125. HERZ, Arthur
(Husband of #128; Brother of #122,127&136)
b. 24 ii 1894: Obertiefenbach
m. after 1933: Mannheim
*D.* 22 x 1940: Gurs and Les Milles, France
1942: Auschwitz
d. Gassed: Auschwitz

126. HERZ, Erna
(Ottenheimer)
(Wife of #131; Mother of #129&132)
b. 7 iii 1908: Worms
m. 3 x 1938: Bonfeld
*D.* 1 xii 1941: Riga, Latvia
d. Disappeared

127. HERZ, Ferdinand — Merchant
(Husband of #135; Father of #124)
b. 27 vi 1892: Obertiefenbach
r. Kaiser-Wilhelmst. 27
m. 18 xi 1938: Mannheim
*D.* 22 x 1940: Gurs, France
1942: Poland
d. Disappeared

128. HERZ, Flora
(Ullman)
(Wife of #125)
b. 7 vii 1901: ?
m. after 1933: Mannheim
*D.* 22 x 1940: Gurs, France
d. Disappeared

129. HERZ, Friedrich — Child (Age 9)
(Son of #126&131; Brother of #132)
b. 14 v 1933: Worms
m. 3 x 1938: Bonfeld
*D.* 1 xii 1941: Riga
d. Disappeared

130. HERZ, Hilde /Widow
(Lichtenauer)
(Mother of #137) -14b-
b. 11 vi 1885: Gerolshofen
r. Bahnhofst. 6
Schlossgasse 2
Obermarkt 18
Moltkeanlage 10
*D.* 20 iii 1942: Piaski, Poland
(Tr. List No. 378)
Summer: Chelm, Poland
d. Gassed: Belzec

131. HERZ, Hugo
(Husband of #126; Father of #129&132)
b. 18 ix 1898: Worms
m. 3 x 1938: Bonfeld
d. 28 vi 1940: Bonfeld
(From Injuries Received During Kristallnacht)

132. HERZ, Inge Child (Age 10)
(Daughter of #126&131; Sister of #129)
b. 29 iv 1932: Worms
m. 3 x 1938: Bonfeld
*D.* 1 xii 1941: Riga, Latvia
d. Disappeared

133. HERZ, Johanna /Widow
(Mother of #123&134)
b. : Worms
m. : Frankfurt a/M
*D.* 1942: Poland
d. Disappeared

134. HERZ, Kurt
(Son of #133; Brother of #123)
b. : Worms
m. : Frankfurt a/M
*D.* 1942: Poland
d. Disappeared

135. HERZ, Magdalene
(Salomon)
(Wife of #127; Mother of #124)
b. 16 xii 1894: Heppenheim
r. Kaiser-Wilhelmst. 27
m. 18 xi 1938: Mannheim
*D.* 1940: Gurs, France
1942: Poland
d. Disappeared

136. HERZ, Rosa /Single
(Sister of #122, 125&127)
b. 1887: Obertiefenbach
*D.* 1942: Izbice
d. Disappeared

137. HERZ, Werner Child (Age 15)
(Son of #130)
b. 23 iv 1927: Osthofen
r. Obermarkt 18
a. 15 x 1941: Frankfurt a/M
*D.* 20 iii 1942: Piaski, Poland
(Tr. List No. 379)
Summer: Chelm, Poland
d. Gassed: Belzec

138. HERZOG, Elisabeth /Widow
(Furchheimer)
(Mother of #140)
b. 8 i 1884: Eschebach
r. Neumarkt 10
m. 30 iii 1939: Mannheim
*D.* 22 x 1940: Gurs, France
1941: Récébédou, France
? viii 1942: Auschwitz
d. Gassed: Auschwitz

139. HERZOG, Henriette
(Freyberg)
(Wife of #142)
b. 7 xi 1878: Grunstadt
r. Neumarkt 10
m. 28 ii 1939: Mannheim
*D.* 22 x 1940: Gurs, France
1941 & 1942: Noé & Drancy
30 v 1944: Auschwitz
d. Gassed: Auschwitz

140. HERZOG, Rudolf /Single
(Son of #138)
b. 3 i 1914: Worms
r. Neumarkt 10
m. 30 iii 1939: Mannheim
*D.* 22 x 1940: Gurs and Récébédou, France
viii 1942: Auschwitz
d. Gassed: Auschwitz

141. HERZOG, Siegfried
b. 5 x 1875: Worms
m. after 1933: Mannheim
*D.* 22 x 1940: Gurs and Récébédou, France
viii 1942: Auschwitz
d. Gassed: Auschwitz

142. HERZOG, Siegmund Merchant
(Husband of #139)
b. 23 x 1880: Niederwiesen
r. Neumarkt 10 -14c-
m. 28 ii 1939: Mannheim
*D.* 22 x 1940: Gurs, France
d. 1 xi 1941: Gurs, France

143. HESS, Max /Married
b. 14 iii 1887: Ramstadt
r. Gymnasiumst. 6
Judengasse 33
Judengasse 6
*D.* 20 iii 1942: Piaski, Poland
(Tr. List No. 444)
Summer: Chelm, Poland
d. Gassed: Belzec

144. HEYMANN, Emilie
(Strauss)
(Wife of #145) -15a-
b. 30 i 1880: Worms
r. Berggartenst. 8
Kaiser-Wilhelmst. 6/i
Hintere Judengasse 2
i. 1942: Dachau
d. ? : Dachau

145. HEYMANN, Salomon Merchant
(Husband of #144)
b. 17 vi 1870: Augsburg -14d-
r. Berggartenst. 8
Kaiser-Wilhelmst. 6/i
Hintere Judengasse 2
*D.* 27 ix 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. XVII/1, No. 956)
d. 24 ii 1944: Theresienstadt

146. HIRSCH, Eugenie
(Steiermann)
(Wife of #147)
b. 1878: Biblis
*D.* 22 x 1940: Gurs, France
1942: Poland
d. Disappeared

147. HIRSCH, Heinrich
(Husband of #146)
b. : Ludwigshaven -15b-
*D.* 22 x 1940: Gurs, France
d. 1941: Gurs, France

148. HIRSCH, Heinrich /Widower
b. 4 ii 1858: Gimbsheim
r. Hintere Judengasse 6
*D.* 27 ix 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. XVII/1, No. 1013)
d. 16 x 1942: Theresienstadt

149. HONIG, Auguste /Single
(Sister of #438)
b. c. 1871: Worms
m. ? : Wiesbaden
*D.* 1942: Theresienstadt
d. ? : Theresienstadt

150. HONIG, Helene /Widow
(Eger)
(Grandmother of #230) -15c-
b. 27 xi 1873: Bamberg
r. Moltkeanlage 10
Hintere Judengasse 2
*D.* 27 ix 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. XVII/1, No. 957)
d. 22 viii 1943: Theresienstadt

151. HOROWITZ, Max Merchant
(Son of #152)
b. 15 xii 1903: Worms
e. 1933: Bielitz, Poland
*D.* 1940: ?
d. Disappeared

152. HOROWITZ, Pinkus Merchant/
(Father of #151) Widower
b. 7 vi 1874: Oswiecin, (Auschwitz,) Poland
r. Kiesgrube 67
e. 8 iv 1939: Bielitz, Poland
*D.* 1940: ?
d. Disappeared

153. ISAY, Frieda /Widow
(Steinfeld)
b. 15 ii 1868: Saarhuis
r. Luisenst. 4
*D.* 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. VII, No. 367)
d. 9 xii 1943: Theresienstadt

154. JACOBI, Johanna /Widow
(Klein)
b. 18 v 1885: Nieder-Olm -15d-
r. Hintere Judengasse 6
m. 15 ix 1942: Mainz
d. Fate Unknown

155. JACOBY, Edith /Widow
(Aron)
m. ? : The Free City of Danzig
*D.* 1942: Theresienstadt
d. Disappeared

156. JAFFE, Alfred
(Son of #158&160; Brother of #157&159)
b. 7 vii 1920: Worms
e. 1934: Memel, Lithuania
d. 1941: Lithuania

157. JAFFE, Erich Child (Age 20)
(Son of #158&160; Brother of #156&159)
b. 14 ii 1922: Worms
(Same as #156)

158. JAFFE, Josef Textile Dealer
(Husband of #160; Father of #156,157&159)
b. 26 i 1888: Lorsch
(Same as #156)

159. JAFFE, Judith Maria Child (Age 17)
(Daughter of #158&160; Sister of #156&157)
b. 9 i 1925: Worms
(Same as #156)

160. JAFFE, Rosa
(Pehm)
(Wife of #158; Mother of #156,157&159)
b. 12 iii 1895: Chruczszobrod, Poland
(Same as #156)

161. JOSEPH, Bella /Widow
(Seligman)
b. 8 xi 1890: Frankfurt a/M -16a-
r. Horst-Wesselst. 31
Andreasst. 23
*D.* 20 iii 1942: Piaski, Poland
(Tr. List No. 380)
Summer: Chelm, Poland
d. Gassed: Belzec

162. JOSEPH, Bertha
(Grünbaum)
(Wife of #164) -16b-
b. 14 iii 1891: Kuppenheim
r. Friedrichst. 10
Hintere Judengasse 2
*D.* 20 iii 1942: Piaski, Poland
(Tr. List No. 382)
Summer: Chelm, Poland
d. Gassed: Belzec

163. JOSEPH, Friedrich
b. 3 ix 1885: Worms
m. c. 1935: Mannheim
*D.* 22 x 1940: Gurs, France
10 viii 1942: Auschwitz
d. Gassed: Auschwitz

164. JOSEPH, Max Merchant
(Husband of #162)
b. 22 ix 1882: Worms -16c-
r. Friedrichst. 10
Kämmererst. 48
Hintere Judengasse 2
*D.* 20 iii 1942: Piaski, Poland
(Tr. List No. 381)
Summer: Chelm, Poland
d. Gassed: Belzec

165. JOSEPH, Moses Merchant
b. 2 x 1860: Tholey
e. 1933: Saargebiet
*D.* 22 x 1940: Gurs, France
d. Disappeared

166. JUSTITZ, Leo /Widower
(Father of #167)
b. : Worms
m. 1934: Magdeburg
*D.* 1942: ?
d. Disappeared

167. JUSTITZ, Otto /Single
(Son of #166)
b. 19 v 1917: Worms
m. 1934: Magdeburg
*D.* 1942: ?
d. Disappeared

168. KAHN, Dr. Erich Dentist
b. : Worms
e. 1933: London, England
d. 1934: London
(Suicide)

169. KAHN, Henny /Widow
(Mangelsdorf)
b. 10 vi 1875: Mannheim -16d-
r. Horst-Wesselst. 31
Lukast. 10
Hintere Judengasse 2
*D.* 27 ix 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. XVII/1, No. 958)
d. 16 iii 1943: Theresienstadt

170. KAHN, Dr. Julius Physician (Retired)/ Widower
b. 31 iii 1867: Villingen
r. Hintere Judengasse 6
*D.* 27 ix 1942: Theresienstadt
d. 17 ii 1943: Theresienstadt

171. KAPP, David Cattle Dealer Butcher
(Son of #172)
b. : Worms
d. 14 ix 1935: Worms
(Suicide)

172. KAPP, Flora /Widow
(Krauss)
(Mother of #171) -17a-
b. 8 x 1884: Rielzheim
r. Steinst. 20
Karmeliterst. 1
Siegfriedst. 24
Hintere Judengasse 2
Hintere Judengasse 6
*D.* 20 iii 1942: Piaski, Poland
(Tr. List No. 440)
Summer: Chelm, Poland
d. Gassed: Belzec

173. KATZ, Alfred /Single
(Son of #176&177)
b. 30 i 1906: Worms -17d-
r. Karmeliterst. 20
Hafergasse 7
*D.* 20 iii 1942: Piaski, Poland
(Tr. List No. 385)
Summer: Chelm, Poland
d. Gassed: Belzec

174. KATZ, Elsbeth
(Salomon)
(Wife of #175)
b. 11 vii 1887: Neuwied
m. : Frankfurt a/M
*D.* 1941: Lodz
d. Disappeared

175. KATZ, Dr. Hermann Dentist
(Husband of #174)
b. 20 iii 1884: Göttingen
r. Practiced in Worms
m. : Frankfurt a/M
*D.* 1941: Lodz
d. Disappeared

176. KATZ, Jenny
(Wife of #177; Mother of #173)
b. 27 xii 1877: Felsberg -17c-
r. Karmeliterst. 20
Hafergasse 7
*D.* 20 iii 1942: Piaski, Poland
(Tr. List No. 384)
Summer: Chelm, Poland
d. Gassed: Belzec

177. KATZ, Manuel Merchant
(Husband of #176; Father of #173)
b. 20 iv 1878: Erdmannrode -17b-
r. Karmeliterst. 20
Hafergasse 7
*D.* 20 iii 1942: Piaski, Poland
(Tr. List No. 383)
Summer: Chelm, Poland
d. Gassed: Belzec

178. KAUFMANN, Leopold Merchant/
b. 31 vii 1882: Marienthal Married
r. Frankenthalerst. 1
a. 2 ii 1940: KZ Sachsenhausen
d. vi 1940: KZ Sachsenhausen
B. 9 vi 1940: Worms

179. KEHR, Adolf Wine Merchant
b. 1866: Wachenheim
r. Kaiser-Wilhelmst.
m. i 1939: Heidelberg
*D.* 22 x 1940: Gurs, France
ii 1941: Noé, France
d. x 1944: Romans, France
(Roman Catholic Cloister)

180. KEHR, Paula /Widow
(Kohlmann)
b. 19 iii 1892: Kirchheim
m. after 1933: Mannheim
*D.* 22 x 1940: Gurs, France
d. ? : Gurs, France

181. KEHR, Wilhelmine /Widow
(Frietag)
b. 12 xii 1873: Ladenburg
r. Hintere Judengasse 6
*D.* 27 ix 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. XVII/1, No. 1015)
d. 27 i 1943: Theresienstadt

182. KELLER, Albert Shoemaker
(Husband of #184; Father of #183&185)
b. 16 ii 1873: Gimbsheim -18a-
r. Judengasse 27
*D.* 27 ix 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. XVII/1, No. 959)
d. 8 iii 1943: Theresienstadt

183. KELLER, Arthur /Single
(Son of #182&184; Brother of #185)
b. 27 xi 1921: Gimbsheim -18c-
r. Judengasse 27
*D.* 20 iii 1942: Piaski, Poland
(Tr. List No. 387)
Summer: Chelm, Poland
d. Gassed: Belzec

184. KELLER, Dina
(Kahn)
(Wife of #182; Mother of #183&185) -18b-
b. 31 v 1879: Riemeck
r. Judengasse 27
*D.* 27 ix 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. XVII/1, No. 960)
d. 29 i 1943: Theresienstadt

185. KELLER, Eugen Student
(Son of #182&184; Brother of #183)
b. 13 iv 1911: Gimbsheim -18d-
r. Judengasse 27
*D.* 20 iii 1942: Piaski, Poland
(Tr. List No. 368)
Summer: Chelm, Poland
d. Gassed: Belzec

186. KIEFER, Ernst /Single
b. 31 iii 1881: Worms
m. after 1933: Mannheim
*D.* 15 x 1942: Theresienstadt
d. 19 xi 1942: Theresienstadt

187. KIEFER, Ludwig Clerk/Single
b. 1 xi 1911: Rheindürkheim
r. Bahnhofst. 24
d. Disappeared

188. KLEEFELD, Eugen Lawyer
b. 1 i 1870: Mainz
r. Burkhardst. 24
m. 21 xii 1938: Frankfurt a/M
i. ? : Arolsen
d. 1942: Arolsen

189. KLEIN, Friedrich Merchant/
b. 1 v 1889: Hohensulzen Married
r. Renzst. 28 -19a-
i. 10 xi 1938: Buchenwald
d. 7 iv 1942: Buchenwald
B. 10 vii 1942: Worms

190. KLEIN, Hilde

191. KORN, Adolf Baker
(Husband of #194; Father of #195; Uncle of #192)
b. 20 vi 1885: Romsthal -19b-
r. Pfortenring 9
Judengasse 5
Judengasse 33
*D.* 27 ix 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. XVII/1, No. 961)
18 xii 1943: Auschwitz
(Tr. Ds, No. 2217)
d. Gassed: Auschwitz

192. KORN, Else /Single
(Niece of #191)
b. 7 xi 1896: Lichenroth
e. 12 ix 1937: Holland
*D.* 1943: Sobibor
d. 4 vi 1943: Sobibor

193. KORN, Irene
(Reinhard)
(Wife of #195; Daughter of #328&329) -20a-
b. 28 v 1908: Worms
r. Karolingerst. 13
Judengasse 33
Hintere Judengasse 6
*D.* 20 iii 1942: Piaski, Poland
(Tr. List No. 389)
Summer: Chelm, Poland
d. Gassed: Belzec

194. KORN, Rosa
(Lichtenstein)
(Wife of #191; Mother of #195) -19c-
b. 14 vii 1876: Gross-Umstadt
r. Pfortenring 9
Judengasse 33
*D.* 27 ix 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. XVII/1, No. 962)
d. 2 iv 1943: Theresienstadt

195. KORN, Walter Merchant
(Husband of #193; Son of #191&194)
b. 11 i 1913: Worms -19d-
r. Karolingerst. 13
Judengasse 33
Hintere Judengasse 6
*D.* 20 iii 1942: Piaski, Poland
(Tr. List No. 388)
Summer: Chelm, Poland
d. Gassed: Belzec

196. KOSSMANN, Alfred — Merchant
(Husband of #197; Father of #198&199)
b. 12 iii 1898: Antwerpen, Belgium -20b-
r. Gewerbeschulst. 15
Horst-Wesselst. 31
Hintere Judengasse 2
*D.* 20 iii 1942: Piaski, Poland
(Tr. List No. 390)
Summer: Chelm, Poland
d. Gassed: Belzec

197. KOSSMANN, Emma
(Hausmann)
(Wife of #196; Mother of #198&199) -20c-
b. 29 xii 1895: Wachenheim
r. Horst-Wesselst. 31
Hintere Judengasse 2
*D.* 20 iii 1942: Piaski, Poland
(Tr. List No. 391)
Summer: Chelm, Poland
d. Gassed: Belzec

198. KOSSMANN, Lutz — Child (Age 16)
(Son of #196&197; Brother of #199)
b. 8 v 1926: Worms
r. Horst-Wesselst. 31
Hintere Judengasse 2
*D.* 20 iii 1942: Piaski, Poland
(Tr. List No. 393)
Summer: Chelm, Poland
d. Gassed: Belzec

199. KOSSMANN, Ruth — Child (Age 18)
(Daughter of #196&197; Sister of #198)
b. 25 ix 1924: Worms -2a-
r. Horst-Wesselst. 31
Hintere Judengasse 2
*D.* 20 iii 1942: Piaski, Poland
(Tr. List No. 392)
Summer: Chelm, Poland
d. Gassed: Belzec

200. KRÄMER, Sarah /Widow
*D.* 1942: ?
d. Disappeared

201. KRAUTKOPF, Helene Child (?)
(Daughter of #202&204)
*D.* 1942: ?
d. Disappeared

202. KRAUTKOPF, Johanna
(Wife of #204; Mother of #201&203)
*D.* 1942: ?
d. Disappeared

203. KRAUTKOPF, Klara Child (?)
(Daughter of #202&204; Sister of #201)
*D.* 1942: ?
d. Disappeared

204. KRAUTKOPF, Siegmund
(Husband of #202; Father of #201&203)
*D.* 1942: ?
d. Disappeared

205. KRIEGER, Isi Traveling
(Son of #206&208; Brother of #59, 207&209) Salesman
b. 3 i 1903: Rajecza, Poland
e. x 1933: Biala, Poland
d. Disappeared

206. KRIEGER, Jakob Shoemaker
(Husband of #208; Father of #59,205,207&209)
b. 10 v 1877: Oswiecim, Poland
(Same as #205)

207. KRIEGER, Lotte /Single
(Daughter of #206&208; Sister of #59,205&209)
b. 2 viii 1912: Worms
(Same as #205)

208. KRIEGER, Rosa
(Rosner)
(Wife of #206; Mother of #59,205,207&209)
b. 1 i 1877: Rajecza, Poland
(Same as #205)

209. KRIEGER, Selma /Single
(Daughter of #206&208; Sister of #59,205&207)
b. 27 iv 1914: Worms
(Same as #205)

210. KRISTELLER, Hilde
(Reinheimer)
(Wife of #211; Daughter of #331) -21a-
b. 13 iv 1899: Worms
r. Gymnasiumst. 6
Schlossgasse 2
Siegfriedst. 24
Hintere Judengasse 2
*D.* 20 iii 1942: Piaski, Poland
(Tr. List No. 395)
Summer: Chelm, Poland
d. Gassed: Belzec

211. KRISTELLER, Paul Merchant
(Husband of #210)
b. 14 ix 1895: Gross Schwenten -20d-
r. Gymnasiumst. 6
Schlossgasse 2
Siegfriedst. 24
Hintere Judengasse 2
*D.* 20 iii 1942: Piaski, Poland
(Tr. List No. 394)
Summer: Chelm, Poland
d. Gassed: Belzec

212. KRUK, Heinz
(Son of #214&215; Brother of #213, 216&387)
b. 11 x 1911: Lodz, Poland
e. 15 v 1933: Lodz, Poland
i. iii-iv 1940: Lodz Ghetto
d. Disappeared

213. KRUK, Hermann — Child (Age 17)
(Son of #214&215; Brother of #212, 216&387)
b. 18 ii 1925: Worms
(Same as #212)

214. KRUK, Lina
(Christmann)
(Wife of #215; Mother of #212, 213, 216&387)
b. 5 v 1887: Lodz, Poland
(Same as #212)

215. KRUK, Max — Shoemaker
(Husband of #214; Father of #212, 213, 216&387)
b. 18 ii 1885: Lodz, Poland
(Same as #212)

216. KRUK, Philipp
(Son of #214&215; Brother of #212, 213&387)
b. 5 vii 1920: Worms
(Same as #212)

217. KUHN, Hilda
b. c. 1860

218. LANG, Alfred — Laborer/Single
(Father of #221)
b. 9 vi 1878: Worms
r. Martingasse 34 -21b-
Hindenburganlage 21
Judengasse 24
i. 5 xi 1942: Unknown
d. 17 iv 1945: KZ

219. LANG, August — /Widower
(Father of #248)
b. 11 vii 1868: Ottweiler -21c-
r. Siegfriedst. 24
Hintere Judengasse 6
*D.* 27 ix 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. XVII/1, No. 1016)
d. 20 iv 1943: Theresienstadt

220. LANG, Klara (Strauss) — Dealer
(Wife of #222) -22a-
b. 10 iii 1871: Dolgesheim
r. Rheinst. 2
Siegfriedst. 24
Hintere Judengasse 2
d. ix 1942: Worms
(Upon Deportation Announcement)

221. LANG, Leo — Laborer
(Son of #218)
b. 26 vi 1906: Worms
r. Löwenst. 12
Judengasse 12
i. 9 xi 1938: KZ Buchenwald
*D.* 8 xi 1942: Auschwitz
d. Gassed: Auschwitz

222. LANG, Max — Dealer/Widower
(Husband of #220)
b. 5 v 1881: Worms -21d-
r. Rheinst. 2
Siegfriedst. 24
Hintere Judengasse 2
*D.* 30 ix 1942: General Gouvernment
(Tr. List No. 788)
d. Disappeared

223. LANG, Rudolf — Child (Age 12)
b. 23 i 1930: Worms
r. Siegfriedst. 24
m. 30 v 1939: Frankfurt a/M
*D.* 30 ix 1942: Theresienstadt (?)
d. Disappeared

224. LAUFER, Emma
(Stein)
(Wife of #225) -22c-
b. 29 xii 1877: Rödelsheim
r. Siegfriedst. 24
Gausst. 46
Hintere Judengasse 6
*D.* 27 ix 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. XVII/1, No. 964)
16 v 1944: Auschwitz
(Ea, No. 340)
d. Gassed: Auschwitz

225. LAUFER, Leopold Merchant
(Husband of #224)
b. 20 xii 1865: Nordheim -22b-
r. Gausst. 46
Siegfriedst. 24
Hintere Judengasse 6
*D.* 27 ix 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. XVII/1, No. 963)
d. ? : Theresienstadt

226. LAZAR, Alfred Merchant
(Husband of #228; Father of #227&229)
b. 11 x 1883: Saar-Wellingen
e. 25 v 1933: Saargebiet
*D.* 22 x 1940: Gurs, France
d. Disappeared

227. LAZAR, Helmuth
(Son of #226&228; Brother of #229)
b. 29 iii 1913: Worms
(Same as #226)

228. LAZAR, Martha
(Bromberg)
(Wife of #226; Mother of #227&229)
b. 7 vii 1888: Frankfurt a/M
(Same as #226)

229. LAZAR, Walter
(Son of #226&228; Brother of #227)
b. 13 ix 1916: Worms
(Same as #226)

230. LEBRECHT, Edith — Child (Age 16)
(Granddaughter of #150)
b. 21 vi 1926: Bingen -2b-
r. Moltkeanlage 16
Hintere Judengasse 2
*D.* 30 ix 1942: General Gouvernement
(Tr. List No. 789)
d. Disappeared

231. LEVITA, Jakob — Dealer
(Husband of #232)
b. 30 i 1867: Cramberg -22d-
r. Guterhallenst. 69
Karolingerst. 13
Hintere Judengasse 6
*D.* 27 ix 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. XVII/1, No. 1017)
d. 7 x 1942: Theresienstadt

232. LEVITA, Minna
(Schrag)
(Wife of #231) -24a-
b. 30 iv 1877: Obergrombach
r. Güterhallenst. 69
Karolinerst. 13
Hintere Judengasse 6
*D.* 27 ix 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. XVII/1, No. 1018)
d. 27 i 1943: Theresienstadt

233. LEVY, Betty
(Daughter of #234; Sister of #235)
d. Disappeared

234. LEVY, Franzisca — /Widow
(Scheuer)
(Mother of #233&235)
d. Disappeared

235. LEVY, Klara
(Daughter of #234; Sister of #233)
d. Disappeared

236. LIEBER, Albert — Dealer
(Husband of #237)
b. 6 vii 1876: Bechtolsheim
r. Burkhardst. 7
Moltkeanlage 6
Judengasse 6
*D.* 27 ix 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. XVII/1, No. 966)
d. 22 v 1944: Theresienstadt

237. LIEBER, Berta
(Weil)
(Wife of #236) -24b-
b. 26 x 1886: Bad-Wangen
r. Burkhardst. 7
Moltkeanlage 6
Judengasse 6
*D.* 27 ix 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. XVII/1, No. 967)
d. 21 viii 1943: Theresienstadt

238. LIEBMANN, Rosa — /Widow
(Guthmann) -24c-
b. 7 v 1866: Worms
r. Karmeliterst. 4
Horst-Wesselst. 31
Krimhildest. 20
Andreasstr. 23
Judengasse 6
*D.* 27 ix 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. XVII/1, No. 965)
d. 5 x 1943: Theresienstadt

239. LÖB, Albert — Merchant
(Husband of #245; Father of #242)
b. 22 x 1874: Wachenheim
r. Moltkeanlage 11
m. 29 xii 1938: Wiesbaden
*D.* 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. XII/2, No. 789)
29 ix 1942: Maly Trostinec, Poland
(Tr. Bs, No. 1677)
d. Gassed: Maly Trostinec, Poland

240. LÖB, Anna
(Westheimer)
b. 26 iii 1885: Hassloch -24d-
r. Andreasst. 23
Kämmererst. 48
Judengasse 33
*D.* 20 iii 1942: Piaski, Poland
(Tr. List No. 396)
Summer: Chelm, Poland
d. Gassed: Belzec

241. LÖB, Erna Katharina — Seamstress/ Single
(Sister of #244)
b. 21 vii 1898: Sprendlingen -23b-
r. Gymnasiumst. 7
Gymnasiumst. 6
Hindenburganlage 21
*D.* 20 iii 1942: Piaski, Poland
(Tr. List No. 397)
Summer: Chelm, Poland
d. Gassed: Belzec

242. LÖB, Ernst — Merchant
(Son of #239&245)
b. 19 vii 1918: Worms
r. Moltkeanlage 11
m. 29 xii 1938: Wiesbaden
*D.* 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. XII/2, No. 791)
29 ix 1942: Maly Trostinec, Poland
(Tr. Bs, No. 1679)
d. Gassed: Maly Trostinec, Poland

243. LÖB, Eugen — Merchant/Single
b. 10 ix 1883: Worms
r. Gymnasiumst. 6 -23d-
Krimhildest. 20
Hafergasse 7
*D.* 20 iii 1942: Piaski, Poland
(Tr. List No. 399)
Summer: Chelm, Poland
d. Gassed: Belzec

244. LÖB, Hedwig — Seamstress/Single
(Sister of #241) -23c-
b. 4 xi 1895: Sprendlingen
r. Gymnasiumst. 6
Hindenburganlage 21
*D.* 20 iii 1942: Piaski, Poland
(Tr. List No. 398)
Summer: Chelm, Poland
d. Gassed: Belzec

245. LÖB, Katharina (Blumenthal) — /Widow
(Wife of #239; Mother of #242)
b. 10 iii 1877: Bochum
r. Moltkeanlage 11
m. 29 xii 1938: Wiesbaden
*D.* 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. XII/2, No. 790)
29 ix 1942: Maly Trostianec, Poland
(Tr. Bs, No. 1678)
d. Gassed: Maly Trostianec, Poland

246. LÖB, Wilhelm — Merchant/Divorced
b. 6 viii 1871: Darmstadt -25b-
r. Karolingerst. 13
Hintere Judengasse 6
*D.* 27 ix 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. XVII/1, No. 1019)
d. 23 i 1943: Theresienstadt

247. LODUCHOWSKI, Alfred (Child (Age 15)
(Son of #248&249; Brother of #250,251&252)
b. 2 iii 1927: Worms
r. Siegfriedst. 24
Judengasse 24
*D.* 1942: ?
d. Disappeared

248. LODUCHOWSKI, Auguste
(Lang)
(Wife of #249; Mother of #247,250,251&252; Daughter of #219)
b. 27 ix 1904: Worms -25c-
r. Siegfridst. 24
a. Spring, 1942: Worms
i. ? 1942: KZ Ravensbruck, Mecklenburg
d. 26 iv 1942: KZ Ravensbruck

249. LODUCHOWSKI, Edmund Merchant
(Husband of #248; Father of #247,250,251&252)
b. 4 vi 1910: Hamburg
r. Siegfriedst. 24
Judengasse 24
d. Disappeared

250. LODUCHOWSKI, Günther Child (Age 10)
(Son of #248&249; Brother of #247,251&252)
b. 19 vii 1932: Worms
r. Siegfriedst. 24
m. 18 iv 1939: Mannheim
9 i 1940: Frankfurt a/M
8 iv 1940: Kassel
*D.* 1942: ?
d. Disappeared

251. LODUCHOWSKI, Lieselotte Child (Age 17)
(Daughter of #248&249; Sister of #247, 250&252)
b. 1 ix 1924: Finnland
r. Siegfriedst. 24
Judengasse 24
d. Disappeared

252. LODUCHOWSKI, Helene — Child (Age 9)
(Daughter of #248&249; Sister of #247,250&251)
b. 10 vi 1933: Frankfurt a/M
r. Siegfriedst. 24
m. 18 iv 1939: Mannheim
9 i 1940: Frankfurt a/M
*D.* 1942: ?
d. Disappeared

253. MANN, Emma — /Single
b. 12 ix 1870: Osthofen
m. ? : Mainz
*D.* 1942: Theresienstadt
d. Disappeared

254. MANN, Frieda (Fuchs) — /Widow
b. 3 iv 1890: Weingarten
r. Seidenbänderst. 4
m. 23 iii 1939: Karlsruhe
*D.* 22 x 1940: Gurs, France
10 viii 1942: Auschwitz
d. Gassed: Auschwitz

255. MANSBACHER, Herta — Teacher/Single
b. 7 i 1885: Darmstadt
r. Ulmst. 5 — -25d-
Rudi-Stephanalee 5
Moltkeanlage 6
*D.* 20 iii 1942: Piaski, Poland
(Tr. List No. 400)
Summer: Chelm, Poland
d. Gassed: Belzec

256. MARGO, Martha (Bromberg) — Housemaid/Widow
b. 6 xi 1893: Limburg
r. Bahnhofst. 24, 17 & 6
*D.* 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. XV/1, No. 715)
d. 20 x 1942: Theresienstadt

257. MARKUS, Philipp — Antiquarian Dealer/Married -26a-
b. 2 ii 1873: Neutrich
r. Rudi Stephanalee 20
Hintere Judengasse 2
Kleine Weide 6/i
a. i 1944: Worms
d. 16 i 1944: Worms
(Unknown Circumstances)

258. MARX, Jetchen — /Widow
(Mother of #273)
b. 14 vi 1869: ?
m. ? : Frankfurt a/M
*D.* 18 x 1941: Lodz, Poland
d. Disappeared

259. MAY, Ernst Ludwig — Merchant/Single
(Son of #260&261)
b. 26 i 1901: Worms
r. Speyerst. 15
m. 8 iv 1936: Cologne
e. ? : Holland
*D.* 31 viii 1943: Poland
d. Disappeared

260. MAY, Josefine
(Kahn)
(Wife of #261; Mother of #259)
b. 17 vi 1870: Gross-Bockenheim
r. Speyerst. 15
m. 8 v 1936: Cologne
e. ? : Holland
*D.* 31 viii 1943: Poland
d. Disappeared

261. MAY, Salomon — Baker
(Husband of #260; Father of #259)
b. 29 vii 1873: Niederwendig
r. Speyerst. 15
m. 8 v 1936: Cologne
a. ? : Cologne
d. 24 v 1938: Cologne

262. MAYER, Adelheid /Widow
(Keller)
b. 22 i 1854: Weierbach
e. ix 1933: Saarbrücken
d. Disappeared

263. MAYER, Alice /Widow
(Metzger)
b. ? : Klein Bockenheim
m. ? : Frankfurt a/M
*D.* 1942: Theresienstadt
d. Disappeared

264. MAYER, Anna
(Strauss)
(Wife of #266; Mother of #288) -29a-
b. 5 xii 1894: Nieder Hofheim
r. Siegfriedst. 40
Krimhildenst. 20
Moltkeanlage 10
*D.* 20 iii 1942: Piaski: Poland
(Tr. List No. 403)
Summer: Chelm, Poland
d. Gassed: Belzec

265. MAYER, Arthur Merchant/
(Father of #286) Widower
b. 13 viii 1879: Friedelsheim -26b-
r. Kämmererst. 16
Moltkeanlage 10
Hintere Judengasse 2
*D.* 30 ix 1942: General Gouvernement
(Tr. List No. 790)
d. Disappeared

266. MAYER, August Merchant
(Husband of #264; Father of #288)
b. 13 iii 1895: Frankfurt a/M -26c-
r. Siegfriedst. 40
Krimhildenst. 20
Moltkeanlage 10
*D.* 20 iii 1942: Piaski, Poland
(Tr. List No. 402)
Summer: Chelm, Poland
d. Gassed: Belzec

267. MAYER, Barbara /Single
b. 9 viii 1895: Westhofen
r. Burkhardst. 10
Hintere Judengasse 6
*D.* 20 iii 1942: Auschwitz
d. Gassed: Auschwitz

268. MAYER, Beatrice Child (Age 12)
(Daughter of #275&277; Sister of #270)
b. 22 iii 1929: Worms
m. ? : Frankfurt a/M
*D.* 18 x 1941: Lodz Ghetto, Poland
d. Disappeared

269. MAYER, Doris Child (Age 12)
(Daughter of #273&276)
b. 26 vi 1929: Worms
m. ? : Frankfurt a/M
*D.* 18 x 1941: Lodz Ghetto, Poland
d. Disappeared

270. MAYER, Ellen Gisella Child (Age 7)
(Daughter of #275&277; Sister of #268)
b. 9 vii 1934: Worms
m. ? : Frankfurt a/M
*D.* 18 x 1941: Lodz Ghetto, Poland
d. Disappeared

271. MAYER, Emanuel Merchant
(Husband of #289; Father of #285)
b. 8 ii 1877: Lachen -29c-
r. Virolfst. 31
Bahnhofst. 42
Kämmererst. 48
Karolingerst. 13
Hintere Judengasse 6
*D.* 27 ix 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. XVII/1, No. 969)
d. 11 iv 1944: Theresienstadt

272. MAYER, Emilie — Housemaid/ Single
b. 27 viii 1920: Worms
r. Lindwurmgasse 10
*D.* 1942: Theresienstadt
ix 1942: KZ Maly Trostianec, Byelorussia
(Tr. Br, No. 508)
d. Gassed: KZ Maly Trostianec

273. MAYER, Emma
(Marx)
(Wife of #276; Mother of #269; Daughter of #258)
b. 28 x 1895: ?
m. ? : Frankfurt a/M
*D.* 18 x 1941: Lodz Ghetto, Poland
d. Disappeared

274. MAYER, Ernst — Child (Age 20)
b. 30 i 1922: Worms
m. 26 xi 1936: Baden
*D.* 22 x 1940: Gurs, France
d. Disappeared

275. MAYER, Erwin — Merchant
(Husband of #277; Father of #268&270; Brother of #276)
b. 14 vi 1893: Worms -29c-
m. ? : Frankfurt a/M
*D.* 18 x 1941: Lodz Ghetto, Poland
d. 18 v 1945: (After Liberation)

276. MAYER, Fritz — Merchant
(Husband of #273; Father of #269; Brother of #275)
b. 10 v 1889: Worms
m. ? : Frankfurt a/M
*D.* 18 x 1941: Lodz Ghetto, Poland
d. Disappeared

277. MAYER, Gertrude
(Blumenthal)
(Wife of #275; Mother of #268&270)
b. 2 iii 1906: ?
m. ? : Frankfurt a/M
*D.* 18 x 1941: Lodz Ghetto, Poland
d. Disappeared

278. MAYER, Heinrich — Merchant
b. 6 ii 1866: Worms
m. ? : Hamburg
*D.* 1942: Theresienstadt
d. Disappeared

279. MAYER, Hermann — Merchant
(Husband of #294)
b. 6 x 1879: Bingen -28b-
r. Judengasse 24
*D.* 20 iii 1942: Piaski, Poland
(Tr. List No. 406)
Summer: Chelm, Poland
d. Gassed: Belzec

280. MAYER, Irma
(Neumann)
(Wife of #293) -30c-
b. 14 iii 1899: Stadecken
r. Andreasst. 23
*D.* 20 iii 1942: Piaski, Poland
(Tr. List No. 410)
Summer: Chelm, Poland
d. Gassed: Belzec

281. MAYER, Jakob — Dealer/Widower
b. 22 vii 1871: Herrnsheim
r. Moltkeanlage 10 -28c-
Hintere Judengasse 6
*D.* 27 ix 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. XVII/1, No. 971)
d. 30 iv 1944: Theresienstadt

282. MAYER, Johanna
(Becker)
*D.* 1942: Theresienstadt
d. 1943: Theresienstadt

283. MAYER, Julius — Merchant/Single
b. 8 ii 1888: Worms
r. Luisenst. 3
*D.* 25 ix 1941: Theresienstadt
(Tr. I/1, No. 13769)
9 x 1944: Auschwitz
(Tr. Ep, No. 315)
d. Gassed: Auschwitz

284. MAYER, Karolina Bebette — /Single
b. 27 viii 1895: Westhofen
r. Obermarkt 9 — -29b-
Burkhardst. 10
Hintere Judengasse 6
*D.* 20 iii 1942: Piaski, Poland
(Tr. List No. 441)
Summer: Chelm, Poland
d. Gassed: Belzec

285. MAYER, Kurt — Baker/Single
(Son of #271&289)
b. 23 ix 1915: Worms — -28a-
r. Dirolfst. 34
Kämmerest. 48
Judengasse 25
Karolingest. 13
*D.* 20 iii 1942: Piaski, Poland
(Tr. List No. 405)
Summer: Chelm, Poland
d. Gassed: Belzec

286. MAYER, Lisbeth — Kindergarten Teacher/Single
(Daughter of #265) — -26d-
b. 31 v 1912: Worms
r. Körnerst 16
Moltkeanlage 10
*D.* 20 iii 1942: Piaski, Poland
(Tr. List No. 401)
Summer: Chelm, Poland
d. Gassed: Belzec

287. MAYER, Ludwig — Merchant/Single
b. 11 iii 1878: Worms
r. Siegfriedst. 24
Hafergasse 7
Judengasse 25
Hintere Judengasse 2
*D.* 27 ix 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. XVII/1, No. 972)
d. ? : Theresienstadt

288. MAYER, Margot — Child (Age 16)
(Daughter of #264&266)
b. 15 iv 1926: Nieder Hofheim -4a-
r. Siegfriedst. 40
Moltkeanlage 10
*D.* 20 iii 1942: Piaski, Poland
(Tr. List No. 404)
Summer: Chelm, Poland
d. Gassed: Belzec

289. MAYER, Martha
(Schnellenberg)
(Wife of #271; Mother of #285) -29d-
b. 1 ix 1891: Lichtenau
r. Kämmererst. 48
Karolingerst. 13
*D.* 27 ix 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. XVII/1, No. 970)
28 x 1944 : Auschwitz
(Tr. Ev, No. 487)
d. Gassed: Auschwitz

290. MAYER, Mathilde — /Widow
(Baum)
b. 6 ii 1874: Worms -30a-
r. Liebenaust. 42
Judengasse 33
Bergartenst. 6
Hintere Judengasse 6
*D.* 27 ix 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. XVII/1, No. 1020)
16 v 1944: Auschwitz
(Tr. Ea, No. 350)
d. Gassed: Auschwitz

291. MAYER, Max — Merchant
e. ? : Belgium
*D.* ? : Auschwitz
d. Gassed: Auschwitz

292. MAYER, Moritz — Tailor/Single
b. 15 viii 1896: Hattenheim
e. 25 v 1933: Saarbrücken
*D.* 22 x 1940: Gurs, France
d. Disappeared

293. MAYER, Moritz — Wine Merchant
(Husband of #280)
b. 9 iii 1884: Alsheim -30b-
r. Andreasst. 23
*D.* 20 iii 1942: Piaski, Poland
(Tr. List No. 409)
Summer: Chelm, Poland
d. Gassed: Belzec

294. MAYER, Recha
(Westerfeld)
(Wife of #279) -30d-
b. 21 iii 1881: Frankfurt a/M
r. Judengasse 24
*D.* 20 iii 1942: Piaski, Poland
(Tr. List No. 407)
Summer: Chelm, Poland
d. Gassed: Belzec

295. MAYER, Rosa
(Lövy)
(Wife of #297) -27b-
b. 28 i 1898: Hessloch
r. Friedrichst. 10
Kämmererst. 48
Moltkeanlage 10
*D.* 20 iii 1942: Piaski, Poland
(Tr. List No. 412)
Summer: Chelm, Poland
d. Gassed: Belzec

296. MAYER, Senta — Housemaid/Single
b. 27 vii 1902: Maikammer
r. Moltkeanlage 10
*D.* 20 iii 1942: Piaski, Poland
(Tr. List No. 408)
Summer: Chelm, Poland
d. Gassed: Belzec

297. MAYER, Siegmund — Merchant
(Husband of #295)
b. 13 iii 1878: Worms — -27a-
r. Friedrichst. 10
Kämmererst. 48
Schlossgasse 2
Moltkeanlage 10
*D.* 20 iii 1942: Piaski, Poland
(Tr. List No. 411)
Summer: Chelm, Poland
d. Gassed: Belzec

298. METZGER, Leo — Butcher
(Husband of #300)
b. 8 iv 1868: Abenheim
r. Schlossergasse 22
Hintere Judengasse 6
*D.* 27 ix 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. XVII/1, No. 1022)
d. 11 x 1942: Theresienstadt

299. METZGER, Paula — /Single
(Sister of #10)
b. 7 xii 1885: Kirscheimbolanden
r. Krimhildenst. 20
Hintere Judengasse 2
*D.* 20 iii 1942: Piaski, Poland
(Tr. List No. 418)
Summer: Chelm, Poland
d. Gassed: Belzec

300. METZGER, Rosa
(Neuhof)
(Wife of #298)
b. 9 viii 1883: Friedberg
r. Schlossergasse 22
Krimhildenst. 20
Hintere Judengasse 6
*D.* 27 ix 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. XVII/1, No. 1023)
d. 24 i 1943: Theresienstadt

301. MEYER, Emanuel — Merchant
(Husband of #302)
b. ? : Osthofen
d. Disappeared

302. MEYER, ?
(Wife of #301)
d. Disappeared

303. MEYER, Franzisca — Dealer/Single
(Daughter of #306; Sister of #310 & 311)
b. 13 x 1906: Worms
r. Lindwurmgasse 10
Sixtusplatz 3
*D.* 20 iii 1942: Piaski, Poland
(Tr. List No. 414)
Summer: Chelm, Poland
d. Gassed: Belzec

304. MEYER, Gertrude — Child (Age 15)
(Sister of #307)
b. 15 iii 1927: Worms — -3-
*D.* 20 iii 1942: Piaski, Poland
(Tr. List No. 417)
Summer: Chelm, Poland
d. Gassed: Belzec

305. MEYER, Hermann — Butcher
b. ? : Worms
d. Disappeared

306. MEYER, Klara /Widow
(Löb)
(Mother of #303, 310 & 311) -27d-
b. 16 vi 1870: Darmstadt
r. Lindwurmgasse 10
Hintere Judengasse 2
*D.* 27 ix 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. XVII/1, No. 973)
d. 14 x 1942: Theresienstadt

307. MEYER, Lucia Child (Age 17)
(Sister of #304)
b. 7 iv 1925: Worms
r. Lindwurmgasse 10
*D.* 20 iii 1942: Piaski, Poland
(Tr. List No. 416)
Summer: Chelm, Poland
d. Gassed: Belzec

308. MEYER, Max Merchant/
(Husband of #309) Retired
b. 28 iii 1859: Pfiffligheim -31a-
r. Burkhardst. 10/i
Hintere Judengasse 6
*D.* 23 ix 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. II)
d. 25 ix 1942: Darmstadt
(During Deportation)

309. MEYER, Rosa
(Gottschalk)
(Wife of #308) -27c-
b. 7 i 1872: Louisville, USA
r. Burkhardst. 10
Hintere Judengasse 6
*D.* 27 ix 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. XVII/1, No. 1021)
d. 2 xii 1942: Theresienstadt

310. MEYER, Sophie — Worker/Single
(Daughter of #306; Sister of #303 & 311)
b. 17 viii 1899: Worms — -31b-
r. Lindwurmgasse 10
Sixtusplatz 3
*D.* 20 iii 1942: Piaski, Poland
(Tr. List No. 415)
Summer: Chelm, Poland
d. Gassed: Belzec

311. MEYER, Wilhelm — Shoemaker/ Single
(Son of #306; Brother of #303 & 310)
b. 27 i 1910: Worms
r. Lindwurmgasse 10
Sixtusplatz 3
*D.* 20 iii 1942: Piaski, Poland
(Tr. List. No. 413)
Summer: Chelm, Poland
d. Gassed: Belzec

312. MORTGÉ, Clara
(Tryfus)
(Wife of #314; Mother of #313)
b. 7 v 1894: Kindenheim
e. 1934: Saarbrücken, Saarland
*D.* 22 x 1940: Gurs, France
d. Disappeared

313. MORTGÉ, Harald — Child (Age 19)
(Son of #312&314)
b. 26 xii 1923: Worms
e. 1934: Saarbrücken, Saarland
*D.* 22 x 1940: Gurs, France
d. Disappeared

314. MORTGÉ, Jakob — Merchant
(Husband of #312; Father of #313)
b. 18 iv 1889: Rheims, France
e. 1934: Saarbrücken, Saarland
*D.* 22 x 1940: Gurs, France
d. Disappeared

315. MOSES, Tina — Dressmaker/
b. 15 x 1875: New York, USA — Single
r. Bärengasse 12
Hintere Judengasse 6 — -31c-
*D.* 27 ix 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. XVII/1, No. 1024)
d. 20 ii 1943: Theresienstadt

316. NEUMANN, Arthur — /Single
(Son of #317&318)
b. 26 x 1921: Eltville
r. Bärengasse 12
Hintere Judengasse 6
*D.* 20 iii 1942: Piaski, Poland
(Tr. List No. 421)
Summer: Chelm, Poland
d. Gassed: Belzec

317. NEUMANN, Helene
(Sonnheim)
(Wife of #318; Mother of #316) — -32a-
b. 18 i 1894: Neumesbach
r. Bärengasse 12
Hintere Judengasse 6
*D.* 20 iii 1942: Piaski, Poland
(Tr. List No. 420)
Summer: Chelm, Poland
d. Gassed: Belzec

318. NEUMANN, Julius — Butcher
(Husband of #317; Father of #316)
b. 22 xii 1890: Rauenthal — -31d-
r. Seidenbänderst. 18
Bärengasse 12
Hintere Judengasse 6
*D.* 20 iii 1942: Piaski, Poland
(Tr. List No. 419)
Summer: Chelm, Poland
d. Gassed: Belzec

319. NUSSBAUM, Käte
(Mannheimer)
b. 25 iv 1911: ?
*D.* 1941: Lublin, Poland
d. ? : KZ Maidanek (?)

320. OPPENHEIMER, Adolf — Merchant
(Husband of #322)
b. 26 ii 1886: Worms
m. 6 xii 1938: Mannheim
*D.* 22 x 1940: Gurs, France
d. 24 x 1940: Gurs, France

321. OPPENHEIMER, Emma — /Widow
(Sister of #323)
b. 21 xii 1866: Sickenhofen
r. Hintere Judengasse 6
*D.* 27 ix 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. XVII/1, No. 1025)
d. 26 x 1942: Theresienstadt

322. OPPENHEIMER, Fanny
(Lehmann)
(Wife of #320)
d. Disappeared

323. OPPENHEIMER, Gustav — Merchant/Single
(Brother of #321)
b. 22 i 1873: Frankisch-Grumbach
r. Hintere Judengasse 6
*D.* 27 ix 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. XVII/1, No. 1026)
d. 20 x 1942: Theresienstadt

324. PESSEL, Dora
(Spatz)
b. 16 iii 1907: Worms
m. ? : Mannheim
i. 4 x 1939: Belgium
*D.* 1940: Drancy, France
7 xii 1943: Auschwitz
d. Gassed: Auschwitz

325. PFÄLZER, Karoline /Widow
(Metzger)
b. 24 ix 1870: Abenheim -32b-
r. Lutherplatz 1
Hintere Judengasse 6
*D.* 27 ix 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. XVII/1, No. 1027)
d. 1 iv 1943: Theresienstadt

326. POISSON, Bertram Salesman/Single
b. 27 xi 1876: Landau
r. Humboldst. 8 -32c-
Renzst 28
Bärengasse 12
Hintere Judengasse 2
*D.* 27 ix 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. XVII/1, No. 974)
d. 7 vi 1943: Theresienstadt

327. REICHMANN, Bernhard Merchant
b. 1 iii 1887: Gwozdziec, Poland
r. Martingasse 13
e. 15 viii 1939: Brussels, Belgium
*D.* 19 v 1944: KZ Dachau
(Tr. XXV)
d. 18 iii 1945: KZ Dachau

328. REINHARD, Robert Merchant
(Husband of #329; Father of #193)
b. 20 xi 1876: Offenbach -32d-
r. Judengasse 25
*D.* 27 ix 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. XVII/1, No. 975)
d. ? : Theresienstadt

329. REINHARD, Rosa
(Strauss)
(Wife of #328; Mother of #193; Sister of #332)
b. 20 iv 1883: Obertiefenbach -33a-
r. Judengasse 25
*D.* 27 ix 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. XVII/1, No. 976)
9 x 1944: Auschwitz
(Tr. Es, No. 731)
d. Gassed: Auschwitz

330. REINHEIMER, Amalie /Single
b. 16 iii 1859: Worms
r. Goethest. 10 -33b-
Gymnasiumst. 6
Siefgriedst. 24
Hintere Judengasse 2
*D.* 27 ix 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. XVII/1, No. 977)
d. 22 iii 1943: Theresienstadt

331. REINHEIMER, Frieda /Widow
(Wolf)
(Mother of #210) -33c-
b. 19 i 1874: Gunterblum
r. Gymnasiumst. 6
Siegfriedst. 24
Schlossergasse 2
Hintere Judengasse 2
*D.* 27 ix 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. XVII/1, No. 978)
16 v 1944: Auschwitz
(Tr. Ea, No. 341)
d. Gassed: Auschwitz

332. REINHEIMER, Recha /Widow
(Strauss)
(Sister of #329) -33d-
b. 22 vii 1892: Rheinheim
r. Bärengasse 12
Hintere Judengasse 2
*D.* 20 iii 1942: Piaski, Poland
(Tr. List No. 422)
Summer: Chelm, Poland
d. Gassed: Belzec

333. REINMANN, Elsa Seamstress/
(Daughter of #335&336) Single
b. 10 ix 1903: Essenheim -34d-
r. Obermarkt 18
Hafergasse 7
Judengasse 27
Hintere Judengasse 6
*D.* 20 iii 1942: Piaski, Poland
(Tr. List No. 423)
Summer: Chelm, Poland
d. Gassed: Belzec

334. REINMANN, Emma — Seamstress/ Single -34a-
(Sister of #336)
b. 29 ix 1874: Freudenheim
r. Goethest. 20
Obermarkt 18
Hafergasse 7
Judengasse 27
Hintere Judengasse 6
*D.* 27 ix 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. XVII/1, No. 981)
16 v 1944: Auschwitz
(Tr. Ea, No. 343)
d. Gassed: Auschwitz

335. REINMANN, Flora
(Mayer)
(Wife of #336; Mother of #333) -34c-
b. 1 x 1872: Essenheim
r. Goethest. 20
Obermarkt 18
Hafergasse 7
Judengasse 27
Hintere Judengasse 6
*D.* 27 ix 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. XVII/1, No. 980)
16 v 1944: Auschwitz
(Tr. Ea, No. 344)
d. Gassed: Auschwitz

336. REINMANN, Max — Sales Representative -34b-
(Husband of #335; Father of #333)
b. 22 iv 1870: Freudenheim
r. (Same as #333)
*D.* 27 ix 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. XVII/1, No. 979)
d. 9 iii 1943: Theresienstadt

337. RIESER, Heinrich — Merchant
(Husband of #338)
b. 30 vii 1876: Mühlheim
r. Dalbergerst. 6
e. 3 ii 1939: Amsterdam, Holland
*D.* 1943: KZ Sobibor, Poland
d. 9 iv 1943: KZ Sobibor, Poland

338. RIESER, Rosalinda
(Rieser)
(Wife of #337)
b. 23 viii 1879: Mühlheim
r. Dalbergst. 6
e. 3 ii 1939: Amsterdam, Holland
*D.* 1943: KZ Sobibor, Poland
d. 9 iv 1943: KZ Sobibor, Poland

339. ROSENBERG, Adolf — Merchant/
b. 11 xi 1879: Hildesheim — Widower
r. Am röm. Kaiser 3 — -35a-
Gymnasiumst. 3
Andreasst. 23/i
*D.* 20 iii 1942: Piaski, Poland
(Tr. List No. 424)
Summer: Chelm, Poland
d. Gassed: Belzec

340. ROSENHEIMER, Adolf — Salesman
(Brother of #341)
b. c. 1885: Worms
m. : Frankfurt
d. Disappeared

341. ROSENHEIMER, Jakob — Merchant/
(Brother of #340) — Married
b. 28 ii 1877: Worms — -35b-
r. Zornst. 3
Am Markt 18
Kaiser-Wilhemst. 11
Hintere Judengasse 6
*D.* 27 ix 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. XVII/1, No. 982)
d. 18 ii 1943: Theresienstadt

342. ROSENTHAL, Heinz Hugo — /Single
(Son of #343&345; Brother of #346)
b. 10 ii 1921: Worms
e. vii 1933: France
d. Disappeared

343. ROSENTHAL, Helene
(Schaffner)
(Wife of #345; Mother of #342&346)
b. 13 ii 1896: Alzey
e. vii 1933: France
d. Disappeared

344. ROSENTHAL, Johanna /Widow
(Isaak)
(Mother of #345) -35d-
b. 9 iv 1863: Worms
r. Moltkeanlage 10
Hintere Judengasse 6
*D.* 27 ix 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. XVII/1, No. 1028)
d. 27 xii 1942: Theresienstadt

345. ROSENTHAL, Dr. Richard Physician
(Husband of #343; Father of #342&346; Son of #344)
b. 2 ii 1892: Worms
e. vii 1933: France
d. Disappeared

346. ROSENTHAL, Ruth Child (Age 19)
(Daughter of #343&345; Sister of #342)
b. 3 i 1923: Worms
e. vii 1933: France
d. Disappeared

347. ROTHMANN, Adolf Merchant
(Husband of #353; Father of #350&352; Brother of #349)
b. 24 xii 1898: Lodz, Poland (Shoestore)
e. 1933: Lodz, Poland
i. iii-iv 1940: Lodz Ghetto
d. Disappeared

348. ROTHMANN, Chaia
(Spiritus)
(Wife of #349; Mother of #351&354)
b. 1 iv 1896: Kattowitz, Poland
e. 1933: Lodz, Poland
i. iii-iv 1940: Lodz Ghetto
d. Disappeared

349. ROTHMANN, Chaskel — Merchant
(Husband of #348; Father of #351&353; Brother of #347)
b. 23 iii 1896: Lodz, Poland
e. 1933: Lodz, Poland
i. iii-iv 1940: Lodz Ghetto
d. Disappeared

350. ROTHMANN, Hani — Child (Age 17)
(Daughter of #347&353; Sister of #352)
b. 4 xii 1925: Worms
e. 1933: Lodz, Poland
i. iii–iv 1940: Lodz Ghetto
d. Disappeared

351. ROTHMANN, Heinz — Child (Age 17)
(Son of #348&349; Brother of #354)
b. 28 viii 1925: Worms
e. 1933: Lodz, Poland
i. iii–iv 1940: Lodz Ghetto
d. Disappeared

352. ROTHMANN, Jakob — /Single
(Son of #347&352; Brother of #350)
b. 20 xii 1920: Worms
e. 1933: Lodz, Poland
i. iii–iv 1940: Lodz Ghetto
d. Disappeared

353. ROTHMANN, Paula
(Schlayba)
(Wife of #347; Mother of #350&352)
b. 28 vii 1896: Lodz, Poland
e. 1933: Lodz, Poland
i. iii–iv 1940: Lodz Ghetto
d. Disappeared

354. ROTHMANN, Sali — /Single
(Daughter of #348&349; Sister of #351)
b. 16 xii 1918: Lodz, Poland
e. 1933: Lodz, Poland
i. iii–iv 1940: Lodz Ghetto
d. Disappeared

355. ROTHSCHILD, Flora — Owner-Manager
(Sister of #356) — Sewing Boutique
b. 26 x 1879: Reichelsheim — /Single
e. 4 x 1936: Amsterdam, Holland
*D.* 1943: Auschwitz
d. 12 ii 1943, Gassed: Auschwitz

356. ROTHSCHILD, Hermine — /Single
(Sister of #355)
b. 16 ix 1881: Feihingen
e. 4 x 1936: Amsterdam, Holland
*D.* 1943: Auschwitz
d. 26 iii 1943, Gassed: Auschwitz

357. SALOMON, Erich — Dental
b. 20 viii 1889 : Neuwied — Technician/
r. Siegfriedst. 24 — Married
Peter-Gemeinder 35 — -36a-
a. ? : Worms
d. ? : Worms
(Killed by the Gestapo)

358. SALOMON, Ferdinand — Chef/Single
(Son of #361; Brother of #360 & 362)
b. 26 v 1904: Worms — -36c-
r. Wallst. 11
Judengasse 33
*D.* 20 iii 1942: Piaski, Poland
(Tr. List No. 425)
Summer: Chelm, Poland
d. Gassed: Belzec

359. SALOMON, Fritz
e. iv 1939: Dijon, France
i. : Unknown Camp, France
d. Disappeared

360. SALOMON, Hedwig /Single
(Daughter of #361; Sister of #358&362)
b. 9 iv 1901: Worms -36d-
r. Wallst. 11
Judengasse 33
*D.* 20 iii 1942: Piaski, Poland
(Tr. List No. 426)
Summer: Chelm, Poland
d. Gassed: Belzec

361. SALOMON, Justine /Divorced
(Zakharias)
(Mother of #358,360&362) -36b-
b. 3 xii 1866: Rimbach
r. Wallst. 11
Judengasse 33
*D.* 27 ix 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. XVII/1, No. 984)
d. 6 x 1942: Theresienstadt

362. SALOMON, Rosa /Single
(Daughter of #361; Sister of #358 & 360)
b. 27 viii 1899: Worms
r. Wallst. 11
Judengasse 33
m. 10 v 1940: Frankfurt a/M
3 i 1941: Mainz
3 iv 1941: Bielefeld
*D.* 1942: ?
d. Disappeared

363. SCHARFF, Sara /Widow
(Kuhn)
b. 28 ii 1850: Niederhochstadt
r. Horst-Wesselst. 31
Andreasst. 23
Hintere Judengasse 6
*D.* 27 iii 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. XVII/1, No. 987)
d. 6 x 1942: Theresienstadt

364. SCHAUDER, Markus — Dealer/Married
b. 10 x 1887: Kolomea, Poland
r. Römerst. 61
Hintere Judengasse 2
Hindenburganlage 21
m. 16 xii 1939: Frankfurt a/M
1940: Weimar
i. 1941: KZ Buchenwald
d. 28 iii 1942: KZ Buchenwald

365. SCHIFF, Emma
(Nathanson)
(Wife of #367; Mother of #366&368)
b. 17 i 1886: ?
*D.* 1941: Riga Ghetto, Latvia
d. Disappeared

366. SCHIFF, Irma — /Single
(Daughter of #365&367; Sister of #368)
b. 12 ii 1915: Worms
*D.* 1941: Riga Ghetto, Latvia
d. Disappeared

367. SCHIFF, Hugo
(Husband of #365; Father of #366&368)
b. 13 ii 1876: ?
*D.* 1941: Riga Ghetto, Latvia
d. Disdappeared

368. SCHIFF, Trude — /Single
(Daughter of #365&367; Sister of #366)
b. 12 ii 1919: Worms
*D.* 1941: Riga Ghetto, Latvia
d. Disappeared

369. SCHMIDT, Albert — Merchant/Single
b. 12 i 1871: Neuheidlingen
r. Kaufhaus 6
Gaust. 46
Siegfriedst. 24
m. 28 x 1940: Neuheidlingen
a. 28 x 1940: Neuheidlingen
d. Disappeared

370. SCHÖNFÄRBER, Henriette /Widow
(Bayerthal)
b. 21 x 1873: Worms -37a-
r. Goethest. 10
Kaiser-Wilhelmst. 6
Hintere Judengasse 2
*D.* 27 ix 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. XVII/1, No. 993)
16 v 1944: Auschwitz
(Tr. Ea, No. 347)
d. Gassed: Auschwitz

371. SCHWARTZ, Ludwig Butcher
(Husband of #372)
b. 7 vi 1878: Bobenheim -37b-
r. Mähgasse 4
Kämmererst. 48
Judengasse 33
*D.* 30 ix 1942: General Gouvernement
(Tr. List No. 791)
d. Disappeared

372. SCHWARTZ, Rosalie
(Kleemann)
(Wife of #371) -37c-
b. 3 xii 1879: Teilheim
r. Mähgasse 4
Kämmererst. 48
Judengasse 33
*D.* 30 ix 1942: General Gouvernement
(Tr. List No. 792)
d. Disappeared

373. SEDEL, Abraham
b. 1876: Worms
i. 10 xi 1938: KZ Buchenwald
d. xii 1938: KZ Buchenwald
B. 13 xii 1938: Worms

374. SEELY, Elisabeth /Divorced
(Mann)
b. 23 v 1902: Worms
r. Rheinst. 2
Siegfriedst. 24
Hintere Judengasse 2
m. 11 v 1943: Frankfurt a/M
*D.* 1943: Theresienstadt
d. Disappeared

375–7 SELIGMAN
(Family of 3)

378. SENDER, Gustav
(Father of #379)
b. c. 1870: ?
r. Bahnhofst. 42
m. 1 iii 1938: Berlin
d. Disappeared

379. SENDER, Selma /Single
(Daughter of #378)
b. 25 x 1906: Lachen
r. Kämmererst. 48
m. 8 ii 1940: Mannheim
*D.* 22 x 1940: Gurs, France
d. Disappeared

380. SIGMUND, Ernst Merchant
(Husband of #381; Father of #382)
b. 13 v 1902: Scheinfeld
e. 1933: Amsterdam, Holland
*D.* 1943: Auschwitz
d. 30 ix 1942, Gassed: Auschwitz

381. SIGMUND, Käte
(Kaufmann)
(Wife of #380; Mother of #382)
b. 31 vii 1905: Scheinfeld
e. 1933: Amsterdam, Holland
*D.* 1942: Auschwitz
d. 12 viii 1942, Gassed: Auschwitz

382. SIGMUND, Liselotte — Child (Age 13)
(Daughter of #380 & 381)
b. 9 vii 1929: Frankfurt a/M
e. 1933: Amsterdam, Holland
*D.* 1942: Auschwitz
d. 12 viii 1942, Gassed: Auschwitz

383. SILBERBERG, Bernhard — Watchmaker
(Husband of #384; Father of #385)
b. 20 vi 1888: Warsaw, Poland
r. Am Röm. Kaiser 2
e. 19 vii 1939: Warsaw, Poland
i. xi 1939: Warsaw Ghetto
d. Disappeared

384. SILBERBERG, Louise
(Rauh)
(Wife of #383; Mother of #385)
b. 15 x 1894: Worms
r. Am Röm. Kaiser 2
e. 19 vii 1939: Warsaw, Poland
i. xi 1939: Warsaw Ghetto
d. Disappeared

385. SILBERBERG, Manja — Child (Age 20)
(Daughter of #383 & 384)
b. 17 i 1922: Worms
r. Am Röm. Kaiser 2
e. 19 vii 1939: Warsaw, Poland
i. xi 1939: Warsaw Ghetto
d. Disappeared

386. SIMON, Elise — /Single
b. 25 vi 1869: Altleiningen
r. Krimhildenst. 20
Bahnhofst. 24
m. 23 iii 1939: Frankfurt a/M
*D.* 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. XII/3, No. 1004)
d. 26 x 1942: Theresienstadt

387. SIWEK, Gustel
(Kruk)
(Wife of #388; Daughter of #214&215; Sister of #212,213&216)
b. 5 viii 1907: Lodz, Poland
e. 1933: Lodz, Poland
i. iii–iv 1940: Lodz Ghetto
d. Disappeared

388. SIWEK, Luzer — Shoemaker
(Husband of #387)
b. 23 xii 1903: Lodz, Poland
e. 1933: Lodz, Poland
i. iii–iv 1940: Lodz Ghetto
d. Disappeared

389. SOMMER, Emil N. — Salesman
(Husband of #390)
b. 11 xi 1874: Wertheim -37d-
r. Seidenbänderst. 18
Pfeddersheimerst. 86
Berggartenst. 6
*D.* 27 ix 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. XVII/1, No. 985)
16 v 1944: Auschwitz
(Tr. Ea, No. 344)
d. Gassed: Auschwitz

390. SOMMER, Martha
(Reichleser)
(Wife of #389) -38a-
b. 4 x 1882: Worms
r. (Same as #389)
*D.* 27 ix 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. XVII/1, No. 986)
16 v 1944: Auschwitz
(Tr. Ea, No. 343)
d. Gassed: Auschwitz

391. SONDHEIMER, Albert — Merchant/ Divorced
(Father of #392)
b. 13 i 1880: Bürstadt
r. Bahnhofst. 24
m. c. 1937: Cologne
*D.* 1942: Theresienstadt
d. Disappeared

392. SONDHEIMER, Edith /Single
(Daughter of #391)
b. 17 vi 1919: Worms
r. Bahnhofst. 24
m. c. 1937: Cologne
*D.* 1942: Theresienstadt
d. Disappeared

393. SONDHEIMER, Felicie
(Rosenstrauch)
(Wife of #394)
b. 17 xi 1908: Karlsruhe
r. Bahnhofst. 24
Siegfriedst. 24
Moltkeanlage 6
*D.* 20 iii 1942: Piaski, Poland
(Tr. List No. 428)
Summer: Chelm, Poland
d. Gassed: Belzec

394. SONDHEIMER, Josef Merchant
(Husband of #393)
b. 14 xi 1889: Burstadt -38b-
r. Bahnhofst. 24
Siegfriedst. 24
Moltkeanlage 6
*D.* 20 iii 1942: Piaski, Poland
(Tr. List No. 427)
Summer: Chelm, Poland
d. Gassed: Belzec

395. SONNENBERGER, Dr. Cornelia Teacher/Single
(Daughter of #396)
b. 19 vii 1891: Worms -38d-
r. Moltkeanlage 6
*D.* 20 iii 1942: Piaski, Poland
(Tr. List No. 429)
Summer: Chelm, Poland
d. Gassed: Belzec

396. SONNENBERGER, Emma /Widow
(Koch)
(Mother of #395) -38c-
b. 22 iii 1861: Alzey
r. Moltkeanlage 6
Hintere Judengasse 6
*D.* 27 ix 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. XVII/1, No. 990)
d. 19 x 1942: Theresienstadt

397. SONNHEIM, Frieda /Single
(Sister of #398)
b. 14 x 1872: Neuhemsbach
r. Bärengasse 12
m. 14 iv 1940: Neuhemsbach
d. Disappeared

398. SONNHEIM, Hermann
(Husband of #399; Brother of #397)
b. 26 iii 1869: Neuhemsbach -39a-
r. Färbergasse 12
Karolingerst. 13
Obermarkt 18
Judengasse 27
*D.* 27 ix 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. XVII/1, No. 988)
d. 1 i 1943: Theresienstadt

399. SONNHEIM, Klementine
(Huhn)
(Wife of #398) -39b-
b. 28 x 1879: Langsfeld
r. (Same as #398)
*D.* 27 ix 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. XVII/1, No. 989)
16 v 1944: Auschwitz
(Tr. Ea, No. 346)
d. Gassed: Auschwitz

400. SPATZ, Peter Dealer/Widower
b. 2 ii 1876: Neusandec, Poland
r. Mähgasse 1
i. 10 xi 1938: KZ Buchenwald
d. 22 xii 1940: KZ Dachau
B. 30 iii 1942: Worms

401. SPATZ, Sussel /Widow
b. 20 viii 1864: Neusandec, Poland
r. Nordanlage 13
Siegfriedst. 24
m. 16 xii 1939: Frankfurt a/M
*D.* 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. I/43, No. 3634)
29 ix 1942: Maly Trostianec, Byelorussia
(Tr. Br, No. 330)
d. Gassed: Maly Trostianec

402. SPIES, Arthur Merchant
(Husband of #407)
b. ? : Biblis
m. ? : Frankfurt a/M
*D.* 1942: ?
d. Disappeared

403. SPIES, Betty
(Wife of #409)
b. ? : Biblis
m. ? : Darmstadt
d. (Suicide)

404. SPIES, Elisabeth /Widow
(Hirschler)
(Mother of #405&408)
b. 1 v 1851: Hessheim
r. Lutherplatz 5
Judengasse 27
d. 25 x 1940: Worms
(Suicide)
B. 29 x 1940: Worms

405. SPIES, Dr. Elisabeth Physician/
(Daughter of #404; Sister of #408) Single
b. 27 i 1889: Biblis -39c-
r. Lutherplatz 5
Judengasse 27
*D.* 27 ix 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. XVII/1, No. 991)
16 v 1944: Auschwitz
(Tr. Es, No. 1298)
d. Gassed: Auschwitz

406. SPIES, Hermann
b. ? : Biblis
*D.* 1942: Theresienstadt
d. 29 viii 1942: Theresienstadt

407. SPIES, Lilly
(Wife of #402)
b. ? : Biblis
m. ? : Frankfurt a/M
*D.* 1942: ?
d. Disappeared

408. SPIES, Rosalie /Single
(Daughter of #404; Sister of #405)
b. 20 ix 1883: Biblis -39d-
r. Lutherplatz 5
Judengasse 27
*D.* 27 ix 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. XVII/1, No. 992)
d. 5 xii 1943: Theresienstadt

409. SPIES, Simon
(Husband of #403)
b. ? : Biblis
m. ? : Darmstadt
d. (Suicide)

410. STEIERMANN, Albert Merchant
(Husband of #412; Father of #411)
b. 1886: Biblis
m. 1921: Mainz
d. Disappeared

411. STEIERMANN, Bernd
(Son of #410&412)
b. 1921: Mainz
d. Disappeared

412. STEIERMANN, Jenny
(Strauss)
(Wife of #410; Mother of #411)
b. 1888: Fürfeld
m. 1921: Mainz
d. Disappeared

413. STEIERMANN, Rosel
(Kahn)
(Wife of #414)
b. 1882: Höchst
e. 13 v 1939: Cuba
(Forced to return on the SS St. Louis; 20 June)
*D.* 1942: ?
d. Disappeared

414. STEIERMANN, Sacki
(Husband of #413)
b. 1880: Biblis
e. 13 v 1939: Cuba
(Forced to return on the SS St. Louis, 20 June)
*D.* 1942: ?
d. Disappeared

415. STEIN, Lucie /Widow
(Klein)
b. 7 i 1885: Metz, France
e. 1933: Metz, France
d. Disappeared

416. STEINHARDT, Berta /Single
(Sister of #417)
b. 15 xii 1865: Flonheim
r. Kämmererst. 45
Hintere Judengasse 6
d. 14 ii 1940: Worms
(Suicide)

417. STEINHARDT, Heinrich Merchant
(Brother of #416)
b. 21 xi 1860: Flonheim
r. Kämmererst. 45
Hintere Judengasse 6
d. 19 ii 1940: Worms
(Suicide)

418. STEINHARDT, Rosa /Single
b. 9 xii 1870: Flonheim
r. Hintere Judengasse 6 -40a-
*D.* 27 ix 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. XVII/1, No. 1029)
d. 20 xii 1943: Theresienstadt

419. STERN, Adolf Dealer/Widower
b. 25 xi 1870: Dudelsheim
r. Judengasse 33 -40b-
Hintere Judengasse 6
*D.* 27 ix 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. XVII/1, No. 993)
d. 22 ii 1943: Theresienstadt

420. STIEFEL, Bertha /Single
b. 1 iv 1878: Mülheim
r. Hintere Judengasse 6 -40d-
*D.* 20 iii 1942: Piaski, Poland
(Tr. List No. 443)
Summer: Chelm, Poland
d. Gassed: Belzec

421. STIEFEL, Berthold Merchant/Single
b. 14 vii 1886: Reiskirchen
r. Hintere Judengasse 6 -40c-
*D.* 20 iii 1942: Piaski, Poland
(Tr. List No. 444)
Summer: Chelm, Poland
d. Gassed: Belzec

422. STRAUSS, Barbara
(Wickenhofer)
(Wife of #424)
b. 15 x 1897: Horschheim
r. Adolf-Hitlerst. 35
e. 12 iii 1939: France
d. Disappeared

423. STRAUSS, Frieda /Single
(Sister of #425,444&448)
b. 17 xii 1876: Grombach -41a-
r. Paulusst. 24
Kämmererst. 48
Judengasse 27
*D.* 27 ix 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. XVII/1, No. 995)
d. 12 xii 1943: Theresienstadt

424. STRAUSS, Kurt Merchant
(Husband of #422)
b. 21 i 1896: Bad Dürkheim
r. Adolf-Hitlerst. 35
e. 12 iii 1939: France
d. 30 ix 1940: France
(Murdered by Gestapo)

425. STRAUSS, Johanna /Single
(Sister of #423,444&448)
b. 9 iii 1887: Grombach
r. Kämmererst. 48
Judengasse 27
Hintere Judengasse 6
*D.* 20 iii 1942: Piaski, Poland
(Tr. List No. 430)
Summer: Chelm, Poland
d. Gassed: Belzec

426. STRAUSS, Moritz Agent/Widower
b. 17 vi 1866: Gross Karlbach
r. Bahnhofst. 6 -41c-
Rudi-Stephanallee 20
Judengasse 24
Hintere Judengasse 6
*D.* 27 ix 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. XVII/1, No. 996)
d. 25 xii 1942: Theresienstadt

427. TORNSKI, Ida Housemaid/
b. 24 xi 1911: Lodz, Poland Single
m. 30 xii 1935: from Giessen
d. Disappeared

428. TRIBUS, Amalie — Teacher/Single
(Sister of #430)
b. 20 vii 1866: Worms — -41d-
r. Gaust. 17
Bahnhofst. 24
Wallst. 11
Burkhardst. 10
Hintere Judengasse 6
*D.* 27 ix 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. XVII/1, No. 997)
d. ? : Theresienstadt

429. TRIBUS, Betty
(Furschheimer)
(Wife of #429)
b. 2 ix 1892: Mergentheim
r. Renzst. 37
m. 12 iv 1938: Frankfurt a/M
*D.* 1942: ?
d. Disappeared

430. TRIBUS, Karl — Merchant/Single
(Brother of #428)
b. 25 vii 1870: Worms
r. Gaust. 17
Bahnhofst. 24
Wallst. 11
Burkhardst. 10
d. 18 iv 1942: Worms
(Killed by the Gestapo)

431. TRIBUS, Karl — Merchant
(Husband of #429)
b. 12 iv 1883: Worms — -42a-
r. Renzst. 37
m. 12 iv 1938: Frankfurt a/M
*D.* 1942: ?
d. Disappeared

432. TUTEUR, Erich — Child (Age 6)
(Son of #435&436; Brother of #433)
b. 5 ii 1936: Kaiserslautern -1b-
r. Moltkeanlage 10
*D.* 20 iii 1942: Piaski, Poland
(Tr. List No. 434)
Summer: Chelm, Poland
d. Gassed: Belzec

433. TUTEUR, Hans — Child (Age 10)
(Son of #435&436; Brother of #432)
b. 11 iii 1932: Kaiserslautern -1a-
r. Moltkeanlage 10
*D.* 20 iii 1942: Piaski, Poland
(Tr. List No. 433)
Summer: Chelm, Poland
d. Gassed: Belzec

434. TUTEUR, Karoline — /Single
b. 28 x 1874: Göllheim
r. Niebelungenring 9 -42d-
Hintere Judengasse 6
*D.* 27 ix 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. XVII/1, No. 1030)
d. 6 x 1942: Theresienstadt

435. TUTEUR, Lisa
(Mayer)
(Wife of #436; Mother of #432&433) -42c-
b. 16 iii 1907: Worms
r. Moltkeanlage 10
*D.* 20 iii 1942: Piaski, Poland
(Tr. List No. 432)
Summer: Chelm, Poland
d. Gassed: Belzec

436. TUTEUR, Ludwig — Merchant
(Husband of #435; Father of #432&433)
b. 16 i 1885: Kaiserslautern -42b-
r. Moltkeanlage 10
*D.* 20 iii 1942: Piaski, Poland
(Tr. List No. 431)
Summer: Chelm, Poland
d. Gassed: Belzec

437. ULLMANN, Adolf — Veterinarian
(Husband of #439)
b. 8 iii 1877: Blieskastel -43a-
r. Kaiser-Wilhelmst. 11
Luisenst. 11
Karolingerst. 13
Hintere Judengasse 2
*D.* 27 ix 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. XVII/1, No. 998)
16 v 1944: Auschwitz
(Tr. Ea, No. 348)
d. Gassed: Auschwitz

438. ULLMANN, Amalie (Honig) — /Widow
(Sister of #149)
b. c. 1872: Worms
m. ? : Wiesbaden
*D.* 1942: Theresienstadt
d. ? : Theresienstadt

439. ULLMANN, Johanna (Reinheimer)
(Wife of #437) -43b-
b. 17 vii 1876: Zweibrücken
r. Kaiser-Wilhelmst. 11
Luisenst. 11
Karolingerst. 13
*D.* 27 ix 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. XVII/1, No. 999)
16 v 1944: Auschwitz
(Tr. Ea, No. 349)
d. Gassed: Auschwitz

440. WACHENHEIMER, Albrecht — Bookbinder/
(Brother of #441&442) Single
b. 24 i 1885: Worms -43c-
r. Seidenbänderst. 18
Martinsgasse 5
Karolingerst. 13
*D.* 20 iii 1942: Piaski, Poland
(Tr. List No. 435)
Summer: Chelm, Poland
d. Gassed: Belzec

441. WACHENHEIMER, Arthur — Merchant/Married
(Brother of #440&442)
b. 1 xi 1880: Worms
m. 11 vii 1913: Mainz
*D.* iii 1942: Poland
(Dep. List 415, No. 939)
d. Disappeared

442. WACHENHEIMER, Ida — /Single
(Sister of #440&441)
b. 4 vii 1883: Worms — -43d-
r. Seidenbänderst. 18
Martinsgasse 5
Karolingerst. 13
*D.* 20 iii 1942: Piaski, Poland
(Tr. List No. 436)
Summer: Chelm, Poland
d. Gassed: Belzec

443. WÄLDER, Arno — Merchant
(Husband of #444)
b. 18 ix 1873: Münchweiler — -44a-
r. Gymnasiumst. 3
Kämmererst. 48
Karolingerst. 13
Judengasse 33
*D.* 27 ix 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. XVII/1, No. 1000)
d. ? : Theresienstadt

444. WÄLDER, Selma
(Strauss)
(Wife of #443, Sister of #423,425&448)
b. 18 x 1879: Bissersheim
r. (Same as #443)
*D.* 27 ix 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. XVII/1, No. 1001)
d. 29 vi 1943: Theresienstadt

445. WEINBERGER, Alfred — Merchant/Single
b. 2 vi 1887: Worms
r. Gymnasiumst. 6
Hintere Judengasse 6
m. ? : Frankfurt a/M
*D.* 1942: Theresienstadt
d. ? : Theresienstadt

446. WEIS, Emilie Regina
(Keller)
(Wife of #449; Mother of #447) -44d-
b. 12 ix 1905: Gimbsheim
r. Judengasse 27
*D.* 20 iii 1942: Piaski, Poland
(Tr. List No. 438)
Summer: Chelm, Poland
d. Gassed: Belzec

447. WEIS, Hillel — Child (Age 2)
(Son of #446&449)
b. 28 xi 1939: Worms
r. Judengasse 27
*D.* 20 iii 1942: Piaski, Poland
(Tr. List No. 439)
Summer: Chelm, Poland
d. Gassed: Belzec

448. WEIS, Lina — /Widow
(Strauss)
(Sister of #423,425&444) -44b-
b. 6 x 1873: Grombach
r. Judengasse 27
*D.* 27 ix 1942: Theresienstadt
(Tr. XVII/1, No. 1002)
d. ? : Theresienstadt

449. WEIS, Martin — Merchant and Sexton of Synagogue -44c-
(Husband of #446, Father of #447)
b. 10 vi 1906: Worms
r. Judengasse 27
*D.* 20 iii 1942: Piaski, Poland
(Tr. List No. 437)
Summer: Chelm, Poland
d. Gassed: Belzec

450. WEISS, Abraham — Child (?)
(Son of #451&453; Brother of #452)
b. ? : Worms
e. x 1933: Wadowice, Poland
d. Disappeared

451. WEISS, Josephine
(Wife of #453; Mother of #450&452)
b. 20 vi 1898: Vienna, Austria
e. x 1933: Wadowice, Poland
d. Disappeared

452. WEISS, Lea — Child (?)
(Daughter of #451&453; Sister of #450)
b. ? : Worms
e. x 1933: Wadowice, Poland
d. Disappeared

453. WEISS, Markus — Baker
(Husband of #451; Father of ,# 450&452)
b. 11 xi 1887: Neusender
e. x 1933: Wadowice, Poland
d. Disappeared

454. WERTHEIMER, Emilie — /Single
b. 13 v 1875: Bauerbach
r. Hintere Judengasse 6
m. ? : Frankfurt a/M
d. 31 xi 1941: Frankfurt a/M
(Insufficient Medical Attention)

455. ZACHARIAS, Jakob — Merchant/ Widower
b. 30 xi 1871: Rimbach
r. Wallst. 11
i. xi 1939: KZ Buchenwald
d. 29 ii 1940: KZ Buchenwald
B. 19 v 1940: Worms

456. ZYMBALISTA, Jakob
b. 1 xii 1899: Chruszczobrod, Poland
m. ? : Mannheim
e. v 1939: France
i. 9 viii 1941: Les Milles, France
*D.* 16 ix 1942: Auschwitz
d. Gassed: Auschwitz

## A NOTE ON SOURCES

In order to assure the highest degree of factual accuracy, all biographical details were double checked wherever the extant documentation permitted. Spelling variations, date variables, and conflicting information with respect to deportation were, for the most part, resolved thanks to a wealth of scattered documentation and the faithful cooperation of surviving relatives.

Yet, given the nature of the Final Solution, in tragically too many cases, people simply disappeared with no trace. In compiling the list of Jewish victims from Worms, one category in particular falls under this rubric—those that emigrated to Eastern Europe between 1933 and 1939. Given the fact of their total disappearance, one must assume they met the same end as the vast majority of Jews in German occupied Eastern Europe—extermination. As a result of the circumstances generated by the Nazi war on the Jews, the burden of proof against their martyrdom in one of the death camps lies squarely upon those responsible for their disappearance. The overwhelming weight of circumstantial evidence indisputably points to their murder, safely allowing—indeed obligating one—to include them among those for whom the documentary evidence does not leave a shadow of a doubt.

The very nature of the documents used to substantiate the murder of the victims provides sufficient proof of the death of those *not* listed. According to these materials, the genocidal purpose of the treatment of the Jews is evident in the documentation underlying the fate of the individual Jew. Consequently, the stronger the case against one particular victim, the stronger the arguments for the annihilation of the one for whom definitive documentation is lacking. It was, therefore, essential to assemble as broad a documentary base as possible in order to disspell any honest doubt as well as to ward off the skepticism of those intending to question the historicity of the Holocaust. It is for those reasons that one has compiled a list of *biographical* sketches in order to affirm at one time the existence, the identity and the martyrdom of the Jews of Worms. In a word, the list rests on a chain of evidence beginning with birth certificates and ending with concentration camp death lists.

Together, the documents constitute a rich variety of sources representing different groups whose interests conflicted sufficiently to remove all thoughts of collusion or cooperation. The most important of these can be classified as follows:

1. *Official Deportation Lists*
   a) "Liste der aus Hessen in März, 1942 abgewanderte Juden." Yad Vashem (Jerusalem): 08/24, pp. 42–44.
   b) "Wohnsitzverlegung nach Theresienstadt: namentliches Verzeichnis," Geheimstaatspolizei, Staatspolizeistelle Darmstadt IV B 4 (27 ix 1942). Yad Vashem: 08/24, pp. 91–93.
   c) "Wohnsitzverlegung nach dem General Gouvernement: namentliches Verzeichnis," (30 ix 1942), Yad Vashem: 08/24, p. 122.
2. *Worms Police Lists*
   a) "Verzeichnis der in der Stadt Worms Wohnhaften Juden," (January, 1939). 15 pp.
   b) "Verzeichnis der in der Stadt Worms wohnhaften Juden," (March, 1940). 10 pp.
   c) "Verzeichnis der im Bereich des 2. Polizeireviers wohnhaften Juden," (c. 1941). 4 pp.
   d) "Verzeichnis der in der Stadt Worms wohnhaften Juden: Transport nach Theresienstadt," (August, 1942). 8 pp.
   e) "Statistik: Liste der Abwanderer," Yad Vashem: 08/24. 5 pp. (Items a), b), c), and d) in "Listen," File 1, *Juden-Angelegenheiten, 1933–1938,* Police Archive, Worms.)
3. *Post-War Lists by City of Worms*
   a) "Verzeichnis der Glaubensjuden, die am Stichtag vom 16. Juni 1933 in Worms wohnhaft waren," *Pinkas Kehillot Germania,* Varia 4 (Yad Vashem, Jerusalem), 17 pp.
   b) "Verzeichnis die in der Stadt Worms wohnhaftgewesenen Juden," Doc. Coll. 08/24 (Yad Vashem, Jerusalem), 21 pp.
4. *Census of Jewish Community (March, 1940)*
   "Fragebogen," Worms 1–128. Yad Vashem: 08/16 and 16a.
5. *Identity Cards*
   "Kennkarten: Worms und Bezirk Worms," Records of *Das Institute der NSDAP zur Erforschung der Judenfrage.* YIVO (New York): 222.
6. *List of Jewish Emigrants*
   Herta Mansbacher "Liste der Auswanderer der Jahre 1933, 1934 u.s.w. der israelitischen Religionsgemeinde in Worms," Yad Vashem: 08/6-2 and 08/6-3.
7. *Government Lists of Deportees and Victims*
   a) *In Memoriam: Nedelzndse oorlogsslacht offers* (Holland)
   b) *Gazzetta Ufficiale della Republica Italiana* (Italy)
   c) *Listes alphabétiques des personnes arrêtées . . . et déportées* (Belgium)
8. *Miscellaneous*
   Georg Weis *Totenbuch Theresienstadt* (Vienna, 1971)

Besides these, there were three additional reference aids that proved

invaluable in the process of filling in numerous gaps, and in lending further veracity to the list of victims that lost their lives on account of the Nazis.

I. The Worms Police Register of Residents.
II. The International Tracing Service in Arelson, Germany.
III. The vast collection of data on Jewish Communities in Germany, the Pinkas Kehillot Germania in Yad Vashem.

Finally, included among the corpus of material used to piece together this list of Jewish victims of Nazism from Worms were a variety of items, oral and written, which contributed towards compiling as complete a list as possible in order to avoid both the sins of omission and commission. Among the sources were:

1. Court depositions.
2. Notarized documents and statements.
3. Testimonials.
4. Letters.
5. Interviews.

These supplied a personal and poignant dimension to the collection of data in contrast to the more impersonal and official tone of the evidence stemming from bureaucratic sources. Thus, interspersed in the list of the hundreds of martyrs from Worms are the voices of relatives, friends and survivors who bear witness in order to pay hommage to the memory of the dead.

Considered as a single entity of related information, the above source materials add up to evidence that stands up both to the most skeptical criticism required by the historian and to the rigorous analytical examination demanded by a lawyer. For one must never forget that the list of Jewish victims from Worms is not simply an historical record, but, quite consciously, a permanent accusation of all those directly and indirectly responsible for their murder. Since most of their tormentors and murderers, both known and unknown, have never had to account for their criminal actions, the list and its supporting documentation with recognizable signatures constantly points accusingly at them and at all those who knowingly have allowed them not to pay for their crimes. Thus, in the absence of justice denied to the Jews from Worms, the list of names and its evidentiary foundation will serve as a permanent dossier from which to construct a legal brief on behalf of the dead victims.

# 9

# A Profile of the Martyrs

The list of biographical sketches of individual Jewish victims of Nazism from Worms contains sufficient information which permits one to draw a fairly detailed portrait of the group. Throughout the list are several categories of data which shed light on the people that once belonged to the Jewish community of Worms. Though largely statistical, the data will enhance ones understanding of the human character of the community, and sharpen ones grasp of the impact of the Holocaust experience as it affected the Jews of Worms.

In seeking to comprehend the nature of this group of Jews, one must keep in mind the overall pattern of forces which disrupted their lives. Except for a small handful that came to Worms after 1933, the overwhelming majority lived there as neighbors until the impact of Nazism forced them apart. Until 1933, the normal processes of life, social and economic, determined their stay in Worms. Family and work were the adhesive forces that bound them to the community. This becomes most evident when one takes stock of their geographic and national origins. Those born in Worms are in the minority. The majority came from other parts of Germany, while a distinct number was foreign born.

TABLE 1
"Geographic and National Origins"

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| I. | *Germany* | |
| | a) Worms | 122 (26.7%) |
| | b) Elsewhere | 281 (61.6%) |
| | **Total** (1) | 403 (88.4%) |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| II. *Abroad* | | |
| a) **Eastern Europe** | | |
| Austria | 5 | |
| Finland | 1 | = 42 (9.2%) |
| Poland | 36 | |
| (Austrian and Russian) | | |
| b) **Western Europe** | | |
| Belgium | 1 | |
| France | 4 | |
| Holland | 3 | = 11 (2.4%) |
| Luxemburg | 1 | |
| United States | 2 | |
| **Total** (2) | | 53 (11.6%) |
| TOTAL | | 456 |

The rather visible thread of East Europeans runs through the tapestry of the Jewish community of Worms. The significant infusion of Jews from the East that came to Germany between 1880 and 1922 accounted for approximately 15% of the Jews in Worms by January, 1933. Their high proportion in the list of victims suggests that the majority of them failed to find safety abroad even though virtually all emigrated.[1] A large number of them went back to Eastern Europe; the fatal consequences of that decision were evident in the previous chapter.

A second observation about the composition of this group of Jews from Worms suggested by *Table 1* is the high proportion of those born in other parts of Germany. This reflects the accellerated mobility of the German population and of the Jews in particular in response to the dynamics of a modern industrial society. The economic turmoil following World War I further sped up the uprooting of individuals, especially of those from small communities searching for greater opportunities in larger towns. A glance at the names of the 151 places from which the out-of-town Jews originated highlights the movement away from the countryside. (See *Table 2*) With but few exceptions, all in this category had been born in small towns, by far the most in Hesse, with the bulk of the remainder stemming from Baden and Bavaria.

The Jewish community of Worms, therefore, as reflected in its martyrs, consisted of a solid core (26.7%) of those actually born there, many of whom coming from families with ties to the city dating back several generations. Associated with them, by marriage or business affiliation, was a majority of 334 (including 53 non-Germans) who came to Worms since the turn of the century. For the 281 born elsewhere in Germany, this meant they harbored, if not formal, at least strong emotional ties with the Jewish communities of their place of birth, a fact that assumes importance after 1933 when all Jewish communities in Germany became targets of the Nazis.

In focusing upon the fate that struck the Jewish community of Worms, one ought not to lose sight of an additional dimension of suffering that must have been that of the more recent arrivals to the city. Continuing contacts with former Jewish communities made them doubly aware of the tragic events effecting their friends and relatives elsewhere. Emotionally, they were as attached to their home community as they were to the one in Worms.

The 151 communities where they had been born represented approximately 10% of the more then 1,500 active Jewish communities in Germany.[2] As a result of the Nazi policies, the smallest of these rapidly dissolved as emigration and internal migration sapped their membership, leaving behind a handful of the very old. Of the 1,200 Jewish communities with fewer than 100 Jews in 1933, less than 900 remained by 1937.[3] During 1937 and 1938, the exodus did not slow down. As a result of the Kristallnacht Pogrom at the end of 1938, the movement out of the villages and small towns accelerated, thereby causing further anxiety to those who still had isolated relatives languishing in them.

Since this book is a history of the death of one Jewish community and of the martyrdom of some of its members, it cannot overlook this layer of pain experienced by a majority of the victims whose roots lay outside of Worms. One must take cognisance, however briefly, of the demise of the Jewish communities whose children enriched the last decades of the Jewish community of Worms. The tragedy of the Jews of Worms is inextricably linked to the larger drama, the fate of German Jewry. Through 281 of its martyrs, one can take the opportunity to remember the similar fate of 151 other Jewish communities to whom they were linked by birth. Their synagogues were no less sacred than the ancient house of worship in Worms. In acknowledging their existence, as sister communities, one takes yet another step towards grasping the full scope of the Holocaust, without distracting from the central theme of this book—its impact upon the Jews of Worms. (See Table 2).

While the dynamics of pre-1933 modern Germany syphoned Jews out of the countryside into the cities and stimulated their repeated moving from one urban center to another, thereby causing a demographic revolution in the composition of communities that had originally been largely populated by people long associated with the area, the volcanic political storm unleashed in 1933 created a radically different pattern of movement among the Jews of Germany. Within a decade, by 1942, (the year deportation to extermination centers began,) one consequence of the turmoil brought on by the anti-Semitic policies of Naxism is easily discernible in the three-tiered *global* dispersal of German Jewry. All three groups are readily identifiable in the geographic distribution of the Jews from Worms.

The first group found itself safely beyond the reach of German power: it was located overseas, for the most part in England, in the United States and in Palestine. The second was scattered precariously throughout continental

TABLE 2
*"German Jewish Communities from which Jews of Worms originated"*

Abenheim
Albisheim
Alsheim
Altenrüthen
Altenstadt
Altleiningen
Alzey
Aumenau

Bad-Ems
Bad-Ognhausen
Bad Wangen
Bamberg
Bauerbach
Bechtolsheim
Beindersheim
Biblis
Bingen
Bissersheim
Bliekastel
Bobenheim
Bochum
Bonn
Bruchsal
Bürstadt

Cramberg
Crumstadt

Darmstadt
Dirmstein
Dolgesheim
Düdelsheim

Einwartshausen
Eltville
Erdmannrode
Essenheim

Felsberg
Flonheim
Frankfurt a/M
Freilaubersheim
Freudenheim
Friedberg
Friedelsheim
Fürfeld
Fürth

Gauersheim
Gerolshofen
Gimbsheim
Göllheim
Göttingen
Grombach
Gross Bockenheim
Gross Karlbach
Gross Schwenten
Gross Umstadt
Grünstadt
Gunterblum

Hamburg
Hassloch
Hattenbach
Hattenheim
Hayenau
Heppenheim
Herrnsheim
Hessloch
Hildesheim
Höchst
Hohensulzen
Horschheim

Kaiserslautern
Karlsbad
Karlsruhe
Kindenheim
Kirchheim
Kirschheimbolanden
Klein Bockenheim
Kreefeld
Kuppenheim

Lachen
Ladenburg
Landau
Langsfeld
Lichenroth
Lichtenau
Limburg
Lorsch
Ludwigshaven

Maikammer
Mainz
Mannheim
Marienthal
Mehringen
Mergentheim
Mettenheim
Möhlsheim
Monsheim
Mühlheim
Münchweiler

Neuhemsbach
Neuheilingen
Neumesbach
Neusender
Neutrich
Neuwied
Niederhochstadt
Nieder Hofheim
Nieder Ingelheim
Nieder Olm
Niederwendig
Nieder Wiesen
Nordheim

Obergrombach
Ober Mockstadt
Obertiefenbach
Offenbach
Osthofen
Ottweiler

Pfiflingheim
Pirmasens

Ramstadt
Rauenthal
Reichelsheim
Reiskirchen
Rheindürkheim
Rheinheim
Rielzheim
Riemeck
Rimbach
Rödelsheim
Rohrbach
Rohrheim
Romsthal

Saarwellingen
Scheinfeld
Schöppinghen
Schwegenheim
Selters
Sickenhofen
Sprendlingen
Stadecken

Thalfang
Theilheim
Tholey

Villingen
Vorderweidenbach

Wachenheim
Weierbach
Weikersheim
Weingarten
Wertheim
Westhof
Weyer

Zweibrücken

**(May the unrecorded destruction of most of these communities and may the largely unsung martyrdom of their members be recalled forever.)**

Europe from Portugal all the way to Finland, the majority in Belgium, France and Holland in the West, and in Poland in the East, countries they had managed to enter between 1933 and 1939, when the outbreak of World War II disrupted further mass emigration from Germany. The third group of German Jews languished within Germany, with no hope of escaping the designs of a regime whose direct control of Europe by the end of 1941 stretched from the Pyrennees to the Volga. Three hundred thousand German Jews belonged to the last two groups, among them about 460 formerly from Worms.

Since 1933, over 500 Jews from Worms had immigrated successfully overseas before Germany ordered a halt to emigration in October, 1941, and the United States entered the War on 7 December.[4] The remainder (in Worms, throughout Germany, and all over occupied and Nazi dominated Europe,) silently awaited the inevitable nightmare.

As Table 3 indicates, by the time emigration ceased in October and mass deportations began in November, 1941, the remnants of the Jews from Worms who had failed to immigrate safely overseas lay widely dispersed, a majority severed from native country, community and family.

Despite a sizeable percentage (26.5%) of unknowns, the general patterns of departures in the two groups are easily visible. Internal migration increased in early 1938 in large measure because of the Jewish community's weakening economic ability to sustain itself as a result of a high rate of emigration.[5] This trend accelerated considerably after the Kristallnacht Pogrom in November. Emigration, especially to Eastern Europe, was strongest in 1933,[6] abated considerably for a few years, and then picked up dramatically again in 1939, reflecting the pre-World War II panic triggered off by the recent policies aimed at Polish Jews.

Between 1933 and 1941 over 170 left Worms for other parts of Germany.[7] During that time about a third managed to emigrate, (though many of them only to adjacent countries and not to overseas destinations.) Thus, the 111 victims in the list who were deported from other German towns represent over 60% of those who migrated internally and tragically failed to realize any emigration plans at all. These departures from Worms, often desperate attempts to find security in larger cities or to be nearer to relatives, proved to be futile since there was no escape from the uniform assault upon all Jews everywhere in Germany, except for emigration overseas.

In all, about 690 Jews from Worms emigrated abroad, slightly over 400 (60%) reaching overseas territories directly. Of the remaining (c.) 290, another 170 (60%) finally managed to leave continental Europe. The bulk of this second wave of immigrants to overseas destinations originated from Western European countries: of the more than 80 Jews from Worms who went to France, nearly 60 succeeded in leaving Europe. Many of those in Holland also found refuge overseas, only to be replaced a few years later by those who immigrated to Holland from other German cities. In contrast, the fortunes of

TABLE 3
"Departures from Worms"

| | | 1933 | 1934 | 1935 | 1936 | 1937 | 1938 (i-x) | 1938 (xi-xii) | 1939 | 1940 | 1941–3 | Unknown | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | A. INTERNAL MIGRATION | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Total: | 1 | 2 | 1 | 4 | 2 | 10 | 11 | 29 | 6 | 3 | 42 | = 111 |
| | B. EMIGRATION | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| i) | Danzig | | | | | | | | | | | 2 | = 2 |
| | Saarland | 9 | 5 | | | | | | | | | | = 14 |
| ii) | Belgium | | | | | | | | 2 | | | | = 2 |
| | France | 10 | | | | | | | 4 | | | | = 14 |
| | Holland | 3 | | | 2 | 1 | | 5 | 2 | | | 13 | = 26 |
| | Latvia | 3 | | | | | | | | | | 4 | = 7 |
| | Lithuania | 8 | | | | | | | | | | 1 | = 9 |
| | Luxemburg | 3 | | | | | | | | | | | = 3 |
| | Poland | 36 | | | | | | | 7 | | | | = 43 |
| iii) | Cuba | | | | | | | | 2 | | | | = 2 |
| | England | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | = 1 |
| | Total: | 73 | 5 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 5 | 17 | 0 | 0 | 20 | = 123 |
| | TOTAL (A+B) | 74 | 7 | 1 | 6 | 3 | 10 | 16 | 46 | 6 | 3 | 62 | = 234 |

Note: a) Category B (i) consists of territories either re-incorporated or annexed to the Third Reich, thereby annulling emigration.
b) In Category B (iii) the two immigrants bound for Cuba on the SS. St. Louis were refused entry and forced to return to Germany. The one person listed for England became a victim of suicide shortly upon arrival.

those who immigrated to Eastern Europe were grim: with but two exceptions, *all* those who left Worms for Poland were killed by Nazi actions. The same holds true for those who entered the Baltic countries. In the end, emigration proved to be a mirage for at least 123 (18%) of all Jewish emigrants from Worms.[8]

Mass deportations of German Jews began on 22 October 1940, with their forced removal from southwest Germany to Gurs, a detention camp located at the foot of the Pyrennees in France. At the moment of this new phase of Nazi policy towards Jews still living in Germany, those associated with Worms found themselves dispersed in a pattern whose general outlines were not unlike those of their coreligionists from other Jewish communities after seven years of trying to escape Nazi Germany. On the eve of the deportation phase of the Final Solution, the Jews associated with Worms can be classified according to the following geographic catagories:

TABLE 4
"Location at Time of Deportation"

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| I. *Continental Europe* | | |
| a) West Europe | 45 | |
| b) East Europe | 59 | = 104 (24.9%) |
| II. *Greater Germany* | | |
| a) Worms | 186 | |
| b) Other cities | 111 | |
| c) Danzig | 2 | |
| d) Saarland | 14 | = 313 (75.1%) |
| Total | | 417 |

In order to obtain an insight into the character of Jewish internal migration between 1933 and 1940 as reflected in the data available on the Jews from Worms (Tables 3/A and 4/IIb), it should be understood in terms of the cities in which they took up residence.

TABLE 5
"Last Residence in Germany"

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Frankfurt a/M | 31 | Magdeburg | 2 |
| Mannheim | 16 | Baden | 1 |
| Mainz | 14 | Bielefeld | 1 |
| Cologne | 7 | Duisburg | 1 |
| Wiesbaden | 5 | Giessen | 1 |
| Bonfeld | 4 | Kassel | 1 |
| Berlin | 3 | Konstanz | 1 |
| Darmstadt | 3 | Leipzig | 1 |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Hamburg | 3 | Ludwigsburg | 1 |
| Krefeld | 3 | Weimar | 1 |
| Danzig | 2 | Other | 11 |
| Heidelberg | 2 | Saarland | 14 |

(+2 returned from Cuba)

Not surprisingly, the majority—69 (61%)—went to the closest large cities (Frankfurt, Mannheim, Mainz, Wiesbaden and Darmstadt.) The remainder left for more distant cities, all of them, but for 3 or 4, larger than Worms.

By the time deportations emptied Germany of Jews, the majority lived in the large Jewish communities in the major urban centers, which now consisted largely of recent arrivals who were primarily and almost exclusively concerned with emigration, depending heavily on local Jews for economic support. Ironically, the voluntary concentration of German Jewry in a few urban centers made the administration and the realization of their deportation that much easier. By 1941, the bulk of German Jewry lived in cities serviced by the main lines of the railroad, a fact which facilitated their rapid transportation out of Germany. Over 80% lived in cities with direct connections to the east, to remote rail junctions where the Nazis had erected a macabre variety of "camps" whose names would soon become more universally known than the greatest civilized cities.[9]

Having already recorded the paths to their deaths between 1933 and 1945, the 456 martyred Jews from Worms must, in conclusion, be remembered as accurately as facts permit for what they had been in life. Once again, the data contained in the alphabetical list provides one with sufficient information to determine in some broad categories the general features of the victims who, till 1933, made up over 40% of the Jewish community of Worms. This total in itself already suggests the unspeakable loss in human terms. But it is not enough to allow them to remain hidden behind impersonal numbers; the loss must be made visible somewhat by focusing upon them as live people.

From the available information, one can identify the careers of 173 of the 412 adults. Their activities break down as follows:

TABLE 6
"Categories of Employment"

| MEN | | | WOMEN | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| a) Merchant | 106 | 69.9% | Boutique Owners | 2 |
| Sales Representative | 12 | | Accountant | 1 |
| b) Doctor | 4 | 5.2% | Doctor | 1 |
| Dentist | 2 | | | |
| Dental technician | 1 | | | |
| Veterinarian | 1 | | | |
| c) Lawyer | 2 | | | |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| d) Engineer | 1 | | | | |
| e) Actor | 1 | | | | |
| f) Antique Dealer | 2 | | | | |
| g) Student | 1 | | Teacher | 3 | |
| h) Baker | 4 | | Housemaid | 6 | |
| Bookbinder | 2 | | Seamstress | 7 | |
| Butcher | 4 | | | | |
| Chef | 1 | 19.1% | | | |
| Printer | 1 | | | | |
| Shoemaker | 5 | | | | |
| Taylor | 1 | | | | |
| i) Laborer | 2 | | | | |
| Total | (88.4%) 153 | + | Total | (11.6%) | 20 = 173 |

While this information does not include several retired persons whose careers remain unknown, the information in *Table 6* suffices to make a few comments. The large proportion of those engaged in business was the same for German Jewry in general.[10] Equally typical was the high percentage of those engaged in medicine, law and the other "free" professions. The significant number engaged in work under category "h" is indicative of the prominent percentage of Jews from Eastern Europe who tended to enter humbler and more traditional fields, in part because they lacked the educational qualifications or capital to pursue the more lucrative or prestigious professions. Similarly, true to a predominantly bourgeois community is the small percentage of working women. All the 20 women who worked were unmarried and, therefore, self-supporting; the majority of single women, 55 in all, received financial support from their families.[11] The majority of the women, however, were or had been married.

The proportion between married and unmarried and the age spread of the 412 adults among the victims from Worms can be viewed in *Table 7.*

In the group of martyrs from Worms, there were 24 (5.8%) more adult women. Their majority stems from a considerably larger number of widows —29 more. This striking imbalance came from four factors—one natural, one historic and two contemporary:

i) women enjoyed a longer life span;

ii) several women were widowed in World War I;

iii) a few had already lost husbands killed by Nazi actions since 1933;

iv) and, a higher percentage of single males emigrated overseas.

The comparatively low divorce rate would have been even smaller had there not been one or two divorces instigated by pressure from the Nazis for mixed couples to separate.[12] The severity of the times also stunted the tendency to marry, hence the virtual absence of married men and women in their twenties,

TABLE 7
"Age Distribution and Marital Status"*

A. ADULT MEN

| | 21–30 | 31–40 | 41–50 | 51–60 | 61–70 | 71–80 | 81–90 | 91– | Unknown | TOTAL | (% of A) | (% of A&B) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Single | 15 | 12 | 5 | 19 | 9 | 4 | 2 | - | 7 = | 73 | 37.6 | 17.7 |
| Married | 1 | 5 | 15 | 20 | 32 | 10 | 1 | - | 9 = | 93 | 47.9 | 22.6 |
| Widowed | - | 1 | - | - | 7 | 13 | 3 | - | 1 = | 25 | 12.9 | 6.1 |
| Divorced | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | - | - | 2 = | 3 | 1.5 | 0.7 |
| **Total** | 16 | 18 | 20 | 39 | 48 | 28 | 6 | - | 19 = | 194 | | 47.1 |

B. ADULT WOMEN

| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Single | 14 | 9 | 11 | 11 | 16 | 5 | 2 | - | 7 = | 75 | 34.4 | 18.2 |
| Married | - | 11 | 22 | 19 | 23 | 3 | - | - | 8 = | 86 | 39.4 | 21.6 |
| Widowed | - | - | 6 | 6 | 11 | 18 | 5 | 2 | 6 = | 54 | 24.8 | 13.1 |
| Divorced | - | 1 | - | 1 | 1 | - | - | - | - = | 3 | 1.4 | 0.7 |
| **Total** | 14 | 21 | 39 | 37 | 51 | 26 | 7 | 2 | 21 = | 218 | | 52.9 |
| TOTAL (A+B) | 30 | 39 | 59 | 76 | 99 | 54 | 13 | 2 | 30 = | 412 | | |

*Age is calculated from 1942, the year of deportation and death for the overwhelming majority.

C. ADULTS (A+B)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Single . . . . . | 148 | (35.9%) |
| 2. | Married . . . . . | 179 | (43.4%) |
| 3. | Widowed . . . . . | 79 | (19.2%) |
| 4. | Divorced . . . . . | 6 | (1.5%) |
| | Total | 412 | |

a factor that had a severe impact on the birth rate which literally dropped to zero during the decade under review.

TABLE 8
"Age of Children and Youths (In 1942)"

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 | ? | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| - | 1 | - | - | - | 1 | 1 | - | 2 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 8 | * |
| | | | | | | | (1933) | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

* Total: 44 (9.6%)

Placed alongside the adults, the younger generation takes up a minor percentage space, but it is still significant enough to stress the fact that the German Jewish Holocaust victims, despite a large exodus of the younger generations, still included visible strata of children, youths and young adults. The combined imperfection of emigration (which left thousands of young families stranded in continental Europe) and the initial difficulties of leaving Germany account for the enexpected high rate of younger victims. The following table of the age distribution of the Jewish victims from Worms is but a microcosm of the larger reality.[13]

TABLE 9
"Age Distribution"

| | *Age* | *No.* | | *%* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 91– | 2 | | 0.4 |
| | 81–90 | 13 | | 2.9 |
| | 71–80 | 54 | | 11.8 |
| | 61–70 | 99 | | 21.7 |
| | 51–60 | 76 | | 16.7 |
| | 41–50 | 59 | | 12.9 |
| | 31–40 | 39 | | 8.6 |
| (I) | 21–30 | 30 | | 6.6 |
| (II) | 11–20 | 36 | 16.3% | 7.9 |
| (III) | 0–10 | 8 | | 1.8 |

The presence of a visible stratum of children and young adults requires some explanation in order to further clarify the Holocaust experience as it emerges from the data associated with the Jews from Worms. For the most part, the children belong to family units who had emigrated abroad but had failed to reach overseas destinations. Conversely, the majority of the young adults who perished with their parents belong to family units residing in Worms. The latter consisted primarily of single adults who chose to forego emigration in order to care for their elderly parents.[14] In all, of the 86 married

couples who were killed, 40 suffered martyrdom with one or more of their children.

TABLE 10
"Family Units"

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Couple | = | 1 | child | 19 | = | 19 | children | + | 38 | adults = | 57 |
| " | = | 2 | children | 18 | = | 36 | " | + | 36 | " = | 72 |
| " | = | 3 | " | 2 | = | 6 | " | + | 4 | " = | 10 |
| " | = | 4 | " | 1 | = | 4 | " | + | 2 | " = | 6 |
| TOTAL | | | | 40 | = | 65 | | + | 80 | = | 145 (31.8%) |

In reviewing the suffering of the Jewish victims from Worms, one must not lose sight of the agony of those who died knowing their children were also doomed. At least those with all their children overseas could die partially consoled that the lives of a new generation would eventually replace their deaths.

In concluding this profile of the Jewish victims from Worms one must not forget their courage. Throughout the ordeal since 1933, they suffered helplessly the assaults of an armed state. The entire mechanism of society—the bureaucracy, the police and the military—aimed its powers against a tiny segment of the civilian population. In such extreme circumstances, the imperatives for individual and collective survival tend to dictate silence, complete withdrawal as a way of self-protection. Unfortunately, to the uninitiated observer, this response may be synonymous with spiritual surrender.

Quite the contrary! Despite repeated attacks, the Jewish community of Worms managed to function, and individual Jews retained their self-respect to the very end. The *Chevrah Kaddisha,* the Burial Society, operated till the summer of 1942.[15] Charity work to sustain the old and the poor never ceased until the Old Age Home was emptied in September, 1942, by the mass deportation to Theresienstadt.[16] A modicum of education for the children continued through 1940, despite the disruptive violence of the Kristallnacht Pogrom in 1938.[17] Till that fatal day, the community managed to promote an active social and cultural life despite its isolation. Though emigration and arrests robbed the community of its religious and secular leaders, new personalities came forth to take their place and preserve a community structure.[18]

At no time was there an absence of individuals who managed to exemplify the most noble of the human spirit; in the face of unprecedented circumstances they displayed fortitude and magnanimity. Both men and women, young and old demonstrated the will to live. There were those who had the courage to uproot and emigrate into the unknown. Then there were those who had the courage to stay, refusing to abandon their parents.[19] There were others who

sacrificed their limited resources so that their wives and children might emigrate. And finally there were those too poor or too old or too ill to travel who lived their daily lives in quiet dignity, surrounded by the terror of the Holocaust which followed them to the Death Camps.[20]

From 1933 on, there was no protection from Nazism that Jews could initiate. Their fate did not rest in their hands. Nevertheless, that is not to suggest that there were no instances of overt heroism. Else Spies, wife of the last president of the community, until her emigration in November, 1939, untiringly and publicly sought to raise morale, defiantly proclaiming the Zionist identity of Jews as a proud, historic people who outlived all their enemies.[21] Herta Mansbacher, a teacher in the Jewish school, physically tried to prevent the burning of the synagogue.[22] Martin Weis, the sexton, faithfully looked after the scorched shell of the temple, stubbornly refusing to leave it untended.[23] And Moritz Mayer refused to be denied his identity as a German, putting on his World War I uniform with an Iron Cross pinned to it, daring the Nazis to arrest him; on that occasion, they retreated.[24]

As the most highly decorated of the World War I veterans, Moritz Mayer represents an element among the 456 victims who had proven their courage. In concluding this profile of the Jews of Worms, it is appropriate to focus upon those who had fought bravely and gained official recognition for their courage lest there be those who dispute the heroic capacity of the unarmed Jewish martyrs from Worms.

In most modern societies, former soldiers who fought for their country receive honor and respect. During World War I Jews fought loyally on both sides, as citizens of France and Russia, or of Germany and Austria. Though they fought and fell in disproportionate numbers in the armies of the Kaiser, already during the war, their service to Germany was put into question despite statistics to the contrary. In no other country as Germany was the Jewish veteran so disparaged and mocked even before the advent of Nazism in 1933. His humiliation continued throughout the years of Nazi rule.

Efforts on the part of Jewish war veterans to demonstrate their patriotic ardor for Germany after 1933 were futile gestures. As in other German cities, a chapter of German Jewish World War I veterans remained active in Worms until the Kristallnacht Pogrom on 10 November 1938. Its members hoped against all hope that, in the long run, a loyal and admirable record of military service would convince their Nazi enemies to accept them as bona fide German citizens. Without exception, all Jewish veterans in Germany suffered the same fate as that of their fellow Jews. Their service in the armies of the Kaiser had been in vain.

Among the 456 Jewish martyrs from Worms there was a large group of World War I veterans distinguished for its high rate of decorations earned on the battlefield. Of the 198 adult men murdered by the Nazis, at least 50 (26%) had worn a uniform and served in the German army, of whom 39 (75%)—

an unprecedented majority for any modern army—had seen action at the front. By 1918, at the end of the war, their ages ranged from 18 to 50, though the majority (45 of them), were over 30 years old, (the bulk of them in their late 30's and early 40's.) Despite their high age for frontline service, the overwhelming majority fought for most of the war, practically all of them with considerable distinction.

Of the 50 identified veterans among the martyrs from Worms, 48 (96%) had earned some recognition by winning at least one decoration to mark their military service. *(Table 11.)*

TABLE 11
"Jewish World War I Veterans and Their Decorations"

| A. *Decoration* | *No.* | *%* |
|---|---|---|
| Iron Cross (2nd class) | 14 | 28 |
| Purple Heart (Verwundeteehrenzeichen) | 2 | 6 |
| Combat Medal (Felddienstehrenzeichen) (Frontehrenzeichen) | 32 | 64 |
| Citation for Bravery (Tapferkeitsmedaille) | 6 | 12 |
| Service Medal (Verdienstkreuz) (Verdienstmedaille) | 12 | 24 |
| Red Cross Citation (1st class) | 1 | 2 |
| Red Cross Citation (2nd class) | 1 | 2 |
| Total Decorations | 68 | |

| B. *No. of Decorations* | *Recipients* | *%* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 28 (3 Iron Cross) | 56 | |
| 2 | 13 (8 " " ) | 26 | |
| 3 | 6 (2 " " ) | 12 | |
| 4 | 1 (1 " " ) | 2 | = Lt. Moritz MAYER |
| **Total** | **48** (14 " " ) | **96** | (No. 293) |
| 0 | 2 | 4 | |
| Total | 50 | 100 | |

From *Table 12,* it will be noted that these men fought on all fronts and participated in the major battles of the war; they served in a variety of capacities ranging from the marines, the artillery and infantry to the medical corps.

*TABLE 12*

"List of Jewish World War I Veterans Killed by the Nazis"

The source for this list is a set of 4-page questionnaires for each Jewish household in Worms as part of a census of all German Jews in February/March, 1940: "Fragebogen" *Worms, 1–128,* Yad Vashem: 08/16. Data on military service is found on the top of the second page of each set of questionnaires.

| | *List #* | *NAME* | *Date* | *SERVICE* | *DECORATION* | *FATE* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | 9 | BAER, Emmanuel | 1873 | 1 yr. E Front | C.M. | Theresienstadt |
| 2. | 16 | BAUM, Salomon | 1875 | 2 yrs. W Front | C.M. | Theresienstadt |
| 3. | 36 | BRODREICH, Lionel | 1881 | 1916–1918 | S.M. | Belzec |
| 4. | 61 | ERLANGER, Jakob | 1874 | 1915–1918 | C.M. | Theresienstadt, Auschwitz |
| 5. | 64 | FRANK, Isidor | 1881 | 1916–1918 | S.M. | Belzec |
| 6. | 93 | GROMBACHER, S. | 1876 | 1915–1918 | C.M. | Theresienstadt |
| 7. | 109 | GUTHMANN, Max | 1874 | 1914–1918 | S.M. | Theresienstadt |
| 8. | 113 | GUTMANN, Ludwig | 1874 | 1916–1918 | C.M. | Theresienstadt |
| 9. | 118 | HAMBURGER, Rudolf | 1871 | 1914–1918 | — | Suicide |
| 10. | 122 | HERZ, Albert | 1888 | 4 yrs. W Front | *I.C.* | Theresienstadt |
| 11. | 127 | HERZ, Ferdinand | 1892 | ? | *I.C.* | Gurs, Disappeared |
| 12. | 145 | HEYMANN, Salomon | 1870 | 1915–1918 (Non-com) | S.M. | Theresienstadt |
| 13. | 164 | JOSEPH, Max | 1882 | 3 yrs. E Front | *I.C.*, C.M. | Belzec |
| 14. | 177 | KATZ, Manuel | 1878 | 1915–1918 (Wounded) | C.M. | Belzec |
| 15. | 182 | KELLER, Albert | 1873 | 1915–1918 | — | Theresienstadt |
| 16. | 191 | KORN, Adolf | 1885 | 1914–1918 | C.M. | Theresienstadt, Auschwitz |
| 17. | 196 | KOSSMANN, Alfred | 1898 | 1917–1918 | *I.C.*, C.M. | Belzec |
| 18. | 211 | KRISTELLER, Paul | 1895 | 1914–1917 | *I.C.*, C.M. | Belzec |
| 19. | 218 | LANG, Alfred | 1878 | 1914–1918 | *I.C.*, C.M. | Unknown K.Z. |
| 20. | 219 | LANG, August | 1868 | 1914–1918 (Non-com) | C.M. | Theresienstadt |

| | *List #* | *NAME* | *Date* | *SERVICE* | *DECORATION* | *FATE* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 21. | 222 | LANG, Max | 1881 | 4 yrs. W Front | I.C., C.B., C.M. | General Gouvernement |
| 22. | 236 | LIEBER, Albert | 1876 | 2 yrs. W Front (Wounded) | C.B., C.M. | Theresienstadt |
| 23. | 243 | LÖB, Eugen | 1883 | 1915–1918 | C.M. | Belzec |
| 24. | 246 | LÖB, Willi | 1871 | 1916–1918 | C.M. | Theresienstadt |
| 25. | 257 | MARKUS, Philip | 1873 | 2 yrs. E Front | C.B., C.M. | Killed by Gestapo, Worms |
| 26. | 265 | MAYER, Arthur | 1879 | Rumanian Front | C.B., C.M. | General Gouvernement |
| 27. | 266 | MAYER, August | 1895 | 1915–1918 (Wounded) | *I.C.*, V.E., C.M. | Belzec |
| 28. | 271 | MAYER, Emanuel | 1877 | 1915–1918 | C.M. | Theresienstadt |
| 29. | 279 | MAYER, Hermann | 1879 | 1915–1918 (Wounded) | C.B., C.M. | Belzec |
| 30. | 281 | MAYER, Jakob | 1871 | 1915–1917 | C.M. | Theresienstadt |
| 31. | 287 | MAYER, Ludwig | 1878 | 1915–1918 | C.M. | Theresienstadt |
| 32. | 293 | MAYER, Moritz | 1884 | 4 yrs. W Front (Lieutenant) (Volunteer) | *I.C.*, C.B., C.M., S.M. | Belzec |
| 33. | 297 | MAYER, Siegmund | 1878 | 3 yrs. W Front | C.B., C.M. | Belzec |
| 34. | 318 | NEUMANN, Julius | 1890 | 1914–1918 | C.M. | Belzec |
| 35. | 326 | POISSON, Bertram | 1876 | 3 yrs. W Front | S.M. | Theresienstadt |
| 36. | 328 | REINHARD, Robert | 1876 | 4 yrs. E& W Fronts | *I.C.*, C.B., C.M. | Theresienstadt |
| 37. | 339 | ROSENBERG, Adolf | 1879 | 1916–1918 | *I.C.*, C.M. | Belzec |
| 38. | 341 | ROSENHEIMER, Jakob | 1877 | 1915–1918 | C.M. | Theresienstadt |
| 39. | 357 | SALOMON, Erich | 1889 | 1914–1918 (Wounded) | R.C. II & III, S.M. | Killed by Gestapo, Worms |
| 40. | 369 | SCHMIDT, Albert | 1871 | 2 yrs. | C.M. | Disappeared |
| 41. | 371 | SCHWARTZ, Ludwig | 1878 | 3 yrs. W Front | C.M. | General Gouvernement |
| 42. | 389 | SOMMER, Emil | 1874 | 1914–1918 | S.M. | Theresienstadt, Auschwitz |
| 43. | 419 | STERN, Adolf | 1870 | 1916–1917 (Wounded) | V.E., C.M. | Theresienstadt |
| 44. | 420 | STERN, Emil | 1880 | 1915–1918 | C.M. | Belzec |

| | *List #* | *NAME* | *Date* | *SERVICE* | *DECORATION* | *FATE* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 45. | 421 | STIEFEL, Berthold | 1886 | 1915–1918 | C.M. | Belzec |
| 46. | 430 | TRIBUS, Karl | 1870 | 1917–1918 | C.M., S.M. | Killed by Gestapo, Worms |
| 47. | 436 | TUTEUR, Ludwig | 1895 | 1915–1918 | *I.C.*, C.B., C.M. | Belzec |
| 48. | 437 | ULLMANN, Wolf | 1877 | 1915–1918 | *I.C.* | Theresienstadt, Auschwitz |
| 49. | 441 | WACHENHEIMER, L. | 1899 | 1917–1918 (Volunteer) | *I.C.*, C.M. | General Gouvernement |
| 50. | 443 | WÄLDER, Arno | 1873 | 1914–1918 | C.B., C.M. | Theresienstadt |

C.B. = Citation for Bravery
C.M. = Combat Medal
I.C. = Iron Cross
R.C. = Red Cross Citation
S.M. = Service Medal
V.E. = Purple Heart

The final "reward" for these Jewish veterans from Worms was rejection, expulsion and death at the hands of their own countrymen. Nineteen died in Theresienstadt; 16 were gassed in Belzec and 4 perished in Auschwitz; 4 were killed somewhere in the General Gouvernement and one in an unidentified concentration camp. Three were murdered in Worms; 2 disappeared without trace; and one committed suicide. They died as Jews and not as Germans as they had once been willing to do in the 1914–1918 War.

In acknowledging this particular group—veterans of World War I—one can simultaneiously express respect for the fortitude of those who fought a desperate ten-year battle against Hitlerism. The tested courage of the men who served at the front must not be forgotten, especially in the Holocaust context, when the might of a modern state pitted itself against unarmed civilian Jews. While they never had a chance to defend themselves, shifting attention to World War I, (in which German Jews fought as courageously as their comrades,) helps one remember that Jewish history might have been fundamentally different had Jews been armed. The unarmed citizens of Worms lived and fought honorably; till the moment they died, they preserved their dignity and faith peacefully.

Writing from the Heartland of the Holocaust Kingdom, Moritz Mayer managed to affirm his belief in the ultimate triumph of decency. "We hope and pray with unswerving faith in G-d that, in time, the Almighty will rectify all things."[25] There is no greater courage than the one required to sustain hope and faith in the presence of evil.

As he wrote, former Lieutenant Mayer found himself in a bleak unfurnished barracks shared with several strangers. Far from his comfortable home, Mayer suffered the loss of his family: his wife lived apart from him, and their three young children were abroad. Despite the loneliness, the helplessness, the anger and the frustration, Mayer did not lapse into despair. Till the end, he

had the strength to anticipate a better future, a strength drawn from a faith his enemies could not destroy.

1. Henry R. Huttenbach, *The Emigration Book of Worms* (Koblenz, 1974), p. 21: *Table I/*A(1); p. 40; *Table 1/2;* p. 41: *Table 2.* (Henceforth *Emigration Book*)
2. Huttenbach, *Emigration Book,* p. 30.
3. *Central-Verein Zeitung,* 4 ii 37; 28 iv 38.
4. Huttenbach, *Emigration Book,* p. 21, Table I/A(2), Mansbacher's records listed over 350, but only those who emigrated overseas *directly.* She did not follow up those abroad or elsewhere in Germany.
5. *Jahresbericht für 1937 des israelitischen Unterstützungsverein Worms;* Huttenbach, *The Cultural and Social Life of the Jews of Worms 1933–1938* (Typescript, 104 pp.). Also: *Akten des Sozialamtes der israelitischen Religionsgemeinde, Worms (1935–1938),* Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People (CAHJ), Hebrew University (Jerusalem): Rh/W xxii, 3.
6. Huttenbach, *Emigration Book,* p. 21: Table I/A(1).
7. *Ibid.,* p. 28: Table 4.
8. *Ibid.,* pp. 39–42.
9. For an extraordinary documentation of the relative location of German cities to major concentration camps in Germany and destinations in Poland, see *Kursbuch für die Gefangenenwagen: gütig vom 6. Oktober 1941 an.* Dokumente zur Eisenbahngeschichte. (Mainz, 1979). Thus: Buchenwald, Dachau, Ravensbrück and Sachsenhausen—pp. 72, 143, 33 respectively; and Lodz (Litzmannstadt) and Auschwitz—pp. 163–7 and 51 respectively.
10. Statistics preserved in *Vienna Jewish Community Archives,* CAHJ: A/W 2587 No. 2.
11. Data for this is found in: "Fragebogen"/Worms 1–128 (Feb.–March, 1940), Yad Vashem: 08/16.
12. Among the married there were about 6–8 with a Christian partner. See, for example, Files II 72.42 "Kennzeichnung der Juden," and II 72.01 "Einzelakten," *Juden Akten bis 1945,* Police Archive, Worms.
13. Record of the Reichsvereinigung. "Akten 1941–2," Leo Baeck Institute (N.Y.): Microfilm 66, f 58. Of 161,370 Jews that remained in Germany (Altreich), 16,511 (10.2%) were under 18; 6,030 (3.7%) under 25; and c. 6,500 (4%) under 30; in all 29,041 (18%).
14. For a breakdown of the Jews who remained in Worms: Henry R. Huttenbach, "The Emigration of Jews from Worms: A Statistical Analysis of the Impact of Immigration Policies," in *Rescue Attempts During the Holocaust* (Jerusalem, 1977), pp. 284–288.
15. *Beisetzungen auf den neuen israelistischen Friedhof Worms — Hochheim 1911–1941* CAHJ: G 3/225; Friedhofsangelegenheiten CAHJ: Rh/W xxii, 12.

16. Herta Mansbacher Letters (12 and 16 September, 1941), File II 72.42 "Kennzeichnung der Juden," *Juden Akten bis 1945,* Police Archive, Worms.
17. Huttenbach, *The Life of Herta Mansbacher* (New York, 1980), p. 35.
18. Between 1933 and 1939, two rabbis, two cantors, three presidents, one school principal and three teachers emigrated. Not to mention the steady departure of the more prominent and wealthy citizens. See *Emigration Book,* pp. 53–110.
19. e.g. Dr. Elisabeth Spies and Dr. Cornelia Sonnenberger.
20. The residents of the Old Age Home made up the bulk of this sub-group.
21. On the work of Mrs. Spies, see Huttenbach, *The Cultural and Social Life.*
22. Huttenbach, *The Life of Herta Mansbacher,* pp. 33–7.
23. Information obtained from interviews.
24. *Ibid.*
25. Postcard (Piaski Ghetto, 10 iv 1942).

# CONCLUSION

## "Rescue Efforts and the Emergence of a Spiritual Community"

Emigration did not break the sense of community and mutual responsibility. With the intensification of the political crisis enveloping the world, the new immigrants did not forget those that remained behind. Indeed, the bonds of family ties and friendship quickened an awareness of the dependency of those still in Europe upon those overseas. The November, 1938, Kristallnacht Pogrom left the Worms Jewish community physically shattered and financially reliant on contributions from abroad. The outbreak of war in Europe in September, 1939, placed those who emigrated to continental Europe in serious jeopardy, their principal hope of reaching overseas dependent on the cooperation of those already there. After the October, 1940, those deported to camps in France and all the remnants from the community lay helpless, totally reliant on external assistance from overseas.

With each of these momentous events, the overseas immigrants increasingly felt pressured to rescue their friends and relatives. News from the press and radio combined with a flood of personal letters fueled their determination to help those still trapped in Germany and other countries throughout Europe. Despite a full-time involvement with adjustment to a foreign land, the recent immigrants found themselves emotionally and morally inextricably linked to the fate of their former neighbors. Though geographically dispersed and culturally uprooted, some managed nevertheless to act as one with a common interest in the Jews from Worms.

Under the combined leadership and inspiration of Rabbi Helmut Frank (in Philadelphia)[1] and Mrs. Else Spies (in New York,)[2] plans were laid to ease the suffering of those still in Europe. While individuals searched desperately for guarantors to sponsor affidavits (without which the State Department would not issue visas,)[3] Frank and Spies sought to collect sufficient help to assure the daily survival of those waiting anxiously for the day of their departure. Together, the former Rabbi and the active community welfare leader organized an "Emergency Committee of Worms Jews."

The "Emergency Committee" had originally been the brainchild of Mrs. Spies shortly after her arrival to the United States in November, 1939. Well

aware of the needs of the older Jews, expecially those resident in the Old Age Home,[4] Mrs. Spies urged recent arrivals to send packages to Worms to alleviate chronic shortages. Then, in response to the October, 1940, deportations which left several Jews from Worms incarcerated in camps in southern France, Else Spies in conjunction with Rabbi Frank decided upon a collective effort, recognizing the psychological importance of such a sign of solidarity to those isolated in the camps.

Throughout the winter of 1940–1, several letters depicted the severe conditions in the French camps, making it quite clear that without outside help, further survival might not be possible.[5] Food shortages, improper clothing, unsanitary housing and worse than primitive medical facilities threatened the very lives of those who still counted on emigrating overseas. Unless help came, they wrote, they and their children might not live to see the day when permission to emigrate finally came. According to the letters of Jakob Sondheimer[6] and Max Kraemer, life in Gurs was intolerable; they appealed for help on behalf of their families and other Jews from Worms in the camp with them. From Camp Agde, a letter from Mr. and Mrs. Spatz made a similar urgent request to friends in the United States.

In response to this news, Spies and Frank launched a campaign to assist their friends and former congregants. In February, 1941, they sent a group letter to all former Jews from Worms.[7] In it they referred to the information from Kraemer, Sondheimer and Spatz. They reminded everyone that immigration did not mean a termination of responsibility. On the contrary, their good fortune, temporary difficulties notwithstanding, dictated a sense of moral responsibility towards the less fortunate. They appealed for money in order to send packages of food, clothing and medications to France.

Thus, the very events that sundered them apart brought the dispersed Jews from Worms together again. Nevertheless, the ocean that separated them from their former neighbors was less formidable than the irrevocable political forces that widened the terrible gap between the immigrants overseas and the remnants still in Europe. By the time the Emergency Committee began its work, an unprecedented abyss had grown between them, an abyss that could not be crossed. Even as the new immigrants painfully rebuilt their lives and, despite the onset of war, looked towards a normal future, those in Europe rapidly slipped into a new world never before witnessed. As they entered into the Holocaust Kingdom, they found themselves beyond help—worse, beyond the wildest imaginations and fantasies of their kinfolk. As one group regained its citizenship into a society of the living, the other acquired residency in a society exclusively designed for death.

In a literal sense, the living could not help those doomed for extinction: helplessness marked them both, as the tidal wave of events either flung them to safety or destroyed them. The only choice lay in the symbolism of action. Just as the victims tenaciously sustained to the end their spiritual superiority

over a barbaric enemy, so did the survivors succeed in overcoming the morally corrupting temptation of rationally justified non-action. In making an effort to help the Jewish remnants from Worms, no matter what the odds, the immigrants preserved their integrity as Jews. In possessing the courage to act despite their lack of means, the former leaders from the Jewish community of Worms provided the next generation with a noble legacy. In recalling them, their children can remember their past links to Worms in sorrow but with pride. United by remembrance, they keep alive the spirit of the

KEHILLAH KEDUSHA WORMESEI

and of

**The Little Jerusalem on the Rhine.**

1. Emigrated to the United States in August, 1939. Henry R. Huttenbach, *The Emigration Book,* p. 107, No. 576.
2. Emigrated to the United States in November, 1939. *Ibid.,* p. 108, No. 588.
3. Immigration to the United States required some form of financial self-sufficiency or proof of sponsors willing to assume the responsibility of financial support. Since the potential immigrants nearly always lacked funds to assure their remaining off the welfare rolls (their property having been seized by the Nazis), the affidavit literally became a matter of life and death.
4. Else Spies had headed the Welfare Committee in Worms. *Akten des Sozialamtes der israelitischen Religionsgemeinde, 1935–1938:* Central Archive for the History of the Jewish people: Rh/W xxii, 3–4.
5. Letter (February, 1941) by Else Spies and Helmut Frank. Signed copy in possession of the author. (See document # 10.)
6. He, his wife, and two children managed to immigrate to San Domingo. His parents-in-law remained behind. Adolf Kehr, No. 179, died in October, 1944, while in hiding.
7. See note 5.

# POSTSCRIPT

## Little Jerusalem Dispersed

The political storms of the 30's and 40's scattered the Jews from Worms all across Europe and to all continents overseas. By the end of World War II, those that had not perished in the Holocaust or had found safety abroad resided in a wide variety of geographic locations and cultures.

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I. *Europe* | England | 65+ | (13%) | II. *Americas* | United States | 200+ | (40%) |
| | Switzerland | 17 | | | Latin America | 70+ | (14%) |
| III. *Israel* | | c. 130 | (26%) | IV. *Asia/Australia* | | 10+ | |
| V. *Africa* | | 10 | | | | | |
| | | | *TOTAL* | 500+ | | | |

Almost half a century later, in response to this project—to preserve the memory of the Jews of Worms—the former immigrants and their grown children united in a common effort to honor the names of their dead relatives and friends. A generation and a half after the Holocaust and expulsion from Worms, they had not lost their sense of a common heritage. Nearly 300 families joined together from all parts of the world.

| Continent | Country | Number of Households | | | Percentage |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I. *Europe* | England | 17 | | | |
| | Denmark | 1 | | | |
| | France | 5 | | | |
| | Germany | 12 | = | 46 | (16.7) |
| | Portugal | 4 | | | |
| | Switzerland | 7 | | | |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| II. | *Latin America* | Argentina | 13 | | | |
| | | Brazil | 8 | | | |
| | | Chile | 2 | | | |
| | | Paraguay | 1 | = | 29 | (10.5) |
| | | Peru | 2 | | | |
| | | Uruguay | 3 | | | |
| III. | *Near East* | Israel | 27 | = | 27 | ( 9.8) |
| IV. | *Africa* | Morocco | 1 | | | |
| | | South Africa | 1 | = | 2 | |
| V. | *Far East* | Japan | 1 | = | 1 | |
| VI. | *Australia* | | 4 | = | 4 | |
| VII. | *Central America* | Mexico | 1 | = | 1 | |
| VIII. | *North America* | Canada | 1 | | | |
| | | United States | 165 | = | 166 | (59.8) |
| | | | **Total** | = | 276 | |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Alabama | 1 | Illinois | 11 | Nebraska | 1 | Ohio | 1 |
| Arizona | 1 | Maryland | 4 | New Jersey | 26 | Pennsylvania | 6 |
| California | 13 | Massachusetts | 2 | New Mexico | 1 | Tennessee | 1 |
| Connecticut | 7 | Michigan | 1 | New York | 76 | Texas | 4 |
| Florida | 6 | Mississippi | 1 | North Carolina | 1 | Wisconsin | 1 |

The Jewish community in Worms has been destroyed, but its spirit continues to enrich Jewish life through its dispersed exiles and their children.

# DOCUMENTS

The following selection of documents is but a small representative sample chosen from a large and varied body of extant unpublished primary source material. Each item is meant to serve as an illustration of the kinds of documentation available. The individual selections are intended to be examples of the several categories of original sources used while writing this history of the Holocaust experience in Worms. They have been included to provide an additional dimension to the tragedy narrated in this book.

In passing, this section should remind skeptics that the archives house a wealth of evidence in support of the accusations inherent in this study of the tragedy and injustice that befell the Jews of Worms. Because of the limitations of space, this book could only contain the most significant data without making claim to having exhausted the contents of all the surviving documentation.[1]

*A. Chapter 3.*

1(a). Postcard (21 ii 1942). Mrs. Irma Mayer (No. 280) describes life at home with 9–10 persons quartered in her apartment. (Original in possession of the children now resident in the USA).

2. Letter (8 x 1941) from the Mainz Regional Office of the Health Bureau refusing Dr. E. Spies (No. 405) to practice outside the city limits. The last sentence reads: "It would be preferable she treat as much as possible all the Jews in Worms in order that they disappear from the offices of German doctors." (Original in the Police Headquarters, Worms.)

*B. Chapter 4.*

3. The Worms portion of the Deportation List for the 20 iii 1942 Transport to Piaski, Poland. (Original in Yad Vashem, Jerusalem)

4. Deportation List for the 27 ix 1942 Transport (No. XVII/1) to Theresienstadt. (Yad Vashem)

1(b). Censored postcard (11 iv 1942) from Moritz Mayer (No. 293) shortly after his deportation to the ghetto in Piaski, Poland. (Text on reverse side, in pencil, too faded to reproduce).

5(a&b). Two postcards (12 viii 1942 and 15 viii 1942) written by "Jude" Moritz Mayer from Camp ("Judenlager") Chelm after his re-

deportation from Piaski. (Text on reverse side, in pencil, too faded to reproduce.) (Originals in the possession of the children now resident in the USA.)

*C. Chapter 5.*

6. Sample of a list, compiled in the spring of 1944, of Jewish burials. Information came from (1) the City Death Register and (2) the records of the Jewish Burial Society. The former included data of those who died in concentration camps ("KZ"). That is to say, the city officials were kept abreast of the fate of those incarcerated in these camps. (Original in the Stadtarchiv, Worms).

*D. Chapter 7.*

7. Letters (6 iv 1941) from Arthur Herz (No. 125) while interned in Camp Les Milles, France, to his 5 year old daughter. (See *Case 1*). (Originals in the possession of the recipient now resident in the USA.)
8. Letter (3 x 1945) from two survivors written after their liberation. (See *Case 3*). (Original in the possession of the recipient now resident in the USA.)

*E. Conclusion.*

9. Letter (February, 1941) announcing the formation of the Emergency Committee of Worms Jews. (Original copy in the possession of the author.)

[1] In the near future will appear two companion volumes to this book. They will contain the bulk of the extant documentation related to the history of the Jews of Worms for the years 1933–1945.

Absender: Moses Mayer
Worms a/Rh
Wohnort, auch Zustell- oder Leitpostamt
Andreastr. 23
Straße, Hausnummer, Gebäudeteil, Stockwerk od. Postschließfachnummer

Postkarte

15 15 Deutsches Reich

erh. 25/VII/42

Signorina Giulia Mayer
Albergo Vittoria
Villa S. Maria
Prov. Chieti
Straße, Hausnummer, Gebäudeteil, Stockwerk oder Postschließfachnummer
Italia

11

36

ABSENDER
Moses Mayer
aus Worms a/Rh
Piaski, Deutsche Post
Bez. Lublin Ostf

Postkarte

GENERALGOUVERNEMENT 20

GENERALGOUVERNEMENT 12

Signor
Comm. Sally Mayer
Milano

19

27

H.41.

**Kassenärztliche Vereinigung Deutschlands**
Körperschaft des öffentlichen Rechts
Bezirksstelle Mainz
Bank-Konto: Mainzer Volksbank
(Postscheckko. der Bank 999 Frankfurt a. M.)

Mainz, Hintere Bleiche 59 III
Fernruf: 54131

An das
Staatl. Gesundheitsamt
W o r m s /Rh

Staatl. [illegible]
6486 Ja

Abteilung | Unser Zeichen: Dr.H/Wo | Ihr Zeichen | Datum: 8. Okt. 1941

Anliegend gebe ich den Antrag von Frau Dr. Spies zurück. Eine Reiseerlaubnis nach Mannheim und Frankfurt wegen Unterbringung und Behandlung in den dortigen jüdischen Krankenhäusern ist überflüssig. Dort befinden sich jüdische Behandler, die nicht von Frau Dr. Spies überwacht zu werden brauchen, sondern allein arbeiten können. Jüdische Behandler stehen zur Verfügung in Mainz und Worms, in sonstigen Orten Rheinhessens nicht. Ich glaube nicht, dass es notwendig und erwünscht ist, dass Frau Dr. Spies in den Orten der früheren Provinz Rheinhessen oder Starkenburg herumreist. Es dürfte vollständig genügen, wenn sie wirklich alle Juden in Worms behandelt und möglichst so vollständig, dass sie aus dem Wartezimmer der deutschen Ärzte verschwinden.

Heil Hitler!

Kassenärztliche Vereinigung Deutschlands Körperschaft des öffentlichen Rechts Bezirksstelle Mainz

Worms + Bingen + Mainz-23
20. Sept 1942 Palm

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 368. | Bär geb. Metzger | Anna S. | verw. | 1o.7.[illegible] Kirchheimbolanden | Worms, Hint. Judeng. 2 |
| 369. | Baum | Anna S. | led. | 11.5.o7 Freilaubersheim | Worms, Judengasse 33 |
| 37o. | Baum | Flora S. | " | 27.4.7o Freilaubersheim | Worms, " |
| 371. | Brodreich | Lionel J. Kfm. | verh. | 8.3.81 Tinartshausen | Worms, Haferg. 7 |
| 372. | Brodreich geb. Stein | Rosel S. H'frau | " | 18.1.91 Reichensachsen | " " |
| 373. | Decker | Johanna S. | led. | 13.1.9[illegible] Wachenheim | Moltkeanl. 1o |
| 374. | Frank | Isidor | verh. | 6.5.81 Aumenau | Hint. Judeng. 2 |
| 375. | Frank geb. Weil | Mathilde S. | " | 4.3.87 Bruchsal | " " |
| 376. | Fuld | Helene S. | led. | 23.6.78 Mannheim | Renzstr. 28 |
| 377. | Gross | Paula S. Konoristin | " | 29.1o.91 Beindersheim | Obermarkt 19 |
| 378. | Herz geb. Lichtenauer | Hilda S. H'frau | verw. | 11.6.85 Gerolshofen | " |
| 379. | Herz | Werner J. | led. | 23.4.27 Osthofen | " " |
| 38o. | Joseph geb. Seligmann | Bella S. H'frau | verh. | 8.11.9o Frankfurt | Andreasstr. 23 |
| 381. | Joseph | Max " | " | 22.9.82 Worms | Hint. Judeng. 2 |
| 382. | Joseph geb. Grünebaum | Bertha S. | " | 14.3.91 Kuppenheim | " " |
| 383. | Katz | Manuel J. | " | 2o.4.78 Erdmannroda | Haferg. 7 |
| 384. | Katz geb. König | Jenny S. | " | 27.12.77 Felsberg | " " |
| 385. | Katz | Alfred J. | led. | 3o.1.o6 Worms | " " |
| 386. | Keller | Eugen J. | " | 13.4.11 Gimbsheim | Judengasse 27 |
| 387. | Keller | Arthur J. | " | 27.11.21 Gimbsheim | " " |
| 388. | Korn | Walter J. | verh. | 11.1.13 Worms | Karolingerstr. 15 |
| 389. | Korn geb. Reinhardt | Irene S. | " | 28.5.o8 | " " |

3



| Lfd. Nr. | Zunaue | Vorname | Fam. Stand | Geburts-Datum | Wohnort und Strasse |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 926 | Willstätter | Jakob J. | verh. | 12.2.65 | Bingen, Rochusstr. 3 |
| 927 | Willstätter geb. Haas | Blondine S. | verh. | 12.2.71 | " dto. |
| 928 | Wolf | Adolf J. | verh. | 3o.8.74 | " Gaustr. 11 |
| 929 | Wolf geb. Kahn | Klara S. | verh. | 19.11.85 | " dto. |
| 93o | Wolf geb. Rosenbaum | Fanny S. | verw. | 8.6.71 | " Gaustr. 5 |
| 931 | Wolf | Isidor J. | verh. | 1.11.69 | " Schmittstr. 37 |
| 932 | Wolf | Sofie S. | verh. | 19.2.74 | " dto. |
| 933 | [illegible] geb. Haas | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] dto. |
| 934 | Wolf | Leonhard J. | verh. | 1.3.72 | " Ad. Hitlerstr. 31 |
| 935 | Wolf geb. Hecht | Selma S. | verh. | 2.2.84 | " dto. |
| 936 | Wolf geb. Garde | Ida S. | verw. | 3.5.77 | " Burggraben 1 |
| 937 | Nussbaum | Gustav J. | verh. | 11.1.74 | Ingelheim |
| 938 | Nussbaum geb. Neumann | Berta S. | verh. | 15.9.79 | " |
| 939 | Oppenheimer geb. Stein | Sofie S. | verw. | 3.1o.74 | " |
| 94o | Bär geb. Samuel | Emanuel J. | verh. | 6.4.73 | Worms, Judengasse 23 |
| 941 | Bär | Adolfine S. | verh. | 16.3.84 | " dto. |
| 942 | Baum geb. Ackermann | Salomon J. | verh. | 21.11.71 | " Sixtusg. 3 |
| 943 | Baum | Zerline S. | verh. | 5.5.7o | " dto, |
| 944 | Baum | Wilhelmine S. | led. | 3.5.7o | " Judengasse 33 |
| 945 | Bockmann geb. Scharff | Mathilde S. | led. | 11.3.73 | " dto. |
| 946 | Erlanger | Johanna S. | verw. | 9.1o.74 | " Hintere Judengasse 6 |
| 947 | Erlanger geb. Hensel | Jakob J. | verh. | 3.8.74 | " Judengasse 24 |
| 948 | Gross geb. Salomon | Ottilie S. | verh. | 9.2.83 | " dto. |
| 949 | Grünfeld | Helene S. | verw. | 13.2.56 | " Hintere Judeng. 6 |
| 95o | Grünfeld geb. Rodenheim | Leo J. | verh. | 11.1o.69 | " dto. |
| 951 | Gutmann | Lina S. | verh. | 17.11.73 | " dto. |
| 952 | Gutmann geb. Siegel | Ludwig J. | verh. | 2o.2.74 | " Judengasse 16 |
| 953 | Gutmann | Fanny S. | verh. | 14.6.73 | " dto. |
| 954 | Gutmann geb. Levy | Max J. | verh. | 11.5.74 | " Hintere Judeng. 2 |
| 955 | Gutmann geb. Mayer | Elsa S. | verh. | 29.5.83 | " dto. |
| 956 | Heymann | Klara S. | verw. | 7.9.71 | " dto. |
| 957 | Honig geb. Eger | Salomon J. | verh. | 17.6.7o | " dto. |
| 958 | Kahn geb. Mangelsdorf | Helene S. | verw. | 27.11.73 | " dto. |
| 959 | Keller | Henny S. | verw. | 1o.6.75 | " dto. |
| 96o | Keller geb. Kahn | Albert J. | verh. | 16.2.73 | " Hintere Judeng. 27 |
| 961 | Korn | Dina S. | verh. | 31.5.79 | " dto. |
| 962 | Korn geb. Lichtenstein | Aron J. | verh. | 2o.6.85 | " Hintere Judeng. 33 |
| 963 | Laufer | Rosa S. | verh. | 14.7.76 | " dto. |
| | | Leopold J. | verh. | 2o.12.65 | " Hintere Judeng. 6 |

4

ABSENDER

POSTKARTE










II.41.

ABSENDER

POSTKARTE







II.41.

| Lfd. Nr. | Name: | Gestorben am: |
|---|---|---|
| 129 | Klein, Fritz; Hinweis aus ins. St.R. d. Gemeinde Worms (Friedh.-Verz.) Verstorbener nicht im St.R. d. Standesamtes Worms aufgeführt. Urne beigesetzt | 17. Juli 42 K. Z. |
| 130 | Hübmann, Moritz; Hinweis aus ins. St.R. d. Gemeinde Worms (Friedh.-Verz.) Verstorbener nicht im St.R. d. Standesamtes Worms aufgeführt. Urne beigesetzt. | 17. Juli 42 K. Z. |
| 131 | Lang, Klara; geb. Streuß; Wohnt. Judengasse 2 Worms Geboren: 10. März 1871. Ehefrau v. Max Lang; St.R. 515/42 Worms | 14. Juli 42 |
| 132 | Hamburger, Rudolph; Ehemann v. Johanna Hamburger geb. Fürth. Geboren: 12. Febr. 1871; Wohnt. Judengasse 6 Worms. St.R. 542/42 Worms | 25. Juli 42 |
| 133 | Hamburger, Johanna; geb. Fürth; Wohnt. Judengasse 6 Worms. Geboren: 27. Nov. 1876; Witwe v. Rudolph Hamburger, Gebr.: St.R. 603/42 Worms | 23. Aug. 42 |

Adelbert Georges VII A. Camp des Milles. 6 April

Mein liebes gutes Gretchen! Die lb Mama hat Dir geschrieben daß ich in der Nähe von Marseille in einem Camp interniert bin. Gestern schickte sie mir einen Brief von Dir, den lb Onkel Hallmann geschrieben hat. Du schreibst daß Du ein Schätzchen krank warst. Ich hoffe aber doch daß Du jetzt wieder ganz gesund bist und es Dir auch gefällt. Wo ich bin ist auch nur ein Lager nur für große Männer, sind ca. 1000 Kinder da. Onkel Ferdinand & Alfred sind auch hier [illegible] die lb Tante Lilly & die Mädchen sind noch in Gurs [illegible] Kinder können. Ich [illegible] die mit uns schon große Kinder [illegible] nach Amerika fährt. Ich war dort am Konsulat, aber unsere Papiere sind noch nicht da & müssen wir noch lange warten, bis sie kommen. Ich habe an den Onkel Oskar geschrieben daß er die Bürgschaft schicken soll. Aber weißt Du, Amerika ist weit fort & da dauert es lange bis sie kommen. Die Kinder von den Leuten, die hier sind, sind alle in Kinderheimen wie Du & schreiben auch immer an ihre Väter. Sie sind aber alle brav & freuen sich daß sie so gut aufgehoben sind, denn hier ist ja auch nur ein Lager & hat man nicht so gutes Essen & kann auch nicht im Bettchen schlafen. Also sei froh daß Du dort bist & so schön in die Kinderschule gehen kannst. Da lernst Du auch [illegible]

Berlin N 65 3. 6. 94. 75
Fransecker Str. 3:

Mein liebes Lieschen,
vor allem hoffe ich daß Dich dieser Brief gesund erreicht. Hedwig + ich sind nach 3jähriger Abwesenheit wieder in Deutschland gelandet. Aber mit welcher Enttäuschung. Wir können nicht nach Duisburg, warten hier auf eine Gelegenheit. Es gilt uns gesundheitlich gut.

[illegible] Zeichen von Ihr meine liebes gutes Kind. Von Neumark (Westpreußen) polnisch Nowe Miasto hatten wir [illegible] Abschied, Hindern aber einen Beobachtet. Kann ein wir werden wir zusammen kommen? Habe Ihr Verbindung mit der l. Familie Rice? Ihr wissen ihre Adresse nicht.
Wie geht es Fanny Berry? Ihr sind [illegible] Ihnen zu geben Dank möglichst, herzlich [illegible] Ihnen.

Emergency Committee of Worms Jews
Mrs. Else Spies, 175 W. 81 St., New York City
Dr. Helmut Frank, 2139 N. 16 St. Philadelphia Pa.

Febr. 1941.

Liebe Freunde:

Es wird Ihnen sicher bekannt sein, welch schreckliches Ungluck Juden aus Baden und der Pfalz in den Sukkos Tagen des Jahres 1940 betroffen hat. 10000 unserer Glaubensbrueder sind im Camp de Gurs dem furchtbarsten Elend ausgesetzt. Darunter sind viele alte Leute und Kinder. Die primitivsten Lebensnotwendigkeiten sind den Aermsten versagt. Fast jede Woche bringt der "Aufbau" berichte ueber das Elend, das fast unvorstellbar ist.

Auch einige Familien, die frueher in Worms und in de letzten Jahren in Baden gewohnt hatten, gehoeren zu den ungluecklichen Lagerinsassen. Briefe um sofortige Hilfe erreichten die Unterzeichneten von Herrn Jakob Sondheimer, der mit seiner Familie(Frau und 3 Kinder), sowie seinem Schwiegervater, dem um die Wormser Gemeinde hochverdienten Herrn Adolf Kehr und Frau im Lager schmachtet. Ferner schrieb uns Herr und Frau Max Kraemer, die mit ihren 2 Kindern unsagbarer Not ausgesetzt sind. Aus dem Lager Agde erreichte uns ein Hilfeschrei von Herrn und Frau Aron Spatz.

Die Unterzeichneten sehen die Notwendigkeit sofortiger Hilfe als dringendes Gebot der Stunde an, sind aber ausserstande, die Hilfe allein zu gewaehren.

Wir haben daher ein Emergency Committee gebildet und wenden uns an alle ehemaligen Wormser Juden mit der Bitte:

Verschliesst Eure Ohren nicht dem Schrei Eurer Brueder!

Wir wissen, dass Sie alle schwer zu arbeiten haben, um das taegliche Leben im neuen Lande zu fristen. Wir wissen, dass Sie auch Ihre Angehoerigen zu unterstuetzen und noch viele andere Verpflichtungen haben. Wir bitten Sie aber trotzdem, denen, die buchstaeblich unter Kaelte und Hunger schmachten, und die von Krankheit bedroht und ohne Medikamente dem Tode ausgesetzt sind, ihre Hilfe nicht zu versagen.

Senden Sie eine Spende an einen der Unterzeichneten. Jede Spende(auch wenn sie noch so klein ist) wird mit Dankbarkeit angenommen. Wir wollen den Ungluecklichen ueber die "Selfhelp" Lebensmittel und warme Sachen senden und werden Ihnen nach Erhalt Ihrer guetigen Spende ueber die geleistete Arbeit berichten.

Wir begruessen Sie mit dem Grusse alter Verbundenheit!

Mit vorzueglicher Hochachtung:

Helmut Frank

Else Spies
175 West 81 St.
New York City

Dr. Helmut Frank
2139 N. 16th St.
Philadelphia Pa.

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